Sheffield Hallam University

A Sheffield Hallam University thesis

302130

25th Sept

The Management of Sub-Cultures in a Multicultural Organisation

Stephen Farrar

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements of
Sheffield Hallam University
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

January 1994

Collaborating Organisation : Bass Brewers

ABSTRACT

The thesis is an in-depth research into the management and control of subcultures in a multicultural and geographically dispersed organisation. Primarily the thesis focuses on the Distribution function in Bass Brewers North where there is much cultural diversity and a high resistance to change in areas where regional subcultures have developed over long periods.

Based on methods used in ethnographic studies and within an inductivist framework, 15 Distribution depots were researched in order to understand cultural and managerial differences in the regions. With the use of theoretical data analysis, three different subculture groupings were identified from the early stages of the research, these were categorised as being either positive, negative or changing cultures in relation to the Bass 'corporate' culture. Further detailed research was carried out in three representative Distribution depots in order to ascertain the degree to which the beliefs and values of the dominant culture were dispersed throughout the three subculture groupings.

In order to assess cultural dispersion the research was extended to include other regions of Bass Brewers, and the Bass Headquarters at Burton. At this stage of the research the thesis explored culture management and leadership, cultural change and cultural impact on outcomes. From this, an understanding of the relationship between corporate cultures, subcultures and managerial control was developed.

The research into the management and control of cultures and subcultures was analysed, from a middle management view and 'bottom up', rather than the traditional approach to corporate culture research and to culture change programmes, which is generally 'top down' with a senior management bias.

The thesis argues that large complex organisations are composed of multiple possibly conflicting cultures, and that corporate cultures and subcultures cannot be readily changed. It is also argued that strategies designed to 'quickly' change an organisation's culture(s) are not likely to succeed.

The contribution the thesis makes to existing knowledge is in three areas. Firstly the thesis provides a contribution in the area of research methodology both from a manager carrying out research within his own organisation, and the methodological approach used to study cultures and subcultures in organisations. Secondly the thesis provides a contribution in the area of culture and performance in that it explores the relationship between subcultures and an organisation's corporate culture and provides an explanation for different culture types and their impact on business performance. Finally the thesis provides a contribution in the area of culture and managerial control in that the research identifies the links between leadership and control at both senior and middle management levels.

PREFACE

CONTENTS

Appendices

Bibliography

ABSTRACT

THE MANAGEMENT OF SUB-CULTURES IN A MULTICULTURAL ORGANISATION

Stephen Farrar

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Sheffield Hallam University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The thesis is an in-depth research into the management and control of subcultures in a multicultural and geographically dispersed organisation. Primarily the thesis focuses on the Distribution function in Bass Brewers North where there is much cultural diversity and a high resistance to change in areas where regional subcultures have developed over long periods.

Based on methods used in ethnographic studies and within an inductivist framework, 15 Distribution depots were researched in order to understand cultural and managerial differences in the regions. With the use of theoretical data analysis, three different subculture groupings were identified from the early stages of the research, these were categorised as being either positive, negative or changing cultures in relation to the Bass 'corporate' culture. Further detailed research was carried out in three representative Distribution depots in order to ascertain the degree to which the beliefs and values of the dominant culture were dispersed throughout the three subculture groupings.

In order to assess cultural dispersion the research was extended to include other regions of Bass Brewers, and the Bass Headquarters at Burton. At this stage of the research the thesis explored culture management and leadership, cultural change and cultural impact on outcomes. From this, an understanding of the relationship between corporate cultures, subcultures and managerial control was developed.

The research into the management and control of cultures and subcultures was analysed, from a middle management view and 'bottom up', rather than the traditional approach to corporate culture research and to culture change programmes, which is generally 'top down' with a senior management bias.

The thesis argues that large complex organisations are composed of multiple possibly conflicting cultures, and that corporate cultures and subcultures cannot be readily changed. It is also argued that strategies designed to 'quickly' change an organisation's culture(s) are not likely to succeed.

The contribution the thesis makes to existing knowledge is in three areas. Firstly the thesis provides a contribution in the area of research methodology both from a manager carrying out research within his own organisation, and the methodological approach used to study cultures and subcultures in organisations. Secondly the thesis provides a contribution in the area of culture and performance in that it explores the relationship between subcultures and an organisation's corporate culture and provides an explanation for different culture types and their impact on business performance. Finally the thesis provides a contribution in the area of culture and managerial control in that the research identifies the links between leadership and control at both senior and middle management levels.

CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

Managing change in any type of organisation is not an easy task and many organisations fall short of their original anticipated returns. Managing change in large complex and geographically dispersed organisations in which diverse cultures exist, requires excellent leadership skills at all management levels and total support from the workforce. This thesis focuses on the problems of managing change in an organisation where there is much cultural diversity, and a high resistance to change in areas where particular regional subculture types have developed over long periods. Specifically the thesis concentrates on the Distribution function in Bass Brewers North and the way in which the middle managers in this function 'control' their depot subculture throughout the change process.

The problems of control in the regional depots are exacerbated by the problems associated with what is a centrally command driven operation, in an historically and geographically decentralised organisation.

The initial aim of the thesis at the proposal stage was to carry out research in 15 distribution depots in Bass Brewers North and to:-

a)   Determine the factors which affect the way middle managers manage change and,

b)   Within this broad aim to investigate:-

   i)   Issues of managerial control and the under researched role of the middle manager;

   ii)   the nature and effects of subcultures on decision making and;

   iii)   the role of the manager as participant researcher.

At the proposal stage it was considered likely that in Phase 1 key issues may emerge which would provide the principle PhD focus and may at least in part replace (a) and (b)

above. At an early stage in the fieldwork the key issue to emerge was the existence of diverse subcultures in the geographically dispersed distribution depots, and the impact these subcultures have on management of change, leadership and control and organisational performance. It is for this reason that the thesis focuses primarily on the depot subcultures within the context of the Bass cultural whole, and how culture impacts on managerial control and performance.

The overall aim of the thesis is to:-

a)   Determine the effect diverse subcultures have on managing changes in the geographically dispersed distribution depots, and through the use of culture audits of historical and current events, determine how subcultures emerge, develop and change over time.

b)   Develop an understanding of the relationship between cultures, subcultures, managerial control and performance, the implications of which could be used by Bass and other large geographically dispersed organisations to manage multiple cultures and successfully implement change.

c)   To develop a research methodology based upon the methods used throughout the PhD thesis, to be used as a reference/guide for managers researching in their own organisation.

The thesis provides in-depth research into the management and control of cultures and subcultures from a middle management view, and analysed 'bottom up' rather than the traditional approach to corporate culture studies and to culture change programmes, which are generally 'top down' with a senior management bias. The traditional approach to the study of management of change and the control of organisational cultures has been to view culture from a 'top down' corporate platform. This approach, which falls into the category of viewing culture from a 'variable perspective', assumes the existence of a

single homogeneous culture which permeates the organisation and can be manipulated to achieve improvements in performance. Although a great deal of research into the control of culture recognises the existence of organisational subcultures, there has been little in-depth research into how they emerge and develop, and how they impact on organisational performance. This thesis takes a pluralistic rather than a monolithic view of culture and recognises that in large complex and geographically dispersed organisations, the existence of multiple cultures is more likely to be the rule rather than the exception.

The approach used throughout the thesis therefore provides an original contribution in that it views culture and management of change from the middle manager and their subordinates perspective, that is 'bottom up', rather than from a 'top down' corporate senior management view. From this perspective the thesis makes a contribution to knowledge in three key areas:

*   Firstly the thesis provides a contribution in the area of research methodology both from a manager carrying out research within his own organisation, and the methodological approach used to study cultures and subcultures in a large geographically dispersed organisation.

*   Secondly the thesis provides a contribution in the area of culture and performance in that it explores in depth the relationship between subcultures and an organisation's corporate culture and provides an explanation for different culture types and their effect on business performance.

*   Finally the thesis provides a contribution in the area of culture and managerial control in that the research has been carried out identifying the links between leadership and control at both senior management and the middle management levels. The development of an understanding of the relationship between cultures, subcultures, managerial control and performance, has implications for

Bass and other large geographically dispersed organisations who are incorporating culture change programmes as part of major strategic changes within their business.

This Chapter is a brief background to the PhD project history and an introduction to the history of Bass PLC and the position of Bass Brewers within the corporate structure. Recent changes in the brewing industry, particularly as a result of the Monopolies and Mergers Commission report on 'the supply of beer' (1989), are reviewed and the impact on the Bass organisation discussed. An introduction to, and links between, the Distribution function and my role as the Management Services Manager are discussed in relation to the main focus of the thesis. The final section of the Chapter covers the structure of the thesis and is a précis of the approach and methodologies used throughout the research fieldwork and thesis.

1.1   Background and History of the PhD Thesis

My original interest in the problems associated with management of change and diverse workplace cultures, stems from my MSc dissertation (Farrar 1988) and my involvement in management of change programmes within the British Steel Corporation (BSC). The MSc dissertation focused primarily on the problems associated with the introduction of 'just in time' (JIT) 'manufacturing resource planning' (MRP) and 'optimised production technology' (OPT) in manufacturing organisations. Although the dissertation was of a technical nature in terms of how to develop and implement manufacturing systems, throughout the fieldwork and case studies in the different organisations, many failed implementations were identified as being attributable to a lack of, workforce involvement, teamwork and a general resistance to change to the new working methods. The theme throughout the research dissertation was that many managers failed to recognise the human factors in terms of commitment and involvement, and that technology alone would not provide the improvements. Although the dissertation

identified the importance of the lower level manager and his subordinates as catalysts of change, no in-depth research was carried out in this area, as at the time it was considered beyond the scope of the research. My original intention was to carry out further research whilst still working for the British Steel Corporation, however, this was curtailed due to a career move to Bass PLC in 1989.

Prior to my move to Bass I had spent 10 years in the Work Study and Operational Research Department working on a variety of internal consultancy projects at BSC's Sheffield, Rotherham and Wolverhampton steel plants. Throughout this period (1979 - 1989) the steel industry experienced a great deal of change and a massive reduction in capacity which resulted in steel plant closures and many redundancies. The manning reductions in the steel industry, from 255,000 in 1970 to 70,000 in 1984 resulted in a slimline steel industry which throughout the late 1980's became one of the most efficient and productive in the world. As an internal consultant I was involved in many of the change programmes which included the introduction of new technology and methods of working in a number of work areas which contained many different workplace cultures. I considered that my role as a work study engineer, which brought me into contact with many different cultures, as being an ideal observer role in which I could develop my research interest in the areas of management of change and the understanding of workplace cultures.

On joining Bass in February 1989 as Management Services Manager I became involved in management of change programmes throughout Bass North and in particular in the Distribution function where changes were being introduced across a wide geographical area which contained many diverse cultures. Throughout 1989 I developed close working and social relationships with all the Distribution Managers and the Distribution Director and became an accepted part of the Distribution management team. In view of my knowledge of the introduction of ' hard' systems and my interest in 'soft' systems I decided to put forward a research proposal to the Director of Information Technology and

the Director of Distribution. The initial aim of the research was to examine how to manage change effectively within such a large geographical area with such cultural diversity and diverse leadership styles.

The first meeting to discuss the PhD thesis proposal was with the Distribution Director of Bass North in January 1990. At this meeting discussions were centred around the problems being experienced by many Distribution Managers introducing changes in working practices in their respective depots. The changes were in response to an increasingly competitive climate in the Brewing industry partly induced by the Monopolies and Mergers Commission (MMC) Report into the Supply of Beer (March 1989). As a consequence many changes to working practices, including the introduction of staff status payment systems, flexible working arrangements, quality systems and customer service initiatives, were in the process of being introduced.

In view of the many changes ongoing in Bass and the specific problems in the Distribution function, it was agreed with the Distribution Director and his senior management team that the Phd thesis should focus on the Distribution Managers and the way they manage change in their particular depot. In particular the Distribution Director was interested in the difficulties associated with particular regional culture types and the approach and management style used by each manager to resolve the regional problems.

It was agreed that Phase 1 of the thesis, concurrent with a literature search, would involve data collection from the Distribution and Personnel Directors of Bass Brewers North and from the fifteen Distribution Managers. Additionally data collection by semi-structured interview and participant observation was concentrated on the Distribution Managers, access being facilitated by my role as Management Services Manager which brings me into frequent contact with the depot managers and their teams. In addition to the initial data collection, it was agreed that psychometric tests to determine a personality profile

should be carried out in order to identify links between leadership style, depot performance, and the depot culture type.

In phase 2 of the research, and following the findings that different subcultures exist in the 15 distribution depots, it was decided that the research should be concentrated on three different subculture types which were classified as being either counter, positive, or changing cultures. Additionally, at this stage of the thesis the research moved 'upwards' to include a measure of cultural dispersion and a view of the Bass corporate culture as perceived by the Bass Brewers Board. This involved semi-structured interviews with Headquarters management in Burton and managers in the other regions eg Scotland, Midlands and Bass South.

Geographically Bass Brewers (North) is defined by Liverpool in the West, Grimsby in the East and Newcastle in the North. The 15 depots are located throughout this region with all its cultural diversity associated with many years of traditional ways of working. In many of these geographical areas the Distribution Managers were experiencing resistance to change particularly from the larger, unionised urban depots where historically there had been years of traditional working and historical links with the brewing industry. Conversely in other depots in rural locations with historically little or no association with the brewing industry and traditional ways of working, there was little or no resistance to change. Culturally, although the depots could be simply classified as being a high or low resistance depot, all 15 depots were very different in their 'ways of working'. This was recognised by many of the managers who had worked in several of the Bass North depots and in other regions of Bass Brewers.

Although Bass continued to perform well following the MMC report, the Bass Brewers Board, under the new leadership of Dr Tony Portno (appointed July 1991), were determined to quickly adapt ahead of the competition to the new market conditions. To all major functions including the Distribution function, this involved cutting costs,

improving the quality of the product, improving customer services to internal and external customers, and tailoring the service and the Bass package to fit the customer's needs. One of the most important changes which affected the entire business was the move towards core process working which is a 'new' concept in organisation redesign and falls under the general heading of 'Business Process Re-engineering' (BPR).

Although BPR is considered to be the latest 'managerial fad' in reconceptualising and reconfiguring large organisations (Hammer 1990), many critics believe that BPR is no different from the time and motion concepts developed by Taylor, and organisational theory developed by Fayol, Sloan and Drucker (Thackeray 1993). However, Bass decided to invest in core process redesign, and with the help of the Mckinsey Consultancy planned to transform the organisation from functionally based structures to six core processes (see figure 1.1). This shows the six core processes and the activities within them. For example, in the past Production, Primary Distribution and Secondary Distribution were separate in the functional organisation. In the re-engineered process environment they all fall into the Logistics Core Process. The advantages of such an organisation are: reductions in supply chain costs; reductions in lead time and customer response time and overall improvements in customer service. Additionally savings are achieved through flatter organisation structures.

Although the planned changes are still incomplete, all the changes leading up to core process working were monitored throughout the thesis and in particular those in relation to the Distribution function.

Throughout the research period there was constant change in all parts of the business. As a result the research methodology had to be flexible in terms of including the many changes and their impact on the distribution function and Bass as a whole. A major change was the departure of the Distribution Director in 1992 who was also the main sponsor of the PhD thesis. As a result, links had to be made with two new Distribution

Directors, one appointed to Bass North East and one to cover Bass North West. In late 1993 the two Distribution Directors were replaced by an Operations Director who was given responsibility for Distribution and Production units in the whole of Bass North.

Figure 1.1   <u>**Bass Brewers Six Core Processes**</u>

Customer Service: JOINING | ORDERING | DELIVERY | INVOICING & INFORMATION | REPRESENT-ATION & OTHER ISSUES | QUERY HANDLING & COMMUNICATIONS | EXITING

Logistics: FORECASTING AND PLANNING — PROCUREMENT OF MATERIALS | BREWING | PACKAGING | PRIMARY DISTRIBUTION | SECONDARY DISTRIBUTION

Brands Portfolio Management: MARKETING MIX BY BRAND — PORTFOLIO PLANNING & STRATEGY | SOURCING OF BOUGHT IN PRODUCT | BRAND POSITIONING STRATEGY | PRODUCT SPECIFICATION | PACKAGING SPECIFICATION | PRICE | PROMOTION | PLACEMENT

New Product Development: PROJECT GENERATION (GENERATING DATA AND IDEAS | PREPARING PROJECT BRIEF) | PROPOSITION DEVELOPMENT | LAUNCH PREPARATION

Funds Flow: CUSTOMER INVOICING | SUPPLIER PAYMENT | CAPITAL INVESTMENT | MANAGEMENT ACCOUNTS | FINANCIAL ACCOUNTS

Information: APPLICATION & PORTFOLIO PLANNING | BUSINESS REQUIREMENTS DEFINITION | SYSTEMS SOLUTION DEVELOPMENT | BUSINESS IMPLEMENTATION | DECISION SUPPORT INFORMATION PROVISION | INSTALLED SYSTEMS SUPPORT

1.2   Bass PLC - Historical Analysis and Change

The MMC report on 'the supply of beer' (1989), and the subsequent Beer Orders passed by parliament, led to a major restructuring of the UK brewing industry. Bass, as the largest company in the market with a 22% share, was severely affected and has gone through a four year period of change unprecedented in the company's history. The first decision, following the report was to separate the brewing operations from the pubs and create two separate operating companies, Bass Brewers and Bass Taverns. Within Bass PLC, Bass Brewers is the production, marketing and distribution division, and Bass Taverns is the retailing division. Following the restructuring, to comply with the MMC findings Bass had to dispose of approximately 2600 outlets from a total estate of 7200.

Excluding the mergers in the 1960's and early 1970's the UK brewing industry has had a high degree of stability. The results of the MMC report created a changing and competitive market where a clearer customer focus was required. This customer focus was a move for Bass from traditionally being production driven, to concentrate on customer service and quality at the distribution end of the business. Although the thesis concentrates primarily on the distribution function and the effect these changes are having on middle managers and their subordinates, the research covered Bass as a whole in order to understand the corporate view, and to compare and contrast the 'lower' and 'higher' management viewpoints. In order to understand the development of Bass PLC a detailed history of Bass was carried out.

An historical analysis, as identified by Pettigrew (1979), Schein (1984), Louis (1985), and Morgan (1986), is of significant importance when trying to understand the present situation and when developing future strategies. It is for this reason that a macro analysis of Bass PLC was carried out highlighting historical events, structures and environmental issues. The position of Bass Brewers within the corporate structure of Bass PLC, and the

activities of other divisions within the group were also analysed in order to understand the Bass business.

Bass Charrington was formed on 1st October 1967 as a result of a merger of Bass Charrington United Breweries and Bass Mitchells and Butlers. The new group, the largest brewing business in Europe, with fourteen breweries, approximately 8,000 pubs, together with 1,000 off-licences and hotels, supplied over 20% of the home market for beer and some 40% of UK beers for export. Although the present company was formed in 1967 as a result of several mergers, the Bass brewing business is a result of the amalgamation of 80 breweries spanning more than 200 years.

Charrington United Breweries and Bass Mitchells and Butlers were both the result of a series of mergers. Charrington's history goes back to the eighteenth century when the company first began to brew at Mile End in London. Under successive families of Charringtons the business expanded and in 1833 the business acquired the Stratford London Brewery of Stewart and Head, the first of many acquisitions. A hundred years later Charringtons was still growing. In that year it doubled in size by acquiring Hoare and Company and with it the now famous Toby Trade Mark and the red triangle.

In 1962 Charrington and Company, strongly represented in London and the South of England with over 2,500 Houses, merged with United Breweries of York to form Charrington United Breweries with over 5,000 outlets and became the largest brewing group in the country. Expansion continued for the next five years; J R Tennent of Glasgow, Offiliers of Derby, Masseys' Burnley Brewery and other similar concerns all joined the Charrington United group making it, at the time of the merger with Mitchells and Butlers, a company with great strength in Scotland, the North, London and the South East.

The formation of Bass Mitchells & Butler was the result of the merger in 1961, of Bass, Ratcliffe & Gretton of Burton and Mitchells & Butler of Birmingham. Bass, Ratcliffe & Gretton of Burton emerged from Bass and Company, founded by William Bass in 1777. Worthington & Company, which was founded in Burton by William Worthington in 1744, merged with Bass in 1926.

Bass and Worthington both built their success on the export trade at first to Europe and then to the Far East where large British military and civil service establishments provided a ready market. This was the origin of India Pale Ale which still appears on some labels.

Whilst Bass and Worthington were expanding, two other Midland Brewers, Henry Mitchell and William Butler were making names for themselves in Birmingham. They amalgamated in 1898 and steadily expanded, increasing their trade and owned outlets in Birmingham and the surrounding Midland areas. The Company also acquired other breweries including Atkinsons of Aston and W Butler of Wolverhampton.

In 1960 Mitchells & Butler merged with Bass, Ratcliffe & Gretton giving the Company a large nationwide free trade, particularly in Bass and Worthington beers, and a stronghold of outlets in the Midlands.

In 1987 Bass PLC once again strengthened its position by the acquisition of the Holiday Inn trade mark and assets outside the USA, Canada and Mexico. More recently in 1990, Bass PLC acquired the Holiday Inn business in North America, thereby making Bass the owner of the largest hotel system in the world
In the 200 year history of Bass PLC there have been many mergers involving approximately 80 different brewing organisations in all areas of the UK. Not surprisingly there are many different regional cultures which have a strong association with the pre-Bass owners and their ways of working. These historical links and the existence of

different culture types were highlighted in the fieldwork in the Distribution depots and are seen as a vital link in understanding and managing organisational cultures.

In the 1990's Bass PLC, with an annual turnover in 1992 of £4,036 M and profits before tax of £529 M, operates through several principle operating subsidiary companies whose activities include brewing, retailing, hotels, leisure, and soft drinks.

Figure 1.2 shows the comparative sizes of the six operating units in respect of turnover, operating profit, and the average number of employees.

Figure 1.2 - Comparative Sizes of the Operating Divisions of Bass PLC

Operating Division	Turnover £ million	Operating Profit £ million	Average Number of Employees
Bass Brewers	1,594	210	8,080
Bass Taverns	1,091	174	40,681
Holiday Inns	510	116	14,228
Bass Leisure	974	65	14,014
Britvic	442	45	3,766
Other Activities	241	2	3,326
Totals	**4,852**	**612**	**84,095**

Source 1992 Bass Accounts

Bass Brewers is the production and distribution part of the business, the Company operates from ten breweries and 40 distribution depots throughout Great Britain and Northern Ireland which produce and deliver some of the best known quality brands in the beer and lager market today, eg., Carling Black Label, Tennent's Extra Lager, Stones Best Bitter, Draught Bass, Tennent's L.A.. Appendix 1 shows the geographically dispersed Distribution depots in Bass North some of which have long histories of traditional brewing. The brewing sector contributes to 50% of the Company turnover through its sales in pubs, clubs, shops, and supermarkets.

Bass Taverns is the division responsible for the managed, leased, and tenanted pubs owned by the group, this is in addition to ownership of Toby restaurants and hotels.

Holiday Inns, the hotels division is the world's largest hotel operator, with 1,636 hotels and 325,848 guest rooms in more than 50 countries.

Bass Leisure operates 158 bingo clubs under the brand name of Gala a company incorporating the former Coral and Granada businesses. The division also manufactures, supplies and operates Barcrest amusement and gaming machines. The 916 Coral betting shops throughout the UK are part of this division.

Britvic Soft Drinks is the second largest producer of still and carbonated soft drinks in the UK producing in excess of 1 billion litres per year in a total market of 8.5 billion litres. The company is controlled by Bass, the largest shareholder.

Other Activities include 600 Augustus Barnet off-licences, the Chateau Lascombes vineyard in Bordeaux, and a major property company - Bass Developments.

Although Bass has performed extremely well following the DTI Beer Orders, half year profits for 1993 showed a 14% drop in pre-tax profits from £266m to £228m. This performance was a further indication of the tougher competition in the Brewing Industry. For the Distribution function this has a knock-on effect of tighter controls and further spending cuts which the depot managers and their subordinates will have to manage.

1.3   Monopolies and Mergers Commission Report (MMC) 1989

The purpose of the MMC investigation 'the supply of beer' (1989) was to report on whether a monopoly situation existed in relation to the supply of beer for retail sale in the United Kingdom. The MMC concluded that a monopoly did exist in favour of those

brewers who own tied houses or who have tying agreements with free houses in return for loans at favourable interest rates. The Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) orders which followed the issue of the MMC report caused a major rethink and new strategic look at the way many Brewing Organisations operate. Humphreys (1991 p70) made the point that "there is little doubt that the British brewing industry is currently undergoing its most radical change since Henry II introduced the first beer taxes to pay for the crusades". The recommendations of the MMC were as follows:-

* there was not to be a complete abolition of the tie, but a ceiling of 2,000 on the number of on-licensed premises, whether public houses, hotels or any other type of on-licensed outlet, which any brewing company or group may own. This recommendation was later amended to relinquishing half of the number of licensed premises above 2,000.

* all loan ties were to be eliminated.

* in order to improve the market opportunity in the tenanted trade, a tenant should be allowed to purchase a minimum of one brand of draught beer from a supplier other than his landlord.

* tenancies of all on-licensed premises should be brought within the provisions of the Landlord and Tenant Act 1954 Part II.

* brewers should publish wholesale price lists for the on-licensed trade which set out the discounts that are generally available.

In conclusion, the MMC believed that these measures would increase competition in brewing, wholesaling and retailing, encourage new entry, reduce prices and widen

consumer choice. At the same time it would preserve the good features of the present system such as the variety of local beers available to the consumer.

To bring the Group into line with the Department of Trade and Industry's new regulations, three options faced Bass: it could sell it's brewing interests; or sell it's pub-retail interests; or sell or lease, free from tie, about 2,600 on-licensed premises. After six months the Bass Board decided to go for the third option on the strength of detailed research which confirmed the Group's feeling that it was equally strong in both brewing and pub retailing. It was necessary to review carefully the relationship between these two business activities and the other businesses within the Group, in order to evaluate which course of action would be in the best interests of the employees, customers and shareholders.

The MMC report clearly had a great impact on Bass and was the point at which the critical examination of the business operations commenced. In functions such as Distribution 'taking the lid off' their operations and critically examining working methods revealed a mixture of subcultures, working practices and management styles which proved difficult to understand and even more difficult to control or change.

1.4   Bass Brewers North - Distribution Function

At the start of the research the Distribution Managers reported to the Distribution Director through an intermediate level of senior Regional Distribution Managers (see Appendix 1). As a result of a major reorganisation and a move to flatter structures this management level was taken out giving the Distribution Manager a direct link to the Director. A further re-organisation in 1992 split Bass North into two separate regions Bass North East and Bass North West, this created two Distribution Director positions in the Bass North area. A 'final' restructure, which is in line with core process working and planned for late 1993, is the amalgamation of both production and distribution functions to form a Logistics department. Within this function production and distribution

managers report to an Operations Director. The object of the exercise is to reduce functional conflicts by having one core process (logistics) which covers the whole supply chain.

Bass has a wide geographical distribution network which covers all parts of the country and includes Northern Ireland. All distribution depots, which are BS5750 accredited, operate retail fleets which handle deliveries of beer, wines and spirits, and soft drinks to the local customer base. The deliveries to the outlet tend to be once per week depending on the size of the pub, the delivery day being specified by the customer. The loads are delivered 48 hours after order intake by trained draymen who also provide a cellar management service, this includes the collection of empties and returned beer.

Following the MMC report and the subsequent restructuring of many functions, the distribution function, along with technical services, tele-sales and the sales function, became classified strategically as 'customer facing' groups. The idea being to provide better customer service and obtain rapid feedback of problems from the customer.

The Distribution function is a key part of the Bass Brewers business and is the link between beer production and delivery to the end customer. In the Bass North region there are 15 depots with each Distribution manager controlling operations through junior managers and supervisors who in turn supervise a unionised workforce (TGWU) consisting mainly of warehouse operatives and delivery drivers (draymen).

Basically, the Distribution function is involved in order collection, planning, stock control, vehicle routeing and scheduling, and the organisation and motivation of a large workforce. Depot manning levels vary from small depots approximately 20 manning and large depots over 100 manning. Overall the Distribution function is very labour intensive and is a major proportionate cost of the product price. The role of the Distribution manager in the function is to provide a high level of customer service within an agreed

budget and maintain good industrial relations. The latter being extremely important to the continued flow of beer through the supply chain.

Although Bass historically has been a conservative and traditional business, the Company is changing, becoming diverse and responding to issues in the environment. As the market became more competitive, there was a greater need for managers to reduce costs and implement changes in line with company objectives. Bass remains a strong profitable company and appears to be aware of the business environment and of what needs to be done within the business to maintain it's leading position within the Brewing Industry.

The current dynamic situation in the Brewing Industry is clearly affecting the way in which managers at all levels manage change. As Bass moves from a relatively simple static position towards increasing complexity, managers are having to adapt and manage change effectively. It is the managers at the 'middle' levels in the organisation who are at the sharp end of the changes and are the managers who are expected to successfully implement change.

In the Distribution function changes over a four year period include:-

*   A complete restructuring of the function in terms of Depot size and manning
        requirements.

*   A flatter organisation structure with fewer layers of management and supervisors.

*   A reduction in the number of depots required within each region.

*   The introduction of Total Quality Management and BS 5750 accreditation.

*   The introduction of customer service initiatives.

*   A review of payment systems and a move towards the 'staff status' operative.

*   The introduction of a Distribution Information Systems (DIS).

*   A very high turnover of senior and middle managers.

Many of the above changes were a direct result of the MMC report coupled with a general change in market conditions currently seriously affecting the brewing industry. To a great extent the changes were initiated and controlled from central Headquarters.

1.5   Management Services Manager's Role

The Management Services function plays a major role in identifying areas where potential cost benefits and improvements to performance can be made in all areas of the business. In my role as the Management Services Manager and as head of the function, I regularly consult with Directors and Senior Managers to establish support required for the development of strategic plans, implementation of organisational and operational changes and the monitoring of the impact of changes on performance. In addition to the close links with senior management the Management Services Manager has close links with Trade Union officials at negotiating meetings and operatives on project work and site visits.

Throughout the research this close relationship and trust with the Directors, Managers and their subordinates has been used to understand and explore, in both formal and informal settings, the multifaceted aspects of the Bass culture. In the Distribution function, for example, the many meetings at a local depot level and at conferences where all distribution managers were present, were used to covertly observe behaviour and to

discuss in both informal and formal settings all aspects of the function. Their initial concern about my line of questioning and the overall purpose of the research quickly became one of interest in my findings. As the relationships developed many managers became more relaxed about the purpose of the research and were quite prepared to discuss depot culture related problems and the wider issues relating to the Bass culture as a whole.

In addition to my role in Bass North, I was also project manager for many National projects covering all functions within Bass Brewers. This gave me access to a much wider research source and not specifically in the Distribution function. Using Bass North as a bench mark this enabled me to compare other regional cultures with the North and also compare the regional cultures with the Burton Headquarters culture.

Management Services personnel are trained work study engineers in techniques directly associated with 'scientific management'. Although 'scientific management' or 'Taylorism' is considered to be 'dehumanising' in terms of task simplification, the techniques are widely used and 'accepted' by management and the Trade Unions within the Bass organisation. Work study engineers are also trained to observe human activity, although the approach is very different from that of the behavioural scientist, this background training proved to be very useful in the fieldwork.

Throughout the research I have had to wear two very different hats. Firstly the hat of the work study engineer who views human behaviour and work from a mechanistic stand point with a view to identifying and providing the most efficient way of working. Secondly the hat of the behavioural scientist who relates human behaviour and efficiency to attitudes, beliefs and values. Although the two philosophies appear to be poles apart they have one common goal, that is, organisational efficiency. Many times during the research my professional role as Management Services Manager was in direct conflict with my role as researcher. It became difficult at times to stand back and observe the

multifaceted aspects of a culture which I was a member. Additionally my role as Management Services Manager caused people from whom I took data to be more guarded than they otherwise might have been. The problems of a manager carrying out research within his own organisation clearly has both advantages and disadvantages, these are discussed in further detail in Chapter 3 under research methodologies.

1.6   The Thesis Structure

The thesis contains seven Chapters which explain the business in which Bass operates and the problems, particularly in the Distribution function, which have resulted from both internal and external changes. The management of these changes and the effect that regional subcultures have had on the process is the main focus of the thesis. The problems relating to culture control, and in particular the control of regional subcultures, are viewed from the bottom of the hierarchy rather than from the top. The researching of cultures from a 'bottom up' perspective highlights the plight of the middle manager who controls his regional subculture within the constraints of a centrally command driven organisation. Cultures when viewed from a senior management perspective and top down tend not to recognise subcultures or the difficulties encountered by middle managers who implement uniform strategies dictated from central Headquarters.

The thesis is structured as follows:-

CHAPTER ONE - Introduction

This chapter is a brief introduction to Bass PLC and the Distribution function and the changes which have taken place over the years, and as a result of the MMC report on 'the supply of beer' (1989). A description of the role of the Management Services function has been included in order to highlight my particular links with other functions of the

business as the Management Services Manager. Also included in this chapter is a thesis structure outlining the approach taken throughout the research.

CHAPTER TWO - Organisational Cultures - Concepts, Theories and Research

In order to understand the complexities and diverse concepts of culture, as applied to organisations, a detailed research programme was carried out into past and current cultures. The first part of the Chapter is an examination of the links between cultural anthropology, organisational theory and the popular corporate culture studies. Drawing on current popular views and methodologies, a review was then carried out on the approach used to study cultures in organisational settings. The final section of the Chapter covers the debate between the single homogeneous culture and the viewing of culture from a multicultural view point.

CHAPTER THREE - Research Methodology

This Chapter is a detailed account of the methodologies used throughout the research. The research methodology used to analyse and understand the cultural and managerial differences in the Distribution depots, was broadly based on methods used in ethnographic studies within an inductivist framework. Covert and overt participant observation techniques were supplemented by semi-structured interviews at the regional level and at the Burton Headquarters. The main findings from the research were supported by statistical analysis, collection of life histories, psychometric testing and general observations. Although a clearly defined research approach was planned at the beginning of the research, because of the many changes occurring throughout the research, a flexible methodological approach was used.

CHAPTER FOUR - Fieldwork - Bass Cultures 15 Distribution Depots

This Chapter is a detailed account of the first stage of the fieldwork which was carried out in the 15 Bass Brewers North Distribution depots. Detailed 'culture audits' were carried out in each depot and revealed the existence of subcultures, some of which were supportive and others subversive in relation to the Bass 'corporate culture' as perceived by the board. Based on participant observation, historical analysis and interviews, the cultural differences in the regional depots were categorised as being either counter, enhancing or changing cultures. The differences in the depots, for example, the beliefs and values, leadership styles and the high or low resistance to change, stemmed from the different subculture types.

CHAPTER FIVE - Fieldwork - Subculture and Corporate Culture Analysis

Following the identification of the three subculture groupings, a more detailed analysis was carried out in three representative depots and compared and contrasted with the Bass Brewers culture as a whole. The objective of this analysis was to ascertain the degree to which the beliefs and values of the core culture are dispersed throughout the three subculture groupings. In order to assess cultural dispersion, interviews were conducted with managers and their subordinates in the different subcultures and in other regions i.e. Bass Scotland, Bass South and Burton Headquarters.

CHAPTER SIX - Culture Management and Organisational Performance

Culture management and culture change programmes are linked by the many proponents of culture control to superior performance levels and competitive advantage. This Chapter is a review and discussion of the past research carried out in three key areas: culture management and leadership; cultural change; and cultural impact on outcomes. The key questions addressed in this Chapter are can culture be managed or changed, and

assuming culture or parts of it can be changed, what effect if any has this on organisational performance? Additionally the detailed interviews with senior and middle level managers within Bass, and the analysis carried out at local distribution level, is used to focus on the three key areas of leadership, culture change and performance.

CHAPTER SEVEN - An Insider's Perspective of an Organisation's Culture and Subcultures - A Conclusion

The concluding Chapter is a review of the thesis findings based on an insider's view of the methodological approach to the research, understanding and control of organisational subcultures. The Chapter draws on the conclusions from the main sections of the thesis to formulate overall conclusions and identify further research in the area of subcultures in organisational settings. Additionally, the contribution of the thesis to existing knowledge is highlighted and various models are presented which provide a clearer understanding of subcultures in organisations. In line with the contribution of the thesis to existing knowledge, the three main sections of the Chapter covers: the methodological approach used by a manager, as an insider, carrying out research in his own organisation; the impact and importance of subcultures on management of change, and the implications for Bass on the thesis findings on culture, subcultures and managerial control.

1.7 Conclusion

This Chapter has given a brief overview of the long history and tradition of brewing under the trade name of Bass, and has highlighted changes over the years and up to the current situation. The importance of understanding the history and traditional ways of working at Bass will become apparent throughout the thesis as this is a key issue in understanding the origins of the various subcultures and how they have developed and changed over the years. There had been little significant changes in working practices in the brewing industry up to the 1989 MMC report. The MMC report and the subsequent

DTI orders has had a significant effect on Bass and other major brewers in the UK. The report, which increased competition, forced Bass to introduce strategic change which resulted in a change in their traditional ways of working.

As the Bass organisation restructured itself and placed a strategic focus on customer service, the Distribution function became part of a major change programme. The thesis focuses on the Distribution function which throughout the research went through a great deal of change. The response to the changes and the management of the changes within what is a multicultural organisation was monitored as part of the thesis focus. Changes of the magnitude experienced by functions in Bass are rarely monitored 'as it happens', in this case I was fortunate to be carrying out research during an unprecedented period of change.

My role as Management Services Manager in the Bass North region and on National projects, enabled me to carry out detailed research in all areas of the business. From this position I was able to compare cultural differences and validate my findings from the fieldwork in the regional Distribution Depots. Theoretical development stemmed from the source data collected throughout the Bass organisation and the use of qualitative data analysis. Although my role gave me access to observe and collect data, the nature of the role i.e. work study, made informants cautious when supplying data and answering questions. Much of this caution was in part due to the perception and links between Management Services and efficiency, which for many years has been associated with increased worker utilisation levels, de-skilling and manning reductions. Working and developing theory from an insider's perspective in this situation was therefore not an easy task. This situation was exacerbated by the fact that the organisation was going through many changes and many employees were concerned about their position in the organisation.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER ONE

Farrar S (1988)

Materials Management in Manufacturing Organisations - Unpublished MSc Dissertation - Sheffield Business School

Hawkins K H (1978)

A History of Bass Charrington - University Press, Oxford.

Hammer M (1990)

Re-engineering Work: Don't Automate, Obliterate - Harvard Business Review July/August pp 104-112

Humphreys R (1991)

Bass view on the changing beer market - Brewing and Distilling International September pp70-71

Louis M R (1985)

An Investigator's Guide to Workplace Culture -in- Organisational Culture ed. P J Frost et al, Sage Publications.

Morgan G(1986)

Images of Organisations - Sage Publications

Monopolies and Mergers Commission Report (1989)

The Supply of Beer - A report on the supply of beer for retail sale in the United Kingdom. Her Majesty's Stationary Office

Owen C C (1992)

The Greatest Brewery in the World - A History of Bass, Ratcliffe and Gretton Derbyshire Record Society Vol XIX.

Pettigrew A M (1979)

On Studying Organisational Cultures - Administrative Science Quarterly 24 pp 570-581

Schein E H (1984)

Coming to a New Awareness of Organisational Culture - Sloan Management Review, pp 3-16

Thackeray J (1993)

Fads, Fixes, and fictions - Management Today June pp 40-42

CHAPTER 2

ORGANISATIONAL CULTURES - CONCEPTS, THEORIES AND RESEARCH

CHAPTER TWO

2. Organisational Cultures - Concepts, Theories and Research

The concept of culture in organisational settings has been found by academics, consultants and managers to be both complex and difficult to define. Although the word culture is now very much a part of the manager's vocabulary, generally used in the context of 'changing' existing or 'creating' new cultures, the concepts and theories of this relatively new phenomenon in organisations, are extremely diverse and little understood by the managers themselves. It is evident that, ten years on from the popular best selling writings of Peters and Waterman, 'In search of excellence', Deal and Kennedy, 'Corporate Cultures' and Ouchi, 'Theory Z', the notion of culture management is still in vogue and considered by top management to be feasible, and an essential feature of management of change. Gaining control of, and being able to manipulate an organisation's culture is considered by many authors and managers to greatly influence corporate effectiveness. The popularity of the corporate culture concept within organisations continues despite criticisms by many academics, who consider that the possibility of managing culture as a control mechanism has a pro-management bias and lacks the support of empirically sound research data, for example, Meek (1988), Gregory (1983), Smircich (1983), Johnson and Gill (1993).

The main focus of this thesis is to put forward a theory which argues, firstly that, large complex organisations are composed of multiple possibly conflicting cultures, and secondly that, an organisation's corporate culture and it's subcultures cannot be readily changed. It is also argued that any attempts to 'quickly' change an organisation's culture(s) are not likely to succeed. Although many changes to working practices may be perceived as being culture control as a result of behavioural compliance, successful changes need to be internalised. It is argued

throughout this thesis that internalisation of changes is more likely to result from a move away from centrally command driven structures towards the empowering of middle managers to manage their own subculture(s) within broad parameters. In order to achieve any success in culture change programmes, a clearer understanding of the concepts of culture is required by managers at all levels.

The Chapter has three main sections which provide an understanding of the diverse concepts of culture which have been taken from anthropology and developed in the field of business and management. The first section provides a clearer understanding of the various schools of thought relating to cultural anthropology and organisational theory, and analyses the conceptualisation, interpretation, and definition of culture in both areas of anthropology and organisations. The second section examines the plethora of research carried out on the single 'monolithic' corporate culture and the link between strong cultures, 'excellent companies' and enhanced performance. The third section examines the 'pluralistic' view of culture in terms of multiple cultures and subcultural perspectives.

2.1 Cultural Anthropology and Organisational Theory

It is not surprising that managers, when asked to define culture, interpret the meaning and specify the characteristics in many different ways. The extensive literature on the culture concept, in which researchers and authors interpret, conceptualise and define culture, is extremely diffuse. Sackmann (1992, p141) argues that many authors tend to explain and use the variety of concepts in different ways, "creating some conceptual confusion and ambiguity".

Definitions of culture, in both the anthropological and organisational theory literature, are wide ranging with no real consensus on its meaning. Kroeber and Kluckhohn

(1952) for example, are often cited in the literature for their list of over 250 definitions. Definitions vary depending on the researchers association or leanings towards a particular anthropological or management school, and the researcher's personal assumptions made about organisation and culture:

"Culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, law, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society " (Tylor 1924 p1).

"Corporate culture is a pattern of shared beliefs and values that shapes the meaning of an institution for its members and provides them with rules for behaviour" (Davis 1985 p138).

"Culture is a system of historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life" (Geertz 1973 p89).

The last definition, relating to the understanding of culture as systems of shared meanings, is from the symbolic school of anthropology which is one of several cultural perspectives taken from the field of anthropology and used to research and interpret organisational cultures. In addition to the infinite number of definitions and in view of the evasive nature of the culture concept, it has also been referred to as 'being akin to a black hole which allows no light to escape' (Maanan 1988) 'the invisible barrier' (Lorsch 1986) and 'the missing link' (Kilmann (1986). These definitions and recent references lead many 'nonanthropologists' to assume that there has been no real progress in conceptualising culture since Benedict's book 'Patterns of Culture' in 1934, implying that "the concept is outdated and ambiguous and that its use is an indicator of obscurantism in anthropology" (LeVine 1985 p67).

Although there is no clear consensus on the definition of culture in either areas of social anthropology or organisational theory, over the years there has been separately recognised and combined characteristics of the organisational culture construct (Hofstede et al 1990 p286): it is holistic, historically determined, related to anthropological concepts, socially constructed, 'soft' and difficult to change. These characteristics and many more identified throughout the literature are the subject of debate between academics and managers who pursue the culture concept from many different angles.

Although the link between cultural anthropology and the concept of organisational culture is an important one it is also a 'fuzzy' one. In order to understand the concept of culture in organisational settings a clearer understanding of the anthropological origins is required.

Historically the social anthropologists' main research interest has been, and still is, in the way men live as members of ordered societies. To this end the anthropologist seeks to identify and understand the 'structure' of the society and the 'processes' of social interaction within it. Generally, the fieldwork approach used to research and understand the culture of these societies varies depending on the anthropologists particular 'school'. However, the direct contact ethnographic approach of extended 'participant observation' is widely used. Anthropologists use this approach, representing themselves as "marginal natives" (Freilich, 1970) or "professional strangers" (Agar, 1980), in order to understand the complex behaviour patterns and systems of meanings of the research subjects from an insider's perspective. A key metaphor for the anthropologist and one which is often quoted in varying forms in the organisational culture literature is the viewing of the world, societies or organisations as a stage, theatre or arena in which the behaviour patterns of the actors are researched. The actual ethnography is the written account of the observer's experience and interpretation of the culture from a native view point. In the

management field anthropologist Gregory (1983) recommends the native-view approach to corporate culture studies as it avoids, in her view, the pro-management bias stemming from the structural-functionalist school.

Throughout the literature on cultural anthropology familiar manifestations of culture, currently being used in the corporate culture studies, can be found ie symbols, norms, myths, values, beliefs, ritual, artefacts, and stories.

Although Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown are considered to be the founders of social anthropology in Britain and are linked by many writers to the current corporate culture studies through their functionalism and structural functionalism theories, several other schools exist and have greatly influenced past and current organisational research and theory.

Many authors have presented a précis of these different schools of thought within cultural anthropology and then linked this to past and current approaches to research into organisational cultures eg. Pettigrew (1979), Gregory (1983), Smircich (1983), Allaire & Firsirotu (1984), Meek (1988), Barley Meyer & Gash (1988), Hofstede et al (1990) and Sackmann (1992). For example, Smircich in summarising the various anthropological schools, identifies five distinct areas in which the concept of culture has been used to research organisations, linking this to cultural anthropology, management research and organisational theory. In two of the five areas, the study of cultural differences in organisations and different countries, and the study of corporate cultures, culture is linked to the anthropological areas of functionalism and structural functionalism represented by Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown respectively.

These two areas are considered by Smircich to represent the viewing of culture by current researchers as a variable. In the remaining three areas, covering

organisational cognition, organisational symbolism, and unconscious processes, Smircich links these to the cognitive (ethnoscience), symbolic, and structuralist schools represented by Goodenough, Geertz, and Levi-Strauss respectively. These three areas are allocated the second category of viewing organisational culture as a 'root metaphor' for conceptualising organisation. These two distinct areas of research and theories are considered by Smircich as either, viewing culture in terms of something an organisation has, (from a variable perspective) or, in terms of what an organisation is (from an interpretative perspective).

Allaire & Firsirotu (1984, p194), in line with work carried out by Keesing (1974), and Swartz and Jordan (1980), identify eight schools and divide the various cultural anthropologists' views into two major theoretical classifications, firstly as a component of the social system (sociocultural) and secondly as a conceptually separate system (ideational). Keesing (1981 p68), refers to the sociocultural system as "the pattern of residence and resource exploitation characteristic of people", and the ideational system as "systems of shared ideas, systems of concepts and rules and meanings that underlie and are expressed in the ways that humans live". These two distinct areas had been earlier clarified by Goodenough (1961), who argues that anthropologists use the term culture to relate to two distinct meanings, firstly relating culture to observable phenomena and secondly to an organised system of ideas and beliefs. Sathe (1986, p234) uses the term 'adaptationist' rather than 'sociocultural' when referring to culture as "what is directly observable about patterns of behaviour, speech, and material objects", and identifies the ideational school with what is shared in community members' minds (beliefs, values, and ideas).

In addition to the variable and interpretative perspectives, Sanday (1979), Sackmann (1992) consider the 'holistic' style of study which is linked to configurationalists Benedict and Mead, and funtionalists Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown. This approach attempts to integrate several aspects of the culture concept, including

cognitive, behavioural, emotive and artefactual, and considers it as one unified whole (Sackmann 1992, p18). This approach involves 'viewing' both the intangible and tangible aspects of culture in order to gain an understanding of the cultural whole. Sackmann considers this approach to be difficult in terms of requiring extended ethnographic research, and argues that many researchers tend to focus on either the tangible or intangible aspects of the organisation's culture. Referring to Sanday's work, Gregory (1983) splits the holistic approach into 'explanatory holistic paradigms' (linking this to the structural-functional paradigm) and 'interpretative holistic paradigms' (linking this to the interpretative configurationalist theories of Boas and Benedict). Although Gregory criticises this perspective, an integrated approach to the culture concept, and bringing together the variable and interpretative modes of research, may be more sensible than concentrating on one perspective.

Sackmann (1992), for example, considers that a more simplistic approach to the complex concept of culture may help to unravel the complexities and resolve the many definitional conflicts. This approach to the understanding of culture as an integrated whole is not a new concept and has been the subject of considerable debate in both cultural anthropology and organisational theory. However, in applying the holistic perspective and considering culture as an integrated whole, an organisation's sub-cultures should be recognised and researched as important parts of that whole.

Meyerson and Martin (1987) consider three very different views of culture and culture change in organisations. They argue that the three approaches to culture research can be described as: integration; differentiation and ambiguity.
In the integration paradigm the focus is on the shared value philosophy of senior management as prescribed by Peters and Waterman (1982) and Deal and Kennedy (1982). Three key issues are highlighted in the integration paradigm, "consistency across cultural manifestations, consensus among cultural members, and - usually - a focus on leaders as culture creators" (Meyerson and Martin (1987 p625).

In the second paradigm differentiation, in contrast to integration, emphasis is on cultural diversity and the importance of subcultures in organisations. Within this approach "organisations are not simply a single, monolithic dominant culture. Instead, a culture is composed of a collection of values and manifestations, some of which may be contradictory" (Meyerson and Martin 1987 p630).

The third paradigm ambiguity, contrasts with integration and differentiation in terms of the acceptance of ambiguity. Meyerson and Martin (1987 p637) argue that in the third paradigm culture is neither harmonious or made up of conflicting subcultures. Rather, "individuals share some viewpoints, disagree about some, and are ignorant or indifferent to others".

Although the theories relating to cultural anthropological research are diverse the current corporate culture and organisational studies can be split into three distinct conceptual approaches, styles or perspectives. Although there is considerable overlap in both definition and use, the three perspectives can be broadly grouped into 'variable' 'interpretative' and 'holistic'. (see Figure 2.1)

The diagram shows the anthropological and organisational theory links as identified by Allaire and Firsirotu (1984) Smircich (1983) and Sackmann (1992), and draws on distinctions made by Goodenough (1961), Keesing (1974, 1981) and Swartz and Jordan (1980) in relation to the sociocultural and ideational approaches to the use of term culture.

The current research approaches have been sectioned into three distinct culture research areas of comparative, corporate and organisational culture studies. The comparative management studies are represented for example, by the work of Hofstede (1980) Ouchi (1981). The corporate culture studies are, for example, represented by the plethora of research carried by Peters and Waterman, and the

organisation studies are represented for instance by the works of Gregory and Smircich. A distinction has been made between 'corporate culture studies' and 'organisational culture studies' in order to differentiate the 'managerialist' literature from the 'interpretative' view of the culture concept. Although it is accepted that there is considerable overlap in the many perspectives, the integrated and differentiated paradigms of Meyerson and Martin (1987) are considered to be linked to the variable and interpretative perspectives respectively. It is also recognised that the integrated approach can be linked to the holistic approach which views culture as an integrated whole.

Figure 2.1 attempts to simplify the complexities of cultural anthropology and relate it to the current corporate and organisational studies. The general debate when researching organisational cultures is the question of variability ie can culture be managed, manipulated or created to satisfy corporate objectives? or is it something which is "deeply embedded in the contextual richness of the total social life of organisational members" (Meek 1988 p463). The former view can be described as a "managerialist" or "pro-management" approach to culture and can be broadly linked to anthropologists who view culture as an "sociocultural system". This view is also linked to the Human Relations school of management who consider culture as an organisational variable which can be controlled to satisfy management needs. The latter view leans more towards the approach taken by anthropologists who view culture as an "ideational" system, and the researchers who view culture from an interpretative stand point.

Figure 2.1

CULTURE CONCEPTS - ANTHROPOLOGICAL, ORGANISATIONAL AND CURRENT RESEARCH LINKS

	FUNCTIONALIST	STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONALIST	HISTORICAL DIFFUSIONIST (Historical Particularist)	ECOLOGICAL ADAPTATIONIST (Cultural Materialism)	COGNITIVE (Ethnoscience)	STRUCTURALIST	MUTUAL EQUIVALENCE	SYMBOLISM (Semiotic)
ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCHOOLS								
ANTHROPOLOGICAL THEORISTS	Malinowski (1944)	Radcliffe-Brown (1952)	Boas (1948) Benedict (1934) Kroeber (1917)	Steward (1955) White (1959) Harris (1964)	Goodenough (1971)	Levi-Strauss	Wallace	Turner (1967) Geertz (1973)
MANAGEMENT SCHOOLS	HUMAN RELATIONS / SELF ACTUALISING MAN	COMPLEX MAN	-	OPEN SYSTEMS / CONTINGENCY THEORY	ORG CLIMATE / ORG LEARNING	-	-	-
MANAGEMENT THEORISTS	Mayo, Roethlisberger et al Maslow, McGregor, Likert, Argyris	Schein, Bennis	Chandler	Katz & Kahn Lawrence & Lorch	Schnieder Argyris & Schon	March & Simon		
CURRENT RESEARCH APPROACHES	COMPARATIVE MANAGEMENT STUDIES	CORPORATE CULTURE STUDIES			ORGANISATIONAL STUDIES			
CURRENT AUTHORS	Hofstede (1980) Pascale & Athos (1981) Ouchi (1981)	Schwartz & Davis (1981) Peters & Waterman (1982) Deal & Kennedy (1982)			Smircich (1983) Morgan (1980) Gregory (1983) Sackman (1990)			
ORGANISAT-IONAL CULTURE-CONCEPTUAL APPROACH	VARIABLE PERSPECTIVE — INTEGRATION — Sociocultural System (culture is what an organisation has)			HOLISTIC PERSPECTIVE — Generic Constructs (culture is viewed as a whole)	INTERPRETATIVE PERSPECTIVE — DIFFERENTIATION — Ideational System (culture is what an organisation is)			

A significant major shift in cultural anthropological thinking occurred in the mid 50's with a move from 'culture as behaviourism' to 'culture as knowledge'. This division between the behaviourist and cognitive schools is still an issue for debate in both anthropological and organisational areas.

As identified in Figure 2.1, the different conceptual approaches of variable versus interpretative or sociocultural versus ideational and the holistic integrated perspective, are underpinned by eight anthropological schools. These are discussed briefly below:

Functionalism

The history of functionalism is firmly linked to the work of Malinowski (1944) and Radcliffe-Brown (1952), who although they differed in their derivatives of culture, were both interested in the viewing of culture as a 'complex integrated whole'. Their main differences stemmed from their respective definitions and understanding of 'function', and its relationship with 'social structure'. Malinowski for example, did not relate function to social structure and believed that culture could be explained or is derived from the biological needs of man. Radcliffe-Brown on the other hand considered that any definition of functionalism should include reference to social structure, arguing that function was the "contribution" an institution makes to the maintenance of social structure (Sanday, 1979 p. 530). This stance gave birth to the theories relating to the structural functionalist school of which Radcliffe-Brown (1949, p.322) wrote "this theory of society in terms of structure and process, interconnected by function has nothing in common with the theory of culture as derived from individual biological needs".

The viewing of organisational culture as an organisational 'variable' has its roots mainly in the anthropological areas of functionalism, (Malinowski 1944) and Structural-functionalism, (Radcliffe-Brown 1952). The functionalist paradigm

having great influence on classical management and contingency theory over the years and on the recent emergence of corporate culture studies. Burrell & Morgan (1979 p26) consider that functionalism "is characterised by a concern for providing explanations of the status quo, social order, consensus, solidarity, and actuality. It approaches these general sociological concerns from a standpoint which tends to be realist, positivist, determinist, and nomothetic".

The anthropological roots of functionalism are linked by many authors to past management theorists in organisation theory and development eg. Jacques (1952), Harrison (1972), Mayo (1933), Roethlisberger and Dickson (1939), Maslow (1954), and McGregor (1960). For example, Gregory (1983) considers that there is very little difference between these past theorists and the approach taken to the current corporate culture studies. Meek (1988), Smircich (1983), and many others agree with Gregory and link the current corporate culture studies to the structural-functionalist and functionalist schools of anthropology.

Historical Diffusionist

The historical diffusionist school or historical particularism as it is sometimes referred, stems primarily from the work of Boas, Benedict and Mead. Although this school and its theorists are similar to Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski, in their study of culture as a 'complex integrated whole' the historical diffusionist school was more interested in the historical nature of culture, in terms of historical reconstruction, and the relationship between historical factors and cultural transformation. Allaire and Firsirotu (1984, p202) link this school, although not directly, to the study of organisations "as historically produced sociocultural systems", and identify the closely related work of Chandler (1962, 1977), Stinchcombe (1965) and Filey and House (1969). More recently the work of Schein (1983), considers the notion of culture formation and historical transformation of values, norms and beliefs from the

original founder of the organisation through generations of owners and managers. In further work (1984 p13) he argues that "by constructing a careful organisational biography from documents, interviews, and perhaps even surveys of present and past key members, it is possible to identify the major periods of culture formation".

Ecological Adaptationist

The Ecological adaptationist or cultural materialism school is represented by the work of Steward (1955), White (1959), and Harris (1964). The theorists within this school stress the important link between ecological adaptation and culture formation. Harris (1964), for example, considers that the development of cultural traditions and customs is governed by the biological needs for survival within the environment, and that the maintenance of an adaptive relationship is the key. Allaire and Firsirotu link this environmental adaptation school to the open systems theory of Katz and Kahn (1966) and contingency theory of Lawrence and Lorch (1967) and Burns and Stalker (1961).

Cognitive

The cognitive (ethnoscience) school was pioneered to a great extent by Goodenough (1957), and has much in common with the structuralism of Levi-Strauss (1958). As mentioned earlier the move from behaviourism in the mid 1950's was in the direction of cultural knowledge. Goodenough and anthropologists from other schools including Geertz (1973), Schneider (1975) and Wallace (1970), presented arguments that culture consists not of things that we can observe, count, and measure nor is it patterns of behaviour, it is shared information or knowledge encoded in systems of symbols (D'Andrade 1984, Keesing 1981).

In the literature the cognitive perspective is linked to various authors and theorists in management research. For example, Smircich (1983) and Allaire and Firsiroto (1984) cite the work of Argyris and Schon (1978) who view organisations as 'cognitive enterprises' and along with many other researchers view organisations as networks of shared understandings or meanings. The work of Schneider (1975) and the concept of 'organisational climate' is linked by Allaire and Firsiroto to the cognitive school, who consider the concept to be a first attempt at conceptualising culture in organisational settings.

Structuralist

The structural or psychodynamic perspective, as developed in France by Levi-Strauss, focuses on the deep structures of thought and the unconscious psychological processes of the human mind. Levi-Strauss considers that man communicates by symbols and that the way symbols are constructed reflects the structure of the human brain. In the management literature, Turner (1977, 1983) is cited for his structuralist approach to the study of 'differences between bureaucratic and industrial arrangements' (1977) and 'the diagnosis of organisational conflicts' (1983).

Mutual Equivalence

There is very little reference in the literature to the mutual equivalence school other than the work of Wallace (1970) as identified by Allaire and Firsirotu (1983). Wallace does not consider shared values, beliefs, norms or meanings in his concept of culture, his fundamental approach is to view culture as "a system of instrumental cognitions, mutually predictive of behaviour, which nevertheless allow human beings with very different motivations and cognitive orientations to organise co-operative strivings and participate in the social life of a community" (Allaire and Firsurotu 1983 p205). In the more recent management literature the work of Ouchi (1981) and the

notion of ideal-type organisations 'A' 'J' and 'Z', type 'A' is linked to Wallace's

concept. The type 'A' (American) organisation is characterised by 'limited contractual

relations between employees'. This is in contrast with the type 'Z' (an American type

with Japanese-like characteristics) organisation which is characterised by holistic

relations between employees.

Symbolism

The symbolic school is represented in the literature mainly by the work of Geertz in

his book 'The Interpretation of Cultures' (1973). Anthropologist Geertz and many

others from the symbolic school, view cultures as 'systems of shared meanings'.

According to Keesing (1981, p70) anthropologists who apply the symbolic

perspective to analysis of organisational culture, identify culture as consisting "not of

things and events that we can observe, count, and measure: it consists of shared ideas

and meanings". In sharp contrast to the cognitive school who consider culture as

being in the minds of individuals, Geertz argues that cultures are systems of 'public

meanings' not private codes in the minds of individuals (Keesing 1980, p71).

In relation to the study of culture in organisational settings, and in particular the

understanding of symbols and the interpretation of their meanings, Smircich (1983,

p351) identifies the work of Manning's (1979) study of the world of detectives,

Smircich (1983), study of the world of executive staff of an insurance company, and

studies of police: Pacanowsky and Anderson (1981) and Van Maanen (1973, 1977).

Smircich (1983) and Geertz (1973) consider that this approach to the study of

organisational cultures involves an analysis of how individuals interpret their

experiences and how these interpretations guide their actions. In Geertz's view "man

is an animal suspended in webs of significance that he himself has spun, and that

culture are those webs" (Sanday, 1979 p532).

Within the symbolic school Allaire and Firsirotu identify two contrasting sub-schools which are identified in the management literature as 'actionalist' and 'institutional'. Collectively the actionalists and institutionalists agree that "an organisation, as a result of the unique conjunction of its genesis, history, sociocultural context, technology, and successive leadership, may secrete and sustain its own system of symbols and meanings, widely shared by the organisation's members and instrumental in eliciting or rationalising their commitment to the organisation" (Allaire and Firsirotu 1984 p207). Although both these schools link organisational culture with the organisations history and past leadership, they differ on the emphasis.

For example, Pettigrew (1979) is identified with the institutional school for his strong views on the historical and leadership links with culture and the birth, growth, and evolution of organisations. On the topic of symbolism and the creation of organisation cultures, Pettigrew (1979, p573) identifies the work of Selznick, (1957) and Clark, (1972) for their approaches to the historical and leadership links to the culture concept. Pettigrew, Selznick, and Clark consider that leaders past and present are creators of both the tangible parts of the organisation and the less visible aspects ie symbols, ideologies, languages, beliefs, rituals, and myths (Pettigrew 1990). The 'actionalist' perspective is linked to the work of Silverman (1970) who although he agrees with the institutional concept, puts less emphasis on historical events and past leadership and concentrates on the 'shaping' of the organisation by present participants or leaders.

Although there are different views in the literature regarding the links between culture formation, the birth of the organisation, founders, past and current leaders, most authors "seem to agree with Selznick that the founder and leader is the major force in shaping, maintaining, and perpetuating culture in an organisation" Sackmann (1992, p29).

By reviewing the various anthropological schools, the related management theory and the current culture studies, a clearer picture has emerged regarding conceptual approaches to culture. Although the individual schools pursue their specific theories, there is considerable overlap which makes deciphering the different perspectives very difficult. The themes in both anthropological and organisational areas fall into two main perspectives, the variable (sociocultural) and interpretative (ideational). A third perspective which can be considered as covering the variable and interpretative approaches is the holistic view which according to Sackmann (1992 p23) "may eventually render a comprehensive picture of culture in organisations". The unification of the various aspects and concepts of culture, and thus viewing it as an integrated whole, is an interesting prospect. Sackmann (1992), however, considers that although this approach would highlight the multifaceted nature of culture, it would require a detailed extended ethnography. Nevertheless this approach could be used to view the tangible and intangible aspects of an organisations culture and subcultures.

A key area in the research into an organisation's culture(s) is the understanding of the constituent parts or subunits and identifying or understanding cultural shifts, and the underlying reasons why and how cultures change over time. From a standpoint of viewing culture from a 'multifarious perspective' using generic models, a framework can be developed for the study of culture(s) in organisational settings (see Figure 2.2).

The framework is intended as a workable research platform based on the assumption that :

* An extended ethnography by an internal or external researcher is feasible within the host organisation.

* Access to historical data and performance statistics is available over a long period of time.

* The organisations core or dominant culture and its sub-cultures are viewed not only independently but also as parts of the cultural whole.

* Access to past and present 'leaders' and 'subordinates' for interview purposes in order to identify significant events.

The viewing of culture as being multifarious which consists of both behaviouralistic and cognitive dimensions, and consists of sub-cultures which may be supportive or counter productive would appear to be a more fruitful approach than concentrating on one aspect or approach to the culture concept. The framework shown in Figure 2.2 is a guide to studying cultures in large geographically dispersed organisations which are likely to posses multiple cultures or sub-cultures, and is the general framework used to study the Bass cultures which are discussed further in Chapter 4 and 5.

Figure 2.2 suggests that organisations should be viewed as multicultural with each subunit being separate from the dominant culture. The dominant culture refers and relates to the ideals of senior management.

Figure 2.2   **A Generic Framework for Studying Cultures and Sub-cultures in Organisational Settings**

2.2   Culture Studies in Organisational Settings

In addition to the work carried out on defining and understanding culture and how the culture concept should be approached, there has been a plethora of research carried out on corporate cultures and the link between "strong" cultures and enhanced performance. Many critics of this research consider it to be a 'superficial fad', for example, (Allaire and Firsirotu 1984, Meek 1988, Hofstede et al 1990), and that the concept is 'sold' to corporate managers as a panacea for the creation of a homogeneous culture which will serve to satisfy the corporate objectives of the business. Much of this research and the consultants 'selling' solutions to 'problem' cultures, refer to the possible creation of 'corporate cultures', 'quality cultures', 'customer service cultures', 'productivity cultures', 'entrepreneurial cultures' and so on, relating the culture concept to a tangible organisational variable which is within the control of management.

Kilmann et al. (1986 p92) who are proponents of the concept of culture management and culture change, consider that the corporate culture concept is too important to be considered a 'fad'. They argue that "culture is the social energy that drives or fails to drive the organisation", and that culture therefore may have a 'positive' or 'negative' impact on organisational outcomes.

Much of the impetus for the interest in the culture concept in organisations came initially as a reaction to Japanese excellence in manufacturing and the means by which this excellence was achieved. The 'strong' or 'weak', 'homogeneous' or 'heterogeneous' corporate culture concept has been identified by many authors as an explanation for productivity differences across different countries and different organisations. In particular the Japanese versus American comparative studies of organisational performance carried out by Pascale and Athos (1981) and Ouchi

(1981), focused on the Japanese managerial culture and 'the Japanese way of doing things'.

The marketing of the corporate culture concept is carried out in very much the same way as the 'hard' technologies of J.I.T., M.R.P., C.I.M and T.Q.M. was in the 70's in that they were considered as a route to improved performance by adopting the 'worlds best practice'. Gill and Whittle (1993 p281) argue that many of these consultant led improvements to performance "seem to proceed through phases of high enthusiasm and much activity followed by a period of disillusionment, to be replaced by the next stage panacea". The main difference being that production, information technology and quality systems, although difficult to introduce and gain acceptance of change, are tangible parts of an organisation and the benefits of their introduction can be easily quantified. Culture on the other hand, is an invisible, intangible 'soft' side of an organisation which is very difficult to measure, manage or change. The approach taken by the corporate culture researchers who see culture very much as a variable part of the organisation and the sole property of management, is based on the assumption of an amenable flexible workforce.

Although the research carried out on the links between culture strength and performance have been widely acclaimed, certain authors have reservations on the research methods applied and the assumptions being made. For example, Gregory (1983) considers that the corporate culture studies are pro-management and not substantially different from past Human Relations research which aimed to illustrate the impact of irrational human factors on rational corporate objectives, for example, the work of Mayo (1933) and Roethlisberger and Dickson 1939). Gregory's view is that organisations are better viewed as multicultural in order to identify the cohesive and divisive functions of culture. Meek (1988 p455) argues that many of the corporate culture studies are "linked to the interests of management and which promulgate the idea that 'culture ' is the collective consciousness of the organisation,

'owned' by management and available to management for manipulation". Meek relates the cause of this to be the result of 'borrowing' from just one field of cultural anthropology ie. structural-functionalism. Gregory (1983 p361), linking the Human Relations School with the structural-functional paradigm, argues that the past research "enabled scientific managers to better control subordinates by taking workers' cultural reactions into account". Referring to the work of Kanter (1977), Gregory emphasises the pro-management bias of this past research and considers it to be similar to the current approach to corporate culture studies. Meek (1988) reviewing the work of Kilmann (1985) 'Gaining control of the corporate culture', and Ackroyd and Crowdy (1990 p5), in their 'autonomous' work group study of slaughtermen, question the feasibility of culture management and control and "whether cultures of excellence can be generated by managerial action or whether what happens is that cultures are gratuitously hijacked when possible by self-serving managerial groups, happy to co-opt the sub-culture of work groups when it works to their advantage".

A great deal of this research, so called the strong culture hypothesis, was advanced by Baker (1980), Ouchi (1981), Schwartz and Davis (1981), Deal and Kennedy (1982), Peters and Waterman (1982), Dennison (1984), and Wilkins (1984). These writers, and many others throughout the late 1970's and early 1980's, argued that 'managing' corporate culture is the key to corporate success and that successful organisations have strong homogeneous cultures with distinctive traits in terms of shared values, beliefs and behaviour patterns. Additionally they proposed that organisations create myths and legends, engage in rites and rituals and are governed through shared symbols and customs (Meek 1988).

High performance organisations such as IBM, Hewlett-Packard, Procter and Gamble, and Macdonalds are cited by Peters and Waterman (1982) as organisations having a highly developed set of managerial values and beliefs which are part of their organisational culture. The shared belief of many of these researchers and

management is that culture is an organisational variable and therefore can be manipulated or reshaped, and that supportive cultures can be created giving better organisational performance. Barney (1986 p 658), for example, in considering culture as 'a source of competitive advantage', argues that in order to achieve sustained superior performance the organisation's culture must be valuable, rare, and imperfectly imitable. Barney's argument is that an organisation which has a unique culture which cannot be copied will be in a far superior position than its competitors. Drawing on the work of Clark (1972), Barney links an organisation's uniqueness to the possible embodiment of cultural manifestations in an organisation's unique history. He proposes that "a firm with a history significantly different from that of a firm whose culture it would like to imitate may find an unbridgeable barrier to imitation. If the firm's culture is also valuable and rare, then it may enjoy a sustainable competitive advantage".

Deal & Kennedy (1982), in their research into 80 companies, found that successful companies place a great deal of emphasis on shared values, for example:-

-       They stand for something, that is they have a clear and explicit philosophy about how they aim to conduct their business.

-       Management pays a great deal of attention to shaping and fine tuning these values to conform to the economical and business environment of the company and to communicating them to the organisation.

-       These values are known and shared by all the people who work for the company.

Deal and Kennedy feel that employees at all levels are more supportive of the business they work in if they understand what the company stands for. They identify 'slogans' such as:-

Caterpillar   -   '24-hour parts service anywhere in the world' -

                                indicating a commitment to satisfying customer needs.

Continental Bank   -   'We'll find a way' (to meet customer needs).

Although Deal and Kennedy see shared values as being a pre-requisite for success

they do make the point that when economic circumstances change 'shared values may

continue to guide behaviour in ways no longer helpful to the organisation's success.'

It is suggested that organisations who do not have these shared values and specific

traits are less successful and possess weak heterogeneous cultures. However, there is

very little evidence in the way of empirical research which shows this to be the case.

Hofstede et al. (1990), in their empirical study of organisation cultures in twenty

units from ten different organisations in Denmark and the Netherlands, concluded that

'shared perceptions of daily practices' not 'shared values' are the core of an

organisation's culture. Their findings contradict the prescriptions put forward by

many authors and proponents of the shared value philosophy, who assume that the

values of the founders, leaders and corporate heroes are shared by all members of the

organisation. Hofstede et al. (p311) concluded that "the values of founders and key

leaders undoubtedly shape organisational cultures but that the way these cultures

affect ordinary members is through shared practices". This view of passing on

leaders' views to members practices is linked by Hofstede et al. to the work of Weber

(1948 p297) who asserts that "when the organisation of authority becomes permanent,

the staff supporting the charismatic leader becomes routinised."

The 'excellent company' concept and the 'shared value' philosophy has been critically

reviewed and criticised by many authors who consider many of the best selling books

to be too populist, too idealistic and methodologically poor (Soeters 1986, Freeman

1985, Ray 1986, Mitchell 1985). Both Ray and Mitchell consider the ethical issues surrounding the so called 'excellent' companies. Mitchell, for example, carried out a comparison of Peters and Waterman's 62 excellent companies with his own study of the 100 best companies to work for, only 21 of the 62 were seen in the list. Mitchell views the excellent company hypothesis as manipulative in that it views people as instrumental for productivity and not valued per se.

The question of culture management has been addressed by many researchers, academics and consultants, many of whom agree that culture is extremely difficult to control and change. The debate on culture management revolves around definition and what is understood by the term corporate culture or organisational culture. Most researchers agree that culture within organisations exists at varying degrees or levels ranging from deeply set values and beliefs to the manifestations of culture in the form of structures, systems, symbols, myths, reward systems, rituals and heroes (Pettigrew 1990) Hofstede et al. 1990). Based on a simple model developed by Hofstede et al. 1990 p291), and the work of Pettigrew (1979, 1990) and Schein (1985) the varying levels of cultural manifestations can be shown in the form of concentric circles see Figure 2.3. The core of the culture is represented by the complex and deep rooted values, beliefs and assumptions which are largely unobservable yet have a considerable affect on behaviour. These core values are manifested in the 'practices' of the organisation and are the observable behaviour patterns and artefacts. Pettigrew (1990 p266), considers that although it is relatively easier to control the core values which are manifested in the 'practices', because to a great extent these are observable, a strategy for corporate culture change should include both core values and the manifestations of culture. Pettigrew (1985), in his study of change at ICI, identified changes in both the core values and practices over a 25 year period which occurred at critical points in the organisation's life. These critical points were linked to times of severe economic difficulties and changes in leadership and power. Pettigrew (1990) identifies these 'phases' of culture change in the study of Jaguar Cars, relating the

significant culture shifts to competition in the 80's and the leadership era's of Lyons

1928-72, the British Leyland era 1972-80 and the Egan era 1980 - to date.

Figure 2.3   **Manifestations of Culture**

SYMBOLS

SYSTEMS

STRUCTURES

VALUE
BELIEFS
ASSUMPTIONS

P R A C T I C E S   P R A C T I C E S

RITUALS

MYTHS

HEROES

Probably the most detailed account of cultural transformation is that given by Tunstall (1986), on the AT&T organisation in America. In his case study he proposes a three step guide:

First, management must understand the meaning and impact of corporate culture and must ascertain, often through empirical methods, elements of its own culture.

Second, the 'cultural wheat must be separated from the chaff'. Decisions must be made about which elements support future goals and strategies, and thus must be retained, and which elements are no longer appropriate, must be changed

Third, appropriate actions must be taken to effect the required changes in a way that leaves the desirable elements unaffected.

2.3   Multiple Cultures and Subculture Perspectives

The underlying assumption of the corporate culture studies is that there exists a single homogeneous culture which permeates the organisation, and that it can be manipulated to satisfy management objectives. This monolithic view of organisational culture is considered by many to be unrealistic and to stem from the ideals of senior managers. A pluralistic view, particularly in complex environments and in large geographically dispersed organisations is considered to be a far more realistic approach to the culture concept. Smircich (1983, p346), argues that "much of the literature refers to an organisation culture, appearing to lose sight of the great likelihood that there are multiple organisation subcultures, or even countercultures, competing to define the nature of situations within organisational boundaries". The assumption of the single unitary culture has been challenged by many other authors who consider that the study of organisational cultures should be viewed from a multicultural viewpoint, and that organisations consist of multiple, potentially

conflicting subcultures (Gregory 1983; Reynolds 1986; Martin & Siehl 1983; Louis 1985).

The term 'subculture' was used by Turner (1971) in his work 'Exploring the Industrial Subculture'. In his book he describes a subculture as "a distinctive set of meanings shared by a group of people whose forms of behaviour differ to some extent from those of the wider society". Turner refers to the industrial subculture as being part of the larger society. Within the organisational context the subculture can be described similarly as 'having different belief and value systems from the dominant culture'. Schein (1985) endorses this view and considers that a variety of cultures based on functions, geography, professions and so on do exist within organisations and can be considered as subcultures just as the corporate culture can be considered as a subculture of the wider society.

In the strong culture studies there is very little reference to the existence of subcultures and their possible supportive or negative impact on organisational performance. The emphasis is on a single unitary corporate culture even though in large geographically dispersed organisations the existence of multiple subcultures and possible counter-cultures is more than likely. The concept of a unitary or monolithic culture even in smaller organisations is considered to be unlikely, the strong belief is that subcultures appear to be the rule and unitary cultures the exception (Van Maanen & Barley, 1984). Marshall & Mclean (1985), and Gregory (1983) consider that any research into an organisations culture should include its different subcultures their relationship with each other and their impact on organisational functioning and performance.

In the single or multiple culture debate Kilmann et al. (1985) consider the theory 'X' and theory 'Y' principles of McGregor (1960) in order to differentiate between managers who view culture from a monolithic or pluralistic stand point. They

consider that managers and consultants who use the theory 'X' approach to managing people assume a single senior management culture, the converse applying to the theory 'Y' approach.

Although in the past, culture has been treated as a unitary concept, a few past researchers of organisational culture have identified the existence of multiple cultures, subcultures, and counter cultures. Smircich (1983), in her study of top executives in an insurance company found two different subcultures. These were two groups one consisting of long serving staff and one consisting of staff brought in from another company. Martin & Siehl (1983), discovered counter cultures developed by John Delorean who's values were in direct conflict with the dominant culture at General Motors. Saffold (1988), highlights the work carried out by Faux (1982), in the automobile industry where highly complex subcultures affected organisation development. Gregory (1983), identified different cultural views in her ethnoscientific research into technical professionals in Silicon Valley. In this particular study the subcultures identified with their particular profession rather than the organisation's dominant culture.

There is clearly a lack of empirical research in the area of subcultures and multiple cultures, however, this is not so surprising as, management employ consultants to create uniform cultures not to identify the existence of potentially conflicting subcultures.

From the research it would appear that most cultures are not unitary or homogeneous and that they have diverse values and patterns of behaviour which, weak or strong, have a powerful influence on the performance of both management and the workforce.

In viewing organisations from a multicultural view point Louis (1985), and Saffold (1988), suggest that researchers should assess the aspect of cultural penetration. Their proposals are centred around the assessment and diagnosis of cultural penetration in terms of the sociological, psychological, and historical aspects. The sociological aspects refer to the extent to which the corporate level culture permeates the organisation. Past research indicates that culture within organisations changes significantly from top management to the lower ranks (Martin & Siehl 1983). The psychological aspects refer to the measurement of the homogeneity of shared meanings and shared understandings within the different subcultures. Finally historical penetration refers to the stability of practices and shared understandings over a period of time. Louis considers that the assessment of historical penetration will give important indicators to potential resistance to change.

The historical analysis of organisational cultures is considered to be of significant importance when trying to analyse current behaviour patterns and predict future reactions to change. Pettigrew (1979), advocates that organisations should be explored as a continuing system with a past, a present and a future. In his empirical research study of a British boarding school he used critical historical events to plot the growth, evolution, and transformation of the organisation. Schein (1984), in line with Pettigrew, includes an historical analysis in his four part approach to the understanding of an organisation's cultural paradigm. Schein considers that it is possible to identify periods of culture formation by carrying out a review of critical incidents over time and analysing the outcomes. In addition to the historical analysis he suggests analysing: the process and content of socialisation of new members; the beliefs, values, and assumptions of "Culture Creators or Carriers;" and jointly exploring with insiders the anomalies or puzzling features. This mode of study, Schein suggests, will help decipher the concept of culture and determine the relationship between culture and organisational effectiveness.

2.4   Conclusions

Although there are several schools of thought within the area of cultural anthropology, and considerable overlap in both definition and use of the culture construct, the current interest in the concept of culture in organisational settings can be categorised into three key broad conceptual approaches. Firstly, culture can be viewed from a variable perspective, secondly it can be viewed from an interpretative perspective, and thirdly it can be viewed from an holistic perspective using generic constructs.

The variable approach or the viewing of culture as a sociocultural system has been linked to the anthropological schools of functionalism, structural functionalism, historical diffusionist, and ecological adaptionist. The viewing of culture from this perspective tends to have a 'managerialist' or 'pro-management' bias with the concentration being on observable phenomena ie from a behaviouristic stand point. The early literature on corporate culture management and consultants currently 'promoting' culture change programmes clearly see culture as a tangible organisation variable which is within the control of management. Because of this approach and the pro-management bias, the current corporate culture studies have been linked to the Human Relations School and the work of Mayo, Roethlisberger and Dickson and McGregor. For example, Gregory (1983), considers that there is little difference between the past human relations work and the current corporate culture studies.

The interpretative perspective or the viewing of culture as an ideational systems draws mainly from the anthropological schools of cognitive, structuralist, and symbolism. The move in anthropological thinking in the mid 50's from 'culture as behaviourism' to 'culture as knowledge' gave rise to the thoughts of anthropologists and management theorists who consider culture as 'systems of shared ideas and meanings'.

The distinction between variable perspectives and interpretative perspectives is not clear cut, and there is considerable overlap which causes conceptual confusion and ambiguity. The confusion arises when academics and managers 'pick' from both 'camps' and create generic constructs in an attempt to conceptualise organisational culture. One such approach is the holistic perspective or the viewing of culture as a unified whole. Although this perspective is linked to the functionalist and historical diffusionist school, and draws from the cognitive schools, it can be considered as an integrated approach to the study of organisational cultures in workplace settings. The holistic perspective, the bringing together of cognitive, behavioural, emotive, and artifactual aspects, would require extended ethnographic research, it is for this reason that it receives little attention in the management literature. However, Sackmann (1992 p23) considers that this approach would highlight the multifaceted nature of culture and "may eventually render a comprehensive picture of culture in organisations".

Assuming that an holistic approach is feasible within an organisation it is important that the research should include the organisation's subcultures. It is evident from past research that culture is best studied from a multicultural view point taking into account the possibility of subcultures which may be positive or negative towards the dominant organisational culture. From an holistic perspective the organisation's subcultures would form part of the whole. This is in line with Meyerson and Martin (1987) integration paradigm.

The indications from the literature are that there is a relationship between culture types and organisational performance, this is covered in more detail in Chapter 6. The question relating to culture management is linked, to a great extent, to how culture is defined. For example, if culture is defined in relation to behaviourism and linked to performance then culture is a measurable variable and can be manipulated and controlled. If culture is defined as part of the thought process and relates to

systems of shared ideas and meanings then culture is intangible, difficult to measure, and difficult to change. A more sensible approach is to consider culture as both in the minds of organisation members (beliefs, values and ideas), and in the actions of organisational members (organisation practices).

The organisation's founder and its past and current leaders play a key role in shaping the organisation's core or dominant culture. A key question is 'how far do the values of the leader permeate an organisation's culture and subcultures?'. To a great extent this is covered in Chapters 4 and 5 (Fieldwork).

In summary, culture is best viewed from a multicultural perspective taking into consideration the multifaceted aspects of the culture concept. One approach would be to view culture from an holistic perspective taking account of both the cognitive and behaviouristic aspects, the history of the organisation, and the role of the founder and leader in shaping an organisation's culture and subcultures. As Sackmann suggests this would require an extended ethnographic study in order to capture the cultural whole. However, this approach can be seen as an integrated approach, that is, the assumption of cultural consistency across the organisation.

The main focus of this research is on the management and control of subcultures in a multicultural organisation, specifically Bass Brewers and the subcultures in the geographically dispersed Distribution depots. From the literature research it is clear that managers generally view culture from a variable perspective and that many researchers view culture from an interpretative perspective. In order to firstly develop an understanding of an organisation's culture(s), and research the control aspects and the links between culture and performance, a structured research programme is required which incorporates an understanding of the Bass corporate culture and regional subcultures from all possible perspectives. In view of the literature research findings, it is clear that large geographically dispersed and complex organisations are culturally diverse and consist of subcultures which maybe negative in terms of the values and beliefs of

Senior Management. Therefore it is considered that the research methodology should concentrate on the assumption of 'differentiation', that is the assumption that complex organisations do not posses a single monolithic corporate culture, they are more likely to posses a variety of subcultures. From this view of the culture concept, subcultures are viewed as being part of, yet not an integrated part of, the overall Bass culture. That is not to say that the corporate culture does not exist. The corporate culture is the dominant culture which represents the values and ideals of senior management.

Culture is multifarious and therefore should be viewed from a 'multifarious perspective', from this perspective culture would be viewed as having great variety and depth. It is considered that rather than analyse culture from a single perspective it should be researched inductively from many perspectives. That is both the corporate culture and subcultures must be analysed to gain a clearer understanding of their relationship. From such a research approach it is likely that a more realistic view of culture and subcultures in organisations will emerge.

The following Chapter on Research Methodology details the approach to corporate culture and subculture research using ethnographic methods within an inductivist framework.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER TWO

Ackroyd S & Crowdy P A (1990)

Can Culture be Managed? - Personnel Review, Volume 19, No. 5 pp3-13

Agar M (1980)

The Professional Stranger - New York: Academic Press

Allaire Y & Firsirotu M E (1984)

Theories of Organisational Culture - Organisation Studies, 1984, Volume 5, No. 3 pp193-226

Argyris C & Schon D A (1978)

Organisational Learning - Addison Wesley

Baker E L (1980)

Managing Organisational Culture - Management Review, July 1980 pp 8-13

Barley S R, Meyer G W & Gash D C

Cultures of Cultures: Academics Practitioners of Normative Control - Administrative Science Quarterly Vol 33, 1988, pp24-60

Barney J B (1986)

Organisational Culture: Can it be a Source of Sustained Competitive Advantage? Academy of Management Review Vol 11 No 3, pp 656-665

Benedict R (1934)

Patterns of Culture - Houghton Mifflin

Blumer H (1969)

Symbolic interactionism : Perspective and Method - Prentice Hall

Boas F (1948)

Race, Language, and Culture. New York: MacMillan.

Burns T & Stalker CM (1961)

The Management of Innovation. New York: Barnes and Noble

Burrell G & Morgan G (1979)

Sociological Paradigms and Organisational Analysis - Heinemann Educational Books

Chandler A D (1962)

Strategy and Structure - Cambridge, Mass, MIT Press

Chandler A D (1977)

The Visible Hand, The Managerial Revolution in American Business: Cambridge Mass: Press of Harvard University Press

Clark B R (1972)

The Organisational Saga in Higher Education - Administrative Science Quarterly No 17: pp 178-184

D'Andrade R G (1985)

Cultural Meaning Systems - Culture Theory
Eds. Shweder R A & LaVine R A - Cambridge University Press

Davis S M (1985)

Culture is Not Just an Internal Affair (Gaining Control of the Corporate Culture)
in: Kilmann et al - pp 137-147 - San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Deal T E & Kennedy A A (1982)

Corporate Cultures - Addison Wesley

Dennison D (1984)

Bringing Corporate Culture to the Bottom Line - Organisation Dynamics 13 pp 5-22

Faux V (1982)

Unobtrusive Controls in Organisations: An action research approach to change. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University Cambridge.

Filley A C & House R W (1969)

Managerial Process and Organisational Behaviour - San Francisco: Scott, Foresman

Freeman F H (1985)

Books that Mean Business: The Management Best Sellers - Academy of Management Review No 10, April pp 345-350

Freilich M (1970)
Marginal Natives - New York: Wiley

Gill J & Whittle S (1993)
Management by Panacea : Accounting for Transience - Journal of Management Studies, Vol. 30, No.2, March pp 281-295

Geertz C (1973)
The Interpretation of Cultures - New York: Basic Books

Goodenough W H (1957)
Culture, Anthropology and Linguistics. P.Garvin (ed) Washington DC

Goodenough W H (1961)
Comment on Cultural Evolution, Daedalus 90: pp 521-528

Gregory K L (1983)
Native View Paradigms: Multiple Cultures and Culture Conflicts in Organisations - Administrative Science Quarterly 28 pp359-376

Harris M (1964)
The Nature of Cultural Things. New York: Random House

Harrison R (1972)
Understanding Your Organisational Character - Harvard Business Review pp 119-128

Hofstede G, Neuijen B, Ohayv DD & Sanders G (1990)
Measuring Organisational Cultures: A Qualitative and Quantitative Study Across Twenty Cases Administrative Science Quarterly, 35: pp286-316

Jacques E (1952)
The Changing Culture of a Factory - New York: Dryden Press

Johnson P & Gill J (1993)
Management Control and Organisational Behaviour - Paul Chapman Publishing

Kanter R M (1977)
Men and Women of the Corporation - New York: Basic Books

Katz D & Kahn RL (1966)

The Social Psychology of Organisations, John Wiley, New York.

Keesing R (1974)

Theories of Culture - Annual Review of Anthropology 3: pp73-97

Keesing R (1981)

Cultural Anthropology , A Contemporary Perspective - Holt, Rinehart & Winston

Kilmann R H, Saxtib M J, Serpa R & Associates (1985)

Gaining Control of the Corporate Culture - San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Kroeber A L & Kluckhohn C K (1952)

Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions - Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Papers, No 47, Cambridge: Harvard University

Lawrence PR & Lorch JW (1967)

Organisation and Environment, Boston: Harvard University Press.

LeVine R A (1985)

Properties of Culture - An Ethnographic View (Culture Theory) - pp 67-87
Eds. Shweder R A & LaVine R A - Cambridge University Press

Levi-Strauss C (1958)

Anthrapologie Structurale - Paris: Librairie Plon

Lorsch J W (1986)

Strategic Myopia: Culture of an Invisible Barrier to Change(Gaining Control of the Corporate Culture) in Kilmann et al - pp 84-102 - San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Louis M R (1981)

A Cultural Perspective on Organisations: the need for and consequences of viewing organisations as culture-bearing milieux - Human Systems Management, Volume 2 pp246-258

Louis M R (1985)

An Investigator's Guide to Workplace Culture - in:- Organisational Culture ed. P J Frost et al, Sage Publications

Maanen J V (1988)

Tales of the Field - The University of Chicago Press

Malinowski B (1944)

A Scientific Theory of Culture - Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press

Manning P K (1979)

Metaphors of the Field: Varieties of Organisational Discourse - Administrative Science Quarterly No 24 pp 660-671

Marshall J & McLean A (1985)

Exploring Organisation Culture as a Route to Organisational Change - Current Research in Management, ed. V Hammond - Francis Pinter Publishing Ltd

Martin J & Siehl C (1983)

Organisational Culture and Counterculture: An uneasy symbiosis - Organisational Dynamics 12(2): pp52-64

Mayo E (1983)

The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilisation - New York Macmillan

McGregor D (1960)

The Human Side of Enterprise - New York: McGraw Hill

Mead M (1959)

An Anthropologist at Work: Writings of Ruth Benedict. Boston: Houghton Mifflin

Meek V L (1988)

Organisation Culture: Origins and Weaknesses - Organisation Studies, 1988, Volume 9 No.4 pp-453-473

Meyerson D & Martin J (1987)

Cultural Change: An Integration of Three Different Views. Journal of Management Studies 24:6 November pp623-647.

Mitchell T R (1985)

· In Search of Excellence Versus the Best 100 Companies to Work for in America: A Question of Perspective and Values - Academy of Management Review No 10, April, pp 350-355

Morgan G (1986)

Images of Organisation - Sage Publications

Ouchi W (1981)

Theory 'Z' - Addison Wesley

Ouchi W & Johnson J B (1978)

Types of Organisational Control and Their Relationship to Emotional Well Being - Administrative Science Quarterly 23 June pp293-317

Pacanowsky M & Anderson J A (1981)

Cop Talk and Media Use - International Communication Association Convention - May

Pascale R (1985)

The Paradox of 'Corporate Culture': Reconciling Ourselves to Socialisation - California Management Review, Volume 27, No. 2, pp26-41

Pascale R & Athos A G (1981)

The Art of Japanese Management - New York, Simon & Schuster

Peters T J & Waterman R H (1982)

In Search of Excellence - Harper and Row

Pettigrew A M (1979)

On Studying Organisational Cultures - Administrative Science Quarterly 24 pp570-581

Pettigrew A M (1985)

The Awakening Giant: Continuity and Change in ICI, Blackwell, Oxford

Pettigrew A M (1990)

Is Corporate Culture Managable - in Managing Organisations Eds Wilson D C & Rosenfeld R H - McGraw Hill Book Company

Radcliffe-Brown (1952)

Structure and Function in Primative Society - London: Dohen and West

Ray C A (1986)

Corporate Culture: The Last Frontier of Control - Journal of Management Studies 23.3 May, pp 287-297

Reynolds P D (1986)

Organisational Culture as Related to Industry, Position and Performance: A Preliminary Report - Journal of Management Studies 23:3 May pp333-345

Roethlisberger F J & Dickson W J (1939)

Management and the Worker: An Account of a Research Programme Conducted by a Western Electric Company, Hathorne Works, Chicago, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Rose R A (1988)

Organisations as Multiple Cultures: A Rules Theory Analysis - Human Relations, Volume 41 No. 2 pp139-170

Sackmann S A (1992)

Cultures and Subcultures: An analysis of Organisational Knowledge - Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol 37, March pp140 -161

Saffold G S (1988)

Culture Traits, Strength, and Organisational Performance: Moving Beyond 'Strong' Culture - Acadamy of Management Review, Volume 13 No. 4 pp 546-557

Sanday P R (1979)

The Ethnographic Paradigm - Administrative Science Quarterly 24 pp527-538

Sathe V (1985)

How to Decipher and Change Corporate Culture in : Gaining Control of the Corporate Culture Kilmann et al - pp 230-261 San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Schein E H (1983)

The Role of the Founder in Creating Organisational Culture - Organisational Dynamics, Summer pp 13-28

Schein E H (1984)

Coming to a New Awareness of Organisational Culture - Sloan Management Review, pp 3-16

Schein E H (1985)

Organisational Culture and Leadership - Jossey Bass

Schneider B (1975)

Organisation Climates: 'An Essay' Personnel Psychology No 28: pp 447-479

Schwartz H & Davis S M (1981)

Matching Corporate Culture and Business Strategy - Organisation Dynamics, Summer pp30-48

Selznick P (1957)

Leadership in Administration - Evanston: Row Peterson

Silverman D (1970)

The Theory of Organisations - London: Heinemann

Smircich L (1983)

Concepts of Culture and Organisational Analysis - Administrative Science Quarterly 28 pp339-358

Smircich L (1983)

Studying Organisations as Cultures - in:- Beyond Method, ed. Gareth Morgan, Sage Publications

Soeters J L (1986)

Excellent Companies as Social Movements - Journal of Management Studies 23.3 May pp 299-312

Steward J (1955)

Theory of Culture Change. Urbana: University of Illinois Press

Stinchcombe A (1965)

Social Structure and Organisation in Handbook of Organisations, J C March (ed) - Chicago: Rand McNally

Swartz M & Jordan D (1980)

Culture: An Anthropological Perspective - New York: Wiley

Tichy N M (1983)

Managing Strategic Change - Wiley

Tunstall W B (1986)

The Breakup of the Bell System - A Case Study in Cultural Transformation - California Management Review, No 2 pp 110-124

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Turner B A (1971)
Exploring the Industrial Sub-Culture, Macmillan

Turner S P (1977)
Complex Organisations as Savage Tribes - Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, No 7 (April): pp 99-125

Turner S P (1983)
Studying Organisation Through Levis-Strauss's Structuralism - In Gareth Morgan (ed), Beyond Method: Social Research Strategies - Beverley Hills CA - Sage Publications

Tylor E B (1924)
Primitive Culture - (first published in 1871) Gloucester, MA: Smith

Ulrich D & Tichy N M (1984)
The Leadership Challenge - A Call for the Transformational Leader - Sloan Management Review, Fall pp59-68

Van Maanan J (1979)
The Fact and Fiction in Organisational Ethnography - Administrative Science Quarterly 24 pp539-550

Van Maanen J & Barley S (1984)
Occupational Communities: Culture and Control in Organisations - in: B M Staw and L L Cummings (eds), Research in Organisational Behaviour Volume 6 - Greenwich, C T : JAI Press

Wallace AFC (1970)
Culture and Personality - New York: Random House

White L A (1959)
The Concept of Culture. American Anthropologist, 61, pp 227 - 251

Wilkins A L (1983)
The Culture Audit: A Tool for Understanding Organisations - Organisational Dynamics, Autumn pp24-38

Wilkins A L & Dyer W G (1988)
Toward Culturally Sensitive Theories of Culture Change - Academy of Management Review Volume 13 No.4, pp522-533

3. Research Methodology

A manager carrying out research in his own organisation and simultaneously carrying out productivity improvement projects within the same research area, has both advantages and disadvantages as a researcher. The obvious advantage is the close proximity of the research subjects to the researcher, enabling easy access to data and facilitation of participant and general observation techniques. The major disadvantage or difficulty stems from the effective management of the two roles, that is the role of the 'manager' involved in quantitative analysis through the use of non-participant observation, and the role of the 'researcher' involved in qualitative analysis through participant observation. Additionally the quality of data collected may be adversely affected by suspicions of a manager collecting information from the shopfloor. In order to overcome these problems, rather than treating the two roles or methodologies of quantitative and qualitative analysis as mutually exclusive, the research methodology was developed to make use of both quantitative and qualitative data throughout the research process and at the theoretical development stage.

The research methodology used to analyse and understand the cultural and managerial differences in the fifteen depots, was broadly based around methods used in ethnographic fieldwork and within an inductivist framework. Within this framework the use of 'grounded theory' was used to order the material, induce specific historical and other distinctive links, and develop a coherent theory from the mass of fieldwork data. The main research approach used within this inductive framework was the application of observation techniques and other qualitative research methods in order to understand the research setting and subjects. This naturalist approach, which aims to research subjects in the natural interactive mode, is the opposite of the scientific deductive method which

requires development of theory prior to testing through empirical observation (Gill & Johnson 1991).

The ethnographic method of participant observation was used to observe the patterns of behaviour of both management and shopfloor personnel using both overt and covert observation techniques. The use of participant observation in the Distribution depots and other areas of the Bass organisation was supplemented by semi-structured interviews, statistical analysis, collection of life histories, psychometric testing and general observations.

The qualitative methods used in ethnographic fieldwork have been used by many researchers studying managerial and shopfloor work. For example, Dalton (1959) used covert observation techniques in his research into managerial cultures in four manufacturing organisations and Mintzberg (1973) used structured observation in his research into the work of five senior managers. Cunnison (1966) as a participant observer, carried out research into behaviour patterns in the waterproof garment industry and Beynon (1973) used participant observation and interviews in his research into cultures at Ford. In view of the nature of my research, which involved identifying and analysing managerial and cultural differences in the regional depots, and then viewing the Bass organisational culture from a corporate perspective, a methodological approach using techniques used in anthropological research appeared to be the most appropriate.

The main focus of the research was on the Distribution function, and the existence of and effect of subcultures on management control and overall performance. The conceptual approach to the culture concept was initially from an assumption of differentiation. From this assumption the subcultures were viewed as being part of the overall Bass culture, although they were not viewed as an integrated part.

This Chapter outlines the initial methodological choice for the research programme and the flexible strategy adopted throughout the work. The techniques used in order to research the regional organisational sub-cultures, and to develop a hypothesis inductively, are discussed and the problems encountered relating to data handling, access and ethical issues, are highlighted.

3.1   Research Methodological Choice

There is much debate in the literature between the relative merits of qualitative and quantitative research, and the respective methodologies of induction and deduction. For example, the following 'discussion' (Maanen 1979) gives an indication of how both methodologies are perceived:

Qualitative Researcher:

"Many people these days are bored with their work and are...."

Quantitative Researcher (interrupting): "what people, how many, when do they feel this way, where do they work, what do they do, why are they bored, how long have they felt this way, what are their needs, when do they feel excited, where did they come from, what parts of there work bother them most, which...."

Qualitative Researcher: "Never mind"

The above is very much a mis-conception of the interpretive approaches to research using inductive methodologies. While Popper (1968) considers the process of induction as being unscientific and not linked to the logic of scientific enquiry, many proponents of the inductive approach consider it to be more challenging than "checking out what we already know" (Selye, 1964; Mintzberg 1979 p584). The inductive process of working from data to theory however can be very problematic. For example, there is a

requirement, in the first instance to collect the data through observation, interviews and other methods, and secondly to interpret the mass of data and identify patterns and links. The final stage is then to move from data to theory. The whole process of working inductively can be complicated and at stages requires creativity and an enquiring mind. Research in this mode, as with deductive research, requires the researcher to ask the 'what, where, why, and who's' throughout the various stages of the research in order to understand the research setting and develop theory from the acquired data.

In the Management Services function the approach used to solve problems using work measurement and method study techniques is very systematic. For example, the traditional procedure and sequence of events when carrying out a method study project to improve methods of working would be: **select** the work to be studied; **record** the current operations using appropriate techniques; **examine** critically the current methods; **develop** new methods of working, and **present** the findings in a project report. This systematic approach to method study works extremely well because the study area and objectives are clearly defined and the appropriate techniques to use are well established. To a great extent I used a similar systematic approach at the start of the research project, which assisted in my early focus, see Figure 3.1.

Although the research procedure shown in Figure 3.1 can be used as an initial framework, the likely outcome of such a rigid approach would be fairly banal research. At the start of my research I used the project approach as a basic framework which was changed as the research developed. In reality I used the basic systematic approach as a 'closed loop', continually reverting back to the select, record, examine and develop stages. I continuously went back to the select stage having discovered patterns and possible further research areas at the data reduction stage. The systematic approach is not as clean as it looks, working inductively can be very messy simply because of the amount of data generated which requires reducing in order to develop a coherent theory.

Figure 3.1

Basic Research Procedure

Select

Area of research - Gain access - Carry out literature research

↓

Record

Various observation techniques - interviews - other source data

↓

Examine

Critical examination of facts - links, themes and patterns - validate

↓

Develop

Grounded theoretical analysis - write up - continuous validation

↓

Present

Draft theory - validate - final thesis

In relation to the fieldwork, my research can be broadly sectioned off into three major stages. The first stage was the detailed 'culture audits' in the 15 Distribution depots which involved extensive interviews and observations at each depot site. Through qualitative data analysis the three different sub-cultures theory was developed and formed the base framework for stage 2. It is worth pointing out that during the early stages of the research I had no preconceived ideas on the culture types which came out of the fieldwork and data analysis. However, I was aware of the differences in terms of attitudes, at management and shopfloor levels at each site, from my observations in my role as Manager. As Miles (1979 p591) points out, "research projects that pretend to

come to the study with no assumptions usually encounter much difficulty". Miles advocates the use of explicit preliminary frameworks which remain flexible throughout the life of the project.

Having identified the existence of different cultures in the depots, the second stage focused on the three sub-culture types using one depot from each cultural grouping. Although the 15 depots fitted quite nicely into three categories, this may be a little misleading, all 15 depots were very different in cultural terms, and 15 in-depth studies could have produced some interesting results. However, because of time constraints and the problem of access, which is discussed later, three in-depth studies were considered to be a representative sample. Having made this decision the fieldwork was concentrated on the three representative depots to gain a clearer understanding of the differences.

Simultaneously the research was widened to identify possible links with the regional sub-cultures and the Bass dominant culture. In essence this was a look at cultural dispersion, that is the degree to which the beliefs and values of the dominant culture are dispersed throughout the Bass organisational structure. To a great extent this was facilitated by my Management Services role which allowed me into all functions and regions on project work. I took every opportunity on my visits to other sites and functions to observe and compare my findings with the Distribution function. The observations and discussions in depots outside the Bass North boundaries were in general overt, in that a brief explanation of my research was given to the Distribution Managers. Other observations in different functions and regions were researched covertly as part of my Management Services project work. The main reason for this approach was the problem of negotiating access with the relevant site manager which could have resulted in rejection and a loss of valuable research data.

Additionally, at the same time as my stage two and three research, a management of change programme, which included modules on culture change within Bass, was being

introduced by the Board and being delivered through lectures down to middle management levels. As I was personally involved in the delivery of the modules to the Scotland and North/North West Management Services Teams I took the opportunity to analyse their response to the planned culture change from other peoples' perspectives. A major personal difficulty was delivering a two day lecture on management of change and culture change from pre-prepared notes provided by the Bass Board. Extracts from the notes included:

"Other companies seem to have changed their cultures over time, and this is what is so exciting for us. We can change our culture if we want to, although it does take time".

"Whether we use the word culture to describe countries or companies, it always means the way people do things".

Although the management of change programme was very well structured, the whole objective was to deliver the corporate message and obviously not personal views on culture. This is one of the many ethical issues that arose out of my dual role as 'manager' and 'researcher' which almost verged on 'schizophrenia' by the end of my research . The ethics relating to manager and researcher roles and the conflicts are discussed in later sections.

Stage two of the research, as with stage one, created a great deal of data which had to be analysed and reduced in order to set a base framework for further development of the thesis. Stage three used the findings from the previous stage to seek possible links between culture and performance and examine the leadership links with culture and performance. This was researched by analysing the corporate culture, that is the ideals of the Bass Brewers Board, and using quantitative data and interviews with key personnel.

It is relatively easy to set out research methodologies retrospectively into frameworks and stages of research and theoretical development. All this looks very neat and tidy, when in reality the whole process of working inductively from qualitative data can get very messy and very complicated particularly at the stage of qualitative analysis.

3.2 Slicing the Organisational Culture

Many authors have used the analogy of 'slicing up the organisation' or 'slicing the culture' in order to highlight and understand the complexities of an organisation's culture by focusing on particular aspects (Mintzberg 1979, Louis 1985). However, as Louis suggests there are many ways of slicing up an organisation's culture. My research methods used in the fieldwork at Bass can be best described as being analogous to 'slicing an icing topped fruit cake', which as a whole, viewed from different angles and dimensions, can be perceived in many different ways. For example, if we view the Bass Brewers 'cultural cake' two dimensionally (see Figure 3.2), although there are clear functional boundaries, these are linked together by a smooth homogeneous top. Many senior managers, who consider an organisation's corporate culture as a variable which can be manipulated to satisfy business objectives, see the organisation in this dimension.

This two-dimensional view, assumes a single unitary culture which has no depth and theoretically is easy to understand and manipulate. The organisation's culture, viewed in this dimension, is assumed to be on the surface and consisting of observable behaviour and tangible phenomena. Research from this dimension could be linked to the variable perspective of culture which is often linked to the top down approach to changing an organisation's culture. A research methodology based on this perspective would provide a mis-leading view of culture yet would probably satisfy many managers wishing to embark on a culture change programme.

Figure 3.2   Slicing the 'Cultural Cake' - A Two Dimensional View

If on the other hand we view the 'cultural cake' three dimensionally with the top off, we get a very different picture which shows a heterogeneous organisational culture, very rich in texture and depth both horizontally and vertically (see Figure 3.3). In order to research and understand an organisation's culture, the organisation might best be viewed three-dimensionally so that the existence of multiple cultures, which may be functional, geographical or professional can be explored.

Figure 3.3   Taking the Top Off A Three Dimensional View

My initial research approach, viewing the organisational cake three dimensionally, was to take out the Distribution 'wedge' and slice it into 15 smaller wedges (see figure 3.4). This provided the setting for the research into the 15 different depot cultures. The next stage was then to take horizontal slices from each Distribution depot wedge and carry out a detailed analysis to identify manifestations of culture in each setting.

Figure 3.4   Slicing the Function, A Three Dimensional View

The next stage was then to take vertical slices from the thick end of the wedge and work inwards towards the organisation's centrally controlled operations at its headquarters in Burton. With this approach the organisation's culture and structure can be viewed 'bottom up' and in-depth see Figure 3.5. This figure shows the direction in which the research programme was conducted and, as mentioned previously, the simultaneous culture change programme was conducted. An interesting feature of the Bass management of change programme was that it was aimed at managers and middle managers in the organisation, stopping at supervisors and below. However, the long term plan was to eventually involve all levels on 'customer service programmes', and to communicate the planned changes within the business. My research worked the opposite way and concentrated on the middle managers and their subordinates who have impact on performance and who are closest to the customer.

Figure 3.5   Culture Research and Culture Change Programmes

Culture Change

Board Level (HQ)

Regional Director Level

Regional Manager Level

Distribution Manager Level

Distribution Operatives and Staff

Culture Research

Once the organisation has been sliced into several segments and both horizontal and vertical slices have been taken the research can become more focused. For example, each individual slice could be analysed in detail both horizontally and vertically in order to understand the local culture and how this fits in with the Bass dominant culture. The mass of data gathered from each depot required organising in order to identify links and themes, and move from data to theory via data analysis and data reduction. This is the creative part of the inductive process and where the use of a grounded theoretical analysis of the data saved time and helped induce relevant data and produce coherent theory.

3.3   Qualitative Data Analysis

The process of data analysis is clearly an important issue in the overall process of theory generation and assistance with emergent theories. Formal approaches to data analysis and theory generation can be found in most texts on fieldwork methods, however, detailed accounts of methodological approaches to data analysis are sparse. Sieber (1976) in his review of field methods which included : Glaser and Strauss (1967); Filstead (1970); Glaser (1972); Runkel and McGrath (1972); Schatzman and Straus (1973); Bogdan and Taylor (1975) and Smith (1975), identified that only 5 to 10 per cent of book space was devoted to analysis. He concluded that "methodologists obviously prefer to spend more time on such matters as gaining access, interviewing, choosing informants, handling reciprocites, and so on, rather than on the intellectual work of analysis" Sieber (1976 p1). From the analysis Sieber did generate a list consisting of a general approach to the data analysis problem, this included: the intertwining of analysis and data collection; formulating classes of phenomena: identifying themes: and the provisional testing of hypotheses.

One of the texts reviewed by Sieber, 'The Discovery of Grounded Theory' (Glaser and Strauss 1967), is probably the most cited and most used of the theory generation techniques. Turner (1983), for example gives practical examples of its use in hospitals, manufacturing and local government. Turner makes the point that grounded theory generation is not a new technique, and cites the early work of Malinowski (1944) and Whyte (1943) where similar data analysis techniques were used.

Grounded theory, as termed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and developed by Turner (1981, 1983) and Miles (1979), in its basic form is a technique to assist in the problem of analysing and interpreting large amounts of data. Miles (1979 p591) relates it to "being open to what the site has to tell us, and slowly evolving a coherent framework rather than imposing one from the start". This is achieved by arranging the perceived important

aspects of the source data in a format which can be seen and therefore manipulated to identify links, themes and categories. There are other similar approaches to grounded theory analysis, for example, Sackmann (1991) used 'theoretical content analysis' in her research into cultural knowledge in organisations. Sackmann describes the technique, which was developed by Carney (1979), as focusing on the isolation and examination of equivalent themes and their patterns. There are variations of grounded theory, the key issue is that in any type of research which generates large amounts of data a system is required to move from data to a coherent theory.

The concepts and patterns derived from the initial stages of grounded theoretical analysis underpin further theoretical development. At each stage of the development process, an understanding of the research setting can be tested by referring back to the research subjects for confirmation and validation. This validation process is vital in the understanding of the research site, and ensuring that emerging theory is developed from reliable data.

In view of the mass of data collected through observation and interview, the concept of grounded theory generation was used as part of the detective work looking for clues, patterns and links. In order to facilitate theoretical development I arranged my collected data into three easy access filing systems. The main filing system was in geographical /depot order which contained fieldwork notes from observations and interviews and any other relevant information about the depot and location. The second filing system was a précis of the depot notes written onto a cards (playing card size) which were used as a visual aid to theory generation. Further cards were introduced into the pack as patterns and linkages emerged, for example those relating to history, work patterns and trade union links. The third filing system was generated from theoretical development and was in subject links order, for example, leadership, values, symbols and rituals.

The grounded theoretical analysis of the data using the card systems, referring back to the main notes and validating with participants and non-participants produced patterns and linkages which fitted into three culture types: the counter culture; the positive culture and the changing culture (see Figure 3.6). The next stage of theory development was linkages between the three subcultures and the Bass 'corporate' culture as perceived by the Bass board. Using the card system this produced evidence of a top down approach to culture and management of change which failed to reach the lower levels in the organisation. Once again these findings were backed up by further interviews with senior managers within the organisation.

Figure 3.6

Grounded Theoretical Analysis

Bass North Depots (reference to Figure 3.6)

1	Abergele	9	Huyton
2	Barrow	10	Leyland
3	Bury	11	Portmadoc
4	Colne	12	Scarborough
5	Eaglescliffe	13	Sheffield
6	Grimsby	14	Sleaford
7	Hebburn	15	Tadcaster
8	Hull		

Figure 3.6 is a simplistic three stage model which was used to reduce the data and develop the theory of culture management in the Bass organisation. This was used in conjunction with the framework developed in Chapter 2, Figure 2.2. 'A generic frame work for studying cultures and subcultures'.

The data generation process can be summarised as:-

*   **Stage 1** - the generation of subculture types from the 15 depot analysis;

*   **Stage 2** - the generation of linkages between the 3 sub-culture types and the beliefs and values of the Bass leadership.

*   **Stage 3** - the generation of linkages between the Distribution sub-cultures, the Bass 'corporate' culture and overall performance.

At arriving at the three subculture types through grounded theoretical analysis, cross site analysis and validation, was carried out. Several workplace and managerial links and patterns were identified at this stage which are documented in Chapter 4.

As a précis the depots were categorised as:-

1.	Liverpool	**Subculture 'A'**
2.	Tadcaster	Counterculture
3.	Newcastle	(values conflict with the values of
4.	Sheffield	the dominant culture)

5.	Abergele	**Subculture 'B'**
6.	Barrow	Enhancing Culture
7.	Portmadoc	(values are in line with the values of
8.	Scarborough	the dominant culture)
9.	Sleaford	
10.	Eaglescliffe	

11.	Colne	**Subculture 'C'**
12.	Leyland	Changing Culture
13.	Hull	'C' subcultures are historically
14.	Grimsby	'A' types moving towards 'B' types.
15.	Bury	

3.4 Access

Access to carry out fieldwork to a great extent is dependant upon the objectives of the research and the mode of study to be used to satisfy both the fieldworker and the sponsoring establishment's requirements. For example, a manager carrying out research in his own organisation, overtly and in the participant as observer mode of study, will have little difficulty gaining access as long as he is satisfying the requirements of the organisation. In this mode of study both researcher and informant are aware of their role and relationship. However, problems may arise if, as is often the case, the research approach and initial objectives change as theoretical development proceeds. In this situation the sponsoring establishment and the researcher's objectives may be out of synchronisation and access becomes difficult. This particular situation arose in my fieldwork in the Distribution depot studies and was overcome to a great extent by moving from overt to covert participant observation. In this mode of study the researcher may become a complete observer with little or no contact with the observed. Although this move solved my research problems it created problems with the sponsor who had preconceived ideas of the study outcome. The issue of observation modes and associated ethical issues are discussed further in the following sections and in the main body of the thesis.

One of the most important issues regarding access is the development of "a web of influential contacts" (Delany 1960, p457). In terms of influential contacts, this should refer to all levels within the research area. For example, it is equally important to develop a friendship with the Shop Steward as it is with the Distribution Director if successful entry is to be achieved.

Formal permission to carry out the research was gained through approval from the Distribution, Personnel, and Information Technology Directors which at the time posed no problem. However, access became more difficult as the research developed, for

example, because of the sensitivity of planned changes, it became difficult to get approval for overt observations at Trade Union and Management meetings and for general observations. Additionally, as my theories of Distribution life and a view of the Bass corporate culture developed, in many aspects they conflicted with the beliefs of Distribution Director, who was the main sponsor of the research. The Distribution Director's view being from a variable perspective in that he believed that the depot cultures could be manipulated and in some instances completely, and quickly changed to satisfy business objectives.

Conflicting views with the main research sponsor is clearly a major problem in terms of access and one which is difficult to manage. In many ways my role as Management Services Manager, which allows me access into any function in Bass and to ask questions, enabled me to get around any access problems.

It was for this reason and because of possible sources of opposition, that covert observations were made at meetings and during Management Services projects.

Approval was given for the second stage of the PhD research into the three different subcultures at Liverpool, Bury and Abergele, although, because of sensitivity both overt and covert observations were necessary in order to understand the behaviour patterns of the group members.

An additional problem regarding access was in relation to staff turnover. For example, of the original 21 Distribution Management team at the start of the research, only 5 (24%) were still in the same position at the latter stages of the research. This included the main sponsor of the research, the Distribution Director leaving the company. With such a high turnover access had to be renegotiated and research terms agreed with the relevant Director and Distribution Manager.

3.5   Data Collection Techniques

Participant Observation

Participant observation is considered to be the key technique used by anthropologists in the qualitative methodologies associated with ethnographic fieldwork. Within anthropological ethnography the importance of a long residence or 'extended' participant observation is seen as essential to the understanding of the research setting and the people within it. Sanday (1979 p527), makes the point that "participant observation demands complete commitment to the task of understanding. The ethnographer becomes part of the situation being studied in order to feel what it is like for the people in this situation".

Although in the anthropological definition, 'extended' participant observation was not used in the Bass Distribution fieldwork, several variations of the participant observation mode of study, covertly and overtly, were used.

Several observations techniques are available to the researcher which range from total interactive participation within the research setting to a non-interactive mode as an observer. Additionally, linked to the choice or mode of observation, is a need to decide on the requirement for covert or overt observations. Gold (1958) and Junker (1960) conceptualised researcher and subject relationships into four roles and four categories, (see Figure 3.7).

Figure 3.7   A Taxonomy of Field Roles

In role (1) complete participant, the researcher works covertly as a normal member of the

organisation and therefore requires no permission for access. In role (2) complete

observer, the researcher works covertly and there is no contact between the research

subjects, therefore again access is no problem. In role (3) observer as participant, the

researcher is generally an 'outsider' working overtly in the field and therefore access is

difficult to negotiate. In role (4) participant as observer, the researcher, usually an

'insider', works overtly and both researcher and the observed are aware of each others role

in the fieldwork.

My fieldwork in the Bass Distribution depots involved using the four field roles to

varying degrees, and were used both covertly and overtly to fit the particular situation. In

my professional role as Management Services 'observer' I was able to carry out project studies and research fieldwork simultaneously. In addition to my direct observations, access to data was gained through indirect observation, making use of informants' knowledge of the research subjects. A great deal of this data from indirect observation came from interviewing Management Services Analysts who had carried out direct observations in the depots over a 20 year period. Additionally interviews with long serving personnel and staff who were leaving the organisation through retirement or redundancy, and were therefore less inhibited, provided an in-depth view of the Bass culture past and present.

The role of the Management Services Manager involves attending meetings on a regular basis with Distribution Management and Trade Union officials, and involvement in project work at the depot sites. This unique situation enabled me to observe both management and shopfloor personnel in their daily routines as a 'manager' and a 'researcher'. Although the Distribution managers were aware of my PhD research through the formal interviews and questionnaires, they were largely unaware of the participant observations and the recording of events at meetings and site visits. This covert observation technique was used in order to observe 'true' behaviour rather than their reactions had they been constantly aware of the studies. Dalton (1959), used a similar approach in his ethnographic research on cultures in four manufacturing organisations. Dalton used participant observation as one of his techniques whilst being a full time employee, his work to a great extent was covert in that the observed were unaware of the observations taking place. The obvious problem with this technique is the information gained and how it is used, which could be damaging to the participant. This highlights the problems associated with covert participant observation and raises the question of ethics which will be discussed in one of the following sections.

Covert and Overt Observation

As briefly discussed, the research in Phase 1 involved the use of both overt and covert observations, the distinction being whether or not the person or group is aware of the observations being made. The main reason for the use of the covert approach is the assumption that the overt presence of the researcher will in some way invalidate the findings because of an artificial performance or may indeed result in a refusal to participate. It is very true from experience of carrying out work study and organisation and methods studies on both managerial and shopfloor personnel that people behave differently under observation. However, Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) argue that peoples reactions to knowingly being researched are as important as their reactions under normal conditions and that reactivity should be monitored and not eliminated. It is for this reason that both techniques of overt and covert observations were used to monitor the Distribution Managers reactions to certain themes of questioning. All meetings and observations were recorded in a research diary shortly after the event.

Socialising

In order to develop closer relationships with managers outside the work setting, Dalton (1959), used socialising as one of his techniques and sources of research data.
In order to develop closer relationships with the Distribution managers and shopfloor personnel and at a later stage as the research area widened I used a similar technique. This involved attendance at the local staff club at lunch times and outside working hours in the local pub. At these out of work meetings, general discussions would invariably lead to the work situation, the MMC report and the general state of the brewing industry and Bass. Additionally at formal events, such as the two day Distribution Managers Conference, the evening sessions at the bar were again very useful for discussing the various problems within the depots. This type of data gathering through socialising was used to gain an insight into the subcultures and the measurement of cultural dispersion.

As the technique of socialising provided me with useful data, as the research developed and the wider issues of the Bass culture and other functions required analysis, I used the technique of 'multifunctional socialising'. This involved generating debate about the management of the change programme and discussing the 'old' and 'new' culture with managers from various functions and regions. Not surprisingly generating debate, particularly amongst long serving personnel, was not a problem. The data from socialising with groups outside the Distribution function and outside the Bass North region provided me with an insight into other functional and regional cultures. All notes from this type of data collection were written up within a few hours of the discussions.

Formal Interviews

In the initial stages of the research formal interviews were conducted with the Distribution Managers. These were semi-structured interviews lasting about three/four hours and covered a brief introduction to the purpose of my research and then more detailed questioning covering a variety of topics about the Bass organisation and management of change. I used the same topic list and questionnaire for all 15 initial interviews with the depot managers (see appendix 4). In order to gain their confidence I assured them that the personal information being gathered, particularly that relating to personal viewpoints would be treated as confidential in the sense that individuals would not be identified. This seemed to ease some of the tension as many of the managers assumed that the Distribution Director had initiated the research in order to measure managerial performance. This initial suspicion was linked to two factors. Firstly, the Management Services function is perceived as being a 'senior management tool' for controlling both management and shopfloor overheads, as such, a Management Services Manager asking questions about depot culture and performance would automatically arouse suspicion. Secondly, because of the major restructuring in Bass Brewers, many middle managers were concerned about their long term future. In view of the suspicion generated by my research I was surprised when at the first meetings all depot managers

agreed to participate in the psychometric personality test and the whole research. On reflection, I believe that all the managers were concerned, yet collectively they had decided to participate on the grounds that the research had been sanctioned by the Distribution Director. It became obvious that the managers had been discussing the research, the news of tests and detailed questionnaires travelled from Newcastle to Liverpool and around the region within hours of my first depot interview.

In order to maintain confidentiality the personality tests were analysed by the Personnel Manager with the names deleted. The results of the tests were used to form the basis of the second less formal interviews.

In the second phase of the research, which involved culture audits in the three subculture groupings interviews were carried out with depot personnel at the three sites to determine the historical background to the subcultures and to use this as a starting point for the measurement of cultural dispersion and cultural impact on outcomes. The latter involved retrospective data collection and interviews with key personnel eg., Distribution Director, Manager, Regional Manager and Shop Stewards representing each depot. Because of the delicate nature of the research in terms of implicit criticism of the way in which senior management were managing changes, it was thought prudent at this stage not to explain in detail the full nature of the research to the informants.

Interviews with shopfloor personnel was covert and mainly carried out within my role as Management Services Manager. I spent three days working with the Draymen in the Liverpool, Bury, and Abergele depots which was once again covert. In this situation I was able to work and discuss a variety of topics with the warehouse operatives and the draymen in a work situation. Initially, my presence was viewed with suspicion, but this was overcome/accepted within an hour of working. A great deal of my observations came from discussing topics on the road, in the warehouse and in the works canteen

where a different 'canteen culture' was to be found in each depot. Notes from interviews and observations during the three days were written up shortly after the event.

During the research period many middle and senior managers within the Distribution function were made redundant or left the company to join competitors. Many of these were interviewed in the last week before they left the company and gave a descriptive picture of their thoughts of Bass and the way it had changed over the years.

Wherever possible I interviewed managers who had moved away from the North region and were now working at HQ or in a different region. For example, I interviewed the Headquarters Distribution Manager at Burton who had previously worked in the Scottish and Southern regions of Bass and had also worked in the North at the Liverpool depot. All these interviews were used to supplement and validate my findings.

Interviews with other regional Management Services Managers were also carried out in order to validate my findings in the North.

My techniques used for interviewing, ranged from structured and semi-structured to 'covert interviews' whereby the research subject was unaware that I was carrying out an interview. I used this covert interviewing technique mainly on senior managers outside the Bass North region and who in some cases did not work in the Distribution function. I used the technique simply because the decision to use it was usually spontaneous and I did not think I would get the same response to my questioning if I had to explain my research thesis. A good example of this was when I was working on a project in the Wales and West region. On one of the evenings I met up with the Production Manager to discuss a project in the Cardiff Brewery, this led to a discussion on the state of Bass and how it was changing. On this occasion and on many other occasions I wrote up notes on attitudes following such discussions.

Psychometric Testing

Although there is considerable debate as to the validity of psychometric testing, used to profile candidates for job vacancies, many large organisations use this technique including Bass. The original idea to use personality testing as part of the data collection process on the Distribution Managers, was to identify possible links between management style, culture type and depot performance. The usefulness of this exercise showed up in the grounded theoretical analysis which clearly linked specific leadership style to depot culture type and performance. For example, in the subculture type 'A' counter culture, all managers in these depots showed to have an autocratic management style. Conversely, managers in subculture type 'B' and 'C' were generally categorised as having a democratic management style. In carrying out the psychometric test, which was basically a questionnaire, and giving the feedback to the managers, it usually brought about a closer relationship between the researcher and the subjects.

The Thomas International Personnel Profile Analysis System (PPA) was used to broadly determine the Distribution Managers' personality. The PPA was used in conjunction with Blake and Mouton's 'Managerial Grid' and Tannenbaum and Schmidt's 'Continuum' to determine leadership behaviour and management style.

Other Data Sources

A great deal of information was available from the Management Services Department's performance records and from Distribution HQ in Tadcaster and Burton. Statistical information was gathered from all fifteen Distribution Depots relating to depot performance. This included information on tonnage throughputs, staff and shopfloor manning levels, and information regarding depot location and culture. This information was used to see if there was any correlation between the qualitative data I had collected

and the overall performance of the depot. A great deal of this information went back 20 years.

Other sources of data, particularly relating to Bass Brewers Board's view of the 'corporate culture came from detailed analysis of the Chairman's video and audio presentations, the Bass management of change programme, national newspaper cuttings, annual reports and publications in the company newspaper 'Bass News'.

A major source of information, as mentioned above, relating to my interpretation of the Bass culture came from a 'management of change' programme which was being implemented during the latter part of my research programme. My role in the change programme was to attend a two day workshop with other managers and be told how Bass was to change its culture. The next stage was then to deliver the corporate message to subordinate managers on a similar two day programme. Although a detailed analysis of the response from the programmes are discussed in the fieldwork, comments from other functions on the empowerment module were:

" Not practising what we're preaching "

" We need the right signals from the top"

" Empowered to do what we are told"

" BS 5750 is a contradiction to empowerment "

" You are empowered to save money"

The general message from many managers in different functions and regions was that "empowerment is not and will not be a reality until we see a difference in the behaviour of the board". Some feedback relating to culture and change, from the Management Services 'Management of Change Programme' are shown in Appendix 2

From a research view this information was confirmation of my findings in the Distribution function, and from my own experience on the two day management of change programme. That is, that the corporate message and beliefs and values of the board were not dispersed throughout the organisation. This is clearly a critical issue in terms of the Board's vision and the perception and acceptance of the vision by the workforce. These key issues are analysed further in subsequent chapters.

3.6   Ethical Issues

The ethical issues which may arise are those relating to the possibility of conflict between the researcher and members of the host organisation. As indicated above, in order to obtain information, it is sometimes necessary to carry out covert observations and covert interviews and in some cases deviate from the truth. Frame (1987), identifies deception as a technique used by researchers to gain access to the research setting. Specifically he cites the work of Johnson (1975), who considers that deception plays an important role in facilitating access. Using a cover story, Johnson defocused his research topic, and only made clear his research intentions after gaining access. Johnson argues that had he revealed his methodological research focus initially, access would have been rejected.

In the long term deception may offend or adversely affect the subjects being researched and therefore careful consideration must be given to the techniques used to obtain data and how the data is to be presented. Ethically there should be mutual respect between the researcher and the subject in order that no risk is involved. Beck (1970, p15) provides some useful guidelines:

"coming on straight is the best approach"

"make explicit the terms of the bargain you are making"

"do not try to gain access without making a full disclosure"

"whatever advantages accrue from deception will come back to haunt you in later days"

It could be argued that a great deal of my research touched, and on occasions, went over the ethics boundary, simply because I was using my trusted role as a manager to obtain information.

In my research ethical issues arose when there was conflict between my role as manager and my role as researcher. For example, over a six month period I was involved in a project which entailed carrying out a review of Distribution manning levels in all depots in the Bass North and Midlands areas. Throughout the project I carried out interviews with the managers and obtained performance data; simultaneously methods reviews were carried out by Analysts from my department. Many of the Distribution Managers were convinced that I was using my fieldwork material, which I had obtained in confidence through lengthy interviews, to supplement my findings on manning levels in the Distribution Depots.

In terms of ethics and in relation to my particular role as both manager and researcher, a major question surrounds the issue 'should managers carry out research in their own work area' ?. A wider ethical issue of course is the question of organisations trying to change the beliefs and values of the workforce. My answer to the former is that managers should be aware of the culture in which they work and 'control', a greater understanding would lead to a better manager - subordinate relationship. From my own experience I now see the organisation's culture very differently and in many ways I have incorporated my views into my work role.

3.9   Conclusions

The advantages of a manager carrying detailed research in his own organisation far outweigh any disadvantages. In my particular role as a Management Services Manager, carrying out both regional and national projects, I was able to gain access into the main research area in the Distribution function and then compare and contrast my findings in the other regions, other functions and at the Bass Head quarters in Burton. The management services role was ideal for linking with a qualitative research role. Using both the role as manager and researcher 'simultaneously' enabled me to explore many avenues and to develop a coherent theory from the data collected. Involvement in the Bass 'Management of Change' programme enabled me to gain a clearer understanding of the Bass Boards perception of change and managers and their subordinates response. This became valuable research data as I developed my theory and understanding of the Bass culture and the subcultures in the regions' Distribution Depots.

As a basic framework I found the systematic approach, generally used in the approach to problem solving, a useful guide. This was used flexibly as a closed loop in which I continuously validated my findings at all stages and in particular from my data analysis. Validation was carried out by continuously checking patterns and themes with depot managers, regional managers, operatives and the Distribution Director. However, the first validation point was usually with Management Services personnel who had spent many years working on projects in the research area.

Viewing an organisation's culture two-dimensionally and top down will produce the elusion that culture is a single homogeneous entity which can be easily understood and manipulated to satisfy business goals. An organisation's culture and its subcultures are rather part of a complex system which requires in-depth research in order to gain a clear understanding. In order to understand culture the researcher must get below the surface or the corporate view and view the research setting from a three-dimensional perspective

and 'bottom up'. The culture change programme for example, was introduced top down to middle manager levels only, my research by contrast was conducted bottom up from the shop floor. From this perspective the full width and depth of the culture can be explored. Taking manageable slices from the 'cultural cake' both horizontal and vertical, can then be researched in detail. Once an understanding of each section has been achieved the data can then be compared and contrasted with other regions and with the corporate culture. Research from this multifarious perspective of culture clearly requires access to all parts of the organisation nationally in order to get the whole picture. To a great extent my role in management services, which involved working on projects in all regions, facilitated this.

Data analysis, theory generation and continuous validation are clearly key areas in research, and a system is required to handle the data generated from fieldwork, and to convert this to a coherent theory. Grounded theory is one such approach which was used in my research. The key to theory generation is being able to visibly see what you have gathered in order identify links, themes and patterns. This visibility, which can be a card system or white board or both can be used by the researcher and key informants for validation purposes.

At the start of the research I had only envisaged collecting data through the use of in depth interviews and overt observation techniques. As the research moved forward and more information was required to validate my findings and develop a theory on the Bass culture and subcultures, I used several different data collection techniques to fit the situation and research requirement. This included the full spectrum of overt and covert participant and spectator observations as indicated in Figure 3.7. On many occasions I was able to use my role as manager to obtain information, under the guise of a management services project.

Playing two roles, that of a researcher and a manager simultaneously in an organisation can be problematic. The key issue is the question of keeping the two roles mutually exclusive, or using each role to enhance and compliment each other. Throughout the research, as a manager I was constantly seeing problems from a research view, and as a researcher I was constantly viewing problems as a manager. A danger in playing two different roles simultaneously is that the two merge into one which could cause problems for both roles. It is my view that managers as researchers gain a clearer understanding of both their own role in the organisation and in addition, a greater understanding of the research setting.

The role conflict in this type of research raises the issue of ethics and the possibility of conflict between the researcher and the organisation. Although I did not use any confidential information from my research to solve problems in my management role, on many occasions I was perceived by my informants to be 'gaining their confidence' to satisfy business objectives. A manager in an organisation has power and influence which can be used to obtain information unrelated to satisfying the objectives of the business. Additionally, the outcome of the research may also be in direct conflict with the beliefs and values of the organisation. This puts the researcher/manager in a vulnerable position in trying to satisfy both roles.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER THREE

Beck B (1970)

Cooking Welfare Studies in : Habenstein R W (Ed), Pathways to Data, Chicago, Aldine pp7-29

Beynon H (1973)

Working for Ford, Penguin, Harmondsworth

Bogdan R & Taylor S J (1975)

Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods, New York, Wiley

Carney T F (1979)

*Content Analysis: A Technique for Systematic Inference from Communications, Winnipeg,
Canada: University of Manitoba Press*

Cunnison S (1966)

Wages and Work Allocation, Tavistock, London

Dalton M (1959)

Men Who Manage, Wiley, New York

Delany W (1960)

*Some Field Notes on the Problem of Access in Organisational Research, Administrative Science
Quarterly, Vol.5 No3, September. pp448-457*

Filstead W J (1970)

Qualitative Methodology, Chicago: Rand McNally

Frame P G (1987

*The Management of Stringency and the Nature of Organisational Sub-Cultures, Unpublished
PhD thesis, Sheffield City Polytechnic*

Gill J & Johnson P (1991)

Research Methods for Managers, Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd

Glaser B G & Strauss A L (1967)
The Discovery of Grounded Theory, Aldine, Chicago

Glazer M (1972)
The Research Adventure - Promise and Problems of Field Work, New York, Random House

Gold R (1958)
Roles in Sociological Field Observation, Social Forces, Vol 36, No 3, pp 217-223

Hammersley M & Atkinson P (1983)
Ethnography: Principles in Practice, Tavistock, London

Johnson J D (1975)
Doing Field Research, New York Free Press.

Junker B H (1960)
Fieldwork, University of Chicago Press

Louis M R (1985)
An Investigators Guide to Workplace Cultures - in:- Organisational Culture ed. P J Frost et al,
Sage Publications

Maanen J V (1979)
The Fact of Fiction in Organisational Ethnography, Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol 24,
Dec. pp 539-550

Malinowski B (1944)
A Scientific Theory of Culture - Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press

Miles B M (1979 p. 591)
Quantitative Data as an Attractive Nuisance: The Problem of Analysis; Administrative Science
Quarterly, Vol 24, Dec. pp 590-600

Mintzberg H (1973)
The Nature of Management Work, Harper & Row, New York

Mintzberg H (1979)
An Emerging Strategy of Direct Research, Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol 24, Dec pp
582-589

Popper K R (1968)

The Logic of Scientific Discovery, New York; Harper & Row

Runkel P J & McGrath J E (1972)

Research on Human Behaviour: A Systematic Guide to Method, Holt Rinehart and Winston, New York

Sackmann S (1991)

Cultural Knowledge in Organisations, Sage Publications

Sanday P R (1979)

The Ethnographic Paradigm(s), Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol 24, Dec pp 527-538

Schatzman L & Strauss A L (1973)

Field Research, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall

Selye H (1964)

From Dream to Discovery: On Being a Scientist, New York: McGraw-Hill

Sieber S D (1976)

"A Synopsis and Critique of Guidelines for Qualitative Analysis Contained in Selected Text Books" New York Centre for Policy Research

Smith H W (1975)

Strategies of Social Research, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall

Turner B A (1983)

The Use of Grounded Theory for the Qualitative Analysis of Organisational Behaviour, Journal of Management Studies 20, 3, 1983 pp 333-348

Whyte (1943)

Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum, Chicago: Chicago University Press

CHAPTER 4

FIELDWORK - BASS CULTURE 15 DISTRIBUTION DEPOTS

CHAPTER FOUR

4. **Fieldwork - Bass Cultures 15 Distribution Depots**

In order to capture the multifaceted aspects of the Bass culture in terms of core beliefs and values and the manifestations of culture in terms of practices, the fieldwork was carried out in three main stages and covered historical and current events within Bass from 1961 to 1993. The year 1961 was chosen as a starting point because the early 1960's was the start of increased mergers and take-over activity in the brewing industry. In particular the Bass - Mitchells & Butler merger in 1961 and the Bass - Charrington United Breweries merger in 1967 involved many changes and movement of people from well established cultures to different cultural settings. These mergers and major changes in the late 60's and early 70's and the more recent changes as a result of the Monopolies and Mergers Commission Report on "The Supply of Beer" (1989), have been used as a base to determine how culture and subcultures emerge, develop and change in large geographically dispersed organisations.

The first stage of the fieldwork involved 'culture audits' in 15 distribution depots in the Bass North region, and identified the existence of multiple subcultures some of which were supportive and others subversive towards the Bass 'corporate' culture as perceived by the main board. The cultural differences in the depots were categorised as being either positive, negative or changing cultures relative to the Bass corporate culture. For example, the positive cultures were those depot subcultures in which the group values and practices were in line with the Bass corporate culture at both managerial and shopfloor levels. The negative subcultures were those which the values and daily working practices conflicted with the corporate culture. The changing cultures were those which were generally in line with the dominant culture yet historically they fitted into the negative category.

Having identified the three subculture types from the detailed culture audits the second stage involved focusing on the three culture types and using three depots, Liverpool, Abergele and Bury, for further in-depth analysis. The second stage also covered an assessment of cultural dispersion, that is the degree to which the beliefs and values of the core culture are dispersed throughout the Bass organisation and specifically throughout the three subculture groupings. The final stage was an examination of the impact that subcultures in the distribution depots have on outcomes. The 'management and control' of cultures and subcultures and their impact on performance is developed further in Chapter 6.

The research methodology used to understand the cultural differences in the 15 depots, from a cognitive and behaviouralistic perspective, was based on methods used in ethnography and within an inductivist framework. The use of participant observation was supplemented by data gathering techniques using: formal interviewing; questionnaires; psychometric tests; historical analysis and general observations. The use of both covert and overt observations was used because of inaccessibility of depots at times for research purposes. As mentioned in the previous chapter, when approved access became a problem, mainly because of the sensitivity of ongoing changes, I used my Management Services role as a cover to obtain research data. The covert approach was generally used for shopfloor observations as I had approval for access to discuss my research with Depot management. Additionally, discussions and observations in other functions and regions were also covert in order to obtain access. However, managers were generally aware that I was carrying out research, but this was not discussed in any detail.

In total 51 interviews were carried out in 15 Bass North Distribution Depots and in Bass South, Midlands, Scotland and Burton Headquarters. In order to gain an understanding of both the corporate culture and subcultures, interviews were conducted at all levels and across the different functions.

This Chapter details the findings from the first stage of the fieldwork study in the 15 distribution depots and relates it to past research into cultures in organisational settings. The second stage of the fieldwork, covering a more detailed analysis of subculture types and the Bass corporate culture, is detailed in Chapter 5.

4.1   Culture Audits 15 Bass North Depots

The culture audits were carried out in 15 Distribution depots throughout Bass Brewers North, a location map of the research area is shown in Appendix 3

List of research sites:

1.	Abergele	North Wales
2.	Barrow	Cumbria
3.	Bury	Lancashire
4.	Colne	Lancashire
5.	Eaglescliffe	North Yorkshire
6.	Grimsby	Humberside
7.	Hebburn	Tyne and Wear
8.	Hull	Humberside
9.	Huyton	Merseyside
10.	Leyland	Lancashire
11.	Portmadoc	Mid Wales
12.	Scarborough	North Yorkshire
13.	Sheffield	South Yorkshire
14.	Sleaford	Lincolnshire
15.	Tadcaster	Yorkshire

The initial fieldwork commenced with semi-structured interviews with the 15 Distribution Managers and was structured around a questionnaire covering a wide variety of personal and business topics (see Appendix 4). This included their career history, leadership and management style, motivation, decision making, reward systems, management of change, new technology, their work activity and the Bass Mission Statement. Discussions around the Bass Mission Statement and the Bass philosophy for success was used to compare their beliefs and values with that of Bass. At the end of each interview the Distribution Manager completed a psychometric personality

profile questionnaire. The personality profile was initially used with a view to identifying links with leadership style and the depot culture. However, it also proved of use as a vehicle to go back to the managers with the analysed profile and discuss further the cultural manifestations in the depots, and the more deep rooted beliefs and values of the managers and operatives.

This first stage of the fieldwork was an attempt at establishing a close relationship with the managers in order to gain an understanding of their beliefs and values in relation to the company or corporate values, and to identify the manifestations of these values in the distribution practices. "The term manifestation refers to the evidence or demonstration of the existence of something, or the form in which something is revealed" (Louis 1985 p84). As identified in Chapter 2, the manifestations of culture can be found in the form of linguistic symbols, rituals, myths, heroes, structures and systems and are generally observable behaviour patterns and artefacts.

The main objective of the fieldwork interviews and the many site visits was to identify these 'manifestations' and 'core values' in order to develop hypotheses. Using an inductive research methodology to identify, at that time, unknown cultural groupings would form a base for depot comparisons and attribute the differences to specific features of the depot culture.

In addition to the interviews with the distribution managers and discussions with site personnel, the Regional Distribution Managers, Distribution Directors, Personnel Directors and Regional Management Services Managers were interviewed in order validate the findings. Below is a précis of the findings in each Distribution depot.

Abergele Distribution Depot

Part of Colwyn Bay district of Clwyd, North Wales, industries include furniture manufacture and leisure resort. Population 48,639.

Distribution Manager - John Reynolds DOB 12/05/50

Background

YEAR	COMPANY	POSITION	AREA
1966	Local Authority	Transport Clerk	Stockport
1969	Gas Board	Gas Fitter	Stockport
1970	ICI	Process Operator	Stockport
1972	Bass	Stock Clerk	Portmadoc
1975	Bass	Distribution Manager	Portmadoc
1987	Bass	Distribution Manager	Chester
1989	Bass	Distribution Manager	Abergele

Statistics

Overall tonnage per annum = 16K

Manning levels - staff = 11

Manning levels - hourly paid = 22

Abergele is a small depot situated in an isolated farming area near the village of Abergele and to the North of Colwyn Bay. The depot supplies the North Wales area which to a great extent is seasonal trade. On visiting the depot for the research and on previous visits on project work, a feeling of the close knit village community and a friendly atmosphere is always present. The current Distribution Manager has worked in the Wales and Chester areas for Bass for over 20 years and has a good knowledge of the Bass culture and the North Wales culture.

The Bass values and philosophy for success in terms of productivity, profitability, quality and customer service, and the slogans 'Bass No 1 in the North' and 'Great Brands Best

Service' are much in evidence in the depot. The manager believes and promotes these values through flexible working arrangements, a democratic management style, staff status payment schemes, team working, and a high level of communication with the staff and shopfloor teams. Having worked at Portmadoc and Chester depots the manager feels that cultural differences exist at different locations and that these differences affect depot management and depot performance. For example, having worked at Portmadoc depot for 15 years, which is a small rural depot in North Wales, he found attitudes and working practices very different when he was transferred to the Chester depot. The main differences were related to trade union activities which brought about high levels of restrictive practices in the warehouse and on the delivery drays, and a general resistance to change. He considers the differences to be linked to the general attitudes of people in particular geographical locations, and that the attitudes and beliefs of "Chester people" or "Welsh people" are visible in daily working practices. When he moved to Abergele in 1989 he found again a difference in culture, in the Abergele case it was a move to a more amenable workforce which he believes is characteristic of the culture of people living in North Wales.

The Bass corporate values are manifested in the behaviour patterns and practices at the Abergele depot and are visible in the form of their total commitment to quality, customer service and in particular the teamworking and flexible working arrangements between the warehouse and delivery teams. The depot culture can be described as being supportive and very much in line with the values of the 'corporate' culture. This is very much in evidence at Trade Union negotiating meetings, observations on site tours and attendance at distribution management meetings. Although there appears to be harmony at the depot, conversations with warehouse operatives and draymen, revealed resentment regarding pay levels at other depots for carrying out the same job. The Liverpool and Bury depots were frequently cited as comparisons.

A more detailed analysis of the Abergele site is discussed in Chapter 5 as the depot was chosen as a representative site for the subculture type 'B' enhancing culture.

ABERGELE - ORGANISATION CHART

```
                    DISTRIBUTION
                      MANAGER
                         |
       ┌─────────────────┼─────────────────┬──────────────┐
       |                                    |              |
  OPERATIONS                             ADMIN        TELE SALES
  SUPERVISOR                           SUPERVISOR     SUPERVISOR
       |                                    |              |
 ┌─────┼──────┬──────────┐           DISTRIBUTION    TELE SALES
 |     |      |          |              CLERK          CLERKS
TRANSPORT DRIVERS MATES WAREHOUSEMEN      3              3
 CLERK     12      4        6
```

Statistics

Tonnes per annum = 16k
Manning levels - staff = 11
Manning levels - hourly paid = 22

MAY 1990

Barrow Distribution Depot

Barrow-in-Furness, Cumbria, main industries include iron and steel and ship building. Population 72,635.

Distribution Manager - Colin Howarth DOB 19/12/45

Background

YEAR	COMPANY	POSITION	AREA
1962	Taylor Anderton	Trainee	Colne
1964	Bass	Clerk	Colne
1966	Bass	Warehouse Manager	Colne
1969	Bass	Stock Auditor	N.West
1973	Bass	Warehouse Manager	Leyland
1977	Bass	Transport Manager	Leyland
1982	Bass	Distribution Manager	Barrow

Statistics

Overall tonnage per annum   = 13K

Manning levels - staff   = 5

Manning levels - hourly paid = 17

The Barrow depot was purpose built for the distribution of Bass products around the Cumbria area in the 1970's. There are no historical links with the depot site and the brewing industry, which the Distribution Manager considers as being significant in the light of his experience and knowledge of other Distribution depots in Bass North. As a Stock Auditor for four years, covering all Bass North West depots, he spent a great deal of time in depots working with both management and shopfloor operatives on stock control and auditing procedures. In terms of cultural differences he found that operatives in depots who had historical links with the brewing industry were the most difficult to work with. In particular he cited the Liverpool and Bury depots, which have historical links with Bents Brewery (Liverpool) and Cornbrook Brewery (Manchester) respectively. He described both depots as "having a long history of militant trade unions which originated in the breweries and were then transferred into the depots when the breweries

closed". As a Stock Auditor he recognised many of the brewery traits and restrictive practices, for example, the beer drinking habits whilst out on the drays, three man crews on the drays and no flexibility across fleet and warehouse operations. In depots with no historical links, for example, Abergele, Portmadoc and Barrow he found a different culture which he described as "operating flexible working practices".

In the Barrow depot there are no restrictive practices in operation, due mainly to a salaried payment system, which encourages all deliveries to be made on the scheduled day by whatever manpower is available. The Barrow depot was one of the first depots to move onto a salaried pay system, which has been in operation for over four years. The salaried pay system incorporates all payments, including overtime, into a salary which is paid on the basis that all deliveries are made when required with no restrictive practices across warehouse and delivery operations.

The Barrow workplace culture is very similar to Abergele in terms of the manifestations of culture in their behaviour patterns and practices. This can be seen in the manager's shared values with the 'corporate' culture and the workforce's commitment to quality, customer service and total flexibility.

The manager at Barrow has worked 30 years for the Bass organisation and has seen many changes in leadership and in operating practices. Having worked at Colne and Leyland at manager level and for four years covering all North West depots as a Stock Auditor, he feels that the workforce attitudes and cultures are different in all areas. He believes in the Bass philosophy for success and communicates this message to the workforce.

There is a good trade union/management relationship with both sides flexible and working towards the same goals. For example, the depot manager and trade union shop steward regularly meet to discuss current and anticipated problems in both the warehouse and on the delivery drays. Total flexibility between staff, warehouse and draymen ensures that all customer deliveries are met. In situations where deliveries may be missed

staff generally provide assistance in the warehouse. A salaried payment system and teamwork is in operation at the depot and there is a very low resistance to change. However, as with Abergele, there is resentment regarding higher pay levels in other depots.

The workforce culture can be described as being supportive of the corporate culture in terms of the core values expressed in the Bass mission statement.

A key point made by the manager was the fact that at the smaller depots greater autonomy and self control is allowed by senior management. He explained that the Regional Distribution Manager and Distribution Director very rarely visited the depot. In contrast, in the larger depots there is much tighter control and regular visits by senior management.

DISTRIBUTION MANAGER

SENIOR CLERK

GENERAL CLERK

GENERAL CLERK

OPERATIONS SUPERVISOR

WAREHOUSEMEN 4

DRAYMEN 13

Statistics

Tonnes per annum = 13k
Manning levels - staff = 5
Manning levels - hourly paid = 17

MAY 1990

- 119 -

<u>Bury Distribution Depot</u>

Bury, Lancashire, main industries include cotton and textiles.

Population 176,578.

<u>Distribution Manager</u> - Derek Jones DOB 12/2/51

<u>Background</u>

YEAR	COMPANY	POSITION	AREA
1966	Masseys Breweries	Transport Admin	Colne
1969	Masseys Breweries	Asst. Transport Manager	Burnley
1972	Bass	Routeing Supervisor	Bury
1975	Bass	Retail Delivery Supervisor	Bury
1975	Bass	Transport Supervisor	Colne
1976	Bass	Distribution Manager	Barrow
1980	Bass	Distribution Manager	Blackpool
1986	Bass	Distribution Manager	Bury

<u>Statistics</u>

Overall tonnage per annum   = 60K

Manning levels - staff   = 18

Manning levels - hourly paid = 63

The depot at Bury was originally rented as a purpose built site and has been in operation since the early 70's. Previously, delivery operations were from central Manchester when part of the Cornbrook Brewery, which was Bass owned and closed in 1970 as part of a major rationalisation programme. Originally, because of the transfer of management and operatives from the Cornbrook Brewery in Manchester, the depot culture was strongly 'traditional' brewery with a high level of restrictive practices and poor productivity. As mentioned previously, a brewery culture is very different from a depot culture. This stems from the 1960's and 1970's when many brewery sites were integrated in terms of brewing and delivery operations. At this time, which was a time of 'strong' trade union

power, brewery shop stewards negotiated high levels of pay, introduced many restrictive practices and generally, management turned a blind eye to operatives drinking beer whilst on the job. In fact as one Distribution Manager stated "at that time it would have been hypercritical for management to have stopped the drinking in working hours". It would appear that, in the breweries, it was custom and practice for both brewery management and operatives to 'sample the beer', to use the technical term.

In an attempt to resolve problems linked to the 'Cornbrook culture', a major reorganisation in 1981 transferred trade to surrounding depots. This did not resolve all the problems but reduced the risk to Bass. Over the past 10 years there has been a significant change in the culture from being subversive to supportive. This culture change is considered to be a result of the demise of the 'Cornbrook Brewery Culture' or the 'Salford Mafia' as it is still referred, to a supportive depot culture. As the Cornbrook operatives left the organisation, new operatives were recruited locally, and a socialisation process linked to the Bury depot ways of working ensured conformity.

The Bury depot manager has worked in the brewing industry for 27 years, 6 years of which were spent in a 'brewery culture' and 21 years in various 'depot cultures'. He considers that there is a considerable difference between a brewery and a depot culture in terms of norms, beliefs and values. Having worked at Colne, Barrow and Blackpool depots he also considers there to be significant cultural differences between depots. He also considers that general strategic policies made from 'the centre' clearly do not fit all depot cultures.

Many of the Bury employees interviewed considered that the Bury culture had changed significantly over the years from being militant and subversive to more consultative and supportive. Although Bury operate an incentive payment system based on standard minute values the strong trade union team is flexible through negotiation. Overall the practices at Bury are in line with the values of the dominant culture.

Both management and operatives identified with past 'heroes' in terms of past Distribution Directors and trade union leaders. In particular many operatives talked about the shop steward between 1972 and 1988. Cornbrook employees clearly saw him as a leader who could 'handle' management and negotiate high levels of pay. However, many Bury employees saw him as "the cause of much unrest at the depot" and "the leader of the Salford Mafia who looked after themselves". From discussions with both management and Bury operatives, many feel that the culture change started when the shop steward left the organisation in 1988.

A more detailed analysis of the Bury culture is discussed in Chapter 5 as the depot was chosen as a representative site for the subculture type 'C' changing culture.

BURY - ORGANISATION CHART

```
                          DISTRIBUTION
                            MANAGER
         ┌───────────────────┬───────────────────────────┐
         │                   │                           │
  OFFICE MANAGER      OPERATIONS MANAGER           GARAGE MANAGER
    │                        │                           │
 CASHIER          OPERATIONS SUPERVISOR              FITTERS
                         2                        (SELF EMPLOYED)
  OPERATIONS                                             3
  SUPERVISOR
   ┌──────────┬─────────┐       ┌───────────────┬─────────────┐
   │          │         │       │               │             │
ROUTEING   STOCK              WAREHOUSE        FLEET
SUPERVISOR CONTROLLER         CHECKERS
   │          │                  3        ┌──────────┬─────────┐
 CLERKS    STOCK CONTROL    WAREHOUSEMEN   RETAIL    RETAIL   TANK
   3        CLERKS              19         DRIVERS    MATES   DRIVERS
             2                               28        11       5
```

MAY 1990

Statistics

Tonnes per annum = 60k
Manning levels - staff = 18
Manning levels - hourly paid = 63

Colne Distribution Depot

Colne, East Lancashire, main industries include cotton and felts.

Population 18,873

Distribution Manager - Dennis Fitton DOB 3/9/58

Background

YEAR	COMPANY	POSITION	AREA
1979	Scottish & Newcastle	Graduate Trainee	Edinburgh
1980	Scottish & Newcastle	Ind. Engineer	Edinburgh
1981	Scottish & Newcastle	Warehouse Manager	Edinburgh
1983	Haywood Brothers	Ops. Manager	London
1985	Haywood Brothers	Asst. Sales/Production Director	London
1987	Pirelli	Distribution Manager	Swindon
1990	Bass	Distribution Manager	Colne

Statistics

Overall tonnage per annum   = 25K

Manning levels - staff   = 15

Manning levels - hourly paid = 29

Although the Colne depot is not on an original Brewery site there are strong historical links with the Masseys Brewery of Burnley which was closed in 1970. The brewery closure caused many employees to move from their traditional Brewery culture to the distribution function. Initially, the culture was an amalgam of brewery and warehouse operatives, the dominant culture being brewery culture of the Massey employees. The culture has changed over the past 20 years from a traditional brewery culture with established attitudes, norms and a resistance to change, to a supportive culture. In terms of culture change, the situation at Colne is similar to the changes occurring at the Bury depot. The demise of the former Massey employees and the socialisation of new operatives and management has resulted in a more flexible workforce.

The Distribution manager at Colne has only been with Bass for 3 years and therefore has no comparisons to make with other depots. However, having worked for a competitor (Scottish & Newcastle Breweries) he considers Bass in all functions to be 'old fashioned' and very traditional. His induction programme and socialisation into the Bass organisation involved an insight into all operations at Bass.

Discussions with the workforce and staff indicate that the culture at Colne has changed significantly over the past 20 years. The culture change, from the 1970's and the influx of the Massey's employees has been a move to, a more flexible trade union, team working in the warehouse and on the delivery drays, salaried payment systems and total quality systems. The workforce is supportive of the goals of the organisation in terms of those identified in the mission statement.

Organisation chart (read with page rotated):

DISTRIBUTION MANAGER
- OPERATIONS SUPERVISOR
  - WAREHOUSE FOREMAN
    - WAREHOUSE
      - CHARGE HAND
        - WAREHOUSEMEN 7
    - TRANSPORT
      - DRIVERS 13
      - MATES 8
  - OPERATIONS SUPERVISOR
    - OPERATIONS CLERK
- ADMIN SUPERVISOR
  - TELESALES SUPERVISOR
    - TELESALES CLERKS 6
  - STOCK CONTROL

MAY 1990

Statistics

Tonnage per annum = 25k
Manning levels - staff = 15
Manning levels - hourly paid = 29

Eaglescliffe Distribution Depot

Eaglescliffe, near Middlesbrough main industries include iron and steel, heavy

engineering and chemicals.

Population 149,770

Distribution Manager - David Redfern DOB 27/5/48

Background

YEAR	COMPANY	POSITION	AREA
1965	Coach Company	Fitter	Sheffield
1969	Bass	Fitter	Sheffield
1971	Bass	Trunking Controller	Sheffield
1980	Bass	Trunking Manager	Sheffield
1985	Self Employed	General Dealer	Sheffield
1987	Bass	Warehouse Manager	Sheffield
1989	Bass	Distribution Manager	Eaglescliffe
1991	Bass	Wines & Spirits Manager	Grimsby

Statistics

Overall tonnage per annum   = 31K

Manning levels - staff   = 8

Manning levels - hourly paid = 28

The Eaglescliffe depot is on an industrial site on the outskirts of Yarm village, and has no

historical connections with the brewing industry. On visiting the site there is a distinct

lack of character about the warehouse and surrounding area. The manager has been with

Bass for 24 years and has seen many organisational changes and changes in working

practices brought about by changes in leadership and economic necessity. Having

worked in the Sheffield area for 20 years prior to moving to Eaglescliffe he finds there is

a considerable difference in attitudes/culture. He explained that the Eaglescliffe team

were more ready to accept change and work towards the goals of the organisation than

the Sheffield workforce. He believes there are three major reasons for the differences in

culture. Firstly, he considers that the militant unions in the Swinton depot, which transferred to Sheffield in 1981, has had an impact on the attitudes of the workforce in relation to resistance to change. Secondly he considers that there is still bad feeling with former steel workers at the depot in relation to the demise of the steel industry in Sheffield. Thirdly, he considers that the depot's link with brewing in Sheffield, that is the Cannon and Hope Breweries has a significant impact on the depot culture.

He contrasts the Sheffield depot culture with the Eaglescliffe culture which can be best described as being supportive though in the past there has been a strong trade union activity and some resistance to change. Restrictive practices are currently being reduced and a salaried payment scheme is planned for implementation.

```
                              ┌─────────────────┐
                              │  DISTRIBUTION   │
                              │    MANAGER      │
                              └────────┬────────┘
                ┌──────────────────────┼──────────────────────┐
        ┌───────┴────────┐                            ┌────────┴────────┐
        │   WAREHOUSE    │                            │    TRANSPORT    │
        │   SUPERVISOR   │                            │   SUPERVISOR    │
        └───────┬────────┘                            └────────┬────────┘
    ┌───────────┴──────────┐                                   │
┌───┴────────┐    ┌────────┴────┐                    ┌─────────┴─────────┐
│ WAREHOUSE  │    │STOCK CONTROL│                    │                   │
│CHARGEHAND  │    │   CLERK     │                 ┌──┴──┐             ┌───┴───┐
└───┬────────┘    └─────────────┘                 │RETAIL│            │ TANK  │
    │                                             └──┬──┘             │ BEER  │
┌───┴────────┐                                       │                └───┬───┘
│WAREHOUSEMEN│                                   ┌───┴────┐               │
│     5      │                                ┌──┴──┐  ┌──┴──┐        ┌───┴────┐
└────────────┘                                │DRIVERS│ │MATES│     ┌─┴──┐  ┌──┴──┐
                                              │  13  │  │  5  │      │DRIVERS││MATE │
                                              └──────┘  └─────┘      │  3  │ │  1  │
                                                                     └─────┘ └─────┘

    GENERAL CLERK    TRANSPORT CLERK    SECRETARY/WAGES CLERK    TANK BEER CLERK
```

Statistics

Tonnage per annum = 31k

Manning levels - staff = 8

Manning levels - hourly paid = 28

MAY 1990

Grimsby Distribution Depot

Grimsby, Humberside main industries include food-processing and chemical industry.

Population 92,147

Distribution Manager - Terry Rankin DOB 3/11/48

Background

YEAR	COMPANY	POSITION	AREA
1965	Motor Company	Motor Engineer	Liverpool
1968	Bass	Motor Engineer	Leyland
1969	Bass	Transport Manager	Blackpool
1976	Bass	Transport Manager	Liverpool
1978	Bass	Distribution Manager	Liverpool
1989	Bass	Distribution Manager	Grimsby

Statistics

Overall tonnage per annum   = 25K

Manning levels - staff   = 24

Manning levels - hourly paid = 64

Although the Grimsby depot is not on a brewery site the depot has historical links with Hewitt Bros Ltd of Grimsby. Bass had long standing trading agreements with Hewitt's in the 1960's, Bass stocking Hewitt Bros products in return for an agreement to sell Bass Worthington draught and bottled beers. Although the Grimsby Brewery closed as a result of the Bass Charrington mergers, evidence of this link can be seen in the Grimsby distribution offices. Artefacts in the form of posters, pictures and ornaments can be seen in most offices.

The Distribution manager has been with Bass for 25 years and has worked in many different depots. Having worked at the Leyland, Blackpool, and Liverpool depots he feels that there are significant differences in the depot cultures in terms of values and

attitudes and the effect these have on distribution practices. The manager considers that past leaders, Board level Directors, Distribution Directors and Trade Union leaders, have played a key role in the formation, development and changing of workplace and management cultures. He expands on this by using himself as an example in relation to bringing his experience of managing a large militant depot in Liverpool, to transform Grimsby. He believes that since moving from Liverpool to Grimsby in 1989 he has changed the workplace culture at Grimsby towards being more supportive of the Bass mission. This was achieved, he believes by introducing a salaried scheme, flexible working arrangements and the elimination of all restrictive working practices. During this period of change many employees left the organisation and were replaced by local people under the new terms and conditions.

An interesting point is that, whilst as a manager at the Liverpool depot for 11 years, despite numerous strategies, there were no significant changes in attitudes or working practices. Restrictive practices at the Liverpool depot (1990) amounted to 33 which clearly restricts operations. It would appear that the Grimsby depot managers approach to change was more readily accepted in Grimsby than at Liverpool. This point and the issues relating to behavioural compliance is examined in more detail in the following chapters.

There are strong Trade Union activities at the site yet both sides are flexible in negotiation. Resistance to change has been overcome by coercive methods such as the threat of closure resulting from the MMC report. For many years the depot has been under threat of closure because of its location which is not ideal for its customer delivery base. As such, on many occasions the threat of closure has been used in order to introduce more efficient working practices. This was the case when the current manager moved from Liverpool to Grimsby, this coincided with the MMC report and a real threat of closure. This has resulted in no restrictive practices and a move towards a salaried payment system. Generally the culture at Grimsby has changed over the years and is

more supportive of change, the operating practices are now in line with the Bass philosophy for success.

When asked about using the same threat of closure on the Liverpool depot to achieve change his reply was that "they would rather see it close than give in to management".

GRIMSBY - ORGANISATION CHART

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION MANAGER

BEER OPERATIONS SUPERVISOR
- TRANSPORT OPERATIONS SUPERVISOR
  - TRANSPORT CLERKS — 2
    - BOND DRIVERS — 6
    - RETAIL DRIVERS — 17
    - RETAIL MATES — 4
- BEER W/HOUSE OPERATIONS SUPERVISOR
  - CHARGEHAND
    - WAREHOUSEMEN — 7

ADMIN MANAGER
- DEPOT ADMIN SUPERVISOR
  - W & S PURCHASER
    - W & S CLERK
  - STOCK CONTROLLER
    - STOCK CLERKS — 4
- BOND ADMIN SUPERVISOR
  - BOND CLERKS — 3

W & S OPS MANAGER
- OPS SUPER DUTY PAID
  - CHARGEHAND
    - WAREHOUSEMEN — 16
    - PLUS 6 WAREHOUSEMEN FROM 18/6/90
- OPS SUPER BOND
  - CHARGEHAND
    - WAREHOUSEMEN — 5

MAY 1990

Statistics

Tonnage per annum = 25k

Manning levels - staff = 24

Manning levels - hourly paid = 64

- 133 -

Newcastle (Hebburn) Distribution Depot

Hebburn, Tyne and Wear near Gateshead main industries include ship building and engineering.

Population 23,597

Distribution Manager - Colin McLean DOB 8/11/56

Background

YEAR	COMPANY	POSITION	AREA
1980	Christian Salvesan	Grad. Trainee	Manchester
1981	Christian Salvesan	Supervisor	Manchester
1983	Christian Salvesan	Supervisor	London
1984	Christian Salvesan	Systems Engineer	Edinburgh
1985	Drybrough	Admin. Manager	Edinburgh
1987	Tetley	Dist. Manager	Durham
1988	Bass	Dist. Manager	Hebburn
1991	Bass	W/Spirits Manager	Glasgow

Statistics

Overall tonnage per annum = 49K

Manning levels - staff = 19

Manning levels - hourly paid = 52

The depot at Newcastle was purpose built for Bass distribution in 1974, previous operations being in South Shields. Although there are no historical brewery links with Bass in the North East, there has been and still is a strong brewery presence in the area. Newcastle, like many other industrialised cities, has a reputation for strong trade unions and a high resistance to change. The Newcastle depot does not appear to be an exception to that rule.

The distribution manager feels that an autocratic management style is required in an area/depot such as Newcastle where there is a subversive culture. The manager has been with Bass 5 years and remembers his induction or socialisation as being an introduction

to the traditional ways of the Bass culture. In comparison with his previous employers, Tetley and Christian Salvesan, he considers the Bass culture to be very traditional and highly resistant to change. Specifically he refers to the introduction of new technology and automated warehousing which were introduced many years ago in our competitors' breweries and warehouses. A painful example of this in Newcastle, was the building of a new £70k loading dock in 1990, on completion the draymen refused to use it, and it has never been used to date.

There is a very strong Trade Union at the Newcastle depot which to an extent is inflexible, however, there are signs of change which have been brought about by the economic situation and the need to change to survive. There is a high resistance to accept change readily with regards to quality systems, salaried payment schemes, and general changes to working practices. There are strict demarcation lines between the warehouse operatives and the delivery drivers and there are strong family links within the workforce.

Overall both the management and operatives' values conflict with values of the dominant culture. The manager for example does not believe that strategies generated from Burton HQ are suitable for the Newcastle culture. Examples of this are the salaried payment system which he believes would be counter productive at the depot. He believes that the workforce 'need' tightly controlled incentives payment systems in order to achieve target throughputs. Other examples given were the introduction of standard job titles and standard manning levels which he feels should be agreed at a local level and not determined nationally from central headquarters. Generally he considers that regional depot managers, within broad guidelines, should be given regional autonomy to control their own operation and regional culture. That is not to say move away from the overall mission of the organisation, but to work within the mission with a greater span of regional control.

HEBBURN - ORGANISATION CHART

DISTRIBUTION MANAGER

- OPERATIONS MANAGER
  - OPERATIONS SUPERVISOR
    - HOURLY PAID
      - TRANSPORT 36
      - WAREHOUSE 16

- ADMIN MANAGER
  - OPERATIONS ADMIN
    - STOCK CONTROLLER
    - STOCK CONTROL CLERK
    - TANK BEER CLERK
    - TRANSPORT CLERK
  - TELESALES
    - TELESALES SUPERVISOR
      - TELESALES CLERKS 5
  - GENERAL OFFICE
    - SECRETARY/ CASHIER
    - ASSISTANT CASHIER/WAGES
    - RECEPTIONIST

MAY 1990

Statistics

Tonnage per annum = 49k
Manning levels - staff = 19
Manning levels - hourly paid = 52

<u>Hull Distribution Depot</u>

Based near the Humber, Hull's main industries include; large docks/fishing; oil
extraction; four mills; saw mills; chemicals and engineering.

Population 268,302

<u>Distribution Manager</u> - Thomas Wightman DOB 10/01/48

<u>Background</u>

YEAR	COMPANY	POSITION	AREA
1965	Ford	Mechanic	South Shields
1971	Nat. Frt. Corp	Mechanic	Hebburn
1974	Bass	Mechanic	Hebburn
1977	Bass	Chargehand	Hebburn
1980	Bass	Garage Manager	Hebburn
1985	Bass	Transport Manager	Hebburn
1988	Bass	Distribution Manager	Hull
1990	Bass	Distribution Manager	Hebburn

<u>Statistics</u>

Overall tonnage per annum   = 25K

Manning levels - staff   = 7

Manning levels - hourly paid = 23

The Hull depot is on an industrial estate on the outskirts of Hull, previous distribution
operations were in the centre of Hull near the docks area. Historically the depot is linked
to Moores and Robson Breweries and Hewitt Bros. of Grimsby. Moores and Robson was
an entirely-owned subsidiary of Bass and sold the company's products for many years.
Although there is little evidence of Moores and Robson or Hewitts at the present depot
many employees moved from the brewery location to the new site in the 70's. The
original culture was a mixture of brewery and depot operatives.

Having worked for Bass for 19 years, 17 of which have been at the Newcastle depot, the
Hull manager feels that there is a significant cultural difference between the two sites in

terms of attitudes, values and practices. He considers these differences to be linked to both the culture of the geographical location and cultural mix of the workforce.

Historically there has been a high resistance to change at the depot, however, the operatives are now considered to be more supportive of the dominant culture's values. This can be seen in the current practices at the depot ie a low level of restrictive practices, low container damage, and a move towards a salaried payment system. Discussions with past and present managers and operatives indicate that the changes are a result of changes in leadership at the depot and the demise of the 'old' culture which originated from the docks and brewery culture in the late 60's. This situation seems to be typical in many depots where a move to a different location as resulted in the formation of a mixed culture. It would appear that the 'old site culture' employees and the new site culture employees' try to work out their differences and the stronger of the two, in terms of union strength takes on shopfloor leadership. Invariably it is the old site culture which usually takes on initial leadership. The reason for this is that the old site culture has had high levels of shopfloor control in the previous cultural setting. The cultural mix continues, in some cases for decades, until eventually employees from the old culture leave the organisation and a 'new' depot culture emerges.

It would appear that Hull depot is at the transformational stage, that is moving towards supporting the goals of the organisation.

DISTRIBUTION MANAGER

ADMIN SUPERVISOR

OPERATIONS SUPERVISOR

STOCK CONTROLLER

GENERAL CLERK

GENERAL CLERK WAREHOUSE

TRANS/ADMIN CLERK

CANTEEN WORKER

CHARGEHAND

WAREHOUSEMEN
5

RETAIL

DRIVERS
12

MATES
5

Statistics

Tonnage per annum = 25k
Manning levels - staff = 7
Manning levels - hourly paid = 23

MAY 1990

Liverpool (Huyton) Distribution Depot

Huyton, Merseyside near Liverpool main industries include; ship repairing; flour milling; sugar refining; rubber processing and engineering.

Population 1,368,630 (Liverpool)

Distribution Manager - John Craven DOB 29/5/53

Background

YEAR	COMPANY	POSITION	AREA
1973	Bass	Stock Clerk	Bury
1975	Bass	Transport Clerk	Bury
1977	Bass	Warehouse Foreman	Blackpool
1979	Bass	Warehouse Manager	Abergele
1984	Bass	Transport Manager	Tadcaster
1985	Bass	Distribution Manager	Abergele
1988	Bass	Distribution Manager	Leyland
1990	Bass	Distribution Manager	Huyton

Statistics

Overall tonnage per annum   = 69K

Manning levels - staff   = 22

Manning levels - hourly paid = 81

A detailed analysis of the Huyton depot in Liverpool is presented in Chapter 5 as the depot was chosen as the representative depot in the category of subculture 'A' counter culture. In view of this, the comments below are a précis of the data gathered during Stage 1 of the research.

The Liverpool depot has been at Huyton since 1976 following the closure of two Bass depots and the Bents Brewery which were all based in the centre of Liverpool. Many of the brewery and depot operatives moved to Huyton and took with them many of the

working practices which had prevailed for many years. The majority of the workforce were former Bents Brewery employees including the senior shop steward who had previously led a militant brewery trade union membership through the 1960's and early 1970's.

When the teams formed the existing depot at Huyton there was much unrest as management tried to change the 'old' traditional ways of working, which had been the norm in the Bents Brewery for many years. Over a 17 year period many Directors and depot managers have unsuccessfully tried to change the culture at Huyton which is considered to be cohesive, tribal, protective and highly resistant to change.

The Liverpool manager had only recently taken up his new position as Distribution Manager and to a great extent he was finding his way around at Stage 1 of the research. His first thoughts of the Liverpool culture after a few months were that he finds the team very difficult to manage as they resist all attempts to introduce change. He compared the Liverpool culture with his previous positions at Bury, Blackpool, Abergele, Tadcaster and Leyland. His comments were that in terms of resistance to change the Blackpool, Bury and Tadcaster depots had similarities. However, he made the comment that the Liverpool work culture was different from any area in which he had worked.

Having moved from a medium sized depot in Leyland where management /trade union relations were stable, he found Liverpool to be quite volatile. However he put most of this down to 'trying out the new manager'. At our first and subsequent meetings we were interrupted on many occasions regarding operations and security problems. For example, on one occasion the police rang to say that they had two draymen in custody for stealing CO_2 canisters from the depot. The manager made the point that since his arrival there had been several problems with the police regarding missing stocks. In the depot manager's opinion " you can't trust them, you have to nail everything down and they think its fair game to steal".

The management /trade union mistrust seems to be a long standing tradition which is part of the socialisation process as managers and subordinates join the depot. For example, before the Distribution Manager took up his new position, he was fully briefed by the Director and Regional Manager about the Huyton Depot culture and the Liverpool culture in general. As a result the manager arrives with preconceived ideas about the depot and how to control it. Many of the depot managers in Bass North considered that the Huyton depot was the 'ultimate challenge' in terms of effectively managing a depot with long standing traditions and working practices which they were not prepared to change. Other depots, for example Sheffield, Hebburn, Tadcaster and the now closed Blackpool depot were considered to be equally as difficult to manage.

A great deal of information regarding the depot culture and working practices, from a management view point, came from past managers and supervisors who had moved on to other depots in the same or different regions. For example the current Burton Depot Manager, who was previously the Transport Manager at Huyton, was interviewed to get a broader view of the past ways of working in the depot. His main comments were in line with many other manager's views on the Huyton culture. He considers that the Huyton culture is very cohesive and in many ways like a family commune, and in a trade union sense they tend to work the system of 'one out all out'. In terms of the cohesive family description this is literally the case, as a glance at the employment register, reveals the family links. This stems from the brewery days when fathers would automatically have their sons working in the same organisation. The situation regarding family links were also found in the Hebburn and Tadcaster depots.

The previous Huyton manager, who worked for 11 years at the depot before being transferred to the Grimsby depot, accepted the culture as 'being the way they are'. As mentioned previously, during his years at the Huyton Depot he worked towards changing attitudes at the depot to conform with the ideals of senior management. These included changes in customer service, quality, salaried payment schemes and general working practices. He concluded that much of the resistance to change is because they believe the

change is for the worse in terms of work output and personal reward. He gave the example of the national initiative to introduce salaried pay systems which he believed, as did the workforce, that this would not motivate the draymen to increase outputs. Many of the operatives, particularly the draymen, preferred a payment system which rewarded them directly for effort.

Historically the depot has shown a high resistance to change which it would appear stems from the culture transferred from the Bents Brewery. The workforce at Huyton is characterised by strong trade union activities, high resistance to change and generally possessing different values from the dominant culture. The depot overall can be classed as being counter productive and a counter culture.

A more detailed analysis of the Huyton culture is given in Chapter 5.

FACTORY - ORGANISATION CHART

DISTRIBUTION MANAGER

ADMIN MANAGER

CLEANERS
2

STOCK CONTROLLER

ASSISTANT STOCK CONTROLLER

STOCK CONTROL CLERKS
3

CASHIER

TELE SALES SUPERVISOR

TELE SALES
4

OPERATIONS MANAGER

OPS SUPERVISOR
3

CHARGEHANDS
3

WAREHOUSEMEN
27

RETAIL

MATES
20

DRIVERS
31

TRANSPORT CLERKS
2

MAY 1990

Statistics

Tonnes per annum = 69 k
Manning levels - staff = 22
Manning levels - hourly paid = 81

<u>Leyland Distribution Depot</u>

Leyland, Lancashire, main industries include; motor vehicles and rubber.

Population 23,391

<u>Distribution Manager</u> - Paul Cryer DOB 21/10/60

<u>Background</u>

YEAR	COMPANY	POSITION	AREA
1977	Tinsley Wire	YTS Trainee	Sheffield
1978	Banner Plant	Assistant Manager	Dronfield
1982	Bass	Transport Clerk	Sheffield
1983	Bass	Stock Controller	Sheffield
1984	Bass	Warehouse Manager	Blackpool
1985	Bass	Warehouse Manager	Liverpool
1987	Bass	Beer Manager	Sheffield
1989	Bass	Transport Manager	Liverpool
1990	Bass	Distribution Manager	Leyland

<u>Statistics</u>

Overall tonnage per annum   = 27K

Manning levels - staff   = 14

Manning levels - hourly paid = 32

The depot at Leyland was originally acquired to replace operations at the Blackpool Depot which was part of the Bass owned Catterill & Swarbrick Brewery. Industrial relations problems at the Blackpool site forced Bass to transfer all beer operations to the Leyland site. Initially the Blackpool depot was closed in 1900 and all beer and wines and spirits were transferred to Leyland. Many Blackpool employees, who at that time were considered to be a militant group, moved to Leyland to set up a new operation. The new operation proved difficult to manage and in 1900 all beer operations were moved back to Blackpool. Leyland then became the principle wines & spirits depot in the North West, and over a period of several years developed an expertise in this field. In 1900 beer operations moved back into Leyland as part of a major rationalisation programme.

The manager has been with Bass for 10 years and has worked in many different depot cultures, ie Sheffield, Blackpool, Liverpool and Leyland. Comparing the depot cultures he considers Sheffield, Blackpool, and Liverpool depots to be very similar in terms of their values, working practices and high resistance to change. In contrast he considers Leyland to have different values which show in the practices and operations in the depot.

Historically Leyland has been a depot with a high resistance to change which stemmed primarily from the transfer of the Blackpool 'Catterill and Swarbrick Culture'. The culture is only partly influenced by the brewery culture, having been much diluted by employment of local labour and transfers from neighbouring depots. This has resulted in a change in attitude and culture to a more supportive group.

PETFOOD - ORGANISATION CHART

```
                          ┌─────────────────┐
                          │  DISTRIBUTION   │
                          │    MANAGER      │
                          └────────┬────────┘
        ┌──────────────────┬───────┴────────┬──────────────────┐
┌───────┴───────┐  ┌───────┴───────┐  ┌─────┴─────────┐  ┌─────┴─────────┐
│  TELESALES    │  │    ADMIN      │  │  OPERATIONS   │  │  OPERATIONS   │
│  SUPERVISOR   │  │  SUPERVISOR   │  │  SUPERVISOR   │  │  SUPERVISOR   │
└───────┬───────┘  └───────┬───────┘  └───────┬───────┘  └───────┬───────┘
   ┌────┴────┐             │            ┌──────┴──────┐    ┌──────┴──────┐
┌──┴──┐ ┌────┴────┐ ┌──────┴──────┐ ┌──┴──────┐ ┌────┴───┐ ┌────┴───┐ ┌──┴────┐
│TELE-│ │TELESALES│ │ DISTRIBUTION│ │CHARGEHAND│ │STOCK   │ │RETAIL  │ │RETAIL │
│SALES│ │PART     │ │ CLERKS 3    │ │(WORKING) │ │CONTROL-│ │DRIVERS │ │MATES  │
│FULL │ │TIME 3   │ └─────────────┘ └──────────┘ │LER     │ │16      │ │6      │
│TIME3│ └─────────┘                               └───┬────┘ └────────┘ └───────┘
└─────┘  ┌──────────┐                          ┌──────┴──────┐
         │CUSTOMER  │                          │WAREHOUSEMEN │
         │LIAISON   │                          │9            │
         └──────────┘                          └─────────────┘
```

Statistics

Tonnage per annum = 27k
Manning levels - staff = 14
Manning levels - hourly paid = 32

MAY 1990

Portmadoc Distribution Depot

Portmadoc, Dwyfor, Gwynedd, Wales, no predominant industrial or service activity.

Population 3,665

Distribution Manager - Luigi Mansi DOB 9/7/66

Background

YEAR	COMPANY	POSITION	AREA
1984	Bass	Transport Clerk	Bury
1988	Bass	Transport Manager	Barrow
1989	Bass	Distribution Manager	Portmadoc
1990	Bass	Distribution Manager	Scarborough

Statistics

Overall tonnage per annum   = 5K

Manning levels - staff   = 3

Manning levels - hourly paid = 6

Portmadoc is the smallest depot in the Bass North region and was purpose build for deliveries in mid - Wales. There is no history of brewing linked to the depot and no links to other industries. The workplace culture is very similar to that of Abergele but on a smaller scale. As with Abergele, Portmadoc is a friendly depot with good trade union/management relationships. There is a very low resistance to change which is evident in the flexible working arrangements and the salaried payment scheme in operation. Overall the workforce culture is supportive of the corporate culture in terms of the core values expressed in the mission statement.

The manager has been with Bass for 10 years and worked at the Bury and Barrow depots before moving to Portmadoc. He considers himself as part of the team and regularly assists with warehouse and loading operations. The manager is very much a part of the workplace culture and shares the same values.

As with many of the smaller rural depots the Portmadoc manager very rarely has visits from senior management. In view of this he has almost total control of operations without interference. The manager believes that this situation assists with the development of the depot and the operatives within it. For example, with self control the depot can operate as a team and to a great extent set their own targets.

```
                    ┌─────────────────┐
                    │  DISTRIBUTION   │
                    │    MANAGER      │
                    └────────┬────────┘
          ┌──────────────────┴──────────────┐
┌─────────┴───────┐              ┌───────────┴─────┐
│  DISTRIBUTION   │              │     DEPOT       │
│     CLERK       │              │   FOREMAN       │
└─────────────────┘              └────────┬────────┘
              ┌───────────────────────────┼──────────────────┐
    ┌─────────┴───────┐        ┌──────────┴──────┐   ┌────────┴────────┐
    │  WAREHOUSEMAN   │        │     RETAIL      │   │  RETAIL MATES   │
    │       1         │        │    DRIVERS      │   │       2         │
    └─────────────────┘        │       3         │   └─────────────────┘
                               └─────────────────┘
```

Statistics

Tonnage per annum = 5k
Manning levels - staff = 3
Manning levels - hourly paid = 6

MAY 1990

Scarborough Distribution Depot

Scarborough, North Yorkshire, seaside resort.

Population 101,425

Distribution Manager - Craig Barnes DOB 26/08/51

Background

YEAR	COMPANY	POSITION	AREA
1977	Bass	Transport Clerk	Swinton
1981	Bass	Stock Control	Sheffield
1981	Bass	Transport Supervisor	Sheffield
1984	Bass	Tank Beer Manager	Sheffield
1986	Bass	Transport Manager	Tadcaster
1988	Bass	Distribution Manager	Scarborough
1990	Bass	Operations Manager	Huyton

Statistics

Overall tonnage per annum = 6K

Manning levels - staff = 3

Manning levels - hourly paid = 8

The Scarborough depot is one of the smallest depots in Bass North and distributes products to the Scarborough and surrounding areas. The trade is seasonal and to take up the off season spare capacity 'none' Bass products are stored and distributed from the site. The depot is situated on an industrial estate on the outskirts of Scarborough, apart from the Bass sign on the building there are no visible brewery links externally or internally. The depot was initially based in the centre of Scarborough and was part of Moores and Robson Brewery which was solely owned by Bass. The depot moved to the new site in 1976, and discussions with the Moores and Robson manager revealed that there was a reluctance by the operatives to move to the new site and only a small percentage eventually moved.

Unlike other depots with an history of connections with a brewery, Scarborough depot is very supportive of the Bass mission. Shared values can be seen in the practices at the depot eg flexible working, salaried pay scheme, teamworking, good trade union/management relationships, and a commitment to quality and customer service. The reason for this type of supportive work culture is considered, by the past and present managers to be linked to the culture of Scarborough. The Moores and Robson culture was considered to be a supportive culture and this was transferred to the distribution function.

The current depot manager, having worked in very different workplace cultures at Swinton, Sheffield, and Tadcaster, considers the Scarborough people to be very friendly and supportive both in and out of work. He contrasts this with the workplace cultures at Tadcaster and Sheffield which were very subversive and difficult to manage.

DEPOT MANAGER

STOCK CLERK

ADMIN/ SECRETARY

HOURLY PAID

RETAIL DRIVERS 4

RETAIL MATES 2

WAREHOUSEMEN 2

MAY 1990

Statistics

Tonnage per annum = 6k
Manning levels - staff = 3
Manning levels - hourly paid = 8

Sheffield Distribution Depot

Sheffield, South Yorkshire, main industries include steel making and heavy engineering.

Population 536,770

Distribution Manager - Harry Smith DOB 28/11/38

Background

YEAR	COMPANY	POSITION	AREA
1953	British Rail	Fitter	Doncaster
1964	Barnsley Brewery	Drayman	Doncaster
1965	Bass	Foreman	Doncaster
1966	Bass	Assistant. Manager	Hull
1967	Bass	Distribution Manager	Hull
1976	Bass	Distribution Manager	Sheffield (Swinton)
1981	Bass	Distribution Manager	Sheffield

Statistics

Overall tonnage per annum = 89K

Manning levels - staff = 28

Manning levels - hourly paid = 82

The depot in Sheffield was built in 1981 on an old British Steel site, the previous site being in Swinton, Rotherham. The depot, which is the largest in Bass North, is approximately 3 miles from the William Stones Cannon Brewery and 4 miles from the Hope Brewery in central Sheffield. There is a strong historical link with the depot and Sheffield's brewing operations, William Stones and the Cannon logo having symbolic meaning to the distribution workforce. Unlike the majority of depots the Sheffield depot displays the Stones sign and the Cannon logo on the main entrance to the distribution building. In the building there is very little evidence of Bass or the Bass corporate logo 'the red triangle' yet emphasis is on the 'Cannon' logo. Also evident is the fact that employees refer to William Stones as their employer and not Bass. This situation is evident in other parts of Bass, for example, the Wellpark Depot in Glasgow still use the

'T' logo of Tennents Breweries and the Cape Hill Depot in Birmingham still use the 'stag' logo of M & B Breweries.

The manager has been with Bass for 25 years and tells stories of 'the good old days' when the depots were autonomous units and managers were allowed the control of depot operations rather than the current central control from Burton Headquarters. He also links the 'better' past with past Distribution Directors and identifies with particular 'heroes' in terms of their leadership skills. Specifically he considers that the 'new' Directors exert too much control over regional operations, which he feels stems from dictations from the central head quarters. He maintains that when Bass North was Bass North Limited, and a truly autonomous region of Bass PLC, management and control at a local level was far more efficient in terms of being personally responsible for the profitability of the depot. With this level of control the depot manager could introduce any procedures in order to increase productivity.

The manager feels that central control and the selling of central or corporate values is out of line with the values of the manager and the workforce in the regions and feels that depots should be managed with cultural constraints in mind. Overall, the depot managers values conflict with the corporate prescriptions for success, the idea of staff status, total quality, and total flexibility is considered by the manager to be unsuitable for the Sheffield depot culture.

Having spent a day on the delivery drays and working in the warehouse two issues arose. Firstly there is a clear demarcation between the drivers and the warehouse operatives hence there is little evidence of teamwork or flexible working. Secondly, the values of the workforce appear to be in line with the depot manager but not in line with the corporate culture. Overall the values of the workplace culture conflict with the core values of the dominant culture.

Org chart (top to bottom):

- DISTRIBUTION MANAGER
  - ADMIN MANAGER
    - TELESALES SUPERVISOR
      - FULL TIME 3
      - PART TIME 2
    - DISTRIBUTION CLERKS 2
    - STOCK CONTROLLER
    - WAGES CLERK
    - TRAINEE OPS SUPERVISOR
  - OPERATIONS MANAGER
    - OPERATIONS SUPERVISOR
      - TRANSPORT CLERKS 4
        - RETAIL DRIVERS 36
        - RETAIL MATES 20
        - TANK DRIVERS 9
    - TANK BEER SUPERVISOR
    - OPERATIONS SUPERVISOR
      - WAREHOUSE FOREMAN
        - W/HOUSEMEN (C.ST) 16
        - W/HOUSEMEN (B.ST) 2
        - GATE CHECKER

MAY 1990

Statistics

Tonnage per annum = 89k

Manning levels - staff = 28

Manning levels - hourly paid = 82

Sleaford Distribution Depot

Sleaford, Lincolnshire near Grantham, main industries include agriculture and
agricultural implements.

Population 7,975

Distribution Manager - William Redpath DOB 7/3/34

Background

YEAR	COMPANY	POSITION	AREA
1949	Engineers	Transport Clerk	Glasgow
1958	Engineers	Transport Supervisor	Glasgow
1962	Bass	Transport Supervisor	Glasgow
1965	Bass	Transport Manager	Dundee
1972	Bass	Distribution Manager	Tadcaster
1984	Bass	Distribution Manager	Sleaford

Statistics

Overall tonnage per annum   = 10K

Manning levels - staff   = 5

Manning levels - hourly paid = 12

The Sleaford depot is situated on an old Bass Worthingtons maltings production site
'Sleaford Maltings'. The site consisting of 34 acres was bought in 1891, the Maltings
becoming fully operational in 1906. A decision to discontinue production was made in
1945, after a long run down period final production ceased in 1958. Although the
production buildings are still on the site there is no cultural link with the old production
site and the distribution workforce.

The Distribution manager has worked with Bass for over 30 years and has seen many
changes in leadership and working practices. In terms of comparing workplace cultures,
having worked in Glasgow (brewery), Dundee (depot) and Tadcaster (brewery), the
manager considers there to be a significant difference in culture between depots on

brewery sites and remote depot sites. The tendency is for depots on brewery sites or depots which have historical links with a brewery to develop a traditional brewery culture. As previously mentioned, from experience and discussions with managers in other depots, functions and regions, traditional brewery cultures tend to be difficult to manage and develop a high resistance to change. At Sleaford, although there is an historical link with the brewing industry, because of the time factor of over 35 years, the brewing culture has been replaced by a pure depot culture.

The depot culture at Sleaford is similar to the other small rural remote sites in that there are good trade union/management relationships. Overall the values and practices at the depot are in line with the dominant culture.

DISTRIBUTION MANAGER

MINERAL STOCK CLERK

BEER STOCK CLERK

COMPUTER OP/CLERK

OPERATIONS SUPERVISOR

DRIVERS
6

MATES
2

CHARGEHAND

WAREHOUSEMEN
3

MAY 1990

Statistics

Tonnage per annum = 10k
Manning levels - staff = 5
Manning levels - hourly paid = 12

Tadcaster near York, North Yorkshire, main industries include chocolate, confectionery, railway workshops.

Population 99,787 (York)

Distribution Manager - Brian Hawthorne DOB 21/2/53

Background

YEAR	COMPANY	POSITION	AREA
1970	Local Govt.	Clerical Asst.	Teeside
1970	Wimpey	Labourer	Teeside
1971	Bass	Bonus Clerk	Eaglescliffe
1972	Bass	Tank Beer Supervisor	Eaglescliffe
1977	Bass	Reg. Stock Controller	York
1982	Bass	Tank Beer Manager	Sheffield
1984	Bass	Transport Manager	Sheffield
1986	Bass	Distribution Manager	Eaglescliffe
1989	Bass	Distribution Manager	Tadcaster

Statistics

Overall tonnage per annum = 72K

Manning levels - staff   = 21

Manning levels - hourly paid = 68

Tadcaster is a small brewing town with an approximate 6000 population. The distribution depot is on the same site as the Tadcaster brewery which has been there in various forms and owned by different brewing companies since 1885. From 1960 to the Bass- Charringtons merger of 1967 it was the headquarters of United Breweries and prior to the merger became part of Charrington United Breweries. Tadcaster is known locally as the Tower Brewery and is often referred to by the workforce proudly as "the Burton of the North". With over a century of brewing on the site the culture in the depot is very traditional and linked to the brewing team.

The Tadcaster manager has been with Bass for over 20 years and has a good understanding of the Bass culture, other depot cultures and the Tadcaster culture. Having worked in Eaglescliffe and Sheffield depots and all other Bass North depots, as part of a TQM implementation team, he believes that all depots have their own culture and different attitudes which affect the way in which the depot is managed. Although the manager is willing to negotiate and implement change at Tadcaster and therefore be in line with the core values and beliefs of the central culture, he feels that different cultures require different treatment.

The workforce at Tadcaster is characterised by strong trade union activities, high resistance to change, high levels of absenteeism and generally different values from the dominant culture. One significant problem at Tadcaster is the fact that the depot warehouse operatives are controlled by brewery management and the drivers by distribution management. This situation, which is historical, creates problems at negotiations where different rates are agreed separately for warehouse and delivery operations. This creates a problem when trying to operate flexible working.

DISTRIBUTION MANAGER

OPERATIONS MANAGER

ADMIN MANAGER

OPERATIONS SUPERVISORS 2

GENERAL CLERKS 2

TELESALES SUPERVISOR

TRANSPORT CLERKS 3

HOURLY PAID

TELESALES FULL TIME 6

TELESALES PART TIME 3

TANK DRIVERS 3

WAREHOUSEMAN 1

RETAIL DRIVERS 49

RETAIL MATES 15

MAY 1990

Statistics

Tonnage per annum = 72k
Manning levels - staff = 21
Manning levels - hourly paid = 68

4.2   Data Analysis and Theoretical Development

The use of theoretical data analysis in the first stage of the research showed that cultural differences exist in all 15 distribution depots, and that these differences clearly affect the way in which the Distribution Manager controls daily operations and manages strategic change. Cultural differences were highlighted particularly by the managers who had spent time in several different depots and had experienced difficulties/resistance to change in certain areas. For example the Grimsby manager, who had previously worked at Leyland, Blackpool and Liverpool, found that Grimsby and Leyland depots were similar in terms of accepting change whereas Blackpool and Liverpool depots were similar in terms of resistance to change. Also highlighted was the fact that managers generally change their management style when they move to a depot with a different culture. The Liverpool manager who moved from Leyland in 1990 revealed that because of the attitude of the Liverpool workforce he developed a more autocratic style to achieve objectives.

A key issue to emerge was the degree of autonomy and empowerment provided in the depots. For example, the medium and large urban depots were tightly controlled with regular visits and 'interference' from senior management. In the smaller and some medium sized rural depots the managers were given for more control with very few visits by senior management.

Through the use of the fieldwork questionnaire, participant observation and discussions with both management and shopfloor personnel, several significant points arose. The differences in the depots, i.e. beliefs and values, leadership styles and the high or low resistance to change relating to the introduction of T.Q.M., salaried payment systems and working practices, are directly related to the activities of the different subcultures present in the fifteen depots. These subcultures can be grouped into three types:-

Counter Culture   -   This is a subversive group in which the group's values and practices conflict with the values of the dominant culture.

Changing Culture   -   This subculture group's values and practices are generally in line with the dominant culture yet historically it is a counter culture.

Enhancing Culture   -   This subculture group's values and practices are in line with the dominant culture with strong evidence of shared values.

The dominant culture is defined as the Bass corporate culture and the values of the dominant culture are related to the Bass philosophy for success. The Bass core values are represented to a great extent in its mission statement which refers to quality, profitability, customer service, security for employees and care for the environment.

Each subculture group has both specific workplace and management characteristics.

The groupings and characteristics are as follows:-

1.	Liverpool	**<u>Subculture 'A'</u>**
2.	Tadcaster	<u>Counterculture</u>
3.	Newcastle	(values conflict with the values of
4.	Sheffield	the dominant culture)

5.	Abergele	**<u>Subculture 'B'</u>**
6.	Barrow	<u>Enhancing Culture</u>
7.	Portmadoc	(values are in line with the values of
8.	Scarborough	the dominant culture)
9.	Sleaford	
10	Eaglescliffe	

11.	Colne	**<u>Subculture 'C'</u>**
12.	Leyland	<u>Changing Culture</u>
13.	Hull	'C' subcultures are historically
14.	Grimsby	'A' types moving towards 'B' types.
15.	Bury	

<u>Subculture Type 'A' - (Counter Culture)</u>

a) <u>Workplace Characteristics</u>

1. Historical links with traditional 'Brewery Cultures' and strong links with other industries, for example, steel, docks etc.

2. Strong trade union activities.

3. Strict demarcation between warehouse operatives and drivers (draymen) - inter group conflict to the extent of a warehouse culture and delivery culture.

4. Strict adherence to management/union agreements (inflexible).

5. High resistance to change   - TQM

            - Salaried Scheme

            - Working Practices

6. High level of restrictive practices.

7. Strong family connections.

8. Higher than average pay levels.

9. High level of accidents, sickness and days lost.

10. High container and cellar damage (poor quality).

11. Operate an incentive bonus scheme with resistance to move towards a salaried scheme.

12. High tonnage handled (large depot).

13. Unwelcoming atmosphere for outsiders.

14. The 'ritual' of collective bargaining to reach agreement is drawn out over several meetings.

15. Self developed planning system for allocation of work (drivers draw out of a hat to determine work allocation each morning) - Liverpool depot only.

b)   <u>Management Characteristics</u>

1. Autocratic style of management (which is felt most appropriate by the manager of a type 'A' culture).

2. 'Scientific' management techniques used to achieve results (the use of work study and incentive payment systems).

3. General feeling that salaried payment schemes are unsuitable for the type 'A' culture.

4. General feeling that managing change in type 'A' cultures is very difficult and generally questions the need for change.

5. Generally requires more support and consultation with the Distribution Director on planned changes (generally tightly controlled)

6. Questions the decisions made by the centre (anti central control-Burton).

Subculture Type 'B' - (Enhancing Culture)

a)   **Workplace Characteristics**

1. No historical links with brewing or other large industries

2. A consultative trade union team.

3. Good interdepartmental relationships (team-work).

4. Adherence to management/union agreements yet totally flexible through negotiation.

5. Low resistance to change (flexible).

6. Zero restrictive practices.

7. Lower than average days lost through sickness and accident etc.

8. Low container and cellar damage (pro TQM).

9. Lower than average pay levels.

10. Salaried payment scheme in operation.

11. Low tonnage handled (small depot).

12. Welcoming and friendly atmosphere for outsiders.

13. Collective bargaining procedures less time consuming.

b)   **Management Characteristics**

1. Democratic style of management (high level of team-work and consultation).

2. Salaried payment system is felt most appropriate for this sub-culture type.

3. Accepts change readily and 'sells' the ideas of senior management.

4. Requires little support from the Regional Distribution Manager and Distribution Director (greater autonomy than the 'A' subculture)

Subculture Type 'C' - (Changing Culture)

a)   Workplace Characteristics

1.   Historical yet diminishing links with the Brewing industry.

2.   Strong trade union activities.

3.   Reasonable interdepartmental relationships.

4.   Adherence to management/union agreements yet flexible through lengthy negotiation.

5.   Resistance to change overcome by coercive methods (historically high).

6.   Level of restrictive practices vary in this group (historically high).

7.   Above average days lost through sickness and accident etc.

8.   Medium to high damage levels.

9.   Medium to high tonnage handled.

10.   Operate an incentive bonus scheme (currently negotiating salaried type scheme).

11.   Collective bargaining tends to be lengthy.

12.   Pay levels in this category vary.

b)   Management Characteristics

1.   Democratic style of management (autocratic to achieve results).

2.   Although incentive payment schemes are in operation the manager feels that a salaried scheme is feasible.

3.   Strives to implement change and move the group towards a 'B' type culture.

4.   Requires less support from the Distribution Director and Regional Distribution Manager on implementation of changes (greater degree of autonomy and empowerment).

5.   'Scientific' management techniques used to assist with change (the use of work study).

6.   Question the decisions made by the centre (Burton HQ)

4.2   Conclusions

The research in Stage 1 identified the existence of different cultures in each of the 15 distribution depots. The depot cultures were different in terms of management attitudes, working practices, workplace characteristics and the people employed in the depot. In relation to the Bass corporate mission, some of the depots appeared to be supportive, others negative and a number of depots which appeared to be in a transition phase of moving from negative to supportive. These different subcultures clearly affect the way in which the depot is managed and account for differences in values, practices and depot performance. Additionally the high or low resistance to change, relating to the introduction of total quality initiatives, staff status payment systems and changes to working practices, is directly related to the activities of the subcultures.

Initially the subcultures were analysed in terms of their workplace and related management characteristics and fell into three groups:-

Subculture 'A'

Subculture 'A' type depot was considered to be a counter culture in that the group's values and practices tended to conflict with the values of the dominant or corporate culture. The workplace characteristics included: large urban depots; strong trade union activities; high resistance to change; low productivity; and low quality. The management characteristics included: autocratic management style; a high use of scientific management techniques to achieve objectives. Additionally, depots in this category had strong links with traditional brewery cultures and other large local

- 169 -

industries. The significance of this is that many brewery operatives moved to new depots and took with them the old brewery culture and ways of working. As a result many of the working practices, attitudes, beliefs and values are those which have been transferred from the breweries. Distribution depots which fall into this group are Liverpool, Tadcaster, Newcastle and Sheffield.

Subculture 'B'

Subculture 'B' type depot was considered to be an enhancing or positive culture in that the groups values and practices were in line with the dominant culture. Workplace characteristics included: small/medium rural depot; a consultative trade union; low resistance to change and high levels of quality. The management characteristics . included a democratic management style, acceptance of change and a belief in shared practices. In contrast with the type 'A' subculture these depots had no historically strong links with breweries or any other large industry. As such the cultures in these depots were 'pure' depot cultures. Distribution depots in this group were Abergele, Barrow, Eaglescliffe, Portmadoc, Scarborough and Sleaford.

Subculture 'C'

Subculture 'C' type depot was considered to be a changing culture in that historically it fell into the counter culture or subculture 'A' category. Generally this group's values and practices were seen to be moving towards the values of the dominant culture and developing the characteristics of the positive subculture 'B' types. Workplace characteristics included: strong trade union activities; medium/large urban depot; average quality levels; mixed resistance to change. The management characteristics included a democratic/ autocratic management style, and use of scientific management techniques. Through discussions with site management and operatives it would appear that historically these depots had similar characteristics to the counter cultures in subcultures 'A' type depots. Specifically, similarities were

those in relation to historical links with breweries and the transferring of these cultures into depots. The research in stage 1 has shown that over a long period of time, as the old brewery culture is diluted, a new depot culture emerges which is easier to control. Distribution depots in this group were identified as being Leyland, Colne, Hull, Grimsby and Bury.

The first stage of the research has revealed different cultures in all 15 depots. Detailed research into all depots would clearly provide useful research data from which theory can be developed. However, in view of the three groupings identified it was considered a better approach to concentrate on one depot from each subculture grouping and then compare the findings with the Bass Brewers corporate culture as perceived by the Board. The second stage of the research was an in-depth analysis of Liverpool (subculture 'A'), Abergele (subculture 'B') and Bury (subculture 'C'). There was no specific reason for the choice of depots other than ease of access. At the time of the research all three depots were the responsibility of the North West Distribution Director and therefore access was through one contact. It is considered that any choice of depot from each subculture group would have been representative. The results of the research are discussed in the following Chapter 5.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER FOUR

Hawkins K H (1978)

A History of Bass Charrington - University Press, Oxford.

Louis M R (1985)

An Investigator's Guide to Workplace Culture - in:- Organisational Culture ed. P J Frost et al,
Sage Publications

MMC Report (1989)

The Supply of Beer - A report on the supply of beer for retail sale in the United Kingdom.
Her Majesty's Stationary Office

Owen C C (1992)

The Greatest Brewery in the World - A History of Bass, Ratcliffe and Gretton
Derbyshire Record Society Vol XIX.

CHAPTER 5

FIELDWORK - SUBCULTURE AND CORPORATE CULTURE

ANALYSIS

CHAPTER FIVE

5. Subculture and Corporate Culture Analysis

The first stage of the research revealed that cultural differences in terms of beliefs, values and overt behaviour existed within the 15 Distribution depots, and that these differences affected the way in which the depots were managed, and how they related to the Bass 'corporate' culture. The different subcultures in existence at the depots were not homogeneous and within them was a variety of patterns of behaviour, beliefs and values which in some depots were supportive and in others subversive. For the purpose of the detailed research and analysis, the subcultures were grouped into three types: the counter or negative culture; the enhancing or positive culture and the changing or neutral culture.

In view of the practicality and time constraints of analysing 15 depots in detail, it was considered that a sensible approach would be to carry out detailed culture audits in three depots (one from each subculture grouping). Additionally, in order to compare and contrast regional and central differences, fieldwork research was conducted outside the Bass North region, including the Burton Headquarters,

This Chapter is a summary of the detailed fieldwork carried out in the three subculture groupings and identifies the factors which influence subculture formation, development and change. Additionally the Bass 'corporate' view on culture is analysed in relation to the findings in the North and other regions.

5.1   Culture Audits - Bass Brewers Culture - Background

Broadly based on the concepts developed by Louis (1985), Saffold (1988), Pettigrew (1979, 1985, 1990), Schein (1984, 1985), and Martin & Siehl (1983), the objective of the detailed culture audits was to identify subculture origins, and ascertain cultural dispersion and cultural impact on outcomes. Subculture origins were identified through an historical analysis, cultural dispersion was a measure of the level to which cultural characteristics are dispersed throughout the organisation, and cultural impact on outcomes was a measure of the commitment and productivity of members of the subculture groups.

The main aim of this stage of the culture audit was to measure the degree to which the beliefs of the core culture are dispersed throughout the three different subculture groupings. Comparisons of values, rituals, heroes and symbols were made in order to identify cultural manifestations in the depots. As with the historical analysis this provided an understanding of the subcultures and why there are differences in terms of performance and resistance to change. Values, rituals, symbols and heroes are defined as follows:-

Values   In terms of the Bass core values these relate to the philosophy for success and are emphasised to an extent in the Bass mission statement. The core values of the corporate culture were compared with the values of the subculture members

Symbols   These are the words, stories, gestures or objects which carry specific meaning in Bass and in the different subculture groups. These were compared initially across the 15 depots and in depth in the depots representing the three subculture groupings.

Rituals   These are the events and activities or 'the way things are done' in the depots which are socially essential within the culture groups. Again these were compared across the three subculture groupings.

Heroes   These are past and present leaders who have significant meaning for the employees in terms of the way the cultures have been shaped. In the fieldwork, depending on the interviewee, these were either Trade Union leaders or Senior Managers.

In order to assess cultural dispersion, in-depth interviews were conducted with managers and shopfloor personnel in the three subculture groupings and in other regions including Bass Scotland, Bass South and Burton Headquarters. In terms of defining the Bass culture, Dr Tony Portno, Chief Executive of Bass Brewers, gave an early indication of his personal view of 'the old' Bass culture and his vision of 'the new' culture. With support from the Bass Brewers Board he defined the old and new cultures as :

'Old' Culture - Paternalistic, comfortable, undemanding, apolitical, hierarchical, command driven, custodial, bureaucratic and functional.

'New' Culture - Flexible, dynamic, empowered, risk taking, analytical, non hierarchical, demanding, non-bureaucratic, team working, cross functional, still apolitical and meritocratic.

This old and new view of the Bass culture was presented to all managers within the organisation with the clear message that, in order to maintain a market lead the old culture must be change.

Dr Tony Portno was appointed Chief Executive of Bass Brewers on June 1 1991. A scientist by discipline, he joined Bass from university in 1961. His early career took

him to the Brewing Research Foundation and then on to Pfizer, the pharmaceuticals company. He rejoined Bass in 1971 where he became Research Director and then Technical Director. In 1989 he took charge of Bass PLC's corporate strategic planning, human resources and pensions. Additionally he became Chairman of Augustus Barnett, Britvic Soft Drinks and Delta Biotechnology (Brewers News 1991). On joining Bass Brewers he made early statements of his intent to build on the strengths of the business and manage Bass through the future anticipated changes. In an article to all Bass Brewers managers 'The strategic way forward' Portno wrote:

"we have in this business, many loyal, highly committed, exceptionally knowledgeable and able people. Few of them, however were trained to foresee, evaluate, and manage change. The historic requirement for custodial skills colours the style and attitude of a proportion of employees at all levels. Every effort must be made to change them and help them adapt. We need now and in the future people who are excited and stimulated by change, who can construct and evaluate scenarios for change and who are skilled in the management of change. *This needs to be accompanied by an overall cultural change within the company"*.

With the Bass Board's cultural view in mind further research was carried out in the three subculture areas. The three depots chosen to represent their subculture grouping were :-

Liverpool - Subculture 'A' Counter/Negative Culture

A large urban depot delivering 69k tonnes per annum with a manning level of 22 staff and 81 hourly paid.

<u>Abergele - Subculture 'B' Enhancing/Positive Culture</u>

A medium size rural depot delivering 21k tonnes per annum (includes Portmadoc deliveries 5k tonnes per annum) with a manning level of 14 staff and 28 hourly paid.

<u>Bury - Subculture 'C' Changing/Neutral Culture</u>

A large urban depot delivering 60k tonnes per annum, with a manning level of 18 staff and 63 hourly paid.

In addition to further interviews and observations, three days were spent working in the distribution warehouse and on the delivery drays at the three depots. This was organised by the Distribution Director and was explained to the trade union representatives as a personal development programme and not as being part of the research. Notes were taken covertly during the day and detailed accounts written up at the end of the day.

5.2   Liverpool Depot - Subculture 'A' Counter Culture

It is extremley difficult to decipher and understand a workplace culture in isolation from the wider social culture of the area in which it is located. The workplace culture is a subculture of both the corporate culture and the wider external social culture in which it operates. In the Liverpool case, the decline of : transatlantic shipping; ship building; dock work; car manufacturing and associated industries, has led to many changes in the area over the past 30 years. Over this period, Liverpool, rightly or wrongly, has acquired an image associated with militant shop-stewards and a suicidally militant workforce who have a national reputation for being ' the first to strike and the last to go back'. This image has led many organisations to either move their businesses away from Merseyside, or in the case of relocation, not consider Merseyside at all.

Huw Beynon's book 'Working for Ford' (1973), which was an account of labour relations in Ford's Halewood plant in Liverpool in the 1960's, gives an excellent account of the workforce culture, the Merseyside culture and union activity taken very much from a shopfloor perspective. In the Bass fieldwork in the Liverpool depot, an attempt has been made to gain an understanding of the culture both from a shopfloor and management perspective. The ethnography, developed from participant and general observations, gives a detailed account of work in the depot and provides an understanding of the workplace and Merseyside culture and how this relates to the Bass corporate culture and ideals.

The Liverpool distribution operation was originally part of the Liverpool Bents Brewery, this was acquired by Bass shortly before the Bass Mitchells and Butler merger with Charrington United Breweries in 1967. Originally Bass owned three depots all situated in central Liverpool. One of the depots was on the Bents Brewery site and was situated near the docks area of central Liverpool. The Bents depot had a

very 'traditional' Brewery culture with a strong militant trade union and a high resistance to change. Discussions with Brewery managers in Bass North and other regions revealed the reasons behind the 'traditional brewery cultures'. Leading up to the merger activities in the early 1960's there had been little change in the brewing and delivery operations on many integrated sites. As one brewery manager remarked "the only major change over 100 years has been the replacement of the horse and dray with a diesel driven dray".

This level of inactivity in terms of change led to 'jobs for life' in a culture where working in a brewery, and particularly as a drayman, was held in high esteem socially. Breweries paid high levels of pay for a reward system based on 'job and finish', that is, draymen could deliver their allocated loads and then go home. With this type of reward system, brewery draymen usually had drinks of beer at the delivery point and did not rush to get back to the brewery. This system and many 'slack' working practices were negotiated and accepted by management and the trade unions (T.& G.W.U.) at a time when there was little competition and no threat to jobs or brewery profits. When competition intensified and changes in working practices were required, many brewery unions developed a strong resistance to the changes. Rather than confront the unions and risk delays and stoppages to brewery production and deliveries, management generally allowed many of the outdated practices to persist. It is only more recently, following the 1989 MMC report, that management have moved to significantly change some of the traditional ways of working.

A decision was made in 1976 to move the distribution operations from the centre of Liverpool and a suitable site was sought outside the area. Because of past problems with the Liverpool 'culture' a site was sought in the Warrington area and away from the old Bents Brewery and Liverpool traditions. However, because of political and trade union pressures to keep operations and employment in the Liverpool area, a

decision was made to locate the site at Huyton a few miles outside the Liverpool centre.

The present depot site at Huyton was purpose built for Allied Breweries but because of a dispute regarding transfer agreements it was sold to Bass. Almost all Bents Brewery employees moved to Huyton and many of the traditional methods and restrictive practices were transferred, many of which exist today. An analysis of restrictive practices at the depot (1990) revealed 33. Many of these were negotiated practices from the Bents Brewery era and restrict output at the depot, for example:

* work loads are not allocated by management, they are drawn out of a hat
* customers are not allowed to collect their orders from the depot
* no deliveries to the Wirral area via the tunnel twice in one day
* no deliveries to the same area twice in one day
* no pre-loading for the following day
* no adding to loads after allocation

The above practices are typical examples, a full list of the restrictive practices is shown in Appendix 5.

Initially the culture at Huyton was a mixture of the two Bass depots and the Bents Brewery depot. The Bents culture was the dominant culture of the three and had the strongest trade union leadership. As a result, the Bents culture and traditions became the norm at Huyton. As mentioned previously, brewery cultures had developed strong trade unions throughout the 1960's and 1970's and Bents was no exception. The senior shop steward at Bents took up the same role in the new depot and remained there until he retired in 1992. An interesting point and one mentioned by many managers and staff was that the shop steward was a Londoner, and not as probably would be expected a Merseysider. Although a Londoner, the shop steward

- 180 -

had spent many years in the Merseyside area and it would appear that he had won the hearts and minds of the Liverpool workforce.

Trade union activities, in particular the role of the senior shop steward and his committee of 5, play a key role within the depot and in the dicipline of operatives on the shopfloor. As described in the Bury case study, the Huyton shop stewards committee were often referred to by management and operatives as 'The Huyton Mafia'. As such, and in mafia style, the shopfloor would not dare to step out of line with a union directive. Stepping out of line would result in a severe repremand, and as described by one supervisor " the committee were not averse to roughing people up who stood in their way". In many ways the senior shop-steward and his committee ruled the shop-floor, which resulted in the operatives being subordinate to the union not management. One former transport manager, who worked in Huyton between 1983 and 1985 and is now working in the Burton depot, explained that the "senior shop steward would often 'walk the floor' and shout at operatives for not carrying out tasks in the agreed procedure". In the fieldwork it was observed that allocated tea and meal breaks were taken at a certain time and the shop-steward would chastise anyone who failed to take advantage of negotiated breaks.

The culture at Huyton is typically Merseyside, tribal and protective from outsiders and highly resistant to change. As one depot manager explained, "they work closely together almost like a family and would see the depot close rather than to be seen to give in to management and change working practices". The similarity to a family commune, as expressed by many managers, is not surprising, as many of the shopfloor and staff are related in some way. This stems from the brewery days when it was traditional for a son or daughter to follow in their father's footsteps. On many occasions I was cautioned by management to be careful of what I asked or said to shopfloor or staff in the depot because of the family ties. Apparently it was safe to

talk to outsiders in confidence, these were the employees that did not have a Merseyside accent and were referred to by the locals as 'woolley backs'.

The Merseyside culture has been a problem to Bass and many other industries locating in the Liverpool area. The recent closure of the Bass Preston Brook Brewery at Runcorn (1991) is an example of the problems associated with the Liverpool culture. The Brewery was built 20 years ago following the closure of many outdated breweries. Many brewery employees from the Merseyside area moved to Runcorn and over a 20 year period the brewery failed to meet production efficiency targets. On many occasions, disputes at Runcorn would gain support from the Liverpool distribution depot. The shop-stewards at the brewery and in the depot kept in close contact over pending disputes and would support each other if required. The culture at the Preston Brook Brewery was very similar to the Liverpool depot, in that whilst carrying out project work you were always cautioned, " don't upset the workforce and don't let them see any stop watches". The closure of the Preston Brook brewery was part of a plan which involved closing four breweries because of over-capacity within Bass. The brewery was one of Bass's most modern and most recently built plants and would not have figured in the closure plans had the workforce been willing to change to meet the strategic objectives of the business. The Personnel Manager at the time of the closure revealed that "even right up to the day of the closure many operatives and union representatives believed that management would back down and keep the plant running". This continuous confrontation with management seems to persist in the depot despite threats to close and move to another area.

In terms of shared values with the Bass corporate culture, interviews with past and present managers and operatives, indicate that the values of the workforce are out of line with the Bass philosophy for success. This is more clearly shown in the daily working practices at the depot where quality, customer service and productivity are secondary to completing the tasks within the rules agreed by Trade Union and

Management many years ago. These agreements of course include the restrictive practices mentioned previously. Although some changes have been made at the depot the culture remains highly resistant to change and can be described as a 'counter' culture. Although many of the original Bents and Bass depot employees transferred from central Liverpool have left the company, the traditions have been passed on literally through families by a strong socialisation process. This has resulted in very little change in values and working practices. However, there are signs of change and a move towards more flexible working, this has been accepted reluctantly and bears no relationship with any shared value philosophy.

Examples of Huyton's attitude to quality and customer service were highlighted during the fieldwork. The depot managers view was that " the draymen will do exactly what you ask of them as long as it is within the guidelines agreed by the Trade Union and management". However, problems arise when the workforce carry out a task which they know is wrong yet they do it because they have been instructed to. For example, on one occasion the draymen were asked to deliver 18 bottles of Black Label Whisky to a Pub, this was obviously a wrong order which should have been an 18 gallon keg of Carling Black Label. Rather than query the order the draymen delivered the whisky and then had to bring it back to the depot. In mitigation the draymen argued that " if it says 18 bottles of whisky on the order form then thats what they get, if it's wrong then that's management's problem". The draymen were right of course yet in other depots this error would have been recognised and been rectified before delivery. This behaviour and attitude towards management seems to prevail in the Liverpool depot and any opportunity to make fun of management, because of errors or general mis-management, seems to them to be fair game.

A comparative analysis, carried to compare depot accident levels, container damage and working days lost due to absence, showed that out of the 15 depots, Huyton had

the highest levels in all categories. Management put much of this down to a general disregard for safety, industrial sabotage, a lack of interest in quality and the operation of an unofficial 'sickness rota'. An example of 'deliberate' damage to property occurred during the research period, when new loading docks had just been completed in the warehouse loading area. Within hours of the cement drying, a fork lift truck driver accidentally demolished one of the walls. This was met with great laughter in the depot because they had been arguing against the use of the new docks for many months. As regards the sickness rota, management were aware of its existence yet did very little to stop it. The system had been in operation for such a long period that operatives considered it as being a perk of the job.

The 'us and them' attitude at Liverpool can be disruptive in terms of quality and customer service. It is perceived by management that in order to deliver a first class service, management and the workforce must be in harmony. In many of the depots this appears to be the case, in Liverpool, management and the workforce appear poles apart. A Business Analyst, who had spent a 3 month period in the depot in 1989 carrying out an operations project, described the depot culture as a 'naughty culture' referring to the workforce's obsession with horseplay and joking. Expanding on this he described how on many occasions the operatives would lark around almost like school kids when the boss was'nt around and even with the supervisors around they would invariably 'take the mickey' particularly with the younger less experienced supervisors. On one occasion the Managing Director of Bass North was on a visit to the site, and as usual he would carry out a shopfloor tour and talk to the operatives. On this particular visit he was walking across the warehouse floor and was almost knocked down by a speeding forklift truck. The forklift driver quickly jumped off the truck and apologising to the Managing Director said " I'm sorry Mr Morkill but with the new tonnage bonus scheme I've got to work a lot faster on my truck", the driver then jumped back onto his truck and sped off. News of the fork lift truck driver's encounter with the Managing Director soon spread and is still talked about today.

The Liverpool workforce seem to always want to get a message across to management and they find an approach using humour or 'playing' with management an acceptable form of communication. This hard hitting humour, sarcasm and playfulness is not restricted to the trade union and management interface, it seems to be a way of life and a way of getting through the day without too much monotony for the operatives. Roy (1952), in his participant observations of machine operators, noted that many operatives invented games and indulged in horseplay in order to alleviate monotony.

Past and present depot managers appear to accept that the Huyton depot culture and the Liverpool culture, as a whole, is different from many other depots and areas. However, many depot managers recognised similarities with other large urban depots, for example Sheffield, Newcastle and Tadcaster, which all have historical links with breweries and other large industries, and have developed a high resistance to change through trade union membership. There is a consensus amongst managers controlling these depots that different treatment in terms of strategies for success are required. For example the managers believe that, rather than try to introduce uniform practices as dictated from the 'centre', greater autonomy should be allowed so that the depots can be managed as cost centres. This view, of managing difficult subcultures as autonomous units and not from a central command point, is shared by many managers who control depots in both subculture 'A' counter cultures and subculture 'C' changing cultures.

The Bents Brewery still has symbolic meaning to the workforce in terms of reference to 'the better days' when the Brewery and distribution operations were based in the central Liverpool docks area . Many interviewees were proud to tell 'stories' of the operations in the late 60's and early 70's. Most interviewees told stories relating to the power of the trade unions and the good deals which were negotiated for the

workforce. Some told 'myths' about better ways of working and delivery tonnages and productivity levels being higher than todays figures. For example, many former operatives believe that the management team at the Bents Brewery was better in terms of adhering to agreements, and providing fair pay for a fair days work. Many referred to both the drinking habits of the draymen and management and how this had changed over the years. One operative explained that " before the clamp down on drink driving, many daymen would be well over the legal alchol limit by the end of the day, and on many occasions have been known to race each other back to the depot on the last return". The custom of drinking beer with the landlord, whilst out on the delivery drays, was always seen as an accepted part of the job by both management and the workforce. In recent years, although this practice exists, it is not condoned by management. In the Liverpool depot many of the draymen adhere to the traditional drink with the landlord, as it is seen as part reward for delivering the beer.

Rituals or 'the way things are done' at the Huyton depot are typical of other subcultures in the counter culture category 'A'. For example, there is a strict demarcation line between warehouse work and delivery work, almost to the extent of having a warehouse culture and a delivery dray culture. Draymen, particularly in large depots, are paid considerably more money than the warehouse men and consider themselves to be of a higher status. Discussions with warehouse men in the larger depots revealed some resentment regarding work levels and pay levels between warehouse operatives and draymen. One warehouse man argued that " the warehouse operatives worked long hours making up loads and preparing the loads for delivery, the draymen only had to deliver the loads to the pubs and would have long rest periods and drinks on the road".

Although many of the daily working practices at Liverpool are similar to other depots in the same subculture category some unique differences were identified. For example, all other depots allocate work routes through a complex rota system

managed by a route planner. Although difficult, this system aims to provide a fair allocation of work to the delivery draymen. For many years the Huyton draymen argued that the system was unfair and put forward a proposal to manage the allocation themselves. The proposal involved 'drawing out of a hat' load allocations and working on a system based on 'luck of the draw'. This system is to a great extent 'management by self control' which is a far more efficient and cost effective way of planning loads. In other depots where the management team control the load allocation, there is always dispute as to the fairness of the system. It was interesting observing this ritual which was performed each morning by all the draymen. The draymen would congregate in the transport office and wait for the transport controller to carefully fold and place the hand written load allocations into a dirty old hat in the centre of the room. In turn, but not in any formal queue, each drayman would pick a number out of the hat and then check to see if he had picked a 'winner' (an easy route with few deliveries) or a loser (a long difficult route with many complicated deliveries). The whole exercise was conducted in an almost carnival atmosphere with cheers and laughter from the 'winners' and moans and groans from the 'losers'. A drayman who picked a bad route for the second day running moaned bitterly about the unfairness of the system before getting on with the work. Although the system could be unfair, it was devised by the shop stewards committee and accepted by the workforce as a better system than the one devised by management. Overall, the draymen appeared to enjoy the 'game' of chance despite the possibility of unfair work allocation.

Security, in terms of stock loss both within the depot and out on the road, was identified as a problem by both management and the operatives. From a management view the stock losses were associated with pilfering and damage through careless work. The depot manager's view was that " many of the operatives considered pilfering as part reward for work and that they thought that stealing was only bending the rules and not breaking them". On one of my visits to the depot the police rang the

depot manager to say that they had two Bass employees in custody on suspicion of stealing and selling CO_2 cylinders. At the time the depot manager remarked that " this is a common occurrence". The manager seemed more concerned about the fact that one of the operatives being detained was the son of one of the shop stewards.

Out on the road, and in particularly 'rough' areas of Liverpool, many of the draymen have been victims of pilfering from the tanker and dray vehicles. On one occasion a tanker crew parked their vehicle outside a pub and went into the pub to open the cellar doors. On their return to the vehicle, the beer pipes had been cut and people were helping themselves to beer by filling up buckets as if it was an emergency water stand pipe. On another occasion a drayman's Bass issue overcoat was stolen from the vehicle and susequently sold in the pub the same day. One story came from a draymen who had been threatened by a tramp with a knife demanding a drink of beer from the back of the dray. The frightened drayman gave the man a can of beer and then drove off to the next pub. The following week the drayman was confronted by the same man who had brought along 10 of his friends for a drink. These stories, although funny as told in a Merseyside accent by the draymen, are an indication of some of the rough areas in which beer is delivered. Whilst out on the drays I noticed that at every delivery point the dray cab was locked and the side curtains drawn. Apparently, the stealing of tax discs from inside the cab by people passing by was a common occurrence. This level of security whilst out on the drays was unique to the Liverpool area.

As explained earlier, the senior shop steward and his committee have had great influence on shaping and maintaining working practices in the depot. Although the senior shop steward was not a full time official, he was rarely seen out on the drays or working in the warehouse. It was accepted by management and the union that his role was one of maintaining harmony, through constant communication with depot management. The problem with this situation was that on many occasions

management meetings would be disrupted by the shop steward over trivial matters. On one occasion I was in a meeting with the manager and his team when the shop steward interrupted the meeting to discuss load planning, rather than arrange to see the union official later, the manager 'jumped up' abandoned the meeting and followed the union official. It appeared that the union representatives had power over the manager, and at all cost the manager would bend to satisfy union demands and avoid conflict.

The practice of having a six man union committee at Liverpool is unique in itself, as at most other depots the union representation was through a shop steward and at the most a deputy. At negotiating meetings there are always six representatives in attendance and all six must agree with the proposals before delivering the message to the workforce. At management/union meetings, the committee tend to sit and listen and are careful not to agree or disagree with any proposals initially, or appear to be enthusiastic about any management proposals. On one occasion I gave a presentation to the committee on the introduction of a salaried scheme to replace the existing tonnage based scheme. Although the proposal was controversial, and it was common knowledge that the workforce were against such a scheme, the committee sat through the presentation for 30 minutes and said very little. In the true tradition of the Liverpool 'comedy culture' I was asked by one representative " does this mean that we can have the same salary as you Mr Farrar and a company car". At the end of the presentation, they were very polite and said " thankyou Mr Farrar we will go away and think about it and discuss the proposal with the membership". I had noticed on previous occasions that the committee members were very polite almost in a condescending and mickey taking way. The practice of having a committee stems from the Bents Brewery, where it was custom and practice to have a high presence at negotiating meetings.

Another feature which was observed at Liverpool was the operatives alliance to a particular football team, for example, Everton and Liverpool and the associated religious split, which is taken very seriously. This was also observed, although to a less serious degree at Sheffield (Wednesday and United) and Hebburn (Sunderland and Newcastle) Although this is unrelated to negotiated working practices, it is culturally significant in that it disrupts work patterns and reduces flexibility. However, many of the football debates I came across in the depot appeared to be in a light hearted vain.

On the subject of leadership, operatives identified with Trade Union leaders as their 'Heroes' in particular they held in great esteem the Trade Union leader from 1976 - 1992 who was originally from Bents Brewery. Additionally operatives had high regard for the Distribution Manager between 1978 - 1989 who was originally born in the Liverpool area and was accepted as part of the Huyton culture. As one drayman explained "Terry was one of us, he used to walk the shopfloor and always had time to talk to us, we never see the new manager". Past and present managers all made reference to 'good' and 'bad' Distribution Directors over the years. A good Director was classified as one who could give a good fight when negotiating with the trade unions. Interestingly, both management and operatives had the same opinion of a 'good' or 'bad' Director.

The time spent working in the warehouse, on the delivery vehicles and site visits gave an insight into both the Liverpool culture and the depot culture. As with the other days spent in the depots, I was allocated to a delivery team consisting of two operatives one who had been with the company for 28 years and had worked at Bents Brewery, and the other had been with Bass 8 years all spent at Huyton. Fortunately someone loaned me a book ' Lern Yerself Scouse' which proved useful when trying to translate some of the conversations. For example, whilst out on the road, one of the draymen was always referring to doing things 'wi der tart thisavvy', which translated

means 'taking the wife out this afternoon'. Having got to grips with the language, after a couple of hours I was able to laugh in the right places at the right time.

A great deal of time spent at the depot on project work, at meetings and interviews revealed a very humorous culture. The day spent in the warehouse, on the delivery drays and meeting the customers revealed that humour and sarcasm is a trait of the Liverpool culture and extends beyond the depot. For example, throughout the day the draymen constantly made comments to the public whilst waiting at traffic lights and driving along the road, and in many cases got sarcastic comments back. This rapport continued with the pub landlords and with the warehouse operatives and staff on return to the depot.

The atmosphere in the warehouse and on the loading docks, particularly first thing in the morning, was very much like a busy market preparing for opening. The warehouse men were usually busy preparing the loads whilst the fork lift truck drivers were rushing around assisting the draymen with loading. What at first appeared to be heated arguments between the draymen, fork lift truck drivers and warehouse operatives, turned out to be playful yet hard hitting 'mickey taking' which carries on throughout the working day. The draymen generally stand around waiting for the warehouse team to sort the loads, as soon as the loads are sorted the draymen can get out on the road where to a great extent they are unsupervised.

In the depot canteen, at lunch and tea breaks, the humour and sarcasm continued. During the early stages of the research there were two canteens one for the shop-floor and one for the staff. On the occasions I used the shop-floor canteen, mainly because of project work, it was very noisy with the, by now familiar, joking and general fooling around. Much of the noise came from the operatives having playful conversations with the canteen staff. The canteen 'ladies' were the only people I came across who could handle the draymen, giving them a similar amount of verbal abuse

back. One Business Analyst, who was carrying out a project in the depot refused to use the canteen because, in his words " the Huyton canteen ladies frightened him with their manner". He gave one example when he asked for a cup of tea, the canteen lady, slid the cup towards him spilling half of the tea on the bench, his complaint was met with " whats the problem, you've got half a cup of tea more than when you came in".

Discussions between deliveries revealed that the two draymen strongly believed that the Huyton workforce were being coerced into changing their ways of working. Both draymen made the point that for many years the Liverpool people have been 'victimised' for not giving in to pressures from management. One of the draymen remarked that " if we give in to management on one thing they will take advantage on what we have fought for over the years". In particular they were referring to the proposed move to a salaried scheme which they feel will reduce their earning potential and allow management to impose different working practices. This to a certain extent was true in that in return for a salary, which would incorporate overtime payments earned over the past 12 months, the draymen would have to accept flexible working and the elimination of restrictive practices.

The ways of working are different at Huyton in that very little has changed since the move from Bents Brewery. For example, as with the Cornbrook Culture at Bury, the ritual of drinking whilst out on the delivery rounds is still seen as 'the way we do things around here'. The difference at Huyton was that the first of 4 pints for the former Bents drayman started at 9.30 in the morning. An interesting point was that drinks at the pubs were only offered by Liverpool (scouser) landlords reflecting an inward looking cohesive culture. I noticed that the draymen tended to work faster and with less care at some pubs, and soon realised that these were the pubs where they were not being given an alcoholic drink. Before reaching the pub, one of the draymen would say " we won't be long at this pub, he's a miserable so and so". The

idea behind this was that if they worked faster, they could be at the next pub in order to have another chat and drink. At their 'favourite' pubs, the draymen would be extremely helpful and quality conscious in terms of helping the landlord sort his cellar out. At other pubs, they would deliver the beer into the cellar, get a signiture for the beer and drive on to the next outlet as quickly as possible. On many occassions the kegs of beer were dropped into the cellar without any care not to damage the cellar walls or the aluminium kegs.

Overall, the culture at Huyton does not appear to have changed significantly since the transfer of operations from the Bents Brewery and the two Bass depots in the centre of Liverpool. The values of the workforce conflict with the values of the corporate culture in terms of productivity, profitability, quality and customer service. The values of the corporate culture are not dispersed throughout the depot and are not manifested in daily practices. Many examples have been highlighted in which an 'us and them situation' exists particularly through the shop-steward and his committee. The shopfloor operatives appear to respond not to management but to directives from the committee. Many of the findings in the Liverpool depot are typical of depots in this subculture grouping. For example, the hard hitting humour and the indulging in shopfloor horseplay, was found in both Newcastle and Sheffield although to a lesser extent in Tadcaster. The demarcation between drayman's work and warehouse work existed in all four counter cultures, and the strong 'us and them' attitude was found in all four, although this appeared to be stronger in the Liverpool depot.

The interviews and observations in the depot enabled a picture to be drawn of the depot culture. At the same time it was possible to construct a historical picture from managers and operatives, who had worked in the old and new Liverpool depots, and who had worked in other areas of Bass Brewers. The sequence of historical events listed below add to the picture drawn from the site ethnography.

<u>1976</u> - The Closure of the Bents Brewery site and two other Bass depots in the central docks area of Liverpool. The operations from the three sites were amalgamated in to one site at Huyton which is on the outskirts of Liverpool. The culture from the Bents Brewery became the dominant depot culture and the Trade union leaders took control of negotiations. Between 1976 and 1978 and previously at Bents there had been industrial relations problems which resulted in a 2 month strike.

<u>1978</u> - New Distribution Manager appointed.

<u>1984</u> - New Distribution Director appointed.

Between 1978 and 1985, following the 1977 strike, industrial relations and management/trade union relationships were very poor. During this period there was very little change to working practices, and any proposed changes were strongly rejected. In view of the strategic importance of the depot, in terms of tonnages delivered to the Merseyside area, management tended not to force issues and risk a dispute. In the previous strike the business had been severely affected and management could not afford to risk further loss of business. A major problem for brewers is the fact that when free trade pubs do not get deliveries through disputes, they go to a competitor. After disputes, many customers tend to keep with the new supplier and brand for safety. Additionally, the Huyton union had strong long standing relationships with the nearby Preston Brook Brewery which was of strategic importance in terms of beer production in the North West. At this time Bass could not afford to lose any production or customers because of the competition.

<u>1985</u> - New Distribution Director appointed.

<u>1988</u> - In view of the gradually increasing competition, this was the year in which major changes to the overall Bass philosophy for success were introduced. During

this period an attempt was made to introduce different working practices in the form of total quality control, flexible working arrangements, salaried payment schemes, and the handling of wines and spirits. The salaried pay scheme was rejected and the quality initiatives were enforced by management. The introduction of wines and spirits to the depot was agreed after lengthy negotiations, however, operations and productivity were poor and discussions began with a view to transferring the operations to other depots.

1989 - The MMC report was issued and a new New Distribution Manager was appointed. At this time, many of the large brewers took the MMC report as a major attack on the Brewing industry, and considered that in order to survive the proposed reduction in owned estates, a major rethink in ways of working was required.

1989 - New Distribution Director appointed.

In 1989 the MMC report involved the need to reduce costs in all depots through more efficient working practices. A new Director and Manager, appointed in the same year, tried to introduce new practices and threatened to transfer wines and spirits to other depots. This resulted in a strike which, because of a lack of support from the other depots lasted only 3 days. Eventually wines and spirits were transferred to other depots.

1990 - New Distribution Manager appointed
1991 - New Chief Executive appointed - New Mission Statement.
1992 - New Distribution Director appointed.
Following the strike and the retirement of the Trade Union leader, who had led the workforce from the Bents era, the workforce began to accept changes to working practices in a small way.

1993 - Plans to change the Bass culture and adopt a programme of continuous change in relation to customer service and total quality.

The 'new' Bass culture, as defined by the Bass Brewers Board, does not fit well with the Huyton culture or the subcultures in the same group. The Huyton subculture emerged from the transfer of operatives from the Bents Brewery and two depots in the militant dock areas of central Liverpool. The traditional brewery culture and associated ways of working stem from the Bents Brewery and in particular the influence of the Senior Shop Steward and his committee. Additionally, the Merseyside culture, in terms of humour and general attitudes to management, appear to have an impact on all aspects of the workplace culture. Over the years there has been great difficulty experienced by managers trying to change the practices at Huyton, and there is little evidence to show that there is a sharing of values with the corporate culture. However, the depot continues to operate at levels which are acceptable, although not optimum to Bass.

On a recent visit to the depot (January 1994), the Distribution Manager explained that there were signs that the workforce were prepared to change working practices. For example, a quality management system accredited to ISO 9000 had been introduced, and the salaried scheme had reluctantly been accepted. The manager explained that "the workforce had been told that the new ways of working were essential for the survival of the depot, and that they had no option other than to accept the changes". Although the manager does not claim to have changed the depot culture, he is pleased with the move forward in the acceptance of some initiatives. A trip around the shopfloor revealed that, in the five years that I have been working on the research, little has changed in terms of the sarcastic humour and the general attitudes towards management, and indeed the overall culture of the Huyton workforce. What appears to have changed is a general acceptance by the workforce of the need to behave in a different way in order to sustain employment. This could be classified as behavioural

compliance and not internalisation of the changes or culture change. This view was shared by the depot manager who feels that "the changes are a result of constant pressure from management, and that to sustain this acceptance level, the pressure must be maintained". He strongly believes that any 'slackening off' by management will result in the Huyton team taking advantage of the situation and reverting back.

5.3   Abergele Depot - Subculture 'B' Enhancing Culture

In comparison with the Liverpool depot, and depots in the 'counter' culture category, Abergele is at the other extreme in terms of cultural similarities with the Bass corporate culture and ideals. For example, the workforce appear to have fully embraced the Bass philosophy in relation to customer service, quality and flexible working. As identified in the Merseyside research, and research in all other depots, the culture within the Abergele depot cannot be viewed in isolation from the social culture within the North Wales area. Socially and industrially the area of North Wales is linked to farming and leisure with little or no past links with the brewing or other large manufacturing industries. As such, there is little evidence of militant trade union activites or an 'us and them' situation, which was found in depots with past links with breweries and manufacturing organisations.

In sharp contrast with the Merseyside culture, the Welsh culture and depot culture appear to be almost passive in nature and appear amenable in terms of accepting change in the workplace. The site observations revealed a workplace culture which showed signs of friendliness, seriousness, commitment and very little humour. In comparison with other depots, and in particular Liverpool, there was a distinct lack of interesting stories of the past, and very little conflict with management. Compared with the Liverpool site, Abergele is a quiet depot where, despite the many changes to working practices, there is little controversy and disruption throughout the working day. Overall the Abergele depot can be best described as being flexible, supportive and enhancing and is typical of depots in the same subcultural group.

The Abergele depot was originally part of the Mitchells and Butler Breweries (M&B) which became part of the Bass organisation through a merger in 1961. Although originally part of the M & B group there is no evidence in the existing depot to show any connections. There are no links with Breweries or brewing operations at the

depot as the depot was purpose built for warehousing and distribution operations only. A new depot was built on the original site in 1979 and provided new office accommodation and modern delivery facilities. The depot itself stands alone in a tranquil open field area near the village of Abergele. This setting in many ways matches the quiet unassuming culture found in the depot.

The atmosphere at the depot is very friendly and is typical of other depots in the same subcultural category. For example, Scarborough, Portmadoc, Sleaford and Eaglescliffe all have similar characteristics in terms of them being a welcoming site for visiting outsiders. The only exception in this group is Barrow, which is only marginally different in its friendliness, this may be because of past links with shipbuilding and union activity over the years. All other aspects of the depot culture fit similar behaviour patterns.

In the Abergele warehouse and loading areas, particularly early morning, which is the peak loading time, the distinct lack of noise from the workforce appears strange in comparison with say for example Liverpool and Bury. As discussed previously, in these depots, early morning is almost like 'carnival time' with horseplay, singing shouting and sarcastic humour being part of a daily work ritual. Although very friendly and polite by comparison, the Abergele team appear to be, less flamboyant whilst working, prefer to talk rather than shout and have the occasional discrete joke. Being sarcastic or using hard hitting humour to get a point across to each other or to management does'nt appear to be in their make up. It is difficult to describe and understand the reason behind some of the different behaviour patterns at the different depots. In the Abergele depot, the warehouse operatives and draymen, apart from a polite 'good morning ', prefer to work quietly and quickly and load the dray vehicles up as a team. As soon as the drays are loaded the teams can go to the canteen for a drink before setting off on the deliveries. The canteen is very much the same as the shopfloor in terms of atmosphere, that is, friendly yet quiet. The behaviour of the

operatives, in the canteen, on the delivery rounds and with customers is discussed further in this section.

Interviews with past and present managers, discussions with operatives and site visits, revealed that the Bass core values and philosophy for success is much in evidence at the depot. In terms of shared values with the corporate culture, the key performance areas of productivity, profitability, quality and customer service are given high priority and value by both management and operatives. The values of the corporate culture are deeply manifested in the daily working practices at the depot and on the delivery operations. In contrast with the 'counter' and 'changing' cultures, Abergele and other depots in the 'enhancing' culture category, promote total flexibility and team working. Additionally, and again in contrast with other depots, the demarcation between the warehouse operatives and the draymen does not exist. Observations on the shopfloor revealed a culture in which the warehouse operatives and draymen help each other in order to complete the task quicker.

The sharing of values and the supportive nature of the Abergele culture is very much in evidence at Trade Union negotiating meetings, distribution management meetings and at customer service seminars. Unlike depots in the subculture 'A' and 'C' categories the union at the site, which consists of a shop steward and a deputy, tend to be flexible and negotiate the best deal for the operatives, and also for the long term survival of the depot. There are many examples where the Abergele depot has taken the lead in accepting different methods of working. For example, the depot was one the first to accept a salaried scheme, the first to link with another depot in order reduce stock levels, and additionally the depot has embraced the concepts of quality control, flexible working and total customer service.

The ameanable and supportive nature of the depot operatives and management showed in a Distribution strategic review of operations in the Abergele and

Portmadoc depots in 1991. I carried out a project at both sites with the aim of amalgamating both operations onto the Abergele site. This entailed Abergele becoming the 'controlling' depot and Portmadoc becoming a 'no stock' operation. In such an operation, Abergele would plan loads, pre-assemble orders in bulk and then transfer the orders to Portmadoc ready for delivery to the customers. For such an operation to work successfully, both depots were required to communicate and organise effectively although 50 miles apart. Throughout the project both management and operatives at both sites were supportive of the move, despite the possibility of increased workloads and manning reductions at both management and shopfloor levels. The strategy was successfully implemented with significant savings to Bass Brewers. The success of the project was largely due to the 'enhancing' nature of both the Abergele and Portmadoc sites. In comparison with other sites, where such a project would have caused great concern and conflict between management and the union, the teams at Abergele and Portmadoc viewed the situation in relation to long term survival rather than maintaining two operations short term.

The calm approach to change can be seen in the daily working practices at the depot and when discussing strategic change with operatives and management. For example, whilst I was out working on the drays I asked one of the drivers about the many changes in Bass over the years his reply was "we can accept the changes to working practices, what we don't like is when Bass keep changing the colour of the drays. When they changed from brown to white we were sat outside a pub for 20 minutes waiting for the landlord to open the cellar doors, he did'nt recognise the dray". An interesting point is the fact that they don't see the move to salaried status, flexible working, total quality and stockless depots as major change. As one drayman explained "we're here to do a job, if that means being flexible to keep the depot open then we'll be flexible". Their only major argument seems to be centred around the inflexibility and higher pay levels of some of the other depots. However, this does not appear to alter the way they are in terms of being prepared to accept change

within their particular work environment. Both management and operatives tend to make it clear that, although they will accept change and work collectively to achieve business goals, they are not happy with the pay differentials.

Many of the conversations with the operatives ended with derogatory comments about other depots. For example, "the problem is that we're being flexible whilst other depots are resisting change and being paid more money". This resentment regarding different pay levels for similar work in other depots seemed to be a contentious issue and raised by both management and the shopfloor. To a great extent the different pay levels were a result of the militant unions in the larger depots receiving higher levels of pay in the 1970's. Although the situation was in the process of being resolved through the introduction of salaried pay systems for all depots, for obvious reasons the high earning depots were rejecting such a move.

In terms of efficiency and flexible working, a Business Analyst, after completing an efficiency review of operations at the depot, wrote the following general comments, "looking at the current operation, it was noted that the warehouse was neat and well laid out and that correct and effective operating procedures were adhered to. There was not, at this stage, felt to be any area where significant changes could be recommended". This comment by an Analyst who had spent 2 weeks in the depot in August 1991, says alot about the pride the operatives take in their job and their work rate. This level of efficiency and flexibility showed in a quantitative analysis to determine differences in practices and quality of work at the fifteen depots.

The analysis was carried out to identify levels of restrictive practices, accident levels, and days lost through sickness. The results showed Abergele at the lower levels in all categories. For example, there are no restrictive practices in the depot, these were negotiated out when the depot operatives moved to salaried status. Accident levels were almost non existent, which is likely to be linked to the careful approach used in

the loading operations in the warehouse and at the pubs. In comparison with Liverpool, where little care was taken in loading and unloading goods, high damage and accident levels were recorded.

The flexibilty of the shopfloor team also extends to the management and staff on the site. For example, in 1990 I carried out a detailed organisation and methods review in all fifteen Bass North distribution depots. At many of the sites the staff were against the review, although they did participate. In Liverpool, for example, staff refused to fill in self recording sheets and were opposed to being studied. At Abergele they were cooperative in all areas and were keen to explain their role in the department and their level of activity.

Throughout the research period many customer service events were organised, bringing together management and shopfloor in order to understand the new Bass approach to customer service and quality. The one day seminars were usually well attended by approximately 50 representatives from all areas of the business. At one of the seminars, which I attended in October 1992, I was attached to a group of six other employees to discuss ways in which service quality could be improved. In addition to Customer Service and Telesales representatives, the group included a Liverpool drayman (Philip), an Abergele drayman (Peter) and a Bury driver's mate (Peter). Throughout the day I covertly observed and took notes in order to compare the different attitudes of the operatives from each site. This showed that what had been observed in the depots, in terms of attitudes and the characteristics of the different subcultures, to an extent showed in an 'out of work setting'.

For example, in one exercise we were asked, as a group, to put forward ideas for improving our service offer to our customers. The Abergele drayman put forward many feasible ideas relating to providing additional services including cellar management. The Liverpool drayman made derogatory remarks about improving the

quality of management first, and the Bury operative tended to agree with the Liverpool drayman. Throughout the day it was clear that many of the representatives from the 'enhancing culture' depots tended to be supportive of the Bass initiative to provide the 'best service', whereas the 'counter culture' operatives tended not to enter into the spirit of the seminar and were generally cynical about the quality initiatives. In situations where all three subculture types are represented at customer service seminars the 'A' and 'C' cultures tend to support each other in arguments, and also tend to socialise at meal breaks. In contrast, the Abergele operatives appear to talk more to management and appear to have a genuine interest in the changes the organisation is trying to make. Beyond this they feel that being cooperative is a better strategy for long term survival, and makes for a more pleasant atmosphere in the workplace. This particular view was expressed by the Abergele shop steward, and is a view, which he considers is shared by the workforce.

During 'out of work' settings on the management side there were similar findings. For example, at Distribution conferences and meetings, which were generally held in hotels, the managers in the 'enhancing', 'counter' and 'changing' cultures would tend to sit and discuss work matters within their own groupings. This closeness with subculture types would also carry on socially at the bar in the evening. As identified with the operatives, in out of work situations, the 'counter' culture managers tended to be extrovert, whilst the 'enhancing' managers appeared reserved. From this I assumed that either, managers with a particular style were matched with the style of the depot, or the managers' behaviour reflected the culture of the depot.

The Abergele culture operates through a system of 'shared ideas and meanings' which are visible in the behaviour and working practices of the workforce. Unlike the depots in the 'counter' or 'changing' cultures, symbolic meaning is given to corporate objects or artefacts. For example the slogans 'Bass No 1 in the North' and 'Great Brands Best Service' are seen as meaningful and are visible throughout the depot.

There is a distinct lack of interesting stories about the past in terms of the Mitchells and Butlers era, and there is no indication that the M & B era has special meaning to the workforce. A drayman explained that " when we were part of M & B we never felt as if we belonged to the group because in effect, the majority of depots and breweries were in the Midlands area". In fact geographically and logistically, Abergele should have been in the North Region, but for some reason when depots were being allocated to regions, it was placed in the Midlands.

The rituals or 'the way things are done' at the depot strongly reflect the message from the corporate culture in terms of management and operatives working as a team with total flexibility. From discussions it would appear that this supportive way of working has been the norm for many years and is considered part of the North Wales culture. Within this culture the ritual of drinking on the delivery drays does not appear to exist. The team tend to work on the deliveries and return as quickly as possible in order to have a tea break, or in the case of the last delivery return as quickly as possible so that they can go home. In the instances when they stop off at a pub for a drink it is generally a soft drink or a cup of tea.

Abergele's high propensity to change has been demonstrated over the years and to some extent during the research period. An example of this was the depot's acceptance of a salaried scheme for the workforce in 1988. Abergele was one of the first depots to accept such a scheme and move away from time studied standard minute values. Although I was not involved in the negotiations, management services personnel, who were directly involved with negotiations and the implementation of the scheme, revealed that the workforce saw the move to a salaried scheme as a move towards a secured weekly wage. Post implementation discussions with the operatives revealed that, many felt that by knowing their wage level this helped them plan their finances better, compared with having a fluctuating wage based on tonnage output and overtime payments. In many of the other depots the operatives preferred to have

a basic pay with the potential to work weekday and Saturday overtime. For the Abergele team, the system works extremely well, because the salary included average overtime payments for the previous year, so the team work hard during the week and deliver 6 days work in 5 and do not have to work Saturday morning. Reducing the working week was a bonus for the operatives, as many of them have small holdings or work part time on local farms.

Discussions with past depot managers and current operatives on the subject of leadership, revealed that both sides did not relate particularly to 'local' heroes as in trade union leaders, or management leaders. Reference was made specifically to corporate 'heroes' such as the Robin Manners era and the 'new' Tony Portno era. However, in sharp contrast with other depots very little was said about the recent changes or the history of the depot. In fact there were no funny stories to tell, or maybe there were, but they did'nt want to tell me. From a research view, Abergele seemed less interesting than for example Merseyside, although the lack of stories and humour says a lot about the Abergele depot and the North Wales culture.

An interesting observation at the Abergele site was the level of autonomy the manager was given in terms of running the depot operations. During the fieldwork and on management services project work, no visits by the Distribution Director or the Regional Distribution Manager were observed. This high level of autonomy and empowerment allowed the manager more scope for developing the team, and the ability to be more flexible. In many of the other depots there was much tighter control over operations, which many managers considered to be restrictive in terms of gaining support and acceptance of change.

The time spent on the delivery operations was very different from the days spent at Bury and Liverpool, particularly in terms of warehouse and delivery relationships and relationships with customers. For example, at the start of the shift there was no

warehouse/drayman demarcation, every operation was shared in order to complete the task more quickly. In comparison with the 'counter culture' depots, the warehouse seemed more civilised and organised, and probably the most significant observation was the tranquilty, for example, compared with Liverpool, there was no sarcasm or general fooling around nor was there any 'mickey taking' of the supervisors or the depot manager. On many occassions the supervisor was observed assisting warehouse operatives and drayman with the dray loading operation. The point here is that 'the flexible team approach' at Abergele means total flexibilty at all levels in the depot, from the manager to the operative.

At the delivery outlets, customers were given a first class service in terms of beer delivery into the cellar and then making sure that everything was clean and clear in the cellar. The draymen were on first name terms with most of the landlords and were extremely friendly, at many of the outlets the draymen asked about the landlords family as if close friends. Having spent a great deal of time on the drays in Liverpool, Bury and Sheffield, I was surprised at many of the pubs when cups of tea and biscuits were offered and not beer, which is in sharp contrast with the ritualised drinking habits at Liverpool and Bury. On one of the trips the draymen were rushing to get to a pub in Bangor for 12.30. When we arrived the landlord had prepared sandwiches and a cup of coffee for the draymen. Apparently, this is standard practice for the draymen on the Bangor run. All the landlords seemed quite friendly with the draymen and in return they were given correct deliveries on time.

The supportive nature of the Abergele operatives extends beyond the depot and customer relationships at pub deliveries. For example, on one occasion a dray crew was returning back to the depot when they noticed another team delivering a fairly heavy load at one of the pubs. They promptly stopped the dray and helped the draymen with the deliveries. Although I only noticed this on one occassion, apparently it is regular practice to support each other on the road as well as in the

depot. In similar situations at Liverpool, Bury and Sheffield, the draymen would normally drive past the struggling draymen and make fun of their predicament.

The Abergele canteen was also a friendly place, and considering the fact that I was an outsider and from management services, I was treated as part of the team. The only occassion when the canteen appeared to be noisy was when 'the scouser' was in. This was one of the Liverpool operatives who had been transferred from the Huyton depot to Abergele. In true traditional Merseyside humour, on one occasion he remarked to the draymen I was with " I see you've got the time and motion man with you is he making you work harder". One of the draymen quickly retorted " no but he ought to be up in Liverpool studying your lot and making them work for their money". That remark seemed to make him worse until just about everyone in the canteen told him to 'shut up'. It seemed obvious that the Merseysider ' was disliked for his sarcastic humour and his outspoken views. This view was expressed by one of the draymen as we went out on the second round of deliveries, "there all the same scousers, out for what they can get and not prepared to work for it".

The two operatives I worked with had both worked at Abergele for over 20 years, and therefore could explain descriptively the past ways of working and the culture of the depot. However, the draymen talked more about the present and the future rather than referring to past activities. Both explained that up to the new depot being built in 1979, the Mitchells and Butler logo was displayed on the side of the building. The new depot was built displaying the Bass 'Triangle' logo and no reference or evidence was left to identify M & B with the depot's history. However, as previously mentioned, it would appear that the M & B logo and historical connections with the M & B group had no symbolic meaning. Since the Bass merger in 1961 the brewery connections have been with Burton, and the strong association with Bass North

Although there were very few stories told by the draymen, a former manager at Abergele, who was Warehouse Manager between 1979 - 1984 and Manager between 1985 -1988 told some interesting stories about the workforce. The manager who is currently the Liverpool depot manager and still lives in Abergele, referred to the Abergele workforce as 'the beverley hill billies' because of their links with farming and the fact than many of them had small holdings. In one story he explained that " for many weeks a particular dray crew had been late returning back from the early morning deliveries. Eventually he found out that the crew, due to popular demand had started delivering and selling eggs to the pub landlords". When I asked if he had diciplined them his reply was that "it was very difficult to take any action simply because everyone in the depot was also buying the eggs. He jokingly put this situation down to the first steps in developing an 'entreprenurial culture' before Bass had even thought of it.

Another point he made was the fact that, similar to Merseysiders not liking 'woolly backs', the Abergele people do not generally take to working with outsiders or people from 'the city'. In one example, a dray team who had been transferred to Abergele from one of the Lancashire depots, were setting off on the delivery rounds with 36 gallon kegs of dark mild bitter. On their way to the delivery point they would stop at the nearby reservoir and syphon off 18 gallons of beer into empty containers and then top the keg back up with reservoir water. They then delivered the 'lighter' dark mild bitter to the pub and sold the syphoned beer to other customers. This went undetected for a long time with no complaints from the customers. Members of the Abergele workforce did'nt like this and 'grassed' on the other draymen. The manager explained that if the operatives found any illegal operation ongoing, particularly when managed by outsiders, they would 'grass' to management. The former Abergele manager who told this particular story, who is currently the Liverpool manager, explained that 'grassing' for example in Liverpool would never occur to the workforce.

The Abergele culture was best described by a former depot manager: " it is a nice area with nice people, and if I was given the choice of working and living in a particular area in this country I would choose Abergele".

The Abergele team see all the changes as survival, for example, one of the drayman explained that " if we had'nt gone down the salaried route or introduced flexible working the depot may not have survived, at least this way we can ensure longer term survival". Having said this the drayman expressed dissatisfaction with the pay levels of the other depots who had not accepted the changes. In particular he quoted Liverpool, " they are the highest paid and least worked of all the draymen yet management allow it to go on ". This anger and resentment was voiced at the other depots in which there were lower levels of pay.

In comparison with depots in the other subculture groupings, Abergele and depots in the 'enhancing' group tend not to have any historical links with either breweries or any strong links with other major industries.

The sequence of historical events at Abergele are listed below:-

1961 - The Bass merger with Mitchells and Butler resulted in the M&B site becoming the Bass Abergele Depot

1972 - New Distribution Manager appointed. There was very little change during this period, although in many of the other depots, particularly those with traditional brewery cultures, there was a general strengthening in the union movement.

1979 - New depot built on existing site

In the 60's and 70's there appears to have been a long period of stability with no significant changes to working practices. The major change at the depot was the building of a new depot on the existing site.

1984 - New Distribution Director appointed.

1985 - New Distribution Manager appointed.

1985 - New Distribution Director appointed

1987 - New Distribution Manager appointed.

1988 - Major changes to Bass philosophy for success.

During this period different working practices in the form of total quality control, salaried payment schemes, and flexible working arrangements were introduced. The salaried pay scheme was readily accepted and the quality initiatives were gradually introduced by management.

1989 - M.M.C. report issued.

1989 - New Distribution Director appointed.

In 1989 the MMC report involved the need to reduce costs in all depots through more efficient working practices. A new Distribution Director, appointed in the same year, introduced new working practices and linked the Portmadoc operations with Abergele. The new joint operation was accepted by both Abergele and Portmadoc operatives.

1991 - New Chief Executive - New Mission Statement.

1992 - New Distribution Director.

1993 - Although in 1993, plans to change the Bass culture were well under way with customer service seminars, distribution road shows and management of change

programmes, the Abergele team, to a great extent were well ahead of the changes. Whilst most other depots were still contemplating change, the depot had already introduced flexible working, a salaried pay scheme, no stock operation with Portmadoc and were supplying a first class quality service to its customers.

The 'new' Bass culture, as defined by the Bass Brewers Board, fits well with the Abergele culture and the subcultures in the same group. Over the years there has been considerable changes to practices at the depot which have been accepted by both management and the operatives. Although these changes were seen by many other depots as being major, they seemed acceptable by Abergele and other depots in the enhancing category. For example, Abergele was the first depot to accept a salaried scheme and then take advantage by increasing output during the week to avoid weekend working. The depot was also the first to control another depot, for example the no stock operation at Portmadoc. This high level of acceptance is also evident in the acceptance of Bass new initiatives, for example, customer service and quality control.

The observations at the site revealed that there is a sharing of values at management and operative level and these are manifested in the daily working practices at the depot. The tranquility of the village of Abergele appears to reflect in many ways in the working practices in the depot. Additionally, the fact that there are no historical links with a traditional brewing cultures, appears to have a significant effect on the depot culture. For example, of particular significance is the high acceptance of change and a very amenable workforce which is not led by a traditionally militant trade union. The behaviour of the workforce at the depot appears to be genuinely based on internalised values and not, as I experienced in other depots in the counter and changing subcultures, behavioural compliance. Although I did'nt spend the same amount of time in the other 'enhancing' depots, the friendliness and close links with local and corporate level ideals appeared to be the same. The overall view is that

certain depots located in particular geographical areas have developed cultures which are linked to the culture of the area and are amenable to the Bass senior management ideals and general philosophy for success.

5.4   Bury Depot- Subculture 'C' Changing Culture

Building on the work from stage 1, an historical analysis over a 21 year period at
Bury from 1972 - 1993 revealed changes in both core values and practices which
occurred at critical stages in the depot's life. As found by Pettigrew (1979, 1985,
1990) in his studies of a British boarding school, I.C.I and Jaguar Cars respectively,
these critical stages were linked to economic difficulties, mergers, and changes in
leadership and power. Over this 21 year period the culture at Bury has changed and
is still changing from a 'negative' to a more 'positive' culture, and is now more in line
with what the Bass Board see as the 'corporate' culture.

The depot at Bury was purpose built for Bass and has been in operation since 1972.
Previous operations for the Bury delivery area were at the Cornbrook Brewery in
Manchester where there was a strong trade union presence and a typical traditional
'brewery culture'. From observations on site visits to breweries across the Bass group
a 'brewery culture' is very different from a depot culture in that in the true sense of the
word 'traditional', the ways of 'doing things' have been passed down through
generations of families over the centuries with very little change, consequently there
is a strong resistance to change.

With the mergers in the 60's and 70's and the closure of breweries at Manchester
(Cornbrook), Burnley (Massey's), Blackpool (Catterill & Swarbrick) and Liverpool
(Bents) many employees moved from the breweries into delivery depots. The start up
of the Bury depot was a mixture of traditional brewery cultures from Burnley,
Blackpool and Manchester, and local labour. In a short space of time a dominant
shopfloor culture emerged which was predominantly employees from the Cornbrook
Brewery in Manchester. For many years the Cornbrook culture sustained the brewery
traditions and were known for many years as the 'Salford Mafia' for their strong views
and militant tendencies. In recent years, however, the demise of the operatives from

- 214 -

the brewery cultures of Burnley, Blackpool and Manchester, changes in leadership and enforced changes in working practices, has resulted in a 'new' changing culture.

In terms of shared values, interviews with past and present managers, directors and operatives, indicate that the core values of the dominant culture are gradually being shared by members of the Bury subculture in the form of changes to daily practices. This is in sharp contrast with the 70's culture which was organisationally and culturally inflexible and best described as being a counter culture. Almost all interviewees considered the culture change to be partially a result of the 'old' culture from Cornbrook gradually being replaced by a new generation of Bury operatives. Additionally, many past and present Bury employees consider the changes to be a result of changes in leadership, at both management and trade union leader levels. For example, when the Cornbrook Brewery closed in 1972 the senior shop steward moved to the new Bury depot and led the operatives in negotiation for a sixteen year period, he finally left the organisation in 1988. Former Cornbrook employees consider the shop steward to have successful negotiated high rates of pay and better working conditions, Bury operatives believe that he was the cause of unrest and that he delayed investment and progress at the depot. Many staff and shopfloor operatives believe that a major cultural shift started in 1985/1986 with the appointment of a new Distribution Director and Distribution Manager. At this time many old working practices were changed, for example, many three man deliveries were reduced to two men, flexible working arrangements between the warehouse and delivery fleet were introduced. However, all depot personnel interviewed agreed that the major changes started when the 'Salford Mafia' leader left the company.

The demise of the Cornbrook influence coincided with increased competition which resulted from the M.M.C. report in 1989. Additionally, high levels of unemployment in the North West, and the threat of closure resulted in the Bury operatives accepting change more readily. The threat of closure was used on many occasions by the

Distribution Director appointed in 1989. The Distribution Director was the former Personnel Director and was well experienced in negotiating with the Bury Shop Stewards. The changes which have occurred since 1985, in terms of leadership, market conditions and the demise of the 'old' Cornbrook culture, has resulted in a 'single' culture which supports, through its working practices, the Bass mission in terms of productivity, quality and customer service. However, although the depots practices reflect the values of the core culture, the Distribution Manager still finds it difficult accepting uniform strategies put forward by Headquarters in Burton. For example, the depot manager considers that decentralisation and empowering regional managers would be far more productive in terms of providing the manager with more control over the depot culture.

Although there has been many changes at Bury the Cornbrook influence is still present in the depot. The Brewery still has symbolic meaning to both former brewery employees and new depot operatives. Although the Brewery closed in 1972, all interviewees made reference to the 'Salford Mafia' and all had 'stories' to tell about the power of the militant shop stewards and 'myths' about the beer drinking habits of the Cornbrook draymen. A former Cornbrook employee told a story of draymen having a pint of beer at every pub delivery starting at 9am every day. At the end of the day the draymen, ten pints or so over the limit, would then all be taken home on the back of the last dray back into the depot. Other stories relating to the drinking habits of the managers and their supervisors came from many former Cornbrook employees. Many operatives believe that the reason why draymen were allowed to get away with the drinking sessions and other mal-practices was because management accepted much of it as custom and practice.

The former Cornbrook operatives still working at Bury are still outspoken and still have different ways of doing things. For example, the ritual of drinking whilst out on the delivery drays is still predominant amongst the former Cornbrook Brewery

workers. Although not to the same extent as in the Brewery days, I was told that many drink four or more pints per day whilst out delivering beer to the pubs. In contrast the Bury draymen will usually accept a bottle from the landlord to take back to the depot and then take home. The Cornbrook draymen are also less sociable with outsiders than the Bury operatives and more likely to refuse to carry out tasks which are outside their job description. In the canteen, at tea and lunch breaks, they are usually loud and outspoken in comparison with other operatives.

Discussions with managers and operatives on the subject of leadership and change, revealed that both sides have or relate to 'heroes' past and present who have significant meaning. The depot operatives from Cornbrook for example hold the shop steward who led them from 1972 - 1988 in high esteem because of his negotiating skills and leadership. The managers and staff relate to specific Distribution Directors who have made significant changes throughout the late 70's and 80's. Both sides enjoyed telling stories of conflict and difficulties in managing or accepting change.

The time spent working in the warehouse and on the delivery vehicles involved a full working day assisting two operatives on loading and delivery operations. This enabled me to observe practices and discuss the changes at Bass and in the Bury depot over the years. Additionally it was possible to observe the behaviour and listen to discussions between other operatives at tea and meal breaks. This assisted in the validation of the stage 1 findings and previous discussions with former and current Bury employees. The two operatives were picked at random, one had been with Bass for 7 years and had previously worked at the Blackpool depot (Catterill & Swarbrick Brewery Culture) and the other one had worked for Bass for 27 years and had previously been at the Manchester (Cornbrook Brewery Culture).

Between deliveries to the pubs it was possible to have lengthy discussions about Bass, the past, present and future. Discussions were centred around historical issues (culture formation and change) past and current leaders (culture 'creators') and the Bass philosophy for success (beliefs and values). Both operatives told 'stories' of the Blackpool and Manchester cultures and how the Bury culture had changed significantly over the years, and specifically over the past 5 years. On the delivery operation it was possible to see the Bass drayman interact with the customer, and observe the legendary drinking habits of draymen. On the latter point it would appear that the 'ritual' of drinking on the delivery rounds is no 'myth', the first of 4 pints was at 10.30am for the former Cornbrook employee, the driver drank two pints and the researcher two pints (to be sociable). Most of·the pub managers offered alcoholic refreshment (8 deliveries), the former Cornbrook employee explained that draymen have had to change their drinking habits because of the introduction of Electronic Point Of Sale cash tills (E.P.O.S.) which keeps records of all drinks dispensed. With this system the pub manager or landlord must account for all beer stock discrepancies. In the Cornbrook and Catterill & Swarbrick years, it was explained that drinking was 'part of the job' and not uncommon for draymen to a have a drink at every delivery outlet (myth ?).

Overall, over a period of 21 years, from the birth of the depot to the current situation, daily working practices have changed considerably. This finding is consistent with the findings in stage 1 and is typical of depots in the subculture type 'C'. However, there is evidence to show that the values of the dominant culture are not dispersed or shared throughout the depot. This emerged through discussions with the depot manager who, although 'sells' the Board's philosophy, does not necessarily share its values. This leads to the debate between 'culture as behaviour' and 'culture in the mind'. In the Bury case and depots in this subculture category, behaviour patterns have clearly changed; but the values of some group members have remained the same.

The sequence of historical events in terms of culture formation and change is shown below:-

1972 - Closure of Cornbrook Brewery - Birth of Bury depot.

Within a short period of time the 'Salford Mafia' from Cornbrook became the dominant culture, set the rules for behaviour and passed this on to new members as part of the socialisation process.

1974 - New Distribution Manager.
1975 - New Distribution Manager.
1979 - New Distribution Manager.

Between 1974 and 1979 there was a succession of Distribution Managers with no significant changes to working practices or the demise of the Cornbrook dominance. During this period the unions were very militant and sustained restrictive practices and demarcation between warehouse and delivery operations. The main restrictive practices were those relating to the number of deliveries per day and the number of draymen per delivery. All deliveries to pubs had been measured using work study and standard times had been issued for each task. However, the standard times were based on using safe working practices to lower beer by rope into the cellar, what actually happened was that beer was simply dropped into the cellar thus cutting the standard times by half. This provided the draymen with more drinking time and they would invariably stay 'out' until the standard times had been achieved. It was argued by the draymen that three men were required to safely deliver beer into cellars. In actual fact even using the standard times allocated two men could easily deliver the tonnage required. This as been proven in recent years as most depots operate two man drops to cellars. It would appear that over the years many of the standard times

were extremely 'slack' and that this was allowed by depot management. Discussions with Bury management on this topic revealed that, throughout the 1970's and 1980's the main concern was delivering beer and avoiding delays through industrial disputes. Therefore, rather than risk conflict, restrictive practices were condoned.

At this time there was no flexibility between the Warehouse and the Draymen and demarcation was strict. The warehouse men prepared the loads and unloaded the returning empties and the draymen delivered the beer.

1984 - New Distribution Director.
1985 - New Distribution Director.

Between 1979 and 1985 there were significant enforced changes to working practices. In 1981 a great deal of trade was transferred away from Bury to surrounding depots in an attempt to reduce the power of the unions. At this time because of legislation, Trade Union activities were less damaging and some changes to working practices were agreed. The changes were pioneered by a dominant Distribution Director who after a period working in a different region in a similar capacity (1984 -1985) returned to lead further changes at the depot.

1986 - New Distribution Manager.
1988 - Major changes to Bass philosophy for success.

Between 1986 and 1988 Bass embarked on a new mission for success which involved the introduction of quality systems, flexible working, salaried pay schemes and new I.T. support systems. At this time (1988) the leader of the 'Salford Mafia' left Bass and was replaced by a consultative Trade union leader. This was significant in that the planned changes could be negotiated without the Cornbrook influence.

<u>1989</u> - M.M.C. report issued and new Distribution Director appointed.

The MMC report on the supply of beer resulted in many strategic changes in breweries and depots. In order to be more competitive Bury depot had to be more flexible reduce delivery costs. To achieve this, restrictive practices had to be eliminated, and more efficient ways of working had to be introduced. For example the introduction of two man deliveries, flexible working between warehouse and draymen, quality control, information technology and redesigned pay structures. Following the issue of the MMC report, the Personnel Director of Bass North was appointed to the post of Distribution Director, and was successful in achieving significant changes at the Bury depot.

<u>1991</u> - New Chief Executive - New Mission Statement

<u>1992</u> - New Distribution Director

<u>1993</u> - Plans to 'change' the Bass culture

Following the appointment of Dr Portno in 1991 and subsequent changes at Board level, the message is that the Bass culture must be changed. At Bury many changes to working practices have been introduced and accepted. However, some of the old culture and values from the Cornbrook Brewery still exist at the depot and are clearly very difficult to change.

In addition to the culture audits at the three depots, research in stages 1 and 2 showed that subcultures that are out of line with the dominant/corporate culture are more difficult to manage and are less productive. For example, the research in stage 1 showed that the type 'A' counterculture produces a poorer quality product and has a higher resistance to change in comparison with the type 'B' and 'C' cultures. Further research in Stage 2 showed that major differences in performance were in the areas of quality, costs, delivery output and days lost through accidents and sickness. The data analysis showed that

the impact that subcultures in the three subculture groupings have on outcomes and the reasons why there are differences is clearly linked to the particular depot culture.

What has occurred in these depots in terms of formation, development and overall transient nature of their cultures and sub-cultures is analogous to methods used in microbiology and in alcoholic fermentation. In microbiology a culture containing one kind of micro-organism is classified as a pure or axenic culture or as being 'monomorphic'. A culture which contains two or more kinds of micro-organisms is considered to be a two-membered or mixed culture, and is referred to as being 'pleomorphic'. In relationship to pleomorphism Stanier et al 1986, explain what happens when microbial populations are mixed: " the principle of natural selection at once begins to operate, and the microbe that can grow most rapidly under the conditions provided soon predominates. As a result of its growth and chemical activities, the composition of the medium changes; after some time, conditions no longer permit growth of the originally predominant form". It is at this stage where the environment provides an opportunity for growth of a second micro-organism which will eventually replace the previously predominant form in the culture.

Abergele and depots in the same subculture group can be described as being 'monomorphic' in that it is a relatively pure un-contaminated culture. Liverpool and depots in the same culture group can be described as being 'pleomorphic' in that the culture is still a mixture of Bents and Bass depot operatives. Bury depot and the other 'changing' cultures are also 'pleomorphic' because of the Cornbrook influence. However, this situation is changing as the Cornbrook operatives gradually leave.

5.5   Conclusions

The research in Stage 1 identified the existence of subcultures in the 15 distribution depots, some of which were positive and others negative in relation to supporting the corporate ideals. Additionally, some of the depot subcultures were in the process of change, moving from traditionally negative towards a more positive culture. For the second stage of the research, the subcultures were therefore grouped into three categories : counter cultures; enhancing cultures and changing cultures.

The second stage of the research involved an in-depth analysis of the subculture groupings in terms of values and practices in relation to those prescribed by the Bass Board. This revealed that, in addition to the characteristics identified in Stage 1, for example the links with trade union power and leadership, cultural transformation is very much linked to the geographical location of the depots, the culture of the area and the associated historical factors. For example, depots in the 'A' and 'C' subcultures, the counter and changing cultures, had strong historical links with brewing and other large industries. This resulted in the formation of strong 'traditional' cultures which were highly resistant to change, and to a great extent, were counter to the way in which senior management wanted to develop the business. The traditional cultures were acceptable during periods of high profits and high market dominance, however, in a changing market and industry, they were seen by management as a liabilty and a target for change. The 1989 MMC report and the resultant need for change brought many of the traditional cultures under the Bass spotlight, and many were coerced into changing their working practices. Although many of these changes were considered by senior management to be changes in culture, in reality they were simply observable changes to working practices and were not linked to changes in the deep rooted attitudes and beliefs of the workforce. This was clearly the case in Huyton, where the depot culture was very much linked to the values and attitudes of the Merseyside people and culture.

The strong links with the culture of the area and the depot culture were also identified in the research in the 'enhancing' cultures. For example, in Abergele the culture of the North Wales people, which is generally friendly and amenable, was reflected in the ways in which the depot operatives carried out their daily tasks. The history of both the depot and the area also seems to have an impact on depot culture and behaviour. In contrast with the counter cultures, which have developed traditional cultures from historical links with brewing and other large organisations, the enhancing cultures, which have no links with brewing or manufacturing, have developed cultures which appear to fit the Bass ideals in terms of flexibilty towards change.

There is evidence from the research that some subcultures can change over time although this does not appear to be linked to the efforts of management. In the 'changing' cultures it would appear that the move from a traditional culture to an 'enhancing' culture is the result of labour movement over a long period of time. For example, in the Bury fieldwork, the movement of labour from the Cornbrook Brewery in Manchester to the Bury site created a mixed culture which was dominated by the Salford Mafia. Over a 20 year period, there has been a cultural transformation as the Cornbrook operatives have left the organisation. What is currently developing in the Bury depot is a subculture which more mirrors the culture of the area and the ideals of the Bass corporate culture.

The historical nature of culture sits within the historical diffusionist school and is linked by Allaire and Firsirotu (1984 p202) to the study of organisations "as historically produced sociocultural systems". Within the symbolic school and the sub-schools of 'actionalist' and 'institutional', strong views are expressed on the historical and leadership links with culture and the birth, growth, and evolution of organisations (Pettigrew 1979, Selznick 1957, Clark 1972).

In terms of cultural dispersion, the research has shown that the cultural characteristics of the Bass 'corporate' culture are not dispersed throughout all of the distribution depots. What appears to be the case is that, assuming culture is 'what an organisation is' as opposed to 'what an organisation has', some depot cultures, because of what they are, naturally fit the Bass corporate ideals. Conversley, some depots, because of what they are, do not fit the Bass corporate ideals. The argument is that depot cultures will either fit or not fit the Bass philosophy for success simply because of the historical and cultural factors in relation to the geographical area of the depot. This is probably why attempts to quickly change the deep rooted beliefs and values of the workforce to a great extent fail.

In line with Gregory (1983), Reynolds (1983), Smircich (1983), Martin & Siehl (1983), and Louis (1985), the fieldwork has shown that the notion of a single homogeneous culture which permeates the organisation is unrealistic and stems from wishful thinking and the ideals of senior managers. In the Bass organisation, which operates in a complex environment and is geographically dispersed, multiple organisational subcultures and counter cultures exist and affect the way in which the business is managed.

Furthermore, In line with Hofstede et al. (1990), the findings of the fieldwork study contradict the prescriptions put forward by many authors and proponents of the shared value philosophy, that is the assumption that the values of the leaders and corporate heroes are shared by all members of the organisation. The fieldwork has shown that there exists subcultures which do not share the same values of the corporate culture and that these cultures are counter productive in the sense that they offer resistance to the corporate ideal. Additionally, the findings of Hofstede et al. (1990) that 'shared perceptions of daily practices' not 'shared values' are the core of an organisations' culture appears to link in with the research findings.

Overall , the findings support the differentiation paradigm of Meyerson and Martin (1987) in that the Bass organisation does not have a homogeneous single corporate culture. What appears to be the case is that Bass Brewers has a new corporate culture which has to a great extent been developed by the 'new' Chief Executive of Bass Brewers and his 'new' Board members. The findings show that the ideals of the senior management team are not dispersed throughout the organisation and are clearly not shared by many of the regional subcultures.

The following Chapter, in view of the fieldwork findings, examines the link between culture management and performance and how subcultures can be effectively managed or controlled. Within this analysis the issue relating to effective leadership as a means of culture control is explored.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER FIVE

Allaire Y & Firsirotu M E (1984)

Theories of Organisational Culture - Organisation Studies, 1984, Volume 5, No. 3 pp193-226

Bass Brewers News (1991)

New Head for Bass Brewers - Issue No 4, pp 1-2

Beynon H (1973)

Working for Ford, Harmondsworth : Penguin

Clark B R (1972)

The Organisational Saga in Higher Education - Administrative Science Quarterly No 17: pp 178-184

Louis M R (1985)

An Investigator's Guide to Workplace Culture - in:- Organisational Culture ed. P J Frost et al, Sage Publications

Martin J & Siehl C (1983)

Organisational Culture and Counterculture: An uneasy symbiosis - Organisational Dynamics 12(2): pp52-64

Meyerson D & Martin J (1987)

Cultural Change: An Integration of Three Different Views. Journal of Management Studies 24:6 November pp623-647.

Pettigrew A M (1979)

On Studying Organisational Cultures - Administrative Science Quarterly 24

Pettigrew A M (1985)

The Awakening Giant: Continuity and Change in ICI, Blackwell, Oxford

Pettigrew A M (1990)

Is Corporate Culture Manageable - in Managing Organisations Eds Wilson D C & Rosenfeld R H - McGraw Hill Book Company

Roy D (1952)

'Quota Restriction and Goldbricking in a Machine Shop', American Journal of Sociology, Vol 57.

Sackmann S A (1992)

Cultures and Subcultures: An analysis of Organisational Knowledge - Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol 37, March pp140 -161

Saffold G S (1988)

Culture Traits, Strength, and Organisational Performance: Moving Beyond 'Strong' Culture - Academy of Management Review, Volume 13 No. 4

Sanday P R (1979)

The Ethnographic Paradigm - Administrative Science Quarterly 24 pp527-538

Schein E H (1984)

Coming to a New Awareness of Organisational Culture - Sloan Management Review, pp 3-16

Schein E H (1985)

Organisational Culture and Leadership - Jossey Bass

Schneider B (1975)

Organisation Climates: 'An Essay' Personnel Psychology No 28: pp 447-479

Schwartz H & Davis S M (1981)

Matching Corporate Culture and Business Strategy - Organisation Dynamics, Summer pp30-48

Selznick P (1957)

Leadership in Administration - Evanston: Row Peterson

Shaw F (1984)

Lern Yerself Scouse - How to talk proper in Liverpool, Scouse Press: Liverpool

Silverman D (1970)

The Theory of Organisations - London: Heinemann

Smircich L (1983)

Concepts of Culture and Organisational Analysis - Administrative Science Quarterly 28 pp339-358

Smircich L (1983)

Studying Organisations as Cultures - in:- Beyond Method, ed. Gareth Morgan, Sage Publications

Stanier R Y, Ingraham J L, Wheelis M L, Painter P R(1986)

General Microbiology - McMillan Prentice Hall

CHAPTER 6

CULTURE MANAGEMENT AND PERFORMANCE

CHAPTER SIX

6. Culture Management and Organisational Performance

The many proponents of culture management and change generally view culture as an organisational variable which can be manipulated to satisfy business objectives. The notion of culture management is linked by many writers to improvements in organisational performance, and to the differences in productivity levels between similar organisations. The concept of culture control or changing an organisation's culture has been adopted by senior managers in many different organisations who view the concept as a route to maintaining or gaining a competitive advantage. Although culture control is considered as a means to improved performance there is little research evidence to show that gaining control of or changing an organisation's corporate culture has a single positive impact on performance.

Based on the research in the Bass organisation, performance seems to be more related to subcultural characteristics rather than to changes in leadership and associated changes to structures and mission statements. Additionally, performance appears to be more related to observable changes in working practices rather than to perceived change in beliefs and values, which have been promulgated at Board level and have then been cascaded down to lower management levels.

As discussed in Chapter 2, many researchers, academics, and consultants agree that culture is extremely difficult to control and change, and that it exists in the form of deep rooted beliefs and values and manifestations in the form of daily working practices. This has clearly been the case in the Bass organisation, in which an attempt has been made to change the organisation's corporate culture by changing leadership, developing a new mission, changing the structure of the organisation and introducing new working practices. In working towards cultural change, many organisations concentrate on

changing the observable behaviour patterns or working practices in order to achieve short and long term productivity improvement. To a great extent this approach is no different from previous attempts to motivate and control labour through the use of 'bureaucratic' and 'humanistic' controls. The earlier bureaucratic approaches to control were to a great extent linked to 'scientific management' and the work of F.W. Taylor. The basic assumption being that subordinates would be motivated by reward systems controlled by management, which would provide the desired improvements in productivity. The human relations approach, although still concerned with improvements in productivity, sought to provide subordinates with working conditions which would facilitate better performance. This approach was later developed to include an understanding of motivation theory, that is, the link between human needs and motivation.

Behaviour changes in relation to working practices do lead to improvements in performance, they are also observable and therefore can be measured. However, observable behaviour is only the top surface of culture in organisations. The beliefs and values of organisational members are deep rooted and lie below the surface of organisational life. Beliefs and values in relation to the organisation's mission tend to be promulgated at senior management level and are then cascaded down in an attempt to 'share' the company philosophy or mission for success with all members of the organisation. Particularly in large geographically dispersed organisations, cascaded beliefs and values tend to be diluted by the time they reach customer facing managers and their subordinates. In many situations where strong regional subcultures have developed, through the historical transformation of values and beliefs, changes in values and beliefs at senior management level have little or no impact on the performance and productivity of lower level managers and their subordinates. The research in the three subculture groups clearly showed that in the category 'A' counter subcultures and in some cases the category 'C' changing subcultures, the ideals of senior management were not shared by the manager or his subordinates.

This Chapter is a review and discussion of past research carried out in three key areas : culture management and leadership; cultural change; and cultural impact on outcomes. The key questions addressed in this Chapter are can culture be managed or changed, and assuming culture or parts of it can be changed, what effect if any has this on organisational performance? Additionally the detailed interviews with senior and middle level managers within Bass, and the analysis carried out at local distribution level, will be used to argue the points raised in the three key areas of leadership, culture change and performance.

6.1   Culture Management and Leadership

"Culture is created in the first instance by the actions of leaders; culture also is embedded and strengthened by leaders. When culture becomes dysfunctional, leadership is needed to help the group unlearn some of its cultural assumptions and learn new assumptions" (Schein 1985 p317).

The quote from Schein above is one of many similar assertions from academics and consultants who believe that effective leadership is a key issue in the 'control' of an organisation's culture. A great deal of research has been carried out on the whole concept of leadership and the role of the manager, with differing emphasis placed on the leaders prime task(s). Earlier definitions, for example Fayol (1916), considered there to be five basic functions of management: planning; organising; co-ordinating; commanding and controlling. Although many subsequent authors considered the five functions to bear little resemblance to what managers actually do (Mintzberg 1973), it would appear that the 'controlling' element of Fayol's functions of management, particularly in relation to culture management, is still regarded by managers, particularly at senior executive levels, to be a primary task. The belief that effective leadership is synonymous with tight controls over subordinates still persists despite many of the popular prescriptions for

culture change revolving around empowerment, autonomy and the devolving of tasks in order to foster the philosophy of shared values and beliefs of senior managers.

Many consultants and academics consider that the values and beliefs of organisational leaders, which may be from the original founder or past and present managers, have an impact on the formation, development and changing of an organisation's culture (Schein 1983, 1985 Anthony 1990, Tunstall 1986, Lorsch 1986, Pettigrew 1979, 1985, 1990). It is argued that in the first instance the founder of an organisation will create the original culture through the formation of a group of associates or managers. The attitudes beliefs and values of the founder and his management team are built into rules and ways of working, and are passed on to employees who join the organisation through various socialisation and selective recruitment processes. Although there is some debate in the literature as to the importance placed on either past or current leaders, most agree with the importance of the leader in terms of culture creation and change. In the Bass case study, the appointment of a new Chief Executive and subsequent changes at senior management level clearly had impact on the management and strategic direction of the organisation. What was created was a new board level culture which made observable changes throughout the business. In the fieldwork there was no clear evidence to show that changes at senior levels had an impact on the beliefs and values of the lower level managers and their subordinates.

Many successful major changes in American and British Industrial organisations have been directly associated with changes in leadership at top executive level and subsequent changes at Board level. For example, Michael Edwardes (1983) gives a detailed account of his five years transforming the ailing British Leyland organisation. Within days of his appointment he restructured the Board, bringing in new members who he thought would best manage the planned changes, and be the agents of cultural change. Pettigrew (1985), in his study of ICI between (1960-1983) linked leadership changes to cultural transformation during periods of economic difficulties. Specifically he associates the

Paul Chambers era in the early 1960's, and the more recent John Harvey-Jones era, with changes in core beliefs and values. In the brewing industry both Bass Brewers and the Fosters Brewing Group appointed new leaders following the need to be more competitive as a result of the MMC report. Within 12 months both Brewing Groups restructured membership of their Board bringing in new members in an attempt to improve their respective beer groups' performance. In the Bass Brewers case, over a two year period, six out of seven original board members including the Chief Executive were replaced (see Appendix 7).

The link between leadership and culture change is identified by Tichy and Ulrich (1984), who consider that the revitalisation or transformation of organisations requires a new type of leadership. Based on work carried out by McGregor Burns (1978) on"transformational leadership", they argue that the leader is the creator of vision within the organisation and responsible for gaining commitment and transforming the vision or mission into reality. Specifically they identify transformational leadership with Lee Iacocca who as chairman of the American Chrysler Corporation in the early 1980's turned the company round from bankruptcy to profitability. In addition to high profits, Iacocca is claimed to have "attained high levels of employee moral, and helped employees generate a sense of meaning in their work ". The transformation of organisations through new leadership, new mission statements, gaining commitment and sustaining that commitment is seen by consultants and practising managers as a route to increased productivity. However, programmes developed for cultural transformation are unsurprisingly 'top down' driven through various cascading processes. Many of these programmes tend to be diluted by the time they reach the customer facing non-managerial subordinates. At this level, changes in behaviour and working practices are required in order to satisfy the mission objectives. The difficulties arise, as Davis (1985 p165) points out, with acceptance or rejection of the message or proposal, " those in non-managerial jobs find it difficult to accept the justice of a system in which managers have superior pay, prestige, and privilege as well as power to tell them what to do". This view tends not to be recognised

by senior management in their strategies for change despite their need for subordinate commitment in the sharing of beliefs and values.

In Dyer's examination of historical events of cultural change in five organisations (1985 p223), he concludes that "the most important decision in culture change concerns the selection of a new leader ". His study of the histories of General Motors, Levi Strauss, National Cash Register, Balfour Company and Brown Corporation revealed that in each case a new leader had been selected and had transformed the organisation's culture through the introduction of new values and beliefs. However, Dyer does make the point that in each of his case studies the cultural changes were not planned as such. Recessions, financial crises and unexpected departures of key leaders were identified as the 'triggers' of cultural change.

In the literature on culture management and change effective leadership at 'top management' level is seen as crucial if control is to be gained or culture is to be changed. It is assumed that the values and beliefs of the Chief Executive and his senior management team will be accepted by managers, middle managers and their subordinates. This assumption is based on the notion of a single homogeneous culture in which the values and beliefs of top management is cascaded down and readily accepted by all members of the organisation. This assumption still persists although challenged by many academics who consider that organisations, particularly those which are large and geographically dispersed, consist of multiple, potentially conflicting subcultures. The fieldwork in the Distribution function identified the existence of three subculture types, two of which were potentially counter productive. Although Distribution is only one of the Bass functions it is likely that the findings would be the same in other regional functions. Davis (1986 p164) makes a valid point in that too little attention is given to the different perspectives of management and the lower level jobs in the organisation. He considers that "the people at the bottom that actually make the product or deliver the service are, arguably, equally as important as managers at the top".

Macdonalds is often cited in the literature as a high performance organisation which has a highly developed set of managerial values and beliefs, which are shared with employees. An interview with an MBA student at Leeds University, who had worked for several months as a server at Macdonalds in America, highlighted some interesting features of leadership in an 'excellent' organisation:

i)   The main role of the Manager and Supervisors was to 'closely control and supervise subordinates'. The slogan 'if you've got time to lean you've got time to clean' was rigidly adhered to. Meal break times were also strictly adhered to, and staff were expected to work continuously during the working hours.

ii)   Standard minute values (the basis of Scientific Management) existed for every conceivable operation from producing a cheeseburger to cleaning a table.

iii)   The task of producing any food item was broken down into simple repetitive, easily learned operations, with these operations being allocated to various staff along a production line type process. Creativity was frowned upon as every Big Mac burger had to look and taste the same in all outlets.

iv)   Management's prime responsibility was productivity through the effective use of resources in terms of maximum output with minimum staff.

Clearly in the Macdonald's case the beliefs and values of senior managers had been effectively cascaded down to local management level. However the message appears to be one which bears a great resemblance to traditional control theory and coercive Taylorite methods. It may be the case that in many 'excellent' organisations behavioural compliance is mistaken for a shared value culture. As mentioned previously the Regional Distribution Director made many changes to working practices throughout the Bass North region which were perceived by himself as changes in culture. In reality what

was achieved was behavioural compliance by a workforce which was concerned about job losses. The notion that leaders have the ability to control and change organisation culture is discussed further in the following sections.

The top down approach and the apparent need for a transformational or charismatic leader to achieve change, can be seen as leading to an excessive reliance on the leader and a consequent stifling of initiative and creativity in subordinates through processes of transference and counter-transference (Gill and Farrar 1992). This was found to be the situation in the Bass Distribution case whereby many changes in regional working practices were dictated from central Headquarters in Burton with little or no involvement for the Regional Distribution manager. A good example of this was the plan to replace the existing incentive bonus schemes with salaried schemes. Although central management planned to introduce the schemes nationally, many operatives rejected the scheme, and many managers were opposed to controlling their particular subculture with a scheme which they had not been involved. The Distribution manager's argument was that, they should have involvement in something as critical and sensitive as the depot payment system. Other examples, were the introduction of information technology systems, changes to warehouse operations and procedures and the introduction of standard manning levels in both the staff and shopfloor areas.

Many of the managers interviewed in the field research considered that they were working within tight managerial controls which stemmed from the centre. Although many culture change programmes involve the introduction of empowerment, autonomy, decentralisation and a move away from tight managerial controls, organisations still tend to be centrally command driven. It would appear that many managers find the idea of empowerment difficult to adopt as this takes away one of their traditional roles of 'subordinate control'.

Following the major reorganisation within Bass Brewers in 1990/91, which was intended

to create six autonomous regions, many of the middle level Distribution managers in Bass

North considered the 'new' organisation to be more centrally command driven from the

Burton Headquarters than the previous structure. This is not surprising, because

following the reorganisation many Regional Directors were either made redundant or

moved to different positions in the centre.

In the Bass case study the appointment of Dr Tony Portno in 1991 as the new Chief

Executive of Bass Brewers, was the start of a new era in terms of major change. His

appointment followed the issue of the M.M.C. report on 'the supply of beer', which

required all brewers to be more competitive. The Portno era was preceded by a long

period of relative stability in the Brewing Industry with the 'Big Six' brewers enjoying a

monopolistic situation in the market.

Within months of his appointment Dr Portno issued a new mission statement giving Bass

Brewers a new customer service focus (see Appendix 6). Many Board level Directors

were replaced, and a 'culture change' programme was formulated and cascaded down to

all management levels within the organisation. The main purpose of the programme was

to enable all Bass Brewers employees to understand and adapt to change. The

programme objectives were that all employees should:

*   Understand the climate of change, Bass Brewers response to it and their

        individual responsibilities within that changing world.

*   Accept that the changes will continue.

*   Understand the characteristics of organisations in a state of change.

*   Identify and understand the personal, departmental and cross functional implications.

*   Develop an understanding of core processes and key performance indicators, their importance to Bass Brewers and the implications, functionally, cross functionally and individually, of their implementation.

*   Understand and develop core competencies.

*   Understand empowerment and accountability.

*   Equip themselves to deal with continuing change.

*   Commit to personal actions.

The notion that leaders have the ability to control and change an organisation culture, and that many leaders themselves believe this to be the case, was highlighted in an interview with the Bass Brewers Distribution Director. Over a two year period the Distribution Director had introduced many changes in working practices in the fifteen depots across Bass North. In an attempt to improve efficiency and reduce costs, changes were introduced which included: restructuring and merging Distribution Depots; reducing manning levels; the introduction of Total Quality Management; the introduction of staff status salaried payment systems; and the introduction of computerised information systems. All these changes were part of a centrally driven strategy to improve performance across all Bass Brewers Distribution sites and were introduced by the local Distribution Depot Managers. In an interview a few days before the Distribution Director left Bass to join Simon Engineering as Chief of Personnel, he outlined his involvement in the changes and the 'changing' of the culture in the Bass Distribution Depots.

The Director explained how, through his leadership over a two year period, he had 'changed' the culture at all the distribution depots in the Bass North region. He also strongly believed that he had changed the culture at all levels within the function from senior managers down to warehouse operatives. His definition of culture was "the way we do things around here" which is often used in the popular literature on culture management and change. Clearly, the Director had made many changes in working practices which resulted in improved overall performance in terms of delivery costs per tonne and delivery output per man-hour. His productivity improvements were a result of changes to working practices through the use of fairly coercive 'Taylorite' methods. For example, in order to reduce depot operating costs in the North East, he sponsored a two month work study exercise to carry out time studies on the draymen. This showed that the original standard times were 'slack' and as a result threatened to introduce the new standards if salaried schemes were not accepted. After debate about the validity of the studies all North East Depots accepted salaried schemes. On many occasions he threatened the use of 'time and motion' and the closure of depots in order to gain acceptance of change. In addition to the work study exercises on the operatives he also sponsored many reviews on supervisors and their staff in order to introduce flatter structures and reduce costs. Resistance to change was always met with the threat of using third party contractors to load and deliver the beer to the retail outlets.

The Distribution Director had made the assumption that changes in behaviour, through enforced changes in working practices had led to a change in attitude, beliefs and values and an overall change in the Distribution function's culture. He had also assumed that his beliefs and values, which were in line with those of the main Bass Brewers Board and the company mission, had been readily accepted by his Regional Distribution managers, the depot managers and their subordinates. Interviews with the Regional managers and detailed interviews with the depot managers proved this not to be the case. Many of the distribution managers, particularly in the larger and historically traditional depots, reluctantly introduced the new working practices. These were the subculture 'A' and 'C'

types where there was a strong resistance to change. In the smaller rural depots which were not historically linked to 'traditional' brewing practices and where a low trade union activity existed, the changes to working practices were more readily accepted. These were the subculture 'B' types which were seen as generally sharing the ideals of senior management. The degree of acceptance, for example, behavioural compliance in some depots and total commitment in others, were all seen as being a 'change in culture' by the Director. Where proposals were rejected coercive leadership control was used to achieve compliance.

In a recent article (Williams 1993) the Distribution Director explained his approach and management style when he closed 4 depots, lost 600 staff and cut wages by 15%. "I did this by being open, explaining what the problems were and telling staff what our route through them was. They were quite prepared to listen because this was the only solution". The management style of the Distribution Director was clearly autocratic and based on the philosophy 'ask them nicely in the first instance and then tell them if there is an unfavourable response'. It would appear that he has taken his particular style of management to Simon Engineering. As most of the company's sites are not unionised he is "typically hard-nosed about shedding staff who are not performing. He considers that it is time for companies to be a little more ruthless in that direction, there is no room for passengers" (Williams 1993 p22).

The Distribution Depot Managers, for their part, considered the changes in working practices to be no different from previous changes imposed by senior managers. As we have seen, the Distribution depots are geographically dispersed and are located in very different local environments and have long, idiosyncratic histories and subcultural variety. Many of the Distribution Managers interviewed, considered that they would have preferred to have been more involved in the changes rather than implementing uniform controls dictated from the centre and controlled by senior regional Directors. Their view was that changes in working practices and required changes in attitudes values

and beliefs, are better managed by lower middle level managers. These middle managers are in fact part of the subculture and have a better understanding of their subordinates and the internal and external environment in which the depots operate.

The belief by many senior managers that changes in working practices and observed behaviour will lead to a change in culture is a popular mis-conception. Leaders who exert control from a command centre tend to assume a single unitary culture and one which can be controlled by central leaders. They assume that managers at the middle levels and below will buy into a new strategy or mission and transfer this onto subordinates. In many cases the cascading of beliefs and values from senior executives will appear to work, with groups in the organisation readily accepting the company philosophy and mission. Acceptance or rejection is very much linked to subcultural activity and the strongly held views of managers and their subordinates in the subculture groups. As we have seen, in the negative cultures, customer service and quality initiates for example have largely been rejected. Even in the other subcultures, the 'keep smiling at the customer' philosophy appears to have been accepted half-heartedly. As one depot drayman put it "the last thing a pub landlord wants to see first thing in the morning is a draymen with a silly grin on his face".

The link between leadership and culture change is almost always linked to the top leaders when in reality an equally important area of leadership in large organisations is the middle manager level. The middle level managers are the customer facing managers who manage the customer facing subordinates. At this level in the organisation the middle manager is expected to introduce uniform practices as prescribed by central management. As previously discussed this is extremely difficult in organisations which have much cultural variety. The middle managers are part of and understand the local culture yet in many cases are only used to pass on the corporate message. One of the platforms from which leaders work to change an organisation's culture is empowerment, "a belief that people should be innovators and take risks, without feeling that they will be punished if

they fail" (Peters and Waterman 1982). Empowerment and diminishing tight managerial controls are considered to be important issues and key to a successfully shared value driven organisation. In reality, and certainly in the Bass Distribution fieldwork, many top leaders find empowering very difficult as this takes away the traditional 'controlling' element of leadership from them. This is at a time of change in Bass when senior management themselves are insecure.

In order to achieve more than just behavioural compliance, which is often perceived as culture control, leaders must move away from the obsession of personal control and coercive control over middle managers and their subordinates. Empowerment in a true sense is a move away from tight controls and the centrally command driven organisation towards risk taking and accountability at the lower management levels and the customer facing subordinates.

Based on work by Tannenbaum and Schmidt (1958) on leadership styles, a continuum, representing rejection and acceptance of the company mission and the beliefs and values of senior management, has been drawn to represent the two extremes (see Figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1

Continuum of Acceptance

I - - - - - - - - - - - - - SUBORDINATE RESPONSE - - - - - - - - - - - - - I

| Rejection | Compliance | Identification | Internalisation |

Degree of Central
Control

Degree of Autonomy and
Empowerment

| Tight Mgmt | Coercive Mgmt | Charismatic | Shared Values and |
| Control | Control | Leadership | Beliefs Philosophy |

I - - - - - - - - - - - - - MANAGEMENT APPROACH - - - - - - - - - - - - - I

In the centrally command driven organisations where there is a high degree of control

exerted over managers and subordinates there is likely to be a rejection or non

compliance with the company mission and the beliefs and values of senior management.

Managers and their subordinates particularly in large geographically dispersed

organisations find it difficult to accept changes when they have not been part of the

decision making process.

Where the control or change cannot be rejected and is enforced by coercive management

methods then behavioural compliance will result. In this situation the manager or

subordinate is given no choice on the change and will reluctantly comply with little or no

commitment.

The third area of acceptance is identification which relates to the acceptance of an idea or proposal because the recipient strongly identifies with the initiator (Handy 1981 p130). In this situation the leader will exert great influence and control over the subordinate which generally leads to the stifling of initiative and a reduction in flexibility. This type of leadership influence is often related to the charismatic or transformational leadership theories. The main focus is on a sense of vision and the emotional empowerment of followers by pushing autonomy and responsibility downwards and engaging the followers' self esteem and confidence in the leader (Gill and Farrar 1993). In reality charismatic leaders tend to control rather than empower, this leads to a high degree of obeyance and dependence on the part of the follower.

Finally, the most desirable acceptance level in terms of the organisation as a whole and the company mission is internalisation. At this acceptance level the follower or subordinate is totally committed to the proposal or change and accepts the required changes in behaviour through choice. Internalisation will only result when there is a high degree of autonomy and empowerment and a true feeling of values and beliefs being shared amongst organisational members. Although behavioural compliance and identification will both produce improvements in performance and productivity short term, internalisation is more likely to provide a sustained higher performance level. The leadership style and the degree of control adopted at senior management level clearly affects acceptance at lower management levels and their subordinates. The subordinate response is far more likely to be positive where there is a high degree of autonomy and self control.

Research evidence suggests that, self control is likely to be exercised, and people to be intrinsically motivated to perform effectively, when they perform tasks that provide feedback and which have goals which are accepted by them (Gill and Farrar 1992). In the case of the Distribution Manager, rather than be asked to manage changes which have been introduced from the centre, he would prefer to be involved in the negotiation of

targets and strategies in order to effectively manage in his particular depot culture. This was highlighted to a great extent in the subculture analysis. For example, in the smaller rural depots where a greater degree of autonomy was allowed, commitment was high and changes internalised. In the larger urban depots which were very tightly controlled, rejection or behavioural compliance resulted.

A shared value culture is far more likely to exist in a culture which fosters self control through autonomy and empowerment at all levels of the organisation. In the Bass case it is fair to say that the corporate message is to move towards a high degree of autonomy and empowerment. In reality, and certainly in the Distribution function, coercive management control is being used to change observable behaviour. The notion of empowerment and self control clearly conflicts with the scientific management approach which is being used in the regions.

6.2 Changing an Organisation's Culture

The link between effective leadership and management of cultural change is seen as a key issue in achieving a successful transformation. As we have discussed in the previous sections, in many cases a change in leadership is the first step in an organisation's strategy for cultural change, and is generally accompanied by changes in structures, communication networks, strategic focus and the overall organisation's mission. Many organisations plan cultural change and base their transformation models on how the high performance 'excellent' organisations operate. Recipes prescribed by consultants and the popular writings of Peters and Waterman (1982), Deal and Kennedy (1982), Kilmann et al. (1985) and many other authors who offer generic culture change models, are used in an attempt to create a high performance culture.

Although culture change models are popular and widely used in organisations, there is still great debate amongst academics as to whether an organisation's culture can be

controlled or manipulated to satisfy business objectives. Managers in organisational -settings tend to be influenced by popular writers and consultants who offer enhanced performance through relatively simplistic change models. As a result, managers are prepared to go to great lengths and expense if there is a promise of improvements in performance at the end. Throughout the literature there are examples of cultural changes in organisations and the associated models used to get the required result, for example, Tunstall (1985), Dyer (1985), and Sathe (1985) give detailed accounts of culture transformation in large American organisations. However, Smith and Peterson (1988) make the point that "published cases do exist of organisations within which major changes in culture have been successfully accomplished and shown to persist, but they are rare".

A great deal of these planned culture change models are derived from the earlier writings of Peters and Waterman (1982), Deal and Kennedy (1982) and Ouchi (1981) who stressed amongst other things the importance of shared values and the possibility of creating an ideal 'excellent' culture. These change models are packaged and 'sold' by consultants to senior Directors who are generally under pressure to change business direction due to economic difficulties. Although the work of Peters and Waterman and other advocates of culture change throughout the 80's is somewhat dated, their eight 'basic attributes of success' are still used by consultants and managers as the platform for transforming an organisation's culture. Peters and Waterman's attributes for success, which are listed below, are translated by managers who then concentrate on the easier to achieve aspects of reducing bureaucracy, focusing on customer service, introducing flatter structures, and improving productivity through managers and their subordinates. All these aspects were recognised by Bass and to a great extent were built into the company's mission statement. However, this recognition by Bass was not surprising as the consultants advising Bass were from the Mckinsey Consulting Group from which Peters and Waterman and many other popular consultants emerged. As previously

discussed, the other aspects relating to changes in leadership style and central control versus regional control tend to be more difficult to accept and change.

1.   Bias for action - Getting on with it. The organisation is not paralysed by analysis. Managers think about decisions then get on with implementing them.

2.   Close to the customer - Learning from clients. Key concepts are quality, service and reliability.

3.   Autonomy and entrepreneurship - Foster many leaders and innovators throughout the organisation.

4.   Productivity through people - The labour force is the root of quality and productivity. We/they attitudes are dysfunctional.

5.   Hands-on, value driven - Top management keeps in touch with all areas of organisation. An emphasis on managing by walking about.

6.   Stick to the knitting - The odds for excellent performance seem to favour those organisations which stay close to the businesses they know.

7.   Simple form, lean staff - Keep structure simple and top management levels lean.

8.   Simultaneous loose-tight properties - Organisations are both centralised and decentralised. Autonomy and product development are decentralised. Core values are centralised.

Drawing on past research and case studies, and based on more recent work by Pettigrew (1990), Key areas have been identified which are considered essential in facilitating

cultural change. Using 'the old' Bass culture and the vision of the future culture as perceived by the Bass Chief Executive, the transformational requirements have been identified (see Figure 6.2).

Figure 6.2   Cultural Change - Generic Model

OLD CULTURE	KEY TRANSFORMATIONAL REQUIREMENTS	NEW CULTURE
Paternalistic	New leadership vision	Flexible
Comfortable	New Mission Statement	Dynamic
Undemanding	Flatter leaner management structures	Empowered
Apolitical	New communications and training strategy	Risk Taking
Hierarchical	Decentralisation	Analytical
Command Driven	Autonomy, empowerment and accountability	Non Hierarchical
Bureaucratic	Elimination of bureaucracy	Demanding
Functional	Socialisation of new members	Non Bureaucratic
	Introduction of cross functional working	Team Working
		Cross Functional

In the Bass case the strategy for change came as a result of the MMC report on 'the supply of beer' (1989). This brought about a need for all brewers to be more competitive. With the help of several outside consultants a strategy for change was developed which involved a redefined business strategy with a new focus on customer service, a £70m investment in information systems, a £50m investment in production facilities, and a major investment in communication and training. Additionally, as part of the change process, a strategy was developed to train all managers in the understanding of management of change. The overall plan was to 'change' the Bass culture to fit the strategic plans. Changes in the way Bass operated started following the MMC report in 1989 with a restructuring of the operating regions into 3 'super' regions consisting of Scotland, North and South. However, the major strategic changes and the planned 'culture changes' started following the appointment of Dr Portno in 1991.

Stage 1 of the process was the appointment of a new Bass Brewers leader at Chief Executive level. Dr Tony Portno was not new to Bass, prior to his appointment he was in charge of Bass PLC's corporate strategic planning, and was Chairman of Augustus Barnett, Britvic Soft Drinks and Delta Biotechnology. At a very early stage of his appointment Dr Portno made it very clear that there would have to be many strategic changes in Bass to comply with the MMC requirements. He made the point on several occasions that an overall change in culture was required to compliment the strategic changes. In January 1992 Dr Portno announced several significant changes at board level which involved the appointment of four new Directors. Appendix 7 shows the 'old' and 'new' Bass Brewers Board structure.

The most surprising appointment was that of Mike Southwell, from Britvic Soft Drinks, who joined the board as Production Director. The surprise was the fact that Southwell, who had previously worked for Bass between 1972-1989, in the Distribution and Production functions, was not a qualified brewer. His appointment broke many years of tradition of having a qualified brewer responsible for all Bass brewing operations.

In order to strengthen Portno's new focus on customer service, and in line with the view that a commitment to customer service is essential in 'excellent' organisations, Jeremy Fowden was appointed Customer Services and Sales Director. Fowden joined the Bass board from Pepsi-Cola International where he was Marketing Director, Middle East and Africa.

Portno also appointed an IT Director and a new position of Technical Director to board level. The IT position was previously below board level reporting to the Finance Director, and the Technical Director previously reported to the Production Director. Portno decided to recruit from outside the Bass organisation for the IT post and appointed someone from the Courtalds Group. The new position of Technical Director was filled by promotion from within the organisation.

Portno's new board of 8 Directors consisted of 4 new members 3 of which had been appointed from outside Bass Brewers. In line with the new appointments and the new focus on people and customer service, a new mission statement was issued. The 'old' mission statement focused more on productivity, profitability and quality. The 'new mission' focused more on the creation of an entrepreneurial culture and the adaptation of the workforce to manage the anticipated changes in the business. The major new focus of the mission was on customer service and linked to the creation of an entrepreneurial culture.

In May 1992, in line with a new focus on customer service, major changes in the company's organisation structure were made. As Stage 2 of the culture change, Portno restructured Bass Brewers back to 6 regions: Scotland; North West; North; Midlands; Wales and West; and South. The intention of this strategy was to move away from a central command driven organisation to autonomous units which would best supply local regional needs and improve market share. In line with the new focus on customer service

a planned capital investment programme was announced in breweries and depots in order to improve productivity and improve product support to the sales teams.

In order to improve communications a new position of Director of communications was created and regional communications teams were established to communicate the new mission and the beliefs and values of the 'new' executive and board members. A survey was carried out by external consultants (Aspen Business Communications) in order to determine how Bass Brewer's current communications network was perceived by its employees. All Bass Brewers employees (7,165) were sent a detailed questionnaire inviting them to comment on communications within the business. The results were analysed and an employee communications charter was established and issued to all employees. In addition to a new communications strategy, elaborate roadshows were set up which involved Board Directors giving presentations on 'the future of Bass' to all distribution, production and commercial employees in all locations. The detailed results of the survey relating to the Distribution function are shown below:-

Summary

The Distribution response was 33% against an overall average of 42%. The response rate was lower than average, but this was expected in a population with a high proportion of hourly paid employees who are dispersed geographically. The response rate was considered sufficient to be statistically representative of the whole population.

Media

*   Two thirds thought that informal face-to-face communications were effective - in line with average.

*   About 50% of Distribution employees said they held meetings to discuss operational information - this was slightly less frequent than the 55% average.

Even fewer, 34%, met to discuss wider company issues (average 50%). Nearly 60% thought that meetings were effective.

* Half thought that inductions were effective (average) and half also thought that team briefings were effective (less than 66% average).

* Distribution hourly paid employees did not generally receive information through print and paper - they did not have desks or pigeon holes - they referred to notice boards for memos and circulars. As a source of company information, only around 50% said that they thought notice boards were effective.

* Around 56% of Distribution employees said that the Bass Brewers News was effective, in line with company average. As a source of company information, only around 50% thought that notice boards were effective.

* 48% thought TU's to be effective as a source of company information, compared with the company average of 38%.

* Around 40% thought that computer information systems were effective, in line with company average.

Topics

* About half said they received enough information on the performance of the company and there was 40% satisfaction on the amount of information received on performance of the region, function and department (average results).

* 30% satisfaction (average) with news about Bass Brewers plans, and around 15% on what was happening in other functions and regions (average).

* Only a quarter (average 35%) received enough information on their own performance.

* Between a third and a half were satisfied with the amount of information received on personnel issues (including Health & Safety, terms and conditions, pay benefits, job and training opportunities). Only 20% on marketing and promotions - all average. Around a fifth satisfaction with information about competitors - again company average.

Line Managers

* Around 55% to 65% of distribution employees were positive about their line manager's general communications and management skills. Around 80% thought them approachable.

* However, on some other measurements, line managers in distribution were perceived by the hourly paid employees as being less open and more constrained by time to communicate as well as others do: around 50% of line managers were said to take time out to talk to employees and to praise them for good work (compared to 60% average); around 60% said their managers were willing to listen to ideas and suggestions (compared to an average of 70%) and the same number thought that their managers withheld information, compared to a company average of 51%.

* Just under half of all distribution employees thought that their line manager could influence senior management decisions - in line with company average.

*   62% said that senior managers' communications were believable but that they were slow (87%). Around 70% said they did not make efforts to keep in touch. NB these results are in line with the company average and this was before the distribution road show.

*   Distribution hourly paid employees were less aware of who the board members were (25% compared with an average of 34%).

*   Distribution employees thought senior management policies to be consistent (25% compared to 31% average) and 44% had confidence in their leadership (average).

Change

*   Distribution were among the least satisfied with communication on change. Two thirds said they were aware of the mission (average 77%) and around 45% understood the reasons for change (53% average).

Cross-functional communications

*   50% of distribution thought that cross-functional communications were effective but were actually less positive about many aspects:- 40% thought they had improved (46% average), 48% knew what other functions did (62% average), 29% were satisfied they had enough opportunity to meet with people outside their department (38% average).

The results of the above survey were used with results from other functions to develop a new employee communications charter (see Appendix 8).

Stage 3 of the change process was the cascading of the corporate message down to the lower level managers. This was achieved through a series of 'Management of Change Programmes which were delivered by managers to middle and lower level supervisors. These programmes involved 8 two hour sessions delivered by managers to their subordinates and covered: Understanding Change; Core Processes and Key Performance Indicators; Living With Change and Empowerment. The whole programme was designed to explain the current Bass culture as seen by Dr Portno and the Bass Brewers Board, and to explain how the business was changing and the need for all employees to change with it.

Figure 6.3 shows the three stage Bass model for cultural change and identifies the major changes which occurred over a three year period.

Figure 6.3 **Bass Model for Cultural Change**

CHANGES IN		CHANGES OUT

CHANGES IN

New leader (Chief Executive)

Changes at Board Level

Changes at Management
levels

New Mission Statement

**STAGE 1
OLD CULTURE**

Managers who do not
fit the new culture

Restructuring of regions

Cascading of new mission

Socialisation of new
members

Flatter structures

Management of change
training

**STAGE 2
OLD CULTURE/
NEW CULTURE**

Old practices (traditions)

Old systems

Hierarchies

New reward system

Cascading of change
programme

New communications
charter

Process management

Empowerment

Regional Autonomy

**STAGE 3
NEW CULTURE**

Functional management

Bureaucracy

Centrally command driven

It is difficult to measure the success of culture change in terms of how well the corporate culture or beliefs of top management are dispersed throughout an organisation. It is also difficult to measure the impact of changes in culture on performance unless the behaviour changes are measurable. In the Bass case, a great deal of time and money has been spent on strategic changes and on influencing behaviour changes throughout the business in order to maintain a competitive advantage. Portno, in one of his early statements on the proposed changes and in relation to elements of performance said "if you can't measure it you can't control it". Portno believes that culture can be measured and therefore can be controlled. As a member of the Bass culture myself for the past four years I have seen many changes in working practices and many changes in attitudes towards work in my own function and all other functions in the organisation. Most of the changes in behaviour have resulted from changes in structures and working practices. It is difficult to measure the effect of changes in the attitudes, beliefs and values of employees on performance. Yet positive changes over time in attitudes, beliefs and values are likely to occur as new members move into Bass, and the new ways of working are internalised by existing members.

Bass as an organisation, advised by consultants, has treated culture as a single homogeneous entity which if manipulated will provide increased levels of performance. As discussed in Chapter 2 a more realistic approach would have been to take a pluralistic view of culture and consider the multiple organisation subcultures which exist in the regions. This can be achieved by taking a 'layered' view of the organisation's culture. For example, the top layer of senior managers should be responsible for the corporate mission and the strategic objectives of the business. The bottom layer of middle managers should be responsible for controlling their particular subculture within broad parameters. This approach is a differentiated approach which recognises that a corporate culture can exist which recognises and empowers middle managers to control its own subculture. However, this is not to say that the Bass model is a wrong approach, the likely outcome from all the changes will be a positive improvement in performance. The

key issue is which parts of the improvements can be directly attributable to changes in core values and beliefs, and which can be attributable to changes in working practices and external marketing conditions.

It is relatively easy to measure changes in behaviour patterns which are directly linked to observable changes in output. Changes in behaviour are not always synonymous with changes in beliefs and values and vice versa. Ogbonna and Wilkinson (1990) found this to be the case in their study of culture changes in four supermarkets where a strategic focus on customer service had been developed. They concluded that changes in organisational culture are likely to be behavioural rather than changes in values. This was based on the findings that, although subordinates appeared to accept the directives of management in terms of 'the customer comes first philosophy' they tend to act out the required behaviour to satisfy management and because of the fear of sanctions. This finding is consistent with the view that the shared value philosophy is manipulative in that it views people as instrumental for productivity and not valued per se (Mitchell 1985). It also raises the issue of the middle manager and whether in fact the manager will change his behaviour in order to comply with the top management. Behavioural compliance, as discussed earlier, can be mistaken for a change in organisational culture and may not be long lasting.

It may be the case that many organisations see changes in behaviour as 'essential' to improve performance, and see changes in values as being 'nice to have' but not essential to improved performance. The bottom line for many organisations is profit through people and their performance, if this can be achieved by coercive methods and the use of bureaucratic and humanistic controls, then changes in attitudes, values and beliefs will become secondary issues. A major misconception in the understanding of the whole concept of culture is that a behaviour change produces a change in culture. Culture should be considered as being both in the minds of organisational members (beliefs, values and ideas), and in the actions of organisational members (working practices).

Changing and measuring behaviour in terms of working practices is relatively easy compared with trying to change peoples values and beliefs.

6.3   Cultural Impact on Productivity

Earlier managerial approaches to subordinate control and improvements in productivity focused primarily on the simplification of an operator's required tasks, and the use of direct financial incentives. The use of 'scientific management' techniques, as developed and prescribed by F. W. Taylor, was seen by managers as a route or tool to enhance worker efficiency. Despite many criticisms, Taylor's scientific management approach is still widely used in both manufacturing and service industries as a rational approach to improved performance. It would appear that many culture conscious managers of the 80's and 90's still control behaviour/operations using Taylorite measurement techniques and payment systems based on work measured standards to achieve business objectives. These methods have not been replaced by the 'culture controllers' and their shared value philosophies, they are used in tandem. Anthony (1990 p5), makes the point that "some recent reports suggest that attempts at the management of organisational culture, rather than alternatives to primary control by technical or administrative measures, are accompanied by direct and fairly coercive methods". This clearly the case in the Bass Distribution function in which direct financial incentives are used and coercive management control is used to secure changes in behaviour. This approach to culture change was identified with the management style and approach of the Distribution Director.

On the managerial side there has been a shift from basic salaries with increments to performance related pay which involves rewarding managers for achieving tangible business goals. Many of these schemes are linked to satisfying mission goals and incentivised staff receive financial rewards for achieving financial, quality, and customer service targets. Although in recent years there has been a shift towards salaried schemes

for the shopfloor team these schemes tend to still be based on measured values and are tightly controlled by management. All layers of management within the Bass organisation are now on measured incentives based on performance related pay, and are linked to core competencies in relation to the Bass mission.

There is an important link between reward systems, trade unions, management and culture which should be recognised if beliefs and values are to be truly shared. The trade union link in particular has been highlighted by Morgan (1986 p128), who considers that "the philosophy, values, and norms of union culture usually exert an important impact on the mosaic of culture, subculture and counter culture that characterises life in any organisation". As discussed, in the many examples of culture change in the literature the existence of multiple cultures, counter or enhancing tend to be over looked. In particular, and certainly within large geographically dispersed organisations, the regional trade union and their member's values norms and beliefs have over the years greatly influenced local payment systems and productivity.

A considerable amount of work has been undertaken on the successful selection, development and implementation of payment schemes, and the important influence that reward systems have on organisational cultures. For example, Daniel and Mcintosh (1976), concluded that many human and economic problems that organisations faced could be traced directly to irrational, inequitable and uncontrolled systems of payment. The theory that work behaviour is influenced only by direct financial incentives still persists despite the apparent move to the salaried status operative and a move away tight managerial controls. Although management yielding to shop-floor bargaining power was seen by Flanders (1967), as a basic cause of the weakening of managerial control, the demise of union power throughout the 80's has led to a reversal of this situation.

Lupton and Gowler (1969), categorised four kinds of influence on payment systems: technology; labour markets; disputes and disputes procedures; and structural

characteristics. They argued that the four kinds of influence, which was further split into a 23 dimension profile, could be used as a procedure for selecting a payment scheme appropriate to the circumstances of a company. The work by Lupton and Gowler clearly shows the complexity of selecting and developing an appropriate payment scheme. Research shows that because of complex payment systems over 50% of pieceworkers do not understand how their wage is calculated. This is one of the reasons why many organisations are now examining new methods of wage payment for all levels of employees. The trend, particularly in the fast moving consumer goods (F.M.C.G.) market, is towards the salaried worker or schemes based on contracted pay or measured day work. However there is little evidence to show that there is a surge towards a salaried workforce. Work carried out by I.P.M. 1977 'Staff Status For All' highlighted management's approach to staff status as being piecemeal and usually in response to labour shortage, or to attract people into manual work with staff status. This piecemeal approach is still evident in the 1990's.

As identified by Lupton and Gowler (1969), the most appropriate payment system will depend upon the particular characteristics and culture of a given organisation. Clearly, in larger organisations these characteristics will vary from region to region with cultural, motivational, and new technology issues causing resistance or acceptance of payment schemes.

The link between culture and performance in relation to the type of reward system was highlighted in the distribution research. For example, in subculture type 'A' (counter culture) where direct financial incentives were in operation under tight managerial controls, performance levels were lower. In the subculture type 'B' (enhancing culture), where salaried payment schemes were in operation higher performance levels were recorded in relation to quality and output.

In organisational settings the notion of culture management and change is seen as a means to improved performance and the gaining of a competitive advantage. This, it is believed, can be achieved by gaining the commitment of the workforce to the values and beliefs of top management and the creation of a unified corporate culture. Kilmann et al. (1985) argue that there is not much point in attempting to change culture if it does not affect what goes on in organisations. Although culture, as seen from a cognitive or behavioural dimension, appears to have an impact on performance, there is no conclusive evidence that culture control or change alone will lead to short term or sustained improvements in performance. The difficulty appears to be in deciphering or segregating improvements through 'normal' processes and those improvements attributable to culture control and the sharing of beliefs and values. As mentioned previously claimed changes to an organisations culture are usually part of strategic changes which would have given improvements in performance alone.

Over the past decade attempts have been made to link strong 'shared' managerial values to superior performance and improvements in productivity. Peters and Waterman (1982), Deal and Kennedy (1982) and many more throughout the 80's are advocates of this notion. However, as pointed out by Soeters, (1986), many of the so called 'excellent' companies performed badly in the years following the book 'In search of excellence'. Carroll (1983), considers the reason behind the poor performances to be factors in the economic environment. These factors appear to be missing from Peters and Waterman's analysis. Barney (1986 p 659), makes the point that unique geographical advantages and luck can lead to sustained superior financial performance, and that "a valuable culture today could, in different economic or competitive conditions, become an economic liability". Deal and Kennedy (1983 p 34) make a similar point in that when economic circumstances change "shared values may continue to guide behaviour in ways no longer helpful to the organisations success".

Uniqueness in cultural terms is often regarded as a strong characteristic of the more successful organisations and preservation of their unique qualities will lead to a sustained competitive advantage. Barney (1986) for example linked superior financial performance to organisations who had valuable and rare cultures and cultures which were imperfectly imitable. Barney argues that if an organisation has a culture which is impossible to imitate because of its unique history and set of symbols, beliefs and values, then it is more likely to enjoy a sustainable competitive advantage. If this is the case then imitating the cultural attributes of the 'excellent' company as suggested by Peters and Waterman or developing a Theory 'Z' culture as suggested by Ouchi (1981) becomes impractical. Organisational cultures are difficult to define and imitate because of their many multifaceted aspects. The view that organisations can adopt certain cultural characteristics of other organisations is only easily achieved if tangible working practices are to be duplicated.

A classic case of the decline of one of Peters and Waterman's so called 'excellent' companies is that of the IBM Corporation. Throughout the 80's IBM was cited, along with many other well-run American organisations, as having a very strong unified culture, a highly focused mission, and strong leadership which shared its beliefs and values with the workforce. Explanation's of IBM's sustained superior financial performance throughout the 80's focused mainly on its managerial values and beliefs which were said to be embodied in the organisations culture (Barney 1986). In 1984 profits after tax were in excess of $7 billion and profits were sustained at a high level throughout the 1980's. Following IBM's after tax profits of $6 billion in 1990 their fortunes changed leading up to a massive $5 billion loss in 1992.

In a recent article (Cassidy 1993), carried out an analysis of the 'rise and fall of IBM' and asked the question what went wrong. The author interviewed many senior managers inside and outside of IBM and the overall answer in simple terms was that "the world changed rapidly and IBM didn't". Cassidy argued that IBM's decline was to a great

extent beyond its control, "powerful exogenous factors, notably technical progress and increased competition combined to undermine the industry leaders unique position, which was based on monopoly power in the incredibly lucrative market for mainframe computers". In terms of culture it would appear that IBM's 'unique' culture became arrogant, inflexible, insular, bureaucratic and unable to adapt to a rapidly changing competitive market.

Many writers and consultants treat culture as an internal organisational variable which is flexible, manageable and a source of competitive advantage. The IBM example is a classic case of cultivating a unique culture and failing to observe trading conditions in the outside world. A strong unified culture within an organisation will have little influence on productivity and performance if external factors beyond its control dictate operations. Culture is not easy to change, in a dynamic environment external factors and the ability of the workforce to adapt quickly will dictate performance. Meek (1988 p461) makes a similar valid point " corporate success, particularly economic success, is dependent far more upon external environmental influences and the vagaries of the market place than on internal interpersonal dynamics". In the Bass case the environmental influences on the subcultures clearly had more impact on performance than changes in leadership, structures and mission statements.

6.4   Conclusions

Effective leadership in organisations is required in order to satisfy business objectives particularly in terms of performance and profitability. In the past, leaders and their management teams have adopted many techniques in an attempt to gain control and maintain the support of their subordinates. For many years the use of 'scientific management', 'bureaucratic' and 'humanistic' control mechanisms proved to be adequate in a system of tightly controlled operations. Throughout the 80's there was a significant shift towards the belief that gaining control of an organisation's culture and fostering a

shared value philosophy with the workforce, would lead to improved performance. In the 90's culture control is seen as a 'new method' of gaining total commitment from a more amenable workforce which will more readily work jointly with management towards satisfying business objectives.

Many writers and consultants believe that effective leadership, particularly at the highest level, is a key issue in changing an organisations culture and in gaining and sustaining subordinate commitment. To achieve this commitment, the beliefs and values of the leader, which are generally written into the company mission statement, are adopted by managers, middle managers and their subordinates.

Understandably, strategic change and 'planned' changes to an organisation's culture requires to be driven by effective leaders. This is the case because leaders are expected to manage and control aspects of the business which may have an impact on organisational performance. It is in the 'control' element where there appears to some contradiction and ambiguity. In many culture change programmes emphasis and attributes of success in relation to leadership are seen as autonomy, entrepreneurship, empowerment, decentralisation, and a general move from tight managerial control. In practice many leaders believe control over subordinates to be a key task in their role as a manager and leader. Empowering, for example, takes away the traditional 'controlling' element of leadership which is seen as a loss in authority. If leaders are to achieve commitment and the sharing of beliefs and values then the fostering of empowerment and accountability must be seen to be working. Tight controls over subordinates by leaders in pursuit of improved performance will result in rejection of the mission or at the best lead to behavioural compliance. Behavioural compliance is not a change in culture or culture control it is a management illusion of culture control.

Throughout the literature on organisational culture there is great debate as to whether culture can be controlled and if it can be controlled can it be a source of improved

performance and competitive advantage. The view here is that culture assumed as a variable, and as observable behaviour in the form of measurable work, can be a source of improved performance. Changes in beliefs and values are intangible yet are likely be reflected in the behaviour and performance of managers and their subordinates. To a great extent these deep rooted aspects of culture are immeasurable and therefore can only be assumed to be a source of improved performance. In many cases where strategic change is coupled with an assumed change in culture, it is impossible to decipher the various attributes to improvements in performance.

The type of reward system adopted for both management and their subordinates will have an impact on cultural behaviour and performance. As highlighted in the distribution fieldwork, reward systems which are tightly controlled and based on work measured standards are likely to be less productive. A move towards a salaried scheme for operatives, which is comparable with their superiors, is more likely to give rise to a sustained higher performance.

The overall conclusion is that there are many aspects to the concept of culture in organisational settings, some of which are tangible and therefore can be measured and controlled and others which are intangible and therefore less obvious for measurement and control. Changes in working practices are controllable and therefore performance can be measured and to a great extent manipulated. A sustained higher performance will result from subordinates accepting the beliefs and values of senior management as their own. In large geographically dispersed organisations like Bass, unless the various subcultures are recognised as important aspects of the overall culture, in terms of their contribution to profitability, optimum performance will not be achieved. Leadership style at all levels of the business will clearly have an impact on achieving superior performance. Acceptance of the philosophy of shared values is strongly linked to the levels of managerial control adopted by senior managers and by the lower middle level managers.

Ackroyd S & Crowdy P A (1990)

Can Culture be Managed? - Personnel Review, Volume 19, No. 5 pp3-13

Anthony P D (1990)

The Paradox of the Management of Culture or 'He Who Leads is Lost', Personnel Review 19,4 pp3-8

Barney J B (1986)

Organisational Culture: Can it be a Source of Sustained Competitive Advantage? Academy of Management Review Vol 11 No 3, pp 656-665

Carroll (1983)

'A Disappointing Search for Excellence' - Harvard Business Review, No. 63 November-December, pp 78-88

Cassidy J (1993)

The Rise and Fall of IBM - Sunday Times - Business Focus 28 March

Daniel W and Mcintosh N (1976)

The Right to Manage - McDonald & Co

Davis S M (1985)

Culture is Not Just an Internal Affair (Gaining Control of the Corporate Culture) Kilmann et al - pp 137-147 - San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Deal T E & Kennedy A A (1982)

Corporate Cultures - Addison Wesley

Dyer W G (1985)

The Cycle of Cultural Evolution in Organisations - Gaining Control of the Corporate Culture - San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Dennison D (1984)

Bringing Corporate Culture to the Bottom Line - Organisation Dynamics 13 pp5-22

Edwardes M (1983)

Back From the Brink: An Apocalyptic Experience, Collins London

Fayol H (1949)

General and Industrial Management, Pitman (first published in French in 1916)

Gill J & Farrar S (1992)

Leadership as Developing Subordinate Self-control and Managing Without Managers -
Occasional Paper, Sheffield Business School

Gregory K L (1983)

Native View Paradigms: Multiple Cultures and Culture Conflicts in Organisations -
Administrative Science Quarterly 28 pp359-376

Handy C B (1981)

Understanding Organisations - Penguin Books

IPM (1977)

Staff Status for All - IPM Publication

Kilmann R H, Saxtib M J, Serpa R & Associates (1985)

Gaining Control of the Corporate Culture - San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Lorsch J W (1986)

Strategic Myopia: Culture as an Invisible Barrier to Change - Gaining Control of the Corporate
Culture - San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Lupton T and Gowler D (1969)

Selecting a Wage Payment System - Penguin

Meek V L (1988)

Organisation Culture: Origins and Weaknesses - Organisation Studies, 1988, Volume 9 No. 4
pp453-473

Mintzberg H (1973)

The Nature of Managerial Work, Harper & Row

Mitchell T R (1985)

In Search of Excellence Versus the Best 100 Companies to Work for in America: A Question of Perspective and Values - Academy of Management Review No 10, April, pp 350-355

Morgan G (1986)

Images of Organisation - Sage Publications

Ogbonna E and Wilkinson B (1990)

Corporate Strategy and Corporate Culture: The View from the Checkout ,Personnel Review, pp 9-15

Ouchi W (1981)

Theory 'Z' - Addison Wesley

Ouchi W & Johnson J B (1978)

Types of Organisational Control and Their Relationship to Emotional Well Being - Administrative Science Quarterly 23, pp293-317

Peters T J & Waterman R H (1982)

In Search of Excellence - Harper and Row

Pettigrew A M (1990)

Is Corporate Culture Manageable - in Managing Organisations Eds Wilson D C & Rosenfeld R H - McGraw Hill Book Company

Pettigrew A M (1985)

The Awakening Giant: Continuity and Change in ICI, Blackwell, Oxford

Pettigrew A M (1979)

On Studying Organisational Cultures - Administrative Science Quarterly 24

Saffold G S (1988)

Culture Traits, Strength, and Organisational Performance: Moving Beyond 'Strong' Culture - Academy of Management Review, Volume 13 No. 4

Sathe V (1985)

How to Decipher and Change Corporate Culture (Gaining Control of the Corporate Culture) Kilmann et al - pp 230-261 San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Schein E H (1983)

The Role of the Founder in Creating Organisational Culture - Organisational Dynamics, Summer pp 13-28

Schein E H (1984)

Coming to a New Awareness of Organisational Culture - Sloan Management Review, pp 3-16

Schein E H (1985)

Organisational Culture and Leadership - Jossey Bass

Smith P B and Peterson M E (1988)

Leadership, Organisations and Culture - Sage Publications

Soeters J L (1986)

Excellent Companies as Social Movements - Journal of Management Studies 23.3 May pp 299-312

Tannenbaum R and Schmidt W H (1958)

How to Choose a Leadership Pattern - Harvard Business Review, March-April p96

Taylor F W (1972)

Scientific Management, Greenwood Press

Tichy N M & Ulrich D (1984)

The Leadership Challenge - A Call for the Transformational Leadership - Sloan Management Review Fall pp59-68

Tunstall W B (1986)

The Break-up of the Bell System - A Case Study in Cultural Transformation - California Management Review, No 2 pp 110-124

Williams (1993)

Nuts and Bolts Man - Personnel Today, January, pp22-23

CHAPTER 7

AN INSIDER'S PERSPECTIVE OF AN ORGANISATION'S CULTURE AND SUBCULTURES - A CONCLUSION

7. <u>An Insider's Perspective of an Organisation's Culture and Subcultures - A</u>
<u>Conclusion</u>

This final Chapter reviews the thesis findings which are based on an insider's view of the

methodological approach to the research and understanding of organisational subcultures.

Carrying out research into an organisation's corporate culture and its subcultures, in order

to gain some understanding of the complex relationships, is not an easy task. It is hoped

that the findings of the research will throw some light onto a subject matter which in

many ways defies clear definition and understanding. References made about the culture

concept as being 'a black hole', 'the missing link' and 'the invisible barrier' are possibly an

indication as to the evasive nature of the whole concept, and indeed whether

organisational cultures can be effectively managed or researched.

It may be the case that managers and researchers are on an impossible mission when

trying to gain a complete understanding of such a multifarious concept. What may be

achieved from research in this area, is possibly an understanding of the complexities of

the subject matter. This in itself is a step forward and adds to the existing knowledge of

culture in organisations. An understanding of the complex nature of the culture concept

may aid future researchers and managers seeking to gain some understanding of

corporate culture and subcultures in the workplace.

Conclusions have been drawn from the main sections of the thesis to formulate overall

conclusions and to identify further research in the area of subcultures in organisational

settings. Additionally, the contribution of the thesis to existing knowledge is highlighted

and discussed, and various conceptual models are presented which provide an

understanding of: a methodological approach to researching cultures and subcultures in a

large geographically dispersed organisation; the links between culture and performance,

and the links between culture and managerial control. The conceptual model for studying

corporate culture and subcultures, which was developed at an early stage in the fieldwork and depicted in Chapter 2, has been further developed in order to reflect my understanding of the culture concept, and the complexities involved in research in this area.

The major contribution the thesis makes to knowledge is therefore in three key areas:

*   Firstly the thesis provides a contribution in the area of research methodology both from a manager carrying out research within his own organisation, and the methodological approach used to study the corporate culture and subcultures in a large geographically dispersed organisation.

*   Secondly the thesis provides a contribution in the area of culture and performance in that it explores in depth the relationship between subcultures and an organisation's corporate culture and provides an explanation for different culture types and their effect on business performance.

*   Finally the thesis provides a contribution in the area of culture and managerial control in that the research identifies the links between leadership and control at both senior and middle management levels. The development of an understanding of the relationship between cultures, subcultures and managerial control, has implications for Bass and other large geographically dispersed organisations which are incorporating culture change programmes as part of major strategic changes within their businesses.

Following an introduction, the Chapter is split into three main sections in line with the major contributions identified above: the methodological approach used by a manager, as an insider, carrying out research in his own organisation ; the impact and importance of subcultures on the management of change, and the implications for Bass of the thesis

findings on culture, subcultures and managerial control. A final section covers possible further research in the area of subcultures and their impact on management of change and organisational performance.

7.1   Introduction

The research findings indicate that, the notion of controlling or changing an organisation's culture, is to a great extent questionable. This however is not surprising as the whole concept of culture, in both fields of anthropology and organisational theory, tends to hinge on definitional issues and arguments. This situation further adds to complexity of researching and understanding cultures in the workplace. Throughout the research period I asked many managers and operatives to define culture, not because I had the right definition myself, but simply because I thought someone would provide me with a definition which would provide a key to a complex subject. Many managers provided me with definitions which were arguably right. For example, it was described as " the way we behave ", " the way we are", " the way we think ", "attitudes and values", "the way we do things" and so on. When I am asked to define culture myself, having spent many years researching the subject, I feel I should have a clear concise definition. However, I find myself struggling to explain culture in a few words, and generally provide a long explanation covering the many aspects of the subject. I find that trying to define the culture concept in one sentence or paragraph tends to over simplify it. I feel that the reason why managers and researchers provide numerous definitions, which may be contradictory, is because culture is multifarious and therefore has many aspects and can afford many different definitions.

The problem for managers appears to be associated with trying to control or change something which cannot be clearly defined or indeed measured. This is probably why many managers relate culture to observable behaviour which is tangible and to an extent can be controlled and measured. This problem also extends to the researcher who is

trying to study and understand a concept, which has both tangible and intangible elements in the form of overt behaviour, and attitudes, beliefs and values, which are in the minds of the research subjects.

Following on from the above, it is accepted that any attempt to change an organisation's culture at any level is not an easy task, and that internalisation of behavioural changes is likely to require a high degree of autonomy, empowerment and, most importantly, a sharing of values and beliefs amongst organisational members. In terms of shared values, which it is assumed relate to the organisation's corporate mission, it is argued that successful change programmes should directly involve all levels of the workforce from executive level to the person who packs and delivers the final product to the customer. Although the involvement of all organisational members may provide a better understanding of the organisation's mission, and may even assist with the implementation of change, it is considered that 'culture change' is not likely to result from subcultures accepting proposed changes in working practices. The research has shown that many change programmes, including the Bass programme, tend to be driven top down with the emphasis on the creation of a single homogeneous corporate culture. With this approach, there is a tendency not to recognise the existence of potentially conflicting subcultures, the concentration being on changing the beliefs and values of senior managers, and then cascading the message down to organisational members.

As part of many change programmes, the inclusion of a 'culture change' is often seen as an important ingredient within the overall strategy. This is often highlighted in the company's new mission statement, for example, in the Bass mission statement, " we will create an entrepreneurial culture ", was considered an important message to the workforce and to the future success of the organisation. Managers tend to key into these messages and subsequently use the words " we've got to change the culture ", whenever there is a sign of resistance to change. As part of the overall change programme it is therefore

generally seen as another variable which may disrupt management plans if it is not changed.

As culture change is often seen by senior management as being synonymous with the planned business changes, little research is carried out within the business to understand the existing culture and the possible existence of negative subcultures. That is, negative in a sense that they do not conform with the ideals of senior management. A lack of understanding or the failure to recognise the existence of multiple and possibly conflicting subcultures could be costly to the organisation which, as a result of resistance from counter cultures, may fail to meet anticipated strategic goals.

There are many books and consultants selling packages which purport to make culture change feasible and which support the view that the changes will provide a sustained competitive advantage. The assumption made in much of the popular literature is that an organisation's culture is a variable which can be manipulated to satisfy business objectives. Additionally it is assumed that a single homogeneous culture can be developed and controlled to meet the changing demands of the market place and of senior management. Much of the literature relates culture change to 'changing the corporate culture', which in many cases involves changing management at a senior level, and then developing new strategies for success. Trying to change subcultures in the regions of geographically dispersed organisations, in order to create an homogeneous culture, is very much a complicated issue if not an impossible task. The introduction of standard working practices throughout the organisation may be achievable, but the changing of deep rooted beliefs and values is a far more complex issue. The complexities involve the links between the culture of the area, the depot workplace culture and the corporate culture. These linkages are discussed in later sections of this Chapter.

The variable concept of culture tends to have a 'managerialist' or 'pro-management' bias with the main focus being on observable phenomena. The early literature on

corporate culture management, and consultants promoting culture change programmes, appear to view culture as a tangible organisation variable which is within the control of management. In view of this managerialist approach, the current popular corporate culture studies have been linked to the human relations school and the earlier work, for example, of Mayo, Roesthlisberger and Dickson, and McGregor. Smircich (1983) and Gregory (1983), both consider that there is little difference between the work of the human relations school and the current corporate culture movement.

The alternative view, the interpretative perspective or the viewing of culture as an ideational system, draws mainly from the anthropological schools of cognitive, structuralist, and symbolism. The distinction between the two perspectives is not clear cut, as there is considerable overlap which causes conceptual confusion and ambiguity. Although the differences are linked to a move in anthropological thinking in the 1950's from 'culture as behaviourism' to 'culture as knowledge', the two perspectives or approaches are often used by academics and managers in parallel in an attempt to conceptualise organisational culture. This approach is a third perspective on culture which is the viewing of culture as a unified whole which consists of both behavioural and cognitive aspects. Although this perspective is linked to the functionalist and historical diffusionist school, and also draws from the cognitive schools, it can be considered as an integrated approach to the study of organisational cultures in workplace settings.

The bringing together of the cognitive, behavioural, emotive, and artifactual aspects, requires extended ethnographic research, and it is for this reason that it receives little attention in the management literature. However, Sackmann (1992 p23) considers that this approach would highlight the multifaceted nature of culture and " may eventually render a comprehensive picture of culture in organisations". It is argued throughout this thesis that, a suitable approach to the understanding of the complex

nature of an organisation's culture could be through the 'differentiation paradigm' (Meyerson and Martin 1987). That is the assumption that organisations, in terms of culture, consist of diverse subcultures which are affected by both internal and external influences. It is also argued that research of this nature can perhaps be best achieved by an insider who has access to people, past and present employees at all levels, and to historical and current data within the host organisation.

The research for the thesis from an insider's perspective, has shown that in a large geographically dispersed organisation, there does not appear to be one homogeneous culture. The findings indicate that there exists a corporate culture, which represents the ideals of senior management, and provides behavioural direction for organisational members. Additionally, in other parts of the business there exist subcultures, some of which are positive and others which are negative in relation to the corporate beliefs and values, and the corporate message for success. The research has also shown that culture does appear to change over time, yet this does not appear to be strongly influenced by the efforts of senior management. What appears to be the case is that workplace cultures emerge and develop from the culture of the area in which they are based, and are influenced by the history of the site in terms of trade union power and historical links with other organisations. An organisation's corporate culture can be seen to change at Headquarters through the recruitment of 'outsiders' at Board level, and the issuing of new mission statements. This is probably a misuse of the words 'changing culture', as what is happening can best be described as a 'change in strategic direction' which is facilitated by the new members. However, as mentioned previously, acceptance of change at regional levels seem to be more influenced by historically transmitted beliefs and values, and the environment within the geographical location.

The problem associated with an approach to culture change, which is top down and viewed simplistically from a monolithic perspective, is that the changes may be a result of behavioural compliance and not a true willing acceptance of change by the workforce.

It may be the case that behavioural compliance, as opposed to internalisation of change, is an acceptable level of control. Although this level of control is often considered to be culture control, it may be the case that this is an illusion of culture control by senior management. The research in the Bass organisation indicated that the beliefs and values of the Board in relation to quality, customer service and performance levels, were not dispersed throughout the organisation. If this is the case, then perhaps leaders of organisations should be made aware of the possible failings of the shared value philosophy. Otherwise behavioural compliance and the elusion of culture control will persist.

With this in mind, it is probably a sensible approach on 'Management of Change' programmes, which incorporate anticipated changes in culture, to involve members of the workforce which have direct impact on business performance. That is, the lower levels of the hierarchy which invariably have direct contact with the customer. Workforce involvement on management of change programmes could lead to internalisation of changes. Additionally, empowerment, autonomy and decentralisation could be a strategy towards cultures and subcultures 'adapting' to change rather than them being coerced into short term behaviour change.

From the fieldwork and research, it would appear that a major problem in organisations seems to stem from the lack of understanding by managers of the concept of culture. In the 90's it is still seen as 'the way we do things around here', and is considered as being observable behaviour which is within the control of management. To a great extent this is the result of more than a decade of popular books and consultants convincing executives that culture can be readily changed using 'simple' formulae. The advent of Business Process Re-engineering (BPR), the acronym of the 1990's, and the latest panacea (Gill and Whittle 1993), has led organisations down the path of major change. With reported failure rates of BPR at 80% and failures being attributable to 'people'

issues, it would appear that the human or cultural aspects of change are still secondary to process and technology.

A key issue in the notion of culture control in organisations is one of definition and interpretation. If culture is perceived simply as observable behaviour linked to output, then senior management will concentrate on strategies which will alter observable behaviour patterns or working practices, and give little importance to the deep rooted values and beliefs of the workforce. It may be the case that this is an acceptable level of control, in which case it could be referred to as 'worker control' and not 'culture control'.

7.2   Researching Organisational Cultures and Subcultures - An Insider's Approach.

Although the concept of culture in organisational settings has been developed from the field of anthropology, there is little evidence in the literature or research linking anthropological techniques to the analysis of an organisation's culture. A great deal of the popular corporate culture concepts are based on the 'outsider's' view in the form of external consultants and academics selling 'culture change programmes' to senior management. However, it is not difficult to understand the attractiveness of culture change programmes which aim to create a single homogeneous culture, and can be readily manipulated by senior management. It is argued by consultants that the end result will be a sustained level of superior performance. From this view, the possibility of managing culture as a control mechanism has a clear promanagement bias.

The popularity of the single homogeneous corporate culture concept continues despite criticisms that the whole notion lacks empirically sound research data. Research carried out in the area of culture in organisations, indicates that organisational cultures are best viewed from a multicultural view and that organisations consist of multiple, potentially conflicting cultures (Gregory 1983; Reynolds 1986; Martin and Siehl 1983; Louis 1985).

However, it is worth pointing out that whatever approach is used, the fact remains that culture is extremely complex and requires in depth research from all possible angles.

In order to overcome the promanagement bias and the monolithic view of culture, the research into the Bass cultures was conducted using a fieldwork approach similar to that used by the social anthropologist. The direct contact approach associated with 'participant observation' is seen by anthropologists as the best approach in the field in order to understand the structure of the organisation and the processes of social interaction within it. This native view approach in which anthropologists represent themselves as 'marginal natives' (Frielich, 1970) or 'professional strangers' (Agar, 1980), also enables the researcher to get closer to understanding the complex behaviour patterns and systems of meanings of the research subjects from an insider's perspective. It is my view that, based on my research in the Bass organisation, a great deal of knowledge and understanding of an organisation's culture can be gained by managers, as insiders, carrying out research in their own organisation. Additionally I consider that in large geographically dispersed organisations the existence of multiple cultures is likely to be the rule rather than the exception. From a multicultural perspective, concentration would be on the organisation's cultural diversity rather than assuming cultural homogeneity.

The next paragraphs within this section argue that in order to gain acceptance of change and to internalise changes in behaviour, a clearer understanding of the organisation's culture and subcultures is required. It is argued that an effective approach to gaining an understanding of culture may be through research by an insider, in this case a Management Services Manager conducting culture research whilst simultaneously carrying out his role within the organisation. It is accepted that, because of the complex nature of the culture concept, a 'complete' understanding of the research area and subjects may not be possible.

The manager or an insider conducting research in his own organisation has both advantages and disadvantages. The main advantage is the insider's access to data and access to participant's knowledge of the organisation. From the insider's perspective aspects of the organisation's corporate culture and subcultures can be researched. Additionally the insider is part of the culture and can therefore relate to behaviour patterns and the various manifestations of culture within the organisation.

In my particular role as a Management Services Manager, carrying out both regional and national projects, I was able to gain access to the main research area in the Distribution function and then compare and contrast my findings in the other regions and functions, and at the Bass Headquarters in Burton.   Using both roles as manager and researcher 'simultaneously' enabled me to explore many of the cultural aspects from the bottom of the organisation to the Board and Chief Executive Level.

Involvement in the Bass 'Management of Change' programme enabled me to gain a clearer understanding of the Bass Board's perception of culture and change. Through active participation in terms of delivering the corporate message, I was also able to observe managers and their subordinates responding to the changes. This became valuable research data as I developed theory and understanding of the Bass culture and the subcultures which I had identified in the regional Distribution Depots.

The main disadvantage of the insider as researcher is in relation to the quality of data collected, particularly from interviews and overt participant observations. For example, a manager asking questions and gaining information from the shopfloor may be viewed with suspicion and this may have an adverse effect on the quality of information provided. Another disadvantage which is occasionally apparent is that culture is viewed from a managerialist rather than a more 'neutral' perspective. Additionally, this may also be the case for the manager asking questions of his fellow managers. In both situations a system of cross validation must be established with

other managers and operatives. For example, all the information from observations and interviews was validated by other distribution managers.

In Chapter 2 a conceptual framework was developed, which during the early stages of the research, was based on an understanding of the concept of an organisation's corporate culture and its relationship with its subcultures. The generic model was based on the assumption that there existed a dominant culture which controlled various subunits in the organisation from a central command position in the organisation.(see Figure 7.1)

The fieldwork and research has shown that the generic model for culture research, as identified in Figure 7.1, is an over simplification. The findings show that, in trying to decipher workplace cultures, there is considerable overlap involving the culture of the region, the site culture and the corporate culture. This overlap, which is depicted in Figure 7.2, makes the understanding of the culture concept at a local, regional and corporate level more difficult. That is, difficult in the sense that it is not sensible to consider the depot culture in isolation from the culture of the area and the corporate culture or ideals of the organisation. However, it is considered that the key areas of research, as shown in Figure 7.2 are important, and that gaining a clearer understanding of an organisation's culture and subcultures can be obtained by the insider based on the assumption that:

*   An extended ethnography by an internal researcher is feasible within the host organisation.

*   Access to historical data and performance statistics is available over a long period of time.

*   The organisation's corporate culture and its sub-cultures are viewed not only independently but also as parts of the cultural whole.

*   Access to past and present 'leaders' and 'subordinates' for interview purposes is feasible in order to identify significant events.

The viewing of organisational culture as consisting of both behavioural and cognitive dimensions, and subcultures which may be supportive or counter productive would appear to be a more fruitful approach than concentrating on one aspect or area of culture. The framework shown in Figure 7.1. was used initially as a guide to studying cultures in

large geographically dispersed organisations which are likely to possess multiple cultures

or subcultures, and was the general framework used to study the Bass cultures.

Figure 7.2 The Insiders view of an Organisation's Culture and Subcultures

CORPORATE CULTURE   **REGIONAL CULTURE**

CORPORATE AND SUBCULTURE HISTORY

RESEARCH SETTING & ENVIRONMENT

ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURES

MANAGEMENT & WORKFORCE LEADERSHIP

SYMBOLS, RITUALS & ARTEFACTS

REWARD SYSTEMS

PERFORMANCE

DEPOT CULTURE

An additional problem, which adds to the complexity of researching cultures, is that culture is very much like 'magical boxes' or 'Russian dolls', you lift one up and you find another one below, and this process may repeat down to small subunits or cultures. For example, below the corporate culture are subcultures, and in many cases there are subcultures of and within subcultures. This was the case in the Bury depot whereby the depot culture was a subculture of the corporate culture and within that subculture there were subcultures relating to the Cornbrook Brewery. This was also the finding in the Liverpool depot with the Bents subculture, and to some extent the existence of a warehouse subculture. In addition to this, although not researched in any detail, there appeared to be staff cultures, management cultures, and in depots where a garage facility was on site, the mechanics and engineers were very much a separate subculture. Adding to all this complexity is the culture of the area which, from the research findings, has a considerable impact on the workplace cultures.

The linkage with the corporate culture, as depicted in Figure 7.1, is also a simplification of the complex nature of culture and its research. The research findings indicate that, not only are there subcultures within subcultures, the relationships that subcultures have with the corporate culture vary considerably. In Figure 7.3 an attempt has been made to show these relationships. Basically the subculture linkages are categorised as being 'dotted', 'thick' or 'thin' in relation to the corporate culture or corporate ideals. The figure also shows the existence of cultures within the cultures as concentric circles, and a darker outer layer which represents the culture of the area which, as the research indicated, has a significant impact on organisational workings at all levels.

Figure 7.3 Conceptual Framework for Studying Cultures and Subcultures

CORPORATE CULTURE

The corporate culture tends to be a representation of the ideals of senior management which are generally identified in the company's mission statement

The concentric rings represent the complexity of culture research and the notion that there are cultures within cultures and that these cultures are also subunits of the external social culture

CHANGING SUB-CULTURES

These are generally traditional cultures which have a 'thin' relationship with the corporate ideals which appear to be linked to a mixed culture

ENHANCING SUB-CULTURES

These are cultures with a 'thick' relationship with the corporate culture and appear to mirror the corporate ideals

COUNTER SUB-CULTURES

These are 'traditional' cultures which to a great extent have only a 'dotted' relationship with corporate ideals

Referring to figure 7.3, it could be argued that the corporate culture is not a culture at all, and could be best described as the body which provides the business with guidelines for business operations and performance. As such, the corporate culture or body may be changed by: bringing in new members at a senior level in the organisation; introducing new mission statements; introducing strategic change and generally changing working practices. This is often referred to as 'changing the corporate culture' when in actual fact what occurs is a large scale change in 'image' and a change in strategic direction for the organisation. In the regions or subunits within the organisation, changes in image and direction, tend to be adopted or rejected by organisational members depending on the culture of the geographical area and the culture of the unit. To highlight the complexity of cultural linkages, the 'dotted' 'thick' and 'thin' cultural relationships between corporate ideals and subcultures are discussed below.

Firstly, the subcultures with a 'dotted' relationship are the counter cultures which do not sit well with the organisation's mission. Many of these subcultures tend to be 'traditional' cultures in a sense that they prefer to carry out their daily tasks and rituals in long standing traditional ways. As such, they do not like change and will resist and even try to reject it. A good example of this was the Liverpool depot culture, which was influenced by the traditional brewery ways of working from the Bents era. Additionally, it was influenced by the traditional ways of the culture of Merseyside in terms of attitudes towards management, and their values, beliefs and attitudes in relation to workplace behaviour. This strong relationship between the depot culture and the culture of the area appeared to be a dominant influence in terms of rejection or acceptance of change. This finding seems to indicate that in some instances, the dominant culture, in terms of influencing workplace behaviour, may not be the corporate culture but the culture of the area.

Secondly, the subcultures with a 'thick' relationship with the corporate culture, appear to be more amenable and more in line with the corporate ideals. The subcultures with a

'thick' relationship are considered to be enhancing cultures, not because they are culturally similar to the corporate culture, but because they are flexible and willing to readily accept change. In this sense they appear to mirror the ideals of senior management. As with the counter cultures, the enhancing cultures appear to be influenced by the culture of the area, which to some extent dictates behaviour in the workplace. For example, the Abergele depot culture was influenced by the nature of the North Wales culture, which tends to be friendly, amenable and hard working. It may be the case that regional subcultures in this area would have a 'thick' relationship with corporate cultures in any organisation simply because of the nature of the people and the culture of the area.

Thirdly, the subcultures with a 'thin' relationship with the corporate culture are the changing cultures which, from a research point of view, are probably the most difficult to understand. Subcultures with a 'thin' relationship appear to fluctuate from a positive or negative relationship with the corporate ideals, yet generally they are moving towards being a more flexible subculture than has been the case in the past. The reasons why these cultures are difficult to understand is because they are generally mixed cultures, that is, mixed in a sense that they consist of subcultures which are pulling against each other. This was found to be the case in the Bury depot where the Manchester Cornbrook Brewery subculture had mixed with the Bury depot culture. Although the Cornbrook culture appears to be the dominant culture, there still exists the Bury culture which is linked to the culture of the area. Gradually, as the Cornbrook influence is reducing, through labour turnover, the Bury influence is taking over and may eventually represent a subculture which is more representative of the area.

In carrying out research into organisational cultures, a major problem is underestimating the task in terms of complexity and diversity. At the outset of the research I had made certain assumptions about corporate culture being the dominant culture, and subcultures which were neatly portrayed as subunits in a workplace behavioural sense. It is now

clear that the culture concept is extremely complex and that an understanding goes beyond the workplace activities. In order to understand some of the complexities I feel that you must keep lifting up the 'Russian Dolls' and certainly look beyond the workplace setting for clues about the behaviour patterns of the workplace operatives. In particular, the history of the organisation, depot culture, and geographical location, appear to hold key links to understanding the behaviour of subcultures.

Throughout the research the importance of an organisation's history in the deciphering of it's culture was seen as a key issue. The historical nature of culture, in terms of historical reconstruction, and the relationship between historical factors and cultural transformation is seen as a key issue in understanding the complex nature of culture. For example, the macro analysis of the long history and traditions of brewing at Bass Brewers, highlighted the many changes over the years and up to the current situation at both the corporate and regional levels. The importance of understanding the history and traditional ways of working at Bass became apparent throughout the thesis as this was a key issue in understanding the origins of the various subcultures and how they had developed and changed over the years. For example, the historical analysis of the Liverpool depot revealed the strong influence that the Bents Brewery had on the beliefs and values of the workforce. This coupled with the influences from outside the organisation, for example, the 'Liverpool culture' itself, produced a very strong subculture which was very different from the Bass corporate ideals and culture. This was also true of the Bury depot and the connection with the Manchester Cornbrook Brewery, which had a strong influence on attitudes throughout the 70's and early 80's. As previously mentioned, in the Bury case study, as many of the Cornbrook employees left the organisation and local operatives were employed, the subculture appeared to change and move towards the corporate ideals. This was particularly the case in 1988 when the senior shop steward, a former Cornbrook employee and leader of the 'Salford Mafia', left the organisation. This was a significant turning point for the Bury 'locals' to take charge of union activities. In contrast, in the Abergele case study where there had been no strong links with the

brewing industry or any other large industry, the subculture was very much in line with the corporate ideals with very little cultural shift over a 30 year period.

The historical nature of culture sits within the historical diffusionist school and is linked by Allaire and Firsirotu (1984 p202) to the study of organisations "as historically produced sociocultural systems". Within the symbolic school and the sub-schools of 'actionalist' and 'institutional', strong views are expressed on the historical and leadership links with culture, and the birth, growth, and evolution of organisations (Pettigrew 1979, Selznick 1957, Clark 1972). Although the research in the Bass organisation indicated the importance of the historical links, the importance of the leadership links with culture change, were less obvious.

The analysis of past and present leadership and structures is necessary in trying to piece together organisational change and the possible impact on the organisation's culture. However, the research findings indicate that leadership has an impact at the corporate level, yet this appears to have very little impact on changing the beliefs and values of the members of subcultures which exist throughout the organisation. At the corporate level, for example, new leadership is often seen as a starting point for changing the organisation's direction, structure and culture. The Mckinsey & Company Consultancy , who played a major role in the Bass strategic changes and the development of the 'management of change' programme, consider that a new leadership vision is an essential ingredient of culture change. A Mckinsey partner was quoted, "it is very difficult for a company to achieve broad cultural change without new leadership" (Ogbonna 1993 p73). However, in researching cultures, leadership analysis should include leaders at the middle levels in the organisation and also include workforce leaders in the form of shop stewards. The research in the Bass Distribution Depots, which included interviews with past and present Trade Union and Distribution Managers provided a clearer understanding of the formation and development of the depot subcultures. Effective leadership is clearly important in

developing and implementing strategies, it may be a gross overstatement to assume that leaders are capable of controlling or changing a culture. In terms of research, the middle levels in the hierarchy are as important in the understanding of culture as the senior level managers. Often, culture transformation is considered to be within the control of senior management, when in reality if changes are to be effectively implemented it is the customer facing managers and their subordinates who have 'control' over their particular sub-unit.

In order to gain a better understanding and to identify differences in cultural activities, research into the variety of artefacts, symbols and rituals will provide interesting and valuable information. Artefacts and symbols are defined as the words, stories, gestures and objects which carry specific meaning in Bass generally, and in the different subculture groupings. Rituals are defined as the events and activities or 'the way things are done' in the cultural settings which are socially essential within the culture groups. During the first phase of the research in the fifteen Distribution Depots, many of these artefacts, symbols and rituals were identified through on site visits and participant observation. For example, in the Sheffield Depot where there are strong historical links with Sheffield's brewing operations, William Stones and the 'Cannon' logo both have symbolic meaning to the workforce. In the main reception and office complex there is little evidence of Bass or the corporate 'red triangle' logo, employees also refer to William Stones as their employer and not Bass. Other parts of Bass Brewers have also retained their regional identity, for example the Wellpark Brewery and Depot in Glasgow still use the 'T' logo of Tennents Breweries, and the Birmingham Brewery and Depot still use the 'Stag' logo of M & B Breweries. Although these may seem trivial they are important to subculture members as they form part of the subculture's history and identity. In the more detailed analysis of the three subculture groupings many of these historically transmitted rituals, symbols and artefacts were identified. For example, the beer drinking habits of the draymen in the 'A' type counter culture compared with the tea drinkers in the 'B' type enhancing culture.

At the start of the research, reward systems were a key issue in that there was an overall plan to introduce uniform salaried reward systems in all depots. As highlighted in the distribution fieldwork, reward systems which were tightly controlled and based on work measured standards were more likely to be less productive. An assumption was made that a move towards a salaried scheme for operatives, which was comparable with their superiors, would be more likely to give rise to a sustained higher performance. In terms of research there is an important link between reward systems, trade unions, managerial control and culture. Morgan (1986) considers that "the philosophy, values and norms of union culture usually exert an important impact on the mosaic of culture, subculture and counter culture that characterises life in any organisation". It is for this reason that culture research should include interviews and observations covering trade union activities. In many of the depots, trade union activities and work activities were one and the same. For example, in Liverpool all activities were linked to union rules and negotiations, in Abergele union activity was related to occasions when change was required.

It was argued in Chapter Three 'Research Methodology' that viewing an organisation's culture two-dimensionally, and top down would produce the illusion that culture is a single homogeneous entity which could be easily understood and manipulated to satisfy business goals. Throughout the thesis, it has been argued that an organisation's culture and its subcultures are extremely complex systems and are to a great extent differentiated. From this view, to gain a clearer understanding of the complexities involved, the research must involve getting below the surface or the corporate view. To achieve this, the research area may be best viewed from a three-dimensional perspective and 'bottom up'. From this approach it is more likely that subcultures will be found, that is, both depot and external regional cultures as opposed to the corporate culture.

The culture change programme, for example, was introduced top down initially to middle manager levels only, my research ran in the opposite direction, that is, bottom up, from the shop floor. From this perspective an insight was gained into the many different cultural levels and the complex links between the regional, depot and corporate cultures. Taking manageable slices from the 'cultural cake' both horizontally and vertically, provides an opportunity to carry out research in detail. Once a better understanding of the individual cultural slices has been achieved these can then be compared and contrasted with each other and with the corporate ideals. It is worth pointing out that taking manageable slices does not provide the key to a full understanding of a particular culture. As explained earlier with the 'Russian Dolls' analogy, trying to get to the bottom of a culture, and a full understanding is an almost impossible task. Research from this perspective, however, clearly requires access to many parts of the organisation, regionally and nationally, in order to identify and understand possible linkages. To a great extent my role in the management services function facilitated this.

Data analysis, theory generation and continuous validation are clearly key areas in research, and a system is required in order to handle the data generated from the fieldwork, and to convert this to a coherent theory. Grounded theory is one such approach which was used in the Bass research. The key to theory generation is being able to visibly see what you have gathered in order to identify links, themes and patterns. This visibility, which can be a card system or white board or both can be used by the researcher and key informants for validation purposes. As with all aspects of culture research, data analysis is not a simple task and in many cases in this type of research, links and themes tend to emerge as opposed to being found.

At the start of the research I had only envisaged collecting data through the use of in depth interviews and overt observation techniques. As the research moved forward and more information was required to validate my findings and develop a theory on the Bass culture and subcultures, I used several different data collection techniques to fit the

situation and research requirement. This included the full spectrum of overt and covert participant and non participant observation. On many occasions I was able to use my role as manager to obtain information, under the guise of a management services project.

Playing two roles, that of a researcher and a manager simultaneously in an organisation can be problematic. The key issue is the decision to either keep the two roles mutually exclusive, or use them to complement each other. A danger in playing two roles simultaneously is that the two may merge into one which could cause problems for both roles. It is my view that managers, as researchers, gain a clearer understanding of both their own role in the organisation and a greater understanding of the research setting. In the Bass research it was very difficult to separate the two roles, therefore I used them as complementary.

Possibly a more critical point in terms of the insider as researcher, is the case of the Management Services Manager as researcher, who in other contexts is likely to be regarded as a negotiating adversary. This aspect, and many other situations involving the fine line between the manager/researcher, can be both enlightening and stressful. For example, for many years I have worked in the field of Work Study, albeit in the disguise of Industrial Engineering, Productivity Services, Internal Consultancy and Management Services. The objective of the Work Study Engineer is to reduce costs by 'making the most effective use of resources', this in many cases involves increasing worker output and improving working methods. Although a major part of the Work Study Engineer's role is to act as a catalyst for change, the behavioural aspects of change are not generally considered important when introducing changes to working practices. The research has provided me with an opportunity to see and understand the importance of the human factors in management of change programmes.

Whilst carrying out research of this nature, the researcher has a tendency 'to go native' and become an integral part of the research setting. Although this wasn't the case

with my research, because of my limited periods of research time spent in each setting, I did find myself 'taking sides' particularly with the subcultures who were strongly resisting change. For example, the Sheffield, Liverpool, Tadcaster and Newcastle depots all had long standing traditions, not just relating to working practices but to the culture of the area, which they clearly did not want to lose.

I found myself taking more than a research interest in the plight of the Merseysiders, for example, who did not want to move away from traditional ways of working associated with long standing attitudes, values and beliefs. This situation is probably analogous to demolishing a listed building and replacing it with modern facilities, once the building has gone it can never be replaced. This is probably why many of the subcultures strongly resist a change which will take away something which has taken years to build. From this view it could be argued that traditional 'buildings' in the form of counter subcultures, should be encouraged to fit in with the new surroundings, rather than them being demolished. However, this view would probably not sit well with the vision of the developers of corporate cultures. The point I am making is that the dual role of manager/researcher is a unique role which provides an opportunity to play a part in the actions of management and the reactions of the workforce. On reflection, I feel that, had I been an 'outsider' researching the Bass cultures, I would not have developed my understanding of the concept of culture as much as I have from an 'insider's' view.

A final note on the approach to culture research from an insider's perspective is that the role conflict in this type of research raises the issue of ethics. In particular, research using both covert and overt techniques gives rise to the possibility of conflict between the researcher and the organisation. Although I did not use any confidential information from my research to solve problems in my Management Services role, on many occasions I was perceived by my informants to be 'gaining their confidence' to satisfy business objectives. A manager in an organisation has power and influence which could be used

against informants to satisfy business goals. Ethically it is important that the two roles of manager and researcher are not confused.

7.3   The Impact and Importance of Subcultures on Management of Change

Strategic change programmes tend to be conceived and driven by senior managers and consequently top down. If within the change programme there is a requirement to change the organisation's culture this is invariably the corporate culture as perceived by the main board members. In the Bass case study and within the literature on 'changing an organisation's culture' there is little mention of the existence of subcultures or the possibility of multiple, possibly conflicting, counter cultures within the organisation. One of the main themes in the corporate culture literature relates to leadership and the way in which the leader can transform culture from a central command position. The thesis research, rather than analysing the Bass corporate culture, which would have involved examining board level strategies and activities, started by researching the regional depot cultures and then relating the findings to the corporate culture as perceived by the Bass Brewers Board. The initial research revealed that regional subcultures existed in the 15 distribution depots, and that these could be grouped into specific culture types in relation to the Bass corporate culture. For example, the subculture groupings were conceptualised as either being positive, negative or changing in relation to the corporate ideals. The different subculture types had an impact on the way in which the depot was managed and accounted for differences in values, practices and depot performance. Additionally the high or low resistance to change, relating to the introduction of total quality initiatives, staff status payment systems and changes to working practices, was directly related to the characteristics of the subcultures. Initially the subcultures were analysed in terms of their workplace and related management characteristics and fell into three groups:-

Subculture 'A - Counter Culture

Depots in this category were considered to be counter cultural in that the group's values and practices conflicted with the values of the corporate culture. The workplace characteristics included, large urban depot, strong trade union activities, high resistance to change, lower than average productivity, and lower than average quality levels. The management characteristics included autocratic management style, and a high use of scientific management techniques. Distribution depots in this group were Liverpool, Tadcaster, Newcastle and Sheffield, all of which had historical links with the Brewing Industry and other large industries in the region.

Subculture 'B' - Enhancing Culture

Depots in this category were considered to be enhancing cultures in that the groups values and practices were in line with the corporate culture. Workplace characteristics included small/medium rural depot, consultative trade union, low resistance to change and high quality. The management characteristics included a democratic management style, acceptance of change and a belief in shared practices. Distribution depots in this group were Abergele, Barrow, Eaglescliffe, Portmadoc, Scarborough and Sleaford, the majority of which had little or no historical links with the Brewing Industry or other manufacturing industries.

Subculture 'C' - Changing Culture.

Depots in this category were considered to be changing cultures in that historically they fell into the counter culture category. Generally this group's values and practices appear to be moving towards the values of the corporate culture. Workplace characteristics include strong trade union activities, medium/large urban depot,

average quality levels, mixed resistance to change. The management characteristics included a democratic/ autocratic management style, and use of scientific management techniques. Distribution depots in this group were Leyland, Colne, Hull, Grimsby and Bury, as with the subculture 'A' many had long historical links with the brewing industry

The second stage of the research involved an in-depth analysis of the subculture groupings in terms of values and practices in relation to those prescribed by the Bass Brewers Board. This revealed that in terms of cultural dispersion, that is the level at which the corporate mission reaches, the cultural characteristics of the Bass 'corporate' culture were not dispersed throughout the regional distribution depots. This finding is important in a large complex organisation where a strategy has been developed to implement uniform structures, practices and procedures. For example in the subculture 'A' counter cultures and possibly 'B' changing culture depots, there is likely to be a high resistance to change.

Although strategic changes can and often are enforced upon the workforce, behavioural compliance should not be an objective when trying to introduce a shared value philosophy. However, it may be the case that senior management are quite happy to see visible behaviour changes, and do not consider the sharing of beliefs and values to be important at the lower levels in the organisation. Although this clearly may be the case, rather than enforce changes, organisations should possibly seek to provide an environment in which subcultures can accept and adapt to change. One such approach could be through the development of an environment which could provide subcultural self control by means of : decentralisation; autonomous regions and the fostering of empowerment. Based on the findings of the research that cultures, 'because of what they are', will take a positive or negative stance to change. Then this approach may be more sensible than coercive treatment to achieve standard working practices across the organisation. This is clearly not an easy strategy to

implement as moving away from a centrally command driven organisation does not come easily to the central senior managers who perceive their role to 'control'. The fostering of self control in relation to Bass Brewers is discussed further in the following section covering 'Culture, Subcultures and Managerial Control'

In line with Gregory 1983, Reynolds 1983, Smircich 1983, Martin & Siehl 1983, and Louis 1985, the fieldwork showed that the notion of a single homogeneous culture which permeates the organisation is unrealistic and stems from the ideals of senior managers. In reality and certainly in the Bass organisation, which operates in a complex environment and is geographically dispersed, multiple organisation subcultures and counter cultures exist and affect the way in which the business is managed. Recognition of subcultures in complex organisations could be a first step in understanding the complexities of the concept of culture. Once an organisation recognises the existence and importance of subcultures, which may for example be regional, functional or professional, it is more likely that there will be a move away from the monolithic concept of culture.

In line with Hofstede et al. 1990, the findings of the fieldwork contradict the prescriptions put forward by many authors and proponents of the shared value philosophy, that is the assumption that the values of the leaders and corporate heroes are shared by all members of the organisation. The fieldwork has shown that in reality there exists subcultures which do not share the same values of the corporate culture and that these cultures can be counter productive. This finding is in agreement with Meyerson and Martin's (1987) 'differentiation paradigm' in which complex organisations are not seen as a single, monolithic culture. They are rather seen as a collection of subcultures which may agree or disagree with an organisation's values espoused by senior management.

The recognition of subcultures in organisations maybe the 'missing link', and a key issue in management of change strategies which managements are failing to acknowledge. If organisations are made up of powerful subcultures which can have a positive or negative impact on performance, then the importance of subcultures cannot be overstated. The fieldwork showed that complex organisations similar to Bass Brewers are not likely to be monolithic in cultural terms, and therefore strategies which purport to introduce uniform practices under the banner of the sharing values and beliefs, are likely to experience resistance to change. Although, as in the Bass case, many uniform working practices can be introduced and be seen to be accepted by the workforce, enforced behaviour changes are discordant with 'the shared value philosophy'. Changes in behaviour, through enforced changes in working practices do not necessarily lead to changes in attitude, beliefs and values. In many cases the sharing of attitudes, beliefs and values between corporate cultures and subcultures is coincidental. For example, the enhancing cultures are to a great extent 'the way they are' because of the culture of the area and the history of the depot, not because they are particularly influenced by the corporate ideals.

7.4 Culture, Subcultures and Managerial Control - The Implications for Bass

Following the 1989 MMC report on 'The Supply of Beer', Bass Brewers embarked on a programme of change which was intended to transform the whole business system. The management of change programme challenged assumptions, principles and past working methods in the key areas of, organisational structures, business processes, management information systems and new technology. Most importantly, the programme involved a plan to 'change' the organisation's culture to fit the redesigned business. In terms of defining the Bass culture, Dr Tony Portno, Chief Executive of Bass Brewers, defined 'the old' Bass culture and the Board's vision of 'the new' culture as:-

'Old' Culture - Paternalistic, comfortable, undemanding, apolitical, hierarchical, command driven, custodial, bureaucratic and functional.

'New' Culture - Flexible, dynamic, empowered, risk taking, analytical, non hierarchical, demanding, non-bureaucratic, team working, cross functional, still apolitical and meritocratic.

The approach used by Bass involved changing three key areas of the business, that is technology, organisation and people. This provides us with the acronym T.O.P. which also fits the approach used by Bass, that is TOP down. Figure 7.4 shows the elements of the 'TOP' approach used to transform the organisation.

Figure 7.4 The 'TOP' Approach to Organisation Redesign

TECHNOLOGY

Systems
Automation
Processes

ADAPTABILITY
VARIABILITY
PREDICTABILITY

ORGANISATION

Flatter Structures
Central Support
Regional Autonomy

PEOPLE

Culture
Empowerment
Leadership

The TOP'S in figure 7.4 are clearly interrelated in that changes to one aspect has an impact on the other. The balance between the three is very fine and if too much emphasis is given to one aspect, then returns may be less than anticipated. For example, in the 1980's failure to recognise the people issues when implementing Materials Requirement Planning systems and Just in Time philosophies, resulted in costly high failure rates. In management of change programmes the important issue is recognising the importance and the interrelationship between the three areas. For example, whilst aspects of organisation and technology can be manipulated, because to a great extent they are predictable and variable and can be made to adapt, the people within an organisation are less easily manipulated, unpredictable and in many case will not readily adapt to change. It is for this reason that I have put a fourth dimension in the TOP approach which includes variability, adaptability and predictability. An understanding of the fourth dimension, particularly in relation to culture is an important issue when trying to introduce global changes.

In the Bass case the strategic changes involved changes through the introduction of new technology and a restructured organisation. This was intended as a move away from the old style functional hierarchy towards flatter process driven structures. The overall strategy also included a planned move away from a centrally command driven organisation, to a regional structure which would have a great deal of autonomy, and be empowered to make regional decisions with the support of the Burton Headquarters. Additionally, and as stated in the Bass Brewers Mission Statement, in order to maintain a leading edge in the beer market, "we will create an entrepreneurial culture in a company which anticipates, responds to and shapes change in the market place".

The introduction of new technology and the major changes in the organisation structure, from traditional hierarchy to one which focused on processes, required support from all levels in the organisation. As indicated in Figure 7.4, the key people issues to emerge in strategic change programmes are those relating to leadership control, empowerment and

culture. For example, effective leadership and managerial control in organisations is required in order to satisfy business objectives particularly in terms of performance and profitability. In times of crises or economic difficulties the effectiveness of the leader becomes much more critical. This was seen to be the case in the Bass organisation following the MMC report. A decision was made that in order to transform the organisation to meet the new demands of the market place, a change programme would need a leader with a different vision. This resulted in the appointment of a new Chief Executive of Bass Brewers and subsequent changes at Board level.

In the past, leaders and their management teams have adopted many techniques in an attempt to gain control and maintain the support of their subordinates. For many years the use of 'scientific management', 'bureaucratic' and 'humanistic' control mechanisms proved to be adequate in a system of tightly controlled operations. Throughout the 80's there was a significant shift towards the belief that gaining control of an organisation's culture and fostering a shared value philosophy with the workforce, would lead to improved performance. In the 90's culture control is still seen as a method of gaining control through total commitment from a more amenable workforce which will more readily work jointly with management towards satisfying business objectives.

It is believed that effective leadership, particularly at the highest level, is a key issue in changing an organisation's culture and in gaining and sustaining subordinate commitment. To achieve this commitment, the beliefs and values of the leader, which are generally written into the company mission statement, are adopted by managers, middle managers and their subordinates. The research findings indicate that, within a centrally command driven organisation, a top down approach based on the notion of a single homogeneous culture concept, is not likely to reach the 'hearts and minds' of all subculture members within the business. The notion that leaders can change an organisation's cultures is also questionable in the light of the research findings. For example, the many changes at senior management level over a 30 year period, appeared

to have little impact on the attitudes, values and beliefs of the subculture members. Although leadership changes have had an impact on the strategic direction of the business, which has resulted in changes in working practices, it would appear that the subcultures are more influenced by a complicated web linked to their local cultures.

It is recognised that strategic changes to business operations and 'required' shifts in culture requires effective leadership. Leaders are required to manage and control aspects of the business which may have an impact on organisational performance. It is the 'control' element where there appears to be some contradiction and ambiguity. In many culture change programmes emphasis and attributes of success in relation to leadership are seen as autonomy, entrepreneurship, empowerment, decentralisation, and a general move from tight managerial control. This issue was raised in Chapter 6 where a continuum of acceptance was drawn to represent the subordinate responses to managerial approaches, see Figure 7.5.

Figure 7.5   Continuum of Acceptance

I - - - - - - - - - - - - - SUBORDINATE RESPONSE - - - - - - - - - - - - - I

Rejection   Compliance   Identification   Internalisation

Degree of Central
Control

Degree of Autonomy and
Empowerment

Tight Mgmt   Coercive Mgmt   Charismatic   Shared Values and
Control   Control   Leadership   Beliefs Philosophy

I - - - - - - - - - - - - - MANAGEMENT APPROACH - - - - - - - - - - - - - I

There are many definitions of empowerment throughout the management of change literature. In the business sense and as defined in the Bass Brewers Management of Change Programme, empowerment is considered to be:

*   providing guidelines for individuals to take initiative in providing excellent customer service.

*   risk taking, but with accountability.

*   trust.

Figure 7.5 is based on an assumption that the degree of autonomy and empowerment provided by management could be a key to the internalisation or total acceptance of the proposed changes, and total commitment to maintenance of the changes. It is not argued that such an approach will change the culture of a subunit, it is argued that such an approach could provide an environment in which subcultures can adapt to change more readily.

Although the Bass programme was intended to move away from a 'centrally command driven organisation', in reality the organisation has become more centrally command led than before the changes. Quotes from managers at all levels when asked about the changes included "empowered to do as we are told" and "you can make any decision as long as it is approved by the centre". Many of these general views from managers, came out of frustration at not being given a clear lead as their level of control in their particular subunit.

The findings from the research support recent research findings by Ezzamel, Lilley and Willmott (1993 p99) who caution on the 'new wave' organisation and argue that:

"Behind the facilitate-and-empower facade of many companies, the realities of the old philosophy of command-and-control lie concealed."

The research, conducted in 1992 and covering interviews with a sample of the Times 1000 companies, identified that although many middle managers were capable of taking on more responsibility, many senior managers did not want to give it away. The researchers, through in-depth interviews, found that there was a "widespread reluctance, particularly at the top, to dilute or weaken hierarchical control".

To a great extent the reluctance to relinquish power and control is linked to past leadership theory, which perceived an effective leader as being concerned with directly and closely controlling subordinates. The early leadership theorists took a managerialist position in that traditional leadership theory focused, at least in part, on the leader as controller over aspects of the followers' environment such as rewards, punishments and limits of authority (Gill and Farrar 1993).

There are many reasons for the unwillingness of managers to empower or give their subordinates more responsibility and accountability. The problem seems to be linked to the historical view of what a manager's role is, it would appear that 'to control' is still perceived as being a key management task. For example, many leaders believe control over subordinates to be a key task in their role as a manager and leader. Empowering, for example, takes away the traditional 'controlling' element of leadership which is seen as a loss in authority. This is not surprising, particularly in a situation where an organisation is delayering and moving away from functional to process structures. In this situation insecure managers become very protective of their responsibilities.

A key point, and particularly in relation to the findings in the Bass organisation, is that if leaders are trying to gain commitment to change, then the fostering of empowerment,

accountability and the decentralisation of operations must be seen to be working. The use of tight controls by senior managers in pursuit of improved performance, may result in rejection of the mission by lower level managers and their subordinates. The research findings indicate that behavioural compliance is widespread at levels below the main Board. As discussed, behavioural compliance is not a change in culture or culture control as it is often perceived, it can be seen as a senior management illusion of culture control.

It is accepted that the organisation's mission and vision will be generated by senior management, however, the acceptance of the mission may be dependent upon the process by which the new vision is delivered and the degree of control given to lower levels in the hierarchy. Figure 7.6 shows that, a possible approach, through a process of decentralisation, autonomy and empowerment, subcultures may be more likely to accept the organisation's mission and adapt to meet business objectives.

Figure 7.6 Internalisation of Changes Through Empowered Subcultures

- 312-

Throughout the literature on organisational culture there is great debate as to whether culture can be controlled and if it can be controlled can it be a source of improved performance and competitive advantage. The answer seems to be that culture assumed or defined as a variable, and as observable behaviour in the form of measurable work, can be a source of improved performance. However, the monolithic view of culture, which is linked to the 'strong culture hypothesis' prescribed by the early work of Peters and Waterman's 'In Search of Excellence' and Deal and Kennedy's 'Corporate Cultures', tends to be a superficial view of culture in organisations. The unitary concept of culture tends to lead to a mechanistic approach which is largely manipulative and coercive in order to achieve changes in behaviour. This approach tends not to address the deeper roots of culture in terms of beliefs, values and attitudes and the key issue of possibly counter productive subcultures.

There are many aspects to the concept of culture in organisational settings, some of which are tangible and therefore can be measured and controlled and others which are intangible and therefore less obvious for measurement and control. Changes in working practices are controllable and therefore performance can be measured and to a great extent manipulated. A sustained higher performance is more likely to result from subordinates readily accepting change and accepting the organisation's mission. In large geographically dispersed organisations, the various subcultures are important aspects of the overall culture in terms of their contribution to profitability.

The indications from the Bass fieldwork are that there is a relationship between subculture types and organisational performance. The question relating to culture management is linked, to a great extent, to how culture is defined. For example, if culture is defined in relation to observable behaviour and linked to performance then culture is a measurable variable and can be manipulated and controlled. If culture is defined as part of the thought process and relates to systems of shared ideas and meanings then culture is intangible, difficult to measure and difficult to change. A

more sensible approach is to consider culture as both in the minds of organisational members (beliefs, values and ideas), and in the actions of organisational members (organisation practices).

Senior management tend to view 'culture change' in terms of new mission statements, new structures and new managers, all of which are 'controllable'. When the mission and structures have been established new managers are recruited and a socialisation process ensures conformity. Internalisation of changes at the lower levels in the organisation, as indicated in the research, appears to be more linked to the complex nature of the subculture in terms of its location and history.

The notion of empowering the workforce, decentralisation and the development of autonomous regions in order to develop a shared value system in a monoculture would appear to be a contradiction in terms. Organisations do have corporate beliefs and values and leadership visions which are usually built into mission statements and communication networks. However, the research findings indicate that organisations are not monolithic cultures, they are built up of subunits or subcultures which may or may not follow the corporate philosophy. Rather than trying to change or control these subcultures, the introduction of empowerment, decentralisation and regional autonomy may be a route to subordinate self control which could facilitate subcultures owning problems and more readily adapting to change. This approach is not a new approach, it is in fact the approach being pursued by Bass Brewers as part of the Management of Change programme. However, as discussed previously, gaining control appears to rest easier with management rather than relinquishing it. A major problem appears to be linked to the realisation that it is difficult to have a policy of empowerment and autonomy in a heavily centrally command driven organisation. The research has shown that Bass Brewers, although they consider decentralisation as a positive strategy towards a wider acceptance of change, are finding the idea of moving away from a centrally command driven operation to be difficult.

Bass Brewers, over a five year period, has made many changes to the way in which it provides goods and services to its customers. The major changes have been in the form of a new leader, new managers from 'outside' the organisation at Board and Senior Management level, the restructuring of all functions, delayering, and the introduction of new technology. The major proposals within the 'Management of Change Programme' were the 'creation' of a 'new' Bass culture which would focus on customer service, and the fostering of empowerment in the regions through a decentralised operation. It is evident from the research that an approach to culture change which concentrates on creating a single homogeneous culture does not fit easily with a policy of power and control to the regions. Whilst middle managers and subordinates in the regional subcultures are prepared to accept control, the senior managers in the centre are not prepared to let go.

Finally, a question posed by Ogbonna (1993 p94), "does it matter to management whether or not the behaviours generated are based on internalised values"?. In reality, as found by Ogbonna and Wilkinson (1988) in their research into the UK supermarket industry, the answer is that managements are satisfied to achieve behavioural compliance. This in part appears to be the case in the Bass fieldwork where changes in observable behaviour are seen as an acceptable level of 'culture control'. A disturbing issue is that, if managements are only interested in observable behaviour which is concomitant with the strategic changes, why go to great lengths to convince the workforce that a shared value philosophy will provide individuals with greater freedom and control of their own destinies. Willmott (1993 p526), links the notion of corporate culturism with Oceania in George Orwell's Nineteen Eighty Four:

"In corporate culturism, respect for the individual is equated with complying with the values of the corporate culture. To challenge the values enshrined in this respect is a crime against the culture. Here there is a direct parallel between the discipline of strong

corporate cultures and Party discipline in Nineteen Eighty Four, exemplified in 'crimestop', which Orwell characterises as":

"the faculty of stopping short as though by instinct at the threshold of any dangerous thought...of being bored or repelled by any train of thought which is capable of leading in a heretical direction" (Orwell, 1989 p220).

The danger is that the notion of the single culture in organisations will lead or has led to a more authoritarian type of control than was the original intention. If the notion of a single homogeneous culture is one of a long list of manipulative managerial panaceas for total control, it is time to move on. The thesis suggests that the recognition of multiple cultures, which have their own sets of attitudes beliefs and values, and which may not fit the corporate ideals, is a key issue in the understanding of culture. Gaining a better understanding of culture in organisations, could be a sensible starting point in a move away from the 'single homogeneous culture concept'. This may lead to a 'management' notion that 'culture is for understanding not for changing'.

7.5   Further Research - Understanding and Empowering Subcultures

Although the Bass research was concentrated in one specific area, that is the Distribution function, and identified three different culture types, it is more than likely that similar subcultures would be found in the other regional functions.

Empirical research in the area of organisational subcultures and their impact on management of change and organisational performance is still very sparse. In order to understand the nature of subcultures it is important that more research is carried out with the main focus on the subculture rather than the corporate culture. This may lead to a clearer understanding of the complexities of the culture concept in organisational settings. Until more research is carried out in this area, culture will generally be viewed

from the corporate level which only provides a surface view of culture in the organisational setting.

The research in the Distribution function revealed the existence of geographical subcultures in the depots which had emerged historically from links with Breweries, declining industries and the nature of the area. To a great extent the research was limited in that the focus was on one function and predominantly one geographical area, that is the Distribution function in the Bass North Region. However, what emerged from the research was a view that the dominant culture in an organisation may not be the corporate culture, the findings indicate that in many cases the culture of the area is the dominant culture. With this in mind, and on reflection, it may be more fruitful for researchers to investigate in more depth the links between regional subcultures and the external culture of the location . This may provide a clearer understanding of the formation, development and decline of organisational subcultures. More importantly, it may provide valuable decision making information for organisations seeking to relocate or expand their business.

In view of my findings it is likely that, within Bass and other similar organisations, regional subcultures exist in all functions and divisions within the functions. Additionally the research revealed that subculture groupings were linked to rural and urban settings. For example, the 'negative' cultures were situated in urban areas which had long histories of industrial activity for example Sheffield (Steel), Liverpool (Docks), Newcastle (Ship Building) and Tadcaster (Brewing). As indicated above further research is required on the external influences on subcultural activity in organisations.

Although mentioned only briefly, Business Process Re-engineering (BPR) is gaining momentum in both the financial and manufacturing areas of business in the United Kingdom. BPR is seen as the latest 'panacea' which will provide a sustained competitive advantage through the use of advanced technology, the introduction of TQM and a

fundamentally new way at looking at the business from a 'process view' rather than a 'functional view'. Reported implementations of BPR in the United States show a failure rate of 80% and is attributable to people issues. It would still appear that over zealous executives in search of competitive advantage are still failing to get to grips with the complexities of culture and subcultures within organisations.

In October 1993 I attended a 2 day conference in London on Business Process re-engineering. The programme was represented by 16 major manufacturing and service organisations in the UK:

Manufacturing	**Service**
Rover Cars	National Westminster
Lucas Engineering	Barclays Bank
Rank Xerox	Midland Bank
Texas Instruments	Abbey National
British Telecom	Nationwide
Motorola	National & Provincial
ICL	Sun Alliance
Ford	Western Provident

Sixteen speakers from the above organisations presented case studies on implementing BPR in their respective organisations. All speakers made reference to changing the culture as in the 'corporate culture with no reference made to regional subcultures. Understanding the complexities of culture through subcultural analysis is more complex than assuming a single corporate culture. Subcultures are the backbone of an organisation and are capable of affecting business performance in both a positive and negative way. It is important that more research is carried out in this area which may provide the key to improved performance through the understanding and empowerment of the organisational subcultures.

Throughout the research it has been argued that an 'insider's view of culture is one way of gaining an understanding of culture at all levels within the organisation. It is considered that this approach may yield better results in terms of understanding culture, as opposed to research by an 'outsider'. In the Bass case, one possible approach may be to use internal managers on project research into it's organisational subcultures. This approach could be used as a means of increasing learning and understanding, and as a catalyst for more sophisticated change.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

Agar M (1980)
The Professional Stranger - New York: Academic Press

Allaire Y & Firsirotu M E (1984)
Theories of Organisational Culture - Organisation Studies, 1984, Volume 5, No. 3, pp193-226

Clark B R (1972)
The Organisational Saga in Higher Education - Administrative Science Quarterly No 17: pp 178-184

Ezzamel, Lilley & Willmott (1993)
Be Wary of the New Waves - Management Today, October pp99-102

Freilich M (1970)
Marginal Natives - New York: Wiley

Gill J & Farrar S (1992)
Leadership as Developing Subordinate Self-control and Managing Without Managers (occasional paper no. 6, Sheffield Business School, Sheffield City Polytechnic)

Gill J & Whittle S (1993)
Management By Panacea: Accounting for Transience - Journal of Management Studies Vol 30 No 2 March, pp 281-295

Gregory K L (1983)
Native View Paradigms: Multiple Cultures and Culture Conflicts in Organisations - Administrative Science Quarterly 28, pp339-376

Hofstede G, Neuijen B, Ohayv DD & Sanders G (1990)
Measuring Organisational Cultures: A Qualitative and Quantitative Study Across Twenty Cases Administrative Science Quarterly, 35: pp286-316

Louis M R (1985)
An investigator's Guide to Workplace Culture -in- Organisational Culture ed. P J Frost et al, Sage Publications.

Martin J & Siehl C (1983)
Organisational Culture and Counterculture: An uneasy symbiosis - Organisational Dynamics 12, pp52-64

Mayo E (1983)
The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilisation - New York Macmillan

McGregor D (1960)
The Human Side of Enterprise - New York: McGraw Hill

Meyerson D and Martin J (1987)
Cultural Change: An Integration of Three Different Views - Journal of Management Studies 24:6 pp623-647

Morgan G (1986)
Images of Organisations - Sage Publications

MMC Report (1989)
The Supply of Beer - A report on the supply of beer for retail sale in the United Kingdom. Her Majesty's Stationery Office

Ogbonna E (1993)
Organisation Culture and Human Resource Management: Dilemmas and Contradictions - In Reassessing Human Resource Management, edited by Blyton and Turnball - Sage Publications

Pettigrew A M (1979)
On Studying Organisational Cultures - Administrative Science Quarterly 24 pp 570-581

Reynolds P D (1986)
Organisational Culture as Related to Industry, Position and Performance: A Preliminary Report - Journal of Management Studies 23:3 May, pp333-345

Roethlisberger F J & Dickson W J (1939)
Management and the Worker: An Account of a Research Programme Conducted by a Western Electric Company, Hathorne Works, Chicago, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Sackmann S A (1992)
Cultures and Subcultures: An analysis of Organisational Knowledge - Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol 37, March pp140 -161

Smircich L (1983)
Concepts of Culture and Organisational Analysis - Administrative Science Quarterly 28, pp339-358

Selznick P (1957)
Leadership in Administration - Evanston: Row Peterson

Schein (1984)
Coming to a New Awareness of Organisational Culture - Sloan Management Review, pp 3-16

Thackeray J (1993)
Fads, Fixes, and Fictions - Management Today June pp40-42

Willmott H (1993)
Strength is Ignorance; Slavery is Freedom: Managing Culture in Modern Organisations - Journal of Management Studies 30:4, pp 515-552

APPENDICES

DISTRIBUTION FUNCTION

DISTRIBUTION DIRECTOR

Reporting to Distribution Director:

- REGIONAL FLEET ENGINEER
  - GARAGE MANAGERS: BURY, HEBBURN, HUTTON, SHEFFIELD, TADCASTER
- REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION MANAGER
  - DIST. MANAGER HULL
  - DIST. MANAGER SCARBOROUGH
  - DIST. MANAGER TADCASTER
  - DIST. MANAGER EAGLESCLIFFE
  - DIST. MANAGER HEBBURN
- DISTRIBUTION BOND MANAGER
- REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION MANAGER
  - DIST. MANAGER GRIMSBY
  - DIST. MANAGER SLEAFORD
  - DIST. MANAGER SHEFFIELD
  - DIST. MANAGER COLNE
  - DIST. MANAGER BURY
- GENERAL MANAGER
  - SENIOR PROJECTS MANAGER
  - TELESALES MANAGER
  - CAR CO-ORDINATOR
  - VEHICLE ADMIN MANAGER
  - REGIONAL STOCK CONTROLLER
- REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION MANAGER
  - DIST. MANAGER BARROW
  - DIST. MANAGER HUTTON
  - DIST. MANAGER LEYLAND
  - DIST. MANAGER PORTMADOC
  - DIST. MANAGER ABERGELE

MAY 1990

DEFINITION OF CHANGE

TEAM A	TEAM B	TEAM C

* Moving from old to new
 	
* Upheaval
 	
* Metamorphosis
 	
* Adapting to external forces/ environment/pressures
 	
* Different ways of doing things to potentially improve performance and effectiveness
 	
* Grasping opportunities
 	
* Increasing response times
 	
* Keeping ahead of competitors ie. competitive advantage
 	
* Incremental or planned or emergent
	* Process by which current situation is altered
	
	* Mechanism which enables company to respond to external/ internal pressures of the business
	
	* Change is breaking from the past and adapting to the future (attitudes/methods/structures/ response times/skills)
	
	* Change is vital in a dynamic environment
		* A different way of doing things (not necessarily better!)
		
		* Different methods
		
		* Different levels of change:
		
		  - strategic
		  - local procedures/ operations)
		  - individual (ways of working/ responsibilities)
		
		* New approaches to current problems
		
		* An attack on an individuals security
		
		* A way of improving the current situation
		
		* An opportunity to improve performance against currently accepted standards
		
		* A challenge

DEFINITION OF CULTURE - PAST & FUTURE

TEAM A

PAST	FUTURE
* Happy family	* Proactive
* Reactive	* Aggressive
* Defensive	* Team/individualistic
* Secure	* Mercenary
* Loyalty	* Centrally autocratic (Dr T Portno)
* Regionally autocratic	* Central culture
* Local culture	* Head counts
* Caring company	* Dynamic
* Traditionally conservative	

TEAM B

PAST	FUTURE
* Relaxed	* Tense
* Complacent	* Disciplined
* Pub oriented	* Entrepreneurial
* Comfortable	* More 'competitive' (market oriented)
* Traditional	* Insecure
* Secure	* Results oriented
* 'Blue Chip'	* Centralised
* Regionalised	* 'Flatter' structure
* Hierarchical	* With much more
* Autocratic	* Centralised control/direction
* 'Sloppy'	* Standardised
* Paternalistic	* Meritocracy

DEFINITION OF CULTURE - PAST & FUTURE

TEAM C

PAST	FUTURE
* Steady * Relaxed * Family approach to employees (individual loyalty) * Limited change * Long term/gradual change * Fear/strength of union power * Arrogant attitude to market/lack of customer awareness * Non integration of functions * Limited communications * Non integrated objectives (TCB, W&W, Bass North)	* Dynamic * Competitive/aggressive * Customer oriented * Committed to change * Short/medium/long term change goals * Aware of union power (restricted through recession) * Cross functional working * Common goals and objectives * Team working

GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF RESEARCH SITES

FIELDWORK QUESTIONNAIRE - SEMI STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

This document is a precis of the semi structured interviews carried out at the 15 Distribution Depots (stage 1 of the thesis).

1. General Questions

    *   Background information (career history)
    *   Depot details - operations etc
    *   Training/qualifications

2. Information Technology

    *   Current Systems (Distribution Support System)

    *   How did you manage the introduction of the DSS system?

    *   What specific problems if any did you experience with the introduction?

    *   How did you sell DSS to your subordinates?

    *   Future Systems (PC on desk networks etc)

    *   How did you feel about the proposed £100m spend on IT?

    *   How do you think it will affect your management ability in terms of decision making, planning and communicating etc?

3. Leadership/Management Style

    *   How would you describe your management style?

    *   What style do you think the ideal manager should adopt?

    *   Does the style of your supervisor or his superior affect your leadership style?

    *   Do you think your style affects the way your subordinates perform?

    *   In view of changes in Bass ie. IT developments, TQM BS5750, salaried pay schemes, distribution strategic review, and the MMC report does this affect the way in which you manage?

    *   Does culture affect your leadership style?

    *   Fill in PPA form.

4. Motivation

    *   How do you motivate your staff?

    *   How do you motivate the shop floor team?

    *   Is there any difference if so, what?

    *   Do you practice teamwork? - staff/shop floor interface.

    *   What do you think motivates your subordinates?

5. Decision Making

    *   What kind of decisions does the job involve? long term/short term, complex/simple.

    *   How much authority do you have to make decisions?

    *   At what level of problem do you pass on to a higher authority level, ie. Regional Distribution Manager/Distribution Director.

6. Payment Systems

    *   What is the current payment system in operation?

    *   If salaried scheme, is this working effectively?

    *   If incentive type scheme, is this working effectively?

    *   Does the type of scheme affect the way in which you manage operations?

    *   If not a salaried scheme do you feel longer term that staff status for all is a realistic target?

7. Management of Change

    *   In view of the dynamic situation Bass/the Brewing Industry is in, how do you see all this change affecting your position?

    *   How will you manage the envisaged changes brought about by the information of:-

        -   Information Technology?
        -   Total Quality Initiative (TQM BS5750)?
        -   Distribution Strategic Schemes?
        -   Proposal from the MMC Report?

8. <u>Planning/Work Activity</u>

* How specialised is the job?

* Does the job require a great deal of planning?

* What is your average daily workload?

* What are your main contacts, internal and external?

* Where are the main methods of communication?

RESTRICTIVE PRACTICES - HUYTON DEPOT

1. Third load mid-week guarantees Saturday work for everybody.
   ie. transport will only deliver two loads per day unless Saturday work is involved.
2. No customer collections.
3. No one handed deliveries for bulk loads.
4. Use of non standard keg/cask Loading Sheet.
5. Warehouse start times - 0730 hrs (payment made).
6. Transport start times - 0800 hrs.
7. Ten, third or emergency loads, loaded by warehouse - every man present receives two hours overtime.
8. Third tip payment made to transport personnel.
9. No pre-loading.
10. No unloading of empties ready for following day.
11. With regard to Saturday work, personnel must be informed by Thursday morning. The number of loads must be finalised by Friday morning.
12. Transport crews are paid job and finish, this leads to cutting corners.
13. Warehouse guaranteed two hours supplementary pay per day whether the hours are worked or not.
14. Transport crews payments- three men's pay is paid to two men for fulls, empties or ullage.
15. Emergency is classed only as a minimum required to keep account trading until next day and can be refused.
16. No clocking in or out - Transport/Warehouse.
17. FLTs loading both keg and smallpack on rear of vehicle.
18. No communication to depot regarding non-deliveries from Transport personnel.
19. No staggered starts.
20. If a transport man fails to attend for work, the load to be dropped is the van load.
21. Will not deliver to the Wirral via the tunnel twice in one day.
22. Will not deliver to the same area twice in one day.
23. Work load is not allocated, it is drawn out of a hat.
24. Both loads AM/PM must be allocated together.
25. No changing of PM loads after allocation.
26. No adding to loads after allocation.
27. Will not pull out ullage when wet conditions.
28. Minimum fourteen tonnes restrictions per crew per day.
29. Will not wait at supermarkets and wholesalers for any reasonable amount of time.
30. Emergency deliveries are normally in local area only.
31. Personnel finishing at different times.
32. On Saturday all warehouse personnel attend regardless of number of loads working.
33. Warehouse will not lighten any vehicle required for servicing.

BASS BREWERS MISSION STATEMENT

1. Our primary objective is to establish an increasingly pre-eminent position in the UK beer market.

    We also intend to attain a leading position in the European beer market.

2. We will achieve these objects by the following means.

    We will own an unrivalled range of brands.

    We will provide our customers with quality value and service second to none.

    We will be highly cost competitive.

    We will attract develop and motivate a team of people of outstanding quality who will share the success they generate.

    We will create an entrepreneurial culture in a company which anticipates, responds to and shapes change in the market place.

3. In pursuing these objectives we will achieve superior financial performance and attractive returns for shareholders.

ORGANISATION STRUCTURE (SEPTEMBER 1990)

```
                        ┌──────────────────┐
                        │      CHIEF       │
                        │    EXECUTIVE     │
                        │    R MANNERS     │
                        └────────┬─────────┘
                                 │
    ┌──────────┬──────────┬──────┴──────┬──────────┬──────────┐
    │          │          │             │          │          │
┌───────┐ ┌────────┐ ┌─────────┐ ┌──────────┐ ┌──────────┐ ┌──────────┐
│FINANCE│ │DISTRIB-│ │COMMERICAL│ │MD BASS UK│ │PRODUCTION/│ │PERSONNEL │
│M P    │ │UTION   │ │V KEHOE  │ │E MATTHEWS│ │TECHNICAL  │ │A SMITH   │
│CHILDS │ │J DEAVIN│ │         │ │          │ │R RICKETTS │ │          │
└───────┘ └────────┘ └─────────┘ └──────────┘ └──────────┘ └──────────┘
```

ORGANISATION STRUCTURE (CURREND

```
                    CHIEF
                  EXECUTIVE
                 DR A D PORTNO
                       |
  ┌──────┬──────┬──────┼──────┬──────┬──────┬──────┬──────┐
FINANCE  CUSTOMER TECHNICAL PERSONNEL INFORMATION LOGISTICS BUSINESS MARKETING
P THOMAS SERVICE & J E M      A SMITH  SERVICES   M T       INFORMATION S McBRIDE
         SALES    GUTHRIE              M FISHER   SOUTHWELL J R DEAVIN
         J S G
         FOWDEN
```

Bass Brewers

EMPLOYEE COMMUNICATIONS CHARTER

Bass Brewers' communications policy commits us to providing staff (by which we mean all employees) with open, honest, timely information about the company's progress and plans and on issues affecting their jobs, working environment and career prospects. We believe that fostering staff involvement in the success of the business and in understanding and implementing strategy is in the interests of the whole company.

STAFF CAN EXPECT A communications lead from the top - the Chief Executive and Board ■ Valuable line and cross-functional information ■ Encouragement of feedback and careful consideration of suggestions.

ON THE FOLLOWING SUBJECTS Good and bad news ■ Objectives, plans and decisions ■ Economic background and impact of external forces ■ As much as commercially possible on sensitive matters.

BY THE FOLLOWING MEANS Primarily team briefing/face to face discussions ■ Range of other media including bulletins, newspaper, videos, conferences, well-planned and professionally produced.

IN RETURN, ALL STAFF WILL BE EXPECTED TO Participate in the briefing process and training ■ Foster team spirit and cross functional co-operation ■ Provide and encourage feedback throughout the company.

All managers will be accountable for the quality of communications to their direct reports.

In addition, the Board will guarantee to monitor the effectiveness of the Bass Brewers communication strategy and take all steps to achieve its stated communications aims.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ackroyd S & Crowdy P A (1990)
Can Culture be Managed? - Personnel Review, Volume 19, No. 5 pp3-13

Agar M (1980)
The Professional Stranger - New York: Academic Press

Allaire Y & Firsirotu M E (1984)
Theories of Organisational Culture - Organisation Studies, 1984, Volume 5, No. 3 pp193-226

Anthony P D (1990)
The Paradox of the Management of Culture or 'He Who Leads is Lost': Personnel Review 19,4 pp3-8

Argyris C & Schon D A (1978)
Organisational Learning - Addison Wesley

Baker E L (1980)
Managing Organisational Culture - Management Review, July 1980 pp 8-13

Barley S R, Meyer G W & Gash D C
Cultures of Cultures: Academics Practitioners of Normative Control - Administrative Science Quarterly Vol 33, 1988, pp24-60

Barney J B (1986)
Organisational Culture: Can it be a Source of Sustained Competitive Advantage? Acadamy of Management Review Vol 11 No 3, pp 656-665

Bass Brewers News (1991)
New Head for Bass Brewers - Issue No 4, pp 1-2

Beck B (1970)
Cooking Welfare Studies in : Habenstein R W (Ed), Pathways to Data, Chicago, Aldine pp7-29

Benedict R (1934)
Patterns of Culture - Houghton Mifflin

Beynon H (1973)
Working for Ford, Penguin, Harmondsworth

Blumer H (1969)
Symbolic interactionism : Perspective and Method - Prentice Hall

Boas F (1948)
Race, Language, and Culture. New York: MacMillan.

Bogdan R & Taylor S J (1975)
Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods, New York, Wiley

Burns T & Stalker CM (1961)
The Management of Innovation. New York: Barnes and Noble

Burrell G & Morgan G (1979)
Sociological Paradigms and Organisational Analysis - Heinemann Educational Books

Carney T F (1979)
*Content Analysis: A Technique for Systematic Inference from Communications, Winnipeg,
Canada: University of Manitoba Press*

Carroll (1983)
*'A Disappointing Search for Excellence' - Harvard Business Review, No. 63 November-
December, pp 78-88*

Cassidy J (1993)
The Rise and Fall of IBM - Sunday Times - Business Focus 28 March

Chandler A D (1962)
Strategy and Structure - Cambridge, Mass, MIT Press

Chandler A D (1977)
*The Visible Hand, The Managerial Revolution in American Business: Cambridge Mass:
Press of Harvard University Press*

Clark B R (1972)
*The Organisational Saga in Higher Education - Administrative Science Quarterly No 17: pp
178-184*

Cunnison S (1966)
Wages and Work Allocation, Tavistock, London

D'Andrade R G (1985)
Cultural Meaning Systems - Culture Theory
Eds. Shweder R A & LaVine R A - Cambridge University Press

Dalton M (1959)
Men Who Manage, Wiley, New York

Daniel W and Mcintosh N (1976)
The Right to Manage - McDonald & Co

Davis S M (1985)
Culture is Not Just an Internal Affair (Gaining Control of the Corporate Culture)
Kilmann et al - pp 137-147 - San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Deal T E & Kennedy A A (1982)
Corporate Cultures - Addison Wesley

Delany W (1960)
Some Field Notes on the Problem of Access in Organisational Research, Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol.5 No3,September. pp448-457

Dennison D (1984)
Bringing Corporate Culture to the Bottom Line - Organisation Dynamics 13 pp 5-22

Dyer W G (1985)
The Cycle of Cultural Evolution in Organisations - Gaining Control of the Corporate Culture - San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Edwardes M (1983)
Back From the Brink: An Apocalyptic Experience, Collins London

Ezzamel, Lilley & Wilmott (1993)
Be Wary of the New Waves - Management Today, October pp99-102

Farrar S (1988)
Materials Management in Manufacturing Organisations - Unpublished MSc Dissertation - Sheffield Business School

Faux V (1982)
Unobtrusive Controls in Organisations: An action research approach to change Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University Cambridge

Fayol H (1949)
General and Industrial Management, Pitman (first published in French in 1916)

Filley A C & House R W (1969)
Managerial Process and Organisational Behaviour - San Fransisco: Scott, Foresman

Filstead W J (1970)
Qualitative Methodology, Chicago: Rand McNally

Frame P G (1987
The Management of Stringency and the Nature of Organisational Sub-Cultures, Unpublished PhD thesis, Sheffield City Polytechnic

Freeman F H (1985)
Books that Mean Business: The Management Best Sellers - Acadamy of Management Review No 10, April pp 345-350

Freilich M (1970)
Marginal Natives - New York: Wiley

Geertz C (1973)
The Interpretation of Cultures - New York: Basic Books

Gill J & Farrar S (1992)
Leadership as Developing Subordinate Self-control and Managing Without Managers - Occasional Paper, Sheffield Business School

Gill J & Johnson P (1991)
Research Methods for Managers, Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd

Gill J & Whittle S (1993)
Management by Panacea : Accounting for Transience - Journal of Management Studies, Vol. 30, No.2, March pp 281-295

Glaser B G & Strauss A L (1967)
The Discovery of Grounded Theory, Aldine, Chicago

Glazer M (1972)
The Research Adventure - Promise and Problems of Field Work, New York, Random House

Gold R (1958)
Roles in Sociological Field Observation, Social Forces, Vol 36, No 3, pp 217-223

Goodenough W H (1957)
Culture, Anthropology and Linguistics. P.Garvin (ed) Washington DC

Goodenough W H (1961)
Comment on Cultural Evolution, Daedalus 90: pp 521-528

Gregory K L (1983)
Native View Paradigms: Multiple Cultures and Culture Conflicts in Organisations - Administrative Science Quarterly 28 pp359-376

Hammer M (1990)
Re-engineering Work: Don't Automate, Obliterate - Harvard Business Review July/August pp104-112

Hammersley M & Atkinson P (1983)
Ethnography: Principles in Practice, Tavistock, London

Handy C B (1981)
Understanding Organisations - Penguin Books

Harris M (1964)
The Nature of Cultural Things. New York: Random House

Harrison R (1972)
Understanding Your Organisational Character - Harvard Business Review pp 119-128

Hawkins K H (1978)
A History of Bass Charrington - University Press, Oxford.

Hofstede G, Neuijen B, Ohayv DD & Sanders G (1990)
Measuring Organisational Cultures: A Qualitative and Quantitative Study Across Twenty Cases
Administrative Science Quarterly, 35: pp286-316

Humphreys R (1991)
Bass view on the changing beer market - Brewing and Distilling International September pp70-71

IPM (1977)
Staff Status for All - IPM Publication

Jacques E (1952)
The Changing Culture of a Factory - New York: Dryden Press

Johnson P & Gill J (1993)
Management Control and Organisational Behaviour - Paul Chapman Publishing Limited

Johnson J D (1975)
Doing Field Research, New York Free Press.

Junker B H (1960)
Fieldwork, University of Chicargo Press

Kanter R M (1977)
Men and Women of the Corporation - New York: Basic Books

Katz D & Kahn RL (1966)
The Social Psychology of Organisations, John Wiley, New York.

Keesing R (1974)
Theories of Culture - Annual Review of Anthropology 3: pp73-97

Keesing R (1981)
Cultural Anthropology, A Contemporary Perspective - Holt, Rinehart & Winston

Kilmann R H, Saxtib M J, Serpa R & Associates (1985)
Gaining Control of the Corporate Culture - San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Kroeber A L & Kluckhohn C K (1952)
Culture: A Crtical Review of Concepts and Definitions - Peabody Museum of Archeology and Ethnology Papers, No 47, Cambridge: Harvard University

Lawrence PR & Lorch JW (1967)
Organisation and Environment, Boston: Harvard University Press.

LeVine R A (1985)
Properties of Culture - An Ethnographic View (Culture Theory) - pp 67-87
Eds. Shweder R A & LaVine R A - Cambridge University Press

Levi-Strauss C (1958)
Anthrapologie Structurale - Paris: Librairie Plon

Lorsch J W (1986)
Strategic Myopia: Culture of an Invisible Barrier to Change(Gaining Control of the Corporate Culture) in Kilmann et al - pp 84-102 - San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Louis M R (1981)
A Cultural Perspective on Organisations: the need for and consequences of viewing organisations as culture-bearing milieux - Human Systems Management, Volume 2 pp246-258

Louis M R (1985)
An Investigators Guide to Workplace Cultures - in:- Organisational Culture ed. P J Frost et al, Sage Publications

Lupton T and Gowler D (1969)
Selecting a Wage Payment System - Penguin

Maanen J V (1979)
The Fact of Fiction in Organisational Ethnography, Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol 24, Dec. pp 539-550

Maanen J V (1988)
Tales of the Field - The University of Chicago Press

Malinowski B (1944)
A Scientific Theory of Culture - Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press

Manning P K (1979)
Metaphors of the Field: Varieties of Organisational Discourse - Administrative Science Quarterly No 24 pp 660-671

Marshall J & McLean A (1985)
Exploring Organisation Culture as a Route to Organisational Change - Current Research in Management, ed. V Hammond - Francis Pinter Publishing Ltd

Martin J & Siehl C (1983)
Organisational Culture and Counterculture: An uneasy symbiosis - Organisational Dynamics 12(2): pp52-64

Mayo E (1983)
The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilisation - New York Macmillan

McGregor D (1960)
The Human Side of Enterprise - New York: McGraw Hill

Mead M (1959)
An Anthropologist at Work: Writings of Ruth Benedict. Boston: Houghton Mifflin

Meek V L (1988)
Organisation Culture: Origins and Weaknesses - Organisation Studies, 1988, Volume 9 No.4 pp-453-473

Meyerson D & Martin J (1987)
Cultural Change: An Integration of Three Different Views - Journal of Management Studies 24:6 November pp623-647

Mintzberg H (1973)
The Nature of Managerial Work, Harper & Row

Mintzberg H (1979)
An Emerging Strategy of Direct Research, Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol 24, Dec pp 582-589

Mitchell T R (1985)
In Search of Excellence Versus the Best 100 Companies to Work for in America: A Question of Perspective and Values - Acadamy of Management Review No 10, April, pp 350-355

Morgan G (1986)
Images of Organisations - Sage Publications

MMC Report (1989)
The Supply of Beer - A report on the supply of beer for retail sale in the United Kingdom. Her Majesty's Stationary Office

Miles B M (1979 p. 591)
Quantitative Data as an Attractive Nuisance: The Problem of Analysis; Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol 24, Dec. pp 590-600

Ogbonna E and Wilkinson B (1990)
Corporate Strategy and Corporate Culture: The View from the Checkout, Personnel Review, pp 9-15

Ogbonna E (1993)
Organisation Culture and Human Resource Management: Dilemmas and Contradictions - In Re-assessing Human Resource Management, edited by Blyton and Turnball - Sage Publications

Ouchi W (1981)
Theory 'Z' - Addison Wesley

Ouchi W & Johnson J B (1978)
Types of Organisational Control and Their Relationship to Emotional Well Being - Administrative Science Quarterly 23 June pp293-317

Owen C C (1992)
The Greatest Brewery in the World - A History of Bass, Ratcliffe and Gretton Derbyshire Record Society Vol XIX.

Pacanowsky M & Anderson J A (1981)
Cop Talk and Media Use - International Communication Association Convention - May

Pascale R (1985)
The Paradox of 'Corporate Culture': Reconciling Ourselves to Socialisation - California Management Review, Volume 27, No. 2, pp26-41

Pascale R & Athos A G (1981)
The Art of Japanese Management - New York, Simon & Schuster

Peters T J & Waterman R H (1982)
In Search of Excellence - Harper and Row

Pettigrew A M (1979)
On Studying Organisational Cultures - Administrative Science Quarterly 24 pp 570-581

Pettigrew A M (1985)
The Awakening Giant: Continuity and Change in ICI, Blackwell, Oxford

Pettigrew A M (1990)
Is Corporate Culture Managable - in Managing Organisations Eds Wilson D C & Rosenfeld R H - McGraw Hill Book Company

Popper K R (1968)
The Logic of Scientific Discovery, New York; Harper & Row

Radcliffe-Brown (1952)
Structure and Function in Primative Society - London: Dohen and West

Ray C A (1986)
Corporate Culture: The Last Frontier of Control - Journal of Management Studies 23.3 May, pp 287-297

Reynolds P D (1986)
Organisational Culture as Related to Industry, Position and Performance: A Preliminary Report - Journal of Management Studies 23:3 May pp333-345

Roethlisberger F J & Dickson W J (1939)
Management and the Worker: An Account of a Research Programme Conducted by a Western Electric Company, Hawthorne Works, Chicago, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Roy D (1952)
'Quota Restriction and Goldbricking in a Machine Shop' , American Journal of Sociology , Vol 57.

Rose R A (1988)
Organisations as Multiple Cultures: A Rules Theory Analysis - Human Relations, Volume 41 No. 2 pp139-170

Runkel P J & McGrath J E (1972)
Research on Human Behaviour: A Systematic Guide to Method, Holt Rinehart and Winston, New York

Sackmann S A (1991)
Cultural Knowledge in Organisations, Sage Publications

Sackmann S A (1992)

Cultures and Subcultures: An analysis of Organisational Knowledge - Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol 37, March pp140 -161

Saffold G S (1988)
Culture Traits, Strength, and Organisational Performance: Moving Beyond 'Strong' Culture - Acadamy of Management Review, Volume 13 No. 4 pp 546-557

Sanday P R (1979)
The Ethnographic Paradigm(s), Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol 24, Dec pp 527-538

Sathe V (1985)
How to Decipher and Change Corporate Culture in : Gaining Control of the Corporate Culture
Kilmann et al - pp 230-261 San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Schatzman L & Strauss A L (1973)
Field Research, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall

Schein E H (1983)
The Role of the Founder in Creating Organisational Culture - Organisational Dynamics, Summer pp 13-28

Schein E H (1984)
Coming to a New Awareness of Organisational Culture - Sloan Management Review, pp3-16

Schein E H (1985)
Organisational Culture and Leadership - Jossey Bass

Schneider B (1975)
Organisation Climates: 'An Essay' Personnel Psychology No 28: pp 447-479

Schwartz H & Davis S M (1981)
Matching Corporate Culture and Business Strategy - Organisation Dynamics, Summer pp30-48

Selznick P (1957)
Leadership in Administration - Evanston: Row Peterson

Selye H (1964)
From Dream to Discovery: On Being a Scientist, New York: McGraw-Hill

Shaw F (1984)
Lern Yerself Scouse - How to talk proper Liverpool, Scouse Press : Liverpool

Sieber S D (1976)
"A Synopsis and Critique of Guidelines for Qualitative Analysis Contained in Selected Text Books" New York Centre for Policy Research

Smith H W (1975)
Strategies of Social Research, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall

Smith P B and Peterson M E (1988)
Leadership, Organisations and Culture - Sage Publications

Soeters J L (1986)
Excellent Companies as Social Movements - Journal of Management Studies 23.3 May pp 299-312

Silverman D (1970)
The Theory of Organisations - London: Heinemann

Smircich L (1983)
Concepts of Culture and Organisational Analysis - Administrative Science Quarterly 28 pp339-358

Smircich L (1983)
Studying Organisations as Cultures - in:- Beyond Method, ed. Gareth Morgan, Sage Publications

Stanier R Y, Ingraham J L, Wheelis M L, Painter P R(1986)
General Microbiology - McMillan Prentice Hall

Steward J (1955)
Theory of Culture Change. Urbana: University of Illinois Press

Stinchcombe A (1965)
Social Structure and Organisation in Handbook of Organisations, J C March (ed) - Chicago: Rand McNally

Swartz M & Jordan D (1980)
Culture: An Anthropological Perspective - New York: Wiley

Tannenbaum R and Schmidt W H (1958)
How to Choose a Leadership Pattern - Harvard Business Review, March-April p96

Taylor F W (1972)
Scientific Management, Greenwood Press

Tichy N M (1983)
Managing Strategic Change - Wiley

Tichy N M & Ulrich D (1984)
The Leadership Challenge - A Call for theTransformational Leadership - Sloan Management Review Fall pp59-68

Thackeray J (1993)
Fads, Fixes, and fictions - Management Today June pp 40-42

Tunstall W B (1986)
The Breakup of the Bell System - A Case Study in Cultural Transformation - California Management Review, No 2 pp 110-124

Turner B A (1971)
Exploring the Industrial Sub-Culture, Macmillan

Turner B A (1983)
The Use of Grounded Theory for the Qualitative Analysis of Organisational Behaviour, Journal of Management Studies 20, 3, 1983 pp 333-348

Turner S P (1977)
Complex Organisations as Savage Tribes - Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, No 7 (April): pp 99-125

Turner S P (1983)
Studying Organisation Through Levis-Strauss's Structuralism - In Gareth Morgan (ed), Beyond Method: Social Research Strategies - Beverley Hills CA - Sage Publications

Tylor E B (1924)
Primitive Culture - (first published in 1871) Gloucester, MA: Smith

Van Maanan J (1979)
The Fact and Fiction in Organisational Ethnography - Administrative Science Quarterly 24 pp539-550

Van Maanen J & Barley S (1984)
Occupational Communities: Culture and Control in Organisations - in: B M Staw and L L Cummings (eds), Research in Organisational Behaviour Volume 6 - Greenwich, C T : JAI Press

Wallace AFC (1970)
Culture and Personality. New York : Random House.

White L A (1959)
The Concept of Culture. American Anthropologist, 61, pp 227 - 251

Wilkins A L (1983)
The Culture Audit: A Tool for Understanding Organisations - Organisational Dynamics, Autumn pp24-38

Wilkins A L & Dyer W G (1988)
Toward Culturally Sensitive Theories of Culture Change - Academy of Management Review Volume 13 No.4, pp522-533

Willmott H (1993)
Strength is Ignorance; Slavery is Freedom: Managing Culture in Modern Organisations - Journal of Management Studies 30:4, pp515-552

Williams (1993)
Nuts and Bolts Man - Personnel Today, January, pp22-23

Whyte (1943)
Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum, Chicago: Chicago University Press

29/11/94
20.59

1 8 SEP 2002

- 2 JUN 2008 5pm

The Management of Sub-Cultures in a Multicultural Organisation

Stephen Farrar

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements of
Sheffield Hallam University
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

January 1994

Collaborating Organisation : Bass Brewers

ABSTRACT

The thesis is an in-depth research into the management and control of subcultures in a multicultural and geographically dispersed organisation. Primarily the thesis focuses on the Distribution function in Bass Brewers North where there is much cultural diversity and a high resistance to change in areas where regional subcultures have developed over long periods.

Based on methods used in ethnographic studies and within an inductivist framework, 15 Distribution depots were researched in order to understand cultural and managerial differences in the regions. With the use of theoretical data analysis, three different subculture groupings were identified from the early stages of the research, these were categorised as being either positive, negative or changing cultures in relation to the Bass 'corporate' culture. Further detailed research was carried out in three representative Distribution depots in order to ascertain the degree to which the beliefs and values of the dominant culture were dispersed throughout the three subculture groupings.

In order to assess cultural dispersion the research was extended to include other regions of Bass Brewers, and the Bass Headquarters at Burton. At this stage of the research the thesis explored culture management and leadership, cultural change and cultural impact on outcomes. From this, an understanding of the relationship between corporate cultures, subcultures and managerial control was developed.

The research into the management and control of cultures and subcultures was analysed, from a middle management view and 'bottom up', rather than the traditional approach to corporate culture research and to culture change programmes, which is generally 'top down' with a senior management bias.

The thesis argues that large complex organisations are composed of multiple possibly conflicting cultures, and that corporate cultures and subcultures cannot be readily changed. It is also argued that strategies designed to 'quickly' change an organisation's culture(s) are not likely to succeed.

The contribution the thesis makes to existing knowledge is in three areas. Firstly the thesis provides a contribution in the area of research methodology both from a manager carrying out research within his own organisation, and the methodological approach used to study cultures and subcultures in organisations. Secondly the thesis provides a contribution in the area of culture and performance in that it explores the relationship between subcultures and an organisation's corporate culture and provides an explanation for different culture types and their impact on business performance. Finally the thesis provides a contribution in the area of culture and managerial control in that the research identifies the links between leadership and control at both senior and middle management levels.

PREFACE

I would like to thank the members of the Bass organisation and the staff at Sheffield Hallam University who assisted and advised me during the preparation of this thesis. In particular, I would like to thank:

My supervisors, Dr H.S. Gill, Dr D. White and S. Cooke for their continued interest, guidance and advice.

Directors, Managers, staff and operatives in Bass Brewers North, in particular the Distribution Managers who provided invaluable data.

Helen Woods for assisting with the compilation of the final thesis.

CONTENTS

Figures

Appendices

Bibliography

ABSTRACT

THE MANAGEMENT OF SUB-CULTURES IN A MULTICULTURAL ORGANISATION

Stephen Farrar

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Sheffield Hallam University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The thesis is an in-depth research into the management and control of subcultures in a multicultural and geographically dispersed organisation. Primarily the thesis focuses on the Distribution function in Bass Brewers North where there is much cultural diversity and a high resistance to change in areas where regional subcultures have developed over long periods.

Based on methods used in ethnographic studies and within an inductivist framework, 15 Distribution depots were researched in order to understand cultural and managerial differences in the regions. With the use of theoretical data analysis, three different subculture groupings were identified from the early stages of the research, these were categorised as being either positive, negative or changing cultures in relation to the Bass 'corporate' culture. Further detailed research was carried out in three representative Distribution depots in order to ascertain the degree to which the beliefs and values of the dominant culture were dispersed throughout the three subculture groupings.

In order to assess cultural dispersion the research was extended to include other regions of Bass Brewers, and the Bass Headquarters at Burton. At this stage of the research the thesis explored culture management and leadership, cultural change and cultural impact on outcomes. From this, an understanding of the relationship between corporate cultures, subcultures and managerial control was developed.

The research into the management and control of cultures and subcultures was analysed, from a middle management view and 'bottom up', rather than the traditional approach to corporate culture research and to culture change programmes, which is generally 'top down' with a senior management bias.

The thesis argues that large complex organisations are composed of multiple possibly conflicting cultures, and that corporate cultures and subcultures cannot be readily changed. It is also argued that strategies designed to 'quickly' change an organisation's culture(s) are not likely to succeed.

The contribution the thesis makes to existing knowledge is in three areas. Firstly the thesis provides a contribution in the area of research methodology both from a manager carrying out research within his own organisation, and the methodological approach used to study cultures and subcultures in organisations. Secondly the thesis provides a contribution in the area of culture and performance in that it explores the relationship between subcultures and an organisation's corporate culture and provides an explanation for different culture types and their impact on business performance. Finally the thesis provides a contribution in the area of culture and managerial control in that the research identifies the links between leadership and control at both senior and middle management levels.

CHAPTER ONE

1.   Introduction

Managing change in any type of organisation is not an easy task and many organisations fall short of their original anticipated returns. Managing change in large complex and geographically dispersed organisations in which diverse cultures exist, requires excellent leadership skills at all management levels and total support from the workforce. This thesis focuses on the problems of managing change in an organisation where there is much cultural diversity, and a high resistance to change in areas where particular regional subculture types have developed over long periods. Specifically the thesis concentrates on the Distribution function in Bass Brewers North and the way in which the middle managers in this function 'control' their depot subculture throughout the change process.

The problems of control in the regional depots are exacerbated by the problems associated with what is a centrally command driven operation, in an historically and geographically decentralised organisation.

The initial aim of the thesis at the proposal stage was to carry out research in 15 distribution depots in Bass Brewers North and to:-

a)   Determine the factors which affect the way middle managers manage change and,

b)   Within this broad aim to investigate:-

   i)   Issues of managerial control and the under researched role of the middle manager;

   ii)   the nature and effects of subcultures on decision making and;

   iii)   the role of the manager as participant researcher.

At the proposal stage it was considered likely that in Phase 1 key issues may emerge which would provide the principle PhD focus and may at least in part replace (a) and (b)

above. At an early stage in the fieldwork the key issue to emerge was the existence of diverse subcultures in the geographically dispersed distribution depots, and the impact these subcultures have on management of change, leadership and control and organisational performance. It is for this reason that the thesis focuses primarily on the depot subcultures within the context of the Bass cultural whole, and how culture impacts on managerial control and performance.

The overall aim of the thesis is to:-

a)   Determine the effect diverse subcultures have on managing changes in the geographically dispersed distribution depots, and through the use of culture audits of historical and current events, determine how subcultures emerge, develop and change over time.

b)   Develop an understanding of the relationship between cultures, subcultures, managerial control and performance, the implications of which could be used by Bass and other large geographically dispersed organisations to manage multiple cultures and successfully implement change.

c)   To develop a research methodology based upon the methods used throughout the PhD thesis, to be used as a reference/guide for managers researching in their own organisation.

The thesis provides in-depth research into the management and control of cultures and subcultures from a middle management view, and analysed 'bottom up' rather than the traditional approach to corporate culture studies and to culture change programmes, which are generally 'top down' with a senior management bias. The traditional approach to the study of management of change and the control of organisational cultures has been to view culture from a 'top down' corporate platform. This approach, which falls into the category of viewing culture from a 'variable perspective', assumes the existence of a

single homogeneous culture which permeates the organisation and can be manipulated to achieve improvements in performance. Although a great deal of research into the control of culture recognises the existence of organisational subcultures, there has been little in-depth research into how they emerge and develop, and how they impact on organisational performance. This thesis takes a pluralistic rather than a monolithic view of culture and recognises that in large complex and geographically dispersed organisations, the existence of multiple cultures is more likely to be the rule rather than the exception.

The approach used throughout the thesis therefore provides an original contribution in that it views culture and management of change from the middle manager and their subordinates perspective, that is 'bottom up', rather than from a 'top down' corporate senior management view. From this perspective the thesis makes a contribution to knowledge in three key areas:

* Firstly the thesis provides a contribution in the area of research methodology both from a manager carrying out research within his own organisation, and the methodological approach used to study cultures and subcultures in a large geographically dispersed organisation.

* Secondly the thesis provides a contribution in the area of culture and performance in that it explores in depth the relationship between subcultures and an organisation's corporate culture and provides an explanation for different culture types and their effect on business performance.

* Finally the thesis provides a contribution in the area of culture and managerial control in that the research has been carried out identifying the links between leadership and control at both senior management and the middle management levels. The development of an understanding of the relationship between cultures, subcultures, managerial control and performance, has implications for

Bass and other large geographically dispersed organisations who are incorporating culture change programmes as part of major strategic changes within their business.

This Chapter is a brief background to the PhD project history and an introduction to the history of Bass PLC and the position of Bass Brewers within the corporate structure. Recent changes in the brewing industry, particularly as a result of the Monopolies and Mergers Commission report on 'the supply of beer' (1989), are reviewed and the impact on the Bass organisation discussed. An introduction to, and links between, the Distribution function and my role as the Management Services Manager are discussed in relation to the main focus of the thesis. The final section of the Chapter covers the structure of the thesis and is a précis of the approach and methodologies used throughout the research fieldwork and thesis.

1.1   Background and History of the PhD Thesis

My original interest in the problems associated with management of change and diverse workplace cultures, stems from my MSc dissertation (Farrar 1988) and my involvement in management of change programmes within the British Steel Corporation (BSC). The MSc dissertation focused primarily on the problems associated with the introduction of 'just in time' (JIT) 'manufacturing resource planning' (MRP) and 'optimised production technology' (OPT) in manufacturing organisations. Although the dissertation was of a technical nature in terms of how to develop and implement manufacturing systems, throughout the fieldwork and case studies in the different organisations, many failed implementations were identified as being attributable to a lack of, workforce involvement, teamwork and a general resistance to change to the new working methods. The theme throughout the research dissertation was that many managers failed to recognise the human factors in terms of commitment and involvement, and that technology alone would not provide the improvements. Although the dissertation

identified the importance of the lower level manager and his subordinates as catalysts of change, no in-depth research was carried out in this area, as at the time it was considered beyond the scope of the research. My original intention was to carry out further research whilst still working for the British Steel Corporation, however, this was curtailed due to a career move to Bass PLC in 1989.

Prior to my move to Bass I had spent 10 years in the Work Study and Operational Research Department working on a variety of internal consultancy projects at BSC's Sheffield, Rotherham and Wolverhampton steel plants. Throughout this period (1979 - 1989) the steel industry experienced a great deal of change and a massive reduction in capacity which resulted in steel plant closures and many redundancies. The manning reductions in the steel industry, from 255,000 in 1970 to 70,000 in 1984 resulted in a slimline steel industry which throughout the late 1980's became one of the most efficient and productive in the world. As an internal consultant I was involved in many of the change programmes which included the introduction of new technology and methods of working in a number of work areas which contained many different workplace cultures. I considered that my role as a work study engineer, which brought me into contact with many different cultures, as being an ideal observer role in which I could develop my research interest in the areas of management of change and the understanding of workplace cultures.

On joining Bass in February 1989 as Management Services Manager I became involved in management of change programmes throughout Bass North and in particular in the Distribution function where changes were being introduced across a wide geographical area which contained many diverse cultures. Throughout 1989 I developed close working and social relationships with all the Distribution Managers and the Distribution Director and became an accepted part of the Distribution management team. In view of my knowledge of the introduction of ' hard' systems and my interest in 'soft' systems I decided to put forward a research proposal to the Director of Information Technology and

the Director of Distribution. The initial aim of the research was to examine how to manage change effectively within such a large geographical area with such cultural diversity and diverse leadership styles.

The first meeting to discuss the PhD thesis proposal was with the Distribution Director of Bass North in January 1990. At this meeting discussions were centred around the problems being experienced by many Distribution Managers introducing changes in working practices in their respective depots. The changes were in response to an increasingly competitive climate in the Brewing industry partly induced by the Monopolies and Mergers Commission (MMC) Report into the Supply of Beer (March 1989). As a consequence many changes to working practices, including the introduction of staff status payment systems, flexible working arrangements, quality systems and customer service initiatives, were in the process of being introduced.

In view of the many changes ongoing in Bass and the specific problems in the Distribution function, it was agreed with the Distribution Director and his senior management team that the Phd thesis should focus on the Distribution Managers and the way they manage change in their particular depot. In particular the Distribution Director was interested in the difficulties associated with particular regional culture types and the approach and management style used by each manager to resolve the regional problems.

It was agreed that Phase 1 of the thesis, concurrent with a literature search, would involve data collection from the Distribution and Personnel Directors of Bass Brewers North and from the fifteen Distribution Managers. Additionally data collection by semi-structured interview and participant observation was concentrated on the Distribution Managers, access being facilitated by my role as Management Services Manager which brings me into frequent contact with the depot managers and their teams. In addition to the initial data collection, it was agreed that psychometric tests to determine a personality profile

should be carried out in order to identify links between leadership style, depot performance, and the depot culture type.

In phase 2 of the research, and following the findings that different subcultures exist in the 15 distribution depots, it was decided that the research should be concentrated on three different subculture types which were classified as being either counter, positive, or changing cultures. Additionally, at this stage of the thesis the research moved 'upwards' to include a measure of cultural dispersion and a view of the Bass corporate culture as perceived by the Bass Brewers Board. This involved semi-structured interviews with Headquarters management in Burton and managers in the other regions eg Scotland, Midlands and Bass South.

Geographically Bass Brewers (North) is defined by Liverpool in the West, Grimsby in the East and Newcastle in the North. The 15 depots are located throughout this region with all its cultural diversity associated with many years of traditional ways of working. In many of these geographical areas the Distribution Managers were experiencing resistance to change particularly from the larger, unionised urban depots where historically there had been years of traditional working and historical links with the brewing industry. Conversely in other depots in rural locations with historically little or no association with the brewing industry and traditional ways of working, there was little or no resistance to change. Culturally, although the depots could be simply classified as being a high or low resistance depot, all 15 depots were very different in their 'ways of working'. This was recognised by many of the managers who had worked in several of the Bass North depots and in other regions of Bass Brewers.

Although Bass continued to perform well following the MMC report, the Bass Brewers Board, under the new leadership of Dr Tony Portno (appointed July 1991), were determined to quickly adapt ahead of the competition to the new market conditions. To all major functions including the Distribution function, this involved cutting costs,

improving the quality of the product, improving customer services to internal and external customers, and tailoring the service and the Bass package to fit the customer's needs. One of the most important changes which affected the entire business was the move towards core process working which is a 'new' concept in organisation redesign and falls under the general heading of 'Business Process Re-engineering' (BPR).

Although BPR is considered to be the latest 'managerial fad' in reconceptualising and reconfiguring large organisations (Hammer 1990), many critics believe that BPR is no different from the time and motion concepts developed by Taylor, and organisational theory developed by Fayol, Sloan and Drucker (Thackeray 1993). However, Bass decided to invest in core process redesign, and with the help of the Mckinsey Consultancy planned to transform the organisation from functionally based structures to six core processes (see figure 1.1). This shows the six core processes and the activities within them. For example, in the past Production, Primary Distribution and Secondary Distribution were separate in the functional organisation. In the re-engineered process environment they all fall into the Logistics Core Process. The advantages of such an organisation are: reductions in supply chain costs; reductions in lead time and customer response time and overall improvements in customer service. Additionally savings are achieved through flatter organisation structures.

Although the planned changes are still incomplete, all the changes leading up to core process working were monitored throughout the thesis and in particular those in relation to the Distribution function.

Throughout the research period there was constant change in all parts of the business. As a result the research methodology had to be flexible in terms of including the many changes and their impact on the distribution function and Bass as a whole. A major change was the departure of the Distribution Director in 1992 who was also the main sponsor of the PhD thesis. As a result, links had to be made with two new Distribution

Directors, one appointed to Bass North East and one to cover Bass North West. In late 1993 the two Distribution Directors were replaced by an Operations Director who was given responsibility for Distribution and Production units in the whole of Bass North.

Figure 1.1 Bass Brewers Six Core Processes

Customer Service: JOINING | ORDERING | DELIVERY | INVOICING & INFORMATION | REPRESENTATION & OTHER ISSUES | QUERY HANDLING & COMMUNICATIONS | EXITING

Logistics: FORECASTING AND PLANNING — PROCUREMENT OF MATERIALS | BREWING | PACKAGING | PRIMARY DISTRIBUTION | SECONDARY DISTRIBUTION

Brands Portfolio Management: MARKETING MIX BY BRAND — PORTFOLIO PLANNING & STRATEGY | SOURCING OF BOUGHT IN PRODUCT | BRAND POSITIONING STRATEGY | PRODUCT SPECIFICATION | PACKAGING SPECIFICATION | PRICE | PROMOTION | PLACEMENT

New Product Development: PROJECT GENERATION — GENERATING DATA AND IDEAS | PREPARING PROJECT BRIEF | PROPOSITION DEVELOPMENT | LAUNCH PREPARATION

Funds Flow: CUSTOMER INVOICING | SUPPLIER PAYMENT | CAPITAL INVESTMENT | MANAGEMENT ACCOUNTS | FINANCIAL ACCOUNTS

Information: APPLICATION & PORTFOLIO PLANNING | BUSINESS REQUIREMENTS DEFINITION | SYSTEMS SOLUTION DEVELOPMENT | BUSINESS IMPLEMENTATION | DECISION SUPPORT INFORMATION PROVISION | INSTALLED SYSTEMS SUPPORT

1.2 Bass PLC - Historical Analysis and Change

The MMC report on 'the supply of beer' (1989), and the subsequent Beer Orders passed by parliament, led to a major restructuring of the UK brewing industry. Bass, as the largest company in the market with a 22% share, was severely affected and has gone through a four year period of change unprecedented in the company's history. The first decision, following the report was to separate the brewing operations from the pubs and create two separate operating companies, Bass Brewers and Bass Taverns. Within Bass PLC, Bass Brewers is the production, marketing and distribution division, and Bass Taverns is the retailing division. Following the restructuring, to comply with the MMC findings Bass had to dispose of approximately 2600 outlets from a total estate of 7200.

Excluding the mergers in the 1960's and early 1970's the UK brewing industry has had a high degree of stability. The results of the MMC report created a changing and competitive market where a clearer customer focus was required. This customer focus was a move for Bass from traditionally being production driven, to concentrate on customer service and quality at the distribution end of the business. Although the thesis concentrates primarily on the distribution function and the effect these changes are having on middle managers and their subordinates, the research covered Bass as a whole in order to understand the corporate view, and to compare and contrast the 'lower' and 'higher' management viewpoints. In order to understand the development of Bass PLC a detailed history of Bass was carried out.

An historical analysis, as identified by Pettigrew (1979), Schein (1984), Louis (1985), and Morgan (1986), is of significant importance when trying to understand the present situation and when developing future strategies. It is for this reason that a macro analysis of Bass PLC was carried out highlighting historical events, structures and environmental issues. The position of Bass Brewers within the corporate structure of Bass PLC, and the

activities of other divisions within the group were also analysed in order to understand the Bass business.

Bass Charrington was formed on 1st October 1967 as a result of a merger of Bass Charrington United Breweries and Bass Mitchells and Butlers. The new group, the largest brewing business in Europe, with fourteen breweries, approximately 8,000 pubs, together with 1,000 off-licences and hotels, supplied over 20% of the home market for beer and some 40% of UK beers for export. Although the present company was formed in 1967 as a result of several mergers, the Bass brewing business is a result of the amalgamation of 80 breweries spanning more than 200 years.

Charrington United Breweries and Bass Mitchells and Butlers were both the result of a series of mergers. Charrington's history goes back to the eighteenth century when the company first began to brew at Mile End in London. Under successive families of Charringtons the business expanded and in 1833 the business acquired the Stratford London Brewery of Stewart and Head, the first of many acquisitions. A hundred years later Charringtons was still growing. In that year it doubled in size by acquiring Hoare and Company and with it the now famous Toby Trade Mark and the red triangle.

In 1962 Charrington and Company, strongly represented in London and the South of England with over 2,500 Houses, merged with United Breweries of York to form Charrington United Breweries with over 5,000 outlets and became the largest brewing group in the country. Expansion continued for the next five years; J R Tennent of Glasgow, Offiliers of Derby, Masseys' Burnley Brewery and other similar concerns all joined the Charrington United group making it, at the time of the merger with Mitchells and Butlers, a company with great strength in Scotland, the North, London and the South East.

The formation of Bass Mitchells & Butler was the result of the merger in 1961, of Bass, Ratcliffe & Gretton of Burton and Mitchells & Butler of Birmingham. Bass, Ratcliffe & Gretton of Burton emerged from Bass and Company, founded by William Bass in 1777. Worthington & Company, which was founded in Burton by William Worthington in 1744, merged with Bass in 1926.

Bass and Worthington both built their success on the export trade at first to Europe and then to the Far East where large British military and civil service establishments provided a ready market. This was the origin of India Pale Ale which still appears on some labels.

Whilst Bass and Worthington were expanding, two other Midland Brewers, Henry Mitchell and William Butler were making names for themselves in Birmingham. They amalgamated in 1898 and steadily expanded, increasing their trade and owned outlets in Birmingham and the surrounding Midland areas. The Company also acquired other breweries including Atkinsons of Aston and W Butler of Wolverhampton.

In 1960 Mitchells & Butler merged with Bass, Ratcliffe & Gretton giving the Company a large nationwide free trade, particularly in Bass and Worthington beers, and a stronghold of outlets in the Midlands.

In 1987 Bass PLC once again strengthened its position by the acquisition of the Holiday Inn trade mark and assets outside the USA, Canada and Mexico. More recently in 1990, Bass PLC acquired the Holiday Inn business in North America, thereby making Bass the owner of the largest hotel system in the world
In the 200 year history of Bass PLC there have been many mergers involving approximately 80 different brewing organisations in all areas of the UK. Not surprisingly there are many different regional cultures which have a strong association with the pre-Bass owners and their ways of working. These historical links and the existence of

different culture types were highlighted in the fieldwork in the Distribution depots and are seen as a vital link in understanding and managing organisational cultures.

In the 1990's Bass PLC, with an annual turnover in 1992 of £4,036 M and profits before tax of £529 M, operates through several principle operating subsidiary companies whose activities include brewing, retailing, hotels, leisure, and soft drinks.

Figure 1.2 shows the comparative sizes of the six operating units in respect of turnover, operating profit, and the average number of employees.

Figure 1.2 - Comparative Sizes of the Operating Divisions of Bass PLC

Operating Division	Turnover £ million	Operating Profit £ million	Average Number of Employees
Bass Brewers	1,594	210	8,080
Bass Taverns	1,091	174	40,681
Holiday Inns	510	116	14,228
Bass Leisure	974	65	14,014
Britvic	442	45	3,766
Other Activities	241	2	3,326
Totals	4,852	612	84,095

Source 1992 Bass Accounts

Bass Brewers is the production and distribution part of the business, the Company operates from ten breweries and 40 distribution depots throughout Great Britain and Northern Ireland which produce and deliver some of the best known quality brands in the beer and lager market today, eg., Carling Black Label, Tennent's Extra Lager, Stones Best Bitter, Draught Bass, Tennent's L.A.. Appendix 1 shows the geographically dispersed Distribution depots in Bass North some of which have long histories of traditional brewing. The brewing sector contributes to 50% of the Company turnover through its sales in pubs, clubs, shops, and supermarkets.

Bass Taverns is the division responsible for the managed, leased, and tenanted pubs owned by the group, this is in addition to ownership of Toby restaurants and hotels.

Holiday Inns, the hotels division is the world's largest hotel operator, with 1,636 hotels and 325,848 guest rooms in more than 50 countries.

Bass Leisure operates 158 bingo clubs under the brand name of Gala a company incorporating the former Coral and Granada businesses. The division also manufactures, supplies and operates Barcrest amusement and gaming machines. The 916 Coral betting shops throughout the UK are part of this division.

Britvic Soft Drinks is the second largest producer of still and carbonated soft drinks in the UK producing in excess of 1 billion litres per year in a total market of 8.5 billion litres. The company is controlled by Bass, the largest shareholder.

Other Activities include 600 Augustus Barnet off-licences, the Chateau Lascombes vineyard in Bordeaux, and a major property company - Bass Developments.

Although Bass has performed extremely well following the DTI Beer Orders, half year profits for 1993 showed a 14% drop in pre-tax profits from £266m to £228m. This performance was a further indication of the tougher competition in the Brewing Industry. For the Distribution function this has a knock-on effect of tighter controls and further spending cuts which the depot managers and their subordinates will have to manage.

1.3   Monopolies and Mergers Commission Report (MMC) 1989

The purpose of the MMC investigation 'the supply of beer' (1989) was to report on whether a monopoly situation existed in relation to the supply of beer for retail sale in the United Kingdom. The MMC concluded that a monopoly did exist in favour of those

brewers who own tied houses or who have tying agreements with free houses in return for loans at favourable interest rates. The Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) orders which followed the issue of the MMC report caused a major rethink and new strategic look at the way many Brewing Organisations operate. Humphreys (1991 p70) made the point that "there is little doubt that the British brewing industry is currently undergoing its most radical change since Henry II introduced the first beer taxes to pay for the crusades". The recommendations of the MMC were as follows:-

* there was not to be a complete abolition of the tie, but a ceiling of 2,000 on the number of on-licensed premises, whether public houses, hotels or any other type of on-licensed outlet, which any brewing company or group may own. This recommendation was later amended to relinquishing half of the number of licensed premises above 2,000.

* all loan ties were to be eliminated.

* in order to improve the market opportunity in the tenanted trade, a tenant should be allowed to purchase a minimum of one brand of draught beer from a supplier other than his landlord.

* tenancies of all on-licensed premises should be brought within the provisions of the Landlord and Tenant Act 1954 Part II.

* brewers should publish wholesale price lists for the on-licensed trade which set out the discounts that are generally available.

In conclusion, the MMC believed that these measures would increase competition in brewing, wholesaling and retailing, encourage new entry, reduce prices and widen

consumer choice. At the same time it would preserve the good features of the present system such as the variety of local beers available to the consumer.

To bring the Group into line with the Department of Trade and Industry's new regulations, three options faced Bass: it could sell it's brewing interests; or sell it's pub-retail interests; or sell or lease, free from tie, about 2,600 on-licensed premises. After six months the Bass Board decided to go for the third option on the strength of detailed research which confirmed the Group's feeling that it was equally strong in both brewing and pub retailing. It was necessary to review carefully the relationship between these two business activities and the other businesses within the Group, in order to evaluate which course of action would be in the best interests of the employees, customers and shareholders.

The MMC report clearly had a great impact on Bass and was the point at which the critical examination of the business operations commenced. In functions such as Distribution 'taking the lid off' their operations and critically examining working methods revealed a mixture of subcultures, working practices and management styles which proved difficult to understand and even more difficult to control or change.

1.4   **Bass Brewers North - Distribution Function**

At the start of the research the Distribution Managers reported to the Distribution Director through an intermediate level of senior Regional Distribution Managers (see Appendix 1). As a result of a major reorganisation and a move to flatter structures this management level was taken out giving the Distribution Manager a direct link to the Director. A further re-organisation in 1992 split Bass North into two separate regions Bass North East and Bass North West, this created two Distribution Director positions in the Bass North area. A 'final' restructure, which is in line with core process working and planned for late 1993, is the amalgamation of both production and distribution functions to form a Logistics department. Within this function production and distribution

managers report to an Operations Director. The object of the exercise is to reduce functional conflicts by having one core process (logistics) which covers the whole supply chain.

Bass has a wide geographical distribution network which covers all parts of the country and includes Northern Ireland. All distribution depots, which are BS5750 accredited, operate retail fleets which handle deliveries of beer, wines and spirits, and soft drinks to the local customer base. The deliveries to the outlet tend to be once per week depending on the size of the pub, the delivery day being specified by the customer. The loads are delivered 48 hours after order intake by trained draymen who also provide a cellar management service, this includes the collection of empties and returned beer.

Following the MMC report and the subsequent restructuring of many functions, the distribution function, along with technical services, tele-sales and the sales function, became classified strategically as 'customer facing' groups. The idea being to provide better customer service and obtain rapid feedback of problems from the customer.

The Distribution function is a key part of the Bass Brewers business and is the link between beer production and delivery to the end customer. In the Bass North region there are 15 depots with each Distribution manager controlling operations through junior managers and supervisors who in turn supervise a unionised workforce (TGWU) consisting mainly of warehouse operatives and delivery drivers (draymen).

Basically, the Distribution function is involved in order collection, planning, stock control, vehicle routeing and scheduling, and the organisation and motivation of a large workforce. Depot manning levels vary from small depots approximately 20 manning and large depots over 100 manning. Overall the Distribution function is very labour intensive and is a major proportionate cost of the product price. The role of the Distribution manager in the function is to provide a high level of customer service within an agreed

budget and maintain good industrial relations. The latter being extremely important to the continued flow of beer through the supply chain.

Although Bass historically has been a conservative and traditional business, the Company is changing, becoming diverse and responding to issues in the environment. As the market became more competitive, there was a greater need for managers to reduce costs and implement changes in line with company objectives. Bass remains a strong profitable company and appears to be aware of the business environment and of what needs to be done within the business to maintain it's leading position within the Brewing Industry.

The current dynamic situation in the Brewing Industry is clearly affecting the way in which managers at all levels manage change. As Bass moves from a relatively simple static position towards increasing complexity, managers are having to adapt and manage change effectively. It is the managers at the 'middle' levels in the organisation who are at the sharp end of the changes and are the managers who are expected to successfully implement change.

In the Distribution function changes over a four year period include:-

*   A complete restructuring of the function in terms of Depot size and manning requirements.

*   A flatter organisation structure with fewer layers of management and supervisors.

*   A reduction in the number of depots required within each region.

*   The introduction of Total Quality Management and BS 5750 accreditation.

* The introduction of customer service initiatives.

* A review of payment systems and a move towards the 'staff status' operative.

* The introduction of a Distribution Information Systems (DIS).

* A very high turnover of senior and middle managers.

Many of the above changes were a direct result of the MMC report coupled with a general change in market conditions currently seriously affecting the brewing industry. To a great extent the changes were initiated and controlled from central Headquarters.

1.5 Management Services Manager's Role

The Management Services function plays a major role in identifying areas where potential cost benefits and improvements to performance can be made in all areas of the business. In my role as the Management Services Manager and as head of the function, I regularly consult with Directors and Senior Managers to establish support required for the development of strategic plans, implementation of organisational and operational changes and the monitoring of the impact of changes on performance. In addition to the close links with senior management the Management Services Manager has close links with Trade Union officials at negotiating meetings and operatives on project work and site visits.

Throughout the research this close relationship and trust with the Directors, Managers and their subordinates has been used to understand and explore, in both formal and informal settings, the multifaceted aspects of the Bass culture. In the Distribution function, for example, the many meetings at a local depot level and at conferences where all distribution managers were present, were used to covertly observe behaviour and to

discuss in both informal and formal settings all aspects of the function. Their initial concern about my line of questioning and the overall purpose of the research quickly became one of interest in my findings. As the relationships developed many managers became more relaxed about the purpose of the research and were quite prepared to discuss depot culture related problems and the wider issues relating to the Bass culture as a whole.

In addition to my role in Bass North, I was also project manager for many National projects covering all functions within Bass Brewers. This gave me access to a much wider research source and not specifically in the Distribution function. Using Bass North as a bench mark this enabled me to compare other regional cultures with the North and also compare the regional cultures with the Burton Headquarters culture.

Management Services personnel are trained work study engineers in techniques directly associated with 'scientific management'. Although 'scientific management' or 'Taylorism' is considered to be 'dehumanising' in terms of task simplification, the techniques are widely used and 'accepted' by management and the Trade Unions within the Bass organisation. Work study engineers are also trained to observe human activity, although the approach is very different from that of the behavioural scientist, this background training proved to be very useful in the fieldwork.

Throughout the research I have had to wear two very different hats. Firstly the hat of the work study engineer who views human behaviour and work from a mechanistic stand point with a view to identifying and providing the most efficient way of working. Secondly the hat of the behavioural scientist who relates human behaviour and efficiency to attitudes, beliefs and values. Although the two philosophies appear to be poles apart they have one common goal, that is, organisational efficiency. Many times during the research my professional role as Management Services Manager was in direct conflict with my role as researcher. It became difficult at times to stand back and observe the

multifaceted aspects of a culture which I was a member. Additionally my role as Management Services Manager caused people from whom I took data to be more guarded than they otherwise might have been. The problems of a manager carrying out research within his own organisation clearly has both advantages and disadvantages, these are discussed in further detail in Chapter 3 under research methodologies.

1.6   The Thesis Structure

The thesis contains seven Chapters which explain the business in which Bass operates and the problems, particularly in the Distribution function, which have resulted from both internal and external changes. The management of these changes and the effect that regional subcultures have had on the process is the main focus of the thesis. The problems relating to culture control, and in particular the control of regional subcultures, are viewed from the bottom of the hierarchy rather than from the top. The researching of cultures from a 'bottom up' perspective highlights the plight of the middle manager who controls his regional subculture within the constraints of a centrally command driven organisation. Cultures when viewed from a senior management perspective and top down tend not to recognise subcultures or the difficulties encountered by middle managers who implement uniform strategies dictated from central Headquarters.

The thesis is structured as follows:-

CHAPTER ONE - Introduction

This chapter is a brief introduction to Bass PLC and the Distribution function and the changes which have taken place over the years, and as a result of the MMC report on 'the supply of beer' (1989). A description of the role of the Management Services function has been included in order to highlight my particular links with other functions of the

business as the Management Services Manager. Also included in this chapter is a thesis structure outlining the approach taken throughout the research.

CHAPTER TWO - Organisational Cultures - Concepts, Theories and Research

In order to understand the complexities and diverse concepts of culture, as applied to organisations, a detailed research programme was carried out into past and current cultures. The first part of the Chapter is an examination of the links between cultural anthropology, organisational theory and the popular corporate culture studies. Drawing on current popular views and methodologies, a review was then carried out on the approach used to study cultures in organisational settings. The final section of the Chapter covers the debate between the single homogeneous culture and the viewing of culture from a multicultural view point.

CHAPTER THREE - Research Methodology

This Chapter is a detailed account of the methodologies used throughout the research. The research methodology used to analyse and understand the cultural and managerial differences in the Distribution depots, was broadly based on methods used in ethnographic studies within an inductivist framework. Covert and overt participant observation techniques were supplemented by semi-structured interviews at the regional level and at the Burton Headquarters. The main findings from the research were supported by statistical analysis, collection of life histories, psychometric testing and general observations. Although a clearly defined research approach was planned at the beginning of the research, because of the many changes occurring throughout the research, a flexible methodological approach was used.

CHAPTER FOUR - Fieldwork - Bass Cultures 15 Distribution Depots

This Chapter is a detailed account of the first stage of the fieldwork which was carried out in the 15 Bass Brewers North Distribution depots. Detailed 'culture audits' were carried out in each depot and revealed the existence of subcultures, some of which were supportive and others subversive in relation to the Bass 'corporate culture' as perceived by the board. Based on participant observation, historical analysis and interviews, the cultural differences in the regional depots were categorised as being either counter, enhancing or changing cultures. The differences in the depots, for example, the beliefs and values, leadership styles and the high or low resistance to change, stemmed from the different subculture types.

CHAPTER FIVE - Fieldwork - Subculture and Corporate Culture Analysis

Following the identification of the three subculture groupings, a more detailed analysis was carried out in three representative depots and compared and contrasted with the Bass Brewers culture as a whole. The objective of this analysis was to ascertain the degree to which the beliefs and values of the core culture are dispersed throughout the three subculture groupings. In order to assess cultural dispersion, interviews were conducted with managers and their subordinates in the different subcultures and in other regions i.e. Bass Scotland, Bass South and Burton Headquarters.

CHAPTER SIX - Culture Management and Organisational Performance

Culture management and culture change programmes are linked by the many proponents of culture control to superior performance levels and competitive advantage. This Chapter is a review and discussion of the past research carried out in three key areas: culture management and leadership; cultural change; and cultural impact on outcomes. The key questions addressed in this Chapter are can culture be managed or changed, and

assuming culture or parts of it can be changed, what effect if any has this on organisational performance? Additionally the detailed interviews with senior and middle level managers within Bass, and the analysis carried out at local distribution level, is used to focus on the three key areas of leadership, culture change and performance.

CHAPTER SEVEN - An Insider's Perspective of an Organisation's Culture and Subcultures - A Conclusion

The concluding Chapter is a review of the thesis findings based on an insider's view of the methodological approach to the research, understanding and control of organisational subcultures. The Chapter draws on the conclusions from the main sections of the thesis to formulate overall conclusions and identify further research in the area of subcultures in organisational settings. Additionally, the contribution of the thesis to existing knowledge is highlighted and various models are presented which provide a clearer understanding of subcultures in organisations. In line with the contribution of the thesis to existing knowledge, the three main sections of the Chapter covers: the methodological approach used by a manager, as an insider, carrying out research in his own organisation; the impact and importance of subcultures on management of change, and the implications for Bass on the thesis findings on culture, subcultures and managerial control.

1.7   Conclusion

This Chapter has given a brief overview of the long history and tradition of brewing under the trade name of Bass, and has highlighted changes over the years and up to the current situation. The importance of understanding the history and traditional ways of working at Bass will become apparent throughout the thesis as this is a key issue in understanding the origins of the various subcultures and how they have developed and changed over the years. There had been little significant changes in working practices in the brewing industry up to the 1989 MMC report. The MMC report and the subsequent

DTI orders has had a significant effect on Bass and other major brewers in the UK. The report, which increased competition, forced Bass to introduce strategic change which resulted in a change in their traditional ways of working.

As the Bass organisation restructured itself and placed a strategic focus on customer service, the Distribution function became part of a major change programme. The thesis focuses on the Distribution function which throughout the research went through a great deal of change. The response to the changes and the management of the changes within what is a multicultural organisation was monitored as part of the thesis focus. Changes of the magnitude experienced by functions in Bass are rarely monitored 'as it happens', in this case I was fortunate to be carrying out research during an unprecedented period of change.

My role as Management Services Manager in the Bass North region and on National projects, enabled me to carry out detailed research in all areas of the business. From this position I was able to compare cultural differences and validate my findings from the fieldwork in the regional Distribution Depots. Theoretical development stemmed from the source data collected throughout the Bass organisation and the use of qualitative data analysis. Although my role gave me access to observe and collect data, the nature of the role i.e. work study, made informants cautious when supplying data and answering questions. Much of this caution was in part due to the perception and links between Management Services and efficiency, which for many years has been associated with increased worker utilisation levels, de-skilling and manning reductions. Working and developing theory from an insider's perspective in this situation was therefore not an easy task. This situation was exacerbated by the fact that the organisation was going through many changes and many employees were concerned about their position in the organisation.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER ONE

Farrar S (1988)

Materials Management in Manufacturing Organisations - Unpublished MSc Dissertation - Sheffield Business School

Hawkins K H (1978)

A History of Bass Charrington - University Press, Oxford.

Hammer M (1990)

Re-engineering Work: Don't Automate, Obliterate - Harvard Business Review July/August pp 104-112

Humphreys R (1991)

Bass view on the changing beer market - Brewing and Distilling International September pp70-71

Louis M R (1985)

An Investigator's Guide to Workplace Culture -in- Organisational Culture ed. P J Frost et al, Sage Publications.

Morgan G(1986)

Images of Organisations - Sage Publications

Monopolies and Mergers Commission Report (1989)

The Supply of Beer - A report on the supply of beer for retail sale in the United Kingdom. Her Majesty's Stationary Office

Owen C C (1992)

The Greatest Brewery in the World - A History of Bass, Ratcliffe and Gretton Derbyshire Record Society Vol XIX.

Pettigrew A M (1979)

On Studying Organisational Cultures - Administrative Science Quarterly 24 pp 570-581

Schein E H (1984)

Coming to a New Awareness of Organisational Culture - Sloan Management Review, pp 3-16

Thackeray J (1993)

Fads, Fixes, and fictions - Management Today June pp 40-42

CHAPTER 2

ORGANISATIONAL CULTURES - CONCEPTS, THEORIES AND RESEARCH

CHAPTER TWO

2. <u>Organisational Cultures - Concepts, Theories and Research</u>

The concept of culture in organisational settings has been found by academics, consultants and managers to be both complex and difficult to define. Although the word culture is now very much a part of the manager's vocabulary, generally used in the context of 'changing' existing or 'creating' new cultures, the concepts and theories of this relatively new phenomenon in organisations, are extremely diverse and little understood by the managers themselves. It is evident that, ten years on from the popular best selling writings of Peters and Waterman, 'In search of excellence', Deal and Kennedy, 'Corporate Cultures' and Ouchi, 'Theory Z', the notion of culture management is still in vogue and considered by top management to be feasible, and an essential feature of management of change. Gaining control of, and being able to manipulate an organisation's culture is considered by many authors and managers to greatly influence corporate effectiveness. The popularity of the corporate culture concept within organisations continues despite criticisms by many academics, who consider that the possibility of managing culture as a control mechanism has a pro-management bias and lacks the support of empirically sound research data, for example, Meek (1988), Gregory (1983), Smircich (1983), Johnson and Gill (1993).

The main focus of this thesis is to put forward a theory which argues, firstly that, large complex organisations are composed of multiple possibly conflicting cultures, and secondly that, an organisation's corporate culture and it's subcultures cannot be readily changed. It is also argued that any attempts to 'quickly' change an organisation's culture(s) are not likely to succeed. Although many changes to working practices may be perceived as being culture control as a result of behavioural compliance, successful changes need to be internalised. It is argued

throughout this thesis that internalisation of changes is more likely to result from a move away from centrally command driven structures towards the empowering of middle managers to manage their own subculture(s) within broad parameters. In order to achieve any success in culture change programmes, a clearer understanding of the concepts of culture is required by managers at all levels.

The Chapter has three main sections which provide an understanding of the diverse concepts of culture which have been taken from anthropology and developed in the field of business and management. The first section provides a clearer understanding of the various schools of thought relating to cultural anthropology and organisational theory, and analyses the conceptualisation, interpretation, and definition of culture in both areas of anthropology and organisations. The second section examines the plethora of research carried out on the single 'monolithic' corporate culture and the link between strong cultures, 'excellent companies' and enhanced performance. The third section examines the 'pluralistic' view of culture in terms of multiple cultures and subcultural perspectives.

2.1   <u>Cultural Anthropology and Organisational Theory</u>

It is not surprising that managers, when asked to define culture, interpret the meaning and specify the characteristics in many different ways. The extensive literature on the culture concept, in which researchers and authors interpret, conceptualise and define culture, is extremely diffuse. Sackmann (1992, p141) argues that many authors tend to explain and use the variety of concepts in different ways, "creating some conceptual confusion and ambiguity".

Definitions of culture, in both the anthropological and organisational theory literature, are wide ranging with no real consensus on its meaning. Kroeber and Kluckhohn

(1952) for example, are often cited in the literature for their list of over 250 definitions. Definitions vary depending on the researchers association or leanings towards a particular anthropological or management school, and the researcher's personal assumptions made about organisation and culture:

"Culture is that <u>complex whole</u> which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, law, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society " (Tylor 1924 p1).

"Corporate culture is <u>a pattern of shared beliefs and values</u> that shapes the meaning of an institution for its members and provides them with rules for behaviour" (Davis 1985 p138).

"Culture is <u>a system of historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols,</u> a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life" (Geertz 1973 p89).

The last definition, relating to the understanding of culture as systems of shared meanings, is from the symbolic school of anthropology which is one of several cultural perspectives taken from the field of anthropology and used to research and interpret organisational cultures. In addition to the infinite number of definitions and in view of the evasive nature of the culture concept, it has also been referred to as 'being akin to a black hole which allows no light to escape' (Maanan 1988) 'the invisible barrier' (Lorsch 1986) and 'the missing link' (Kilmann (1986). These definitions and recent references lead many 'nonanthropologists' to assume that there has been no real progress in conceptualising culture since Benedict's book 'Patterns of Culture' in 1934, implying that "the concept is outdated and ambiguous and that its use is an indicator of obscurantism in anthropology" (LeVine 1985 p67).

Although there is no clear consensus on the definition of culture in either areas of social anthropology or organisational theory, over the years there has been separately recognised and combined characteristics of the organisational culture construct (Hofstede et al 1990 p286): it is holistic, historically determined, related to anthropological concepts, socially constructed, 'soft' and difficult to change. These characteristics and many more identified throughout the literature are the subject of debate between academics and managers who pursue the culture concept from many different angles.

Although the link between cultural anthropology and the concept of organisational culture is an important one it is also a 'fuzzy' one. In order to understand the concept of culture in organisational settings a clearer understanding of the anthropological origins is required.

Historically the social anthropologists' main research interest has been, and still is, in the way men live as members of ordered societies. To this end the anthropologist seeks to identify and understand the 'structure' of the society and the 'processes' of social interaction within it. Generally, the fieldwork approach used to research and understand the culture of these societies varies depending on the anthropologists particular 'school'. However, the direct contact ethnographic approach of extended 'participant observation' is widely used. Anthropologists use this approach, representing themselves as "marginal natives" (Freilich, 1970) or "professional strangers" (Agar, 1980), in order to understand the complex behaviour patterns and systems of meanings of the research subjects from an insider's perspective. A key metaphor for the anthropologist and one which is often quoted in varying forms in the organisational culture literature is the viewing of the world, societies or organisations as a stage, theatre or arena in which the behaviour patterns of the actors are researched. The actual ethnography is the written account of the observer's experience and interpretation of the culture from a native view point. In the

management field anthropologist Gregory (1983) recommends the native-view approach to corporate culture studies as it avoids, in her view, the pro-management bias stemming from the structural-functionalist school.

Throughout the literature on cultural anthropology familiar manifestations of culture, currently being used in the corporate culture studies, can be found ie symbols, norms, myths, values, beliefs, ritual, artefacts, and stories.

Although Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown are considered to be the founders of social anthropology in Britain and are linked by many writers to the current corporate culture studies through their functionalism and structural functionalism theories, several other schools exist and have greatly influenced past and current organisational research and theory.

Many authors have presented a précis of these different schools of thought within cultural anthropology and then linked this to past and current approaches to research into organisational cultures eg. Pettigrew (1979), Gregory (1983), Smircich (1983), Allaire & Firsirotu (1984), Meek (1988), Barley Meyer & Gash (1988), Hofstede et al (1990) and Sackmann (1992). For example, Smircich in summarising the various anthropological schools, identifies five distinct areas in which the concept of culture has been used to research organisations, linking this to cultural anthropology, management research and organisational theory. In two of the five areas, the study of cultural differences in organisations and different countries, and the study of corporate cultures, culture is linked to the anthropological areas of functionalism and structural functionalism represented by Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown respectively.

These two areas are considered by Smircich to represent the viewing of culture by current researchers as a variable. In the remaining three areas, covering

organisational cognition, organisational symbolism, and unconscious processes,

Smircich links these to the cognitive (ethnoscience), symbolic, and structuralist

schools represented by Goodenough, Geertz, and Levi-Strauss respectively. These

three areas are allocated the second category of viewing organisational culture as a

'root metaphor' for conceptualising organisation. These two distinct areas of research

and theories are considered by Smircich as either, viewing culture in terms of

something an organisation has, (from a variable perspective) or, in terms of what an

organisation is (from an interpretative perspective).

Allaire & Firsirotu (1984, p194), in line with work carried out by Keesing (1974),

and Swartz and Jordan (1980), identify eight schools and divide the various cultural

anthropologists' views into two major theoretical classifications, firstly as a

component of the social system (sociocultural) and secondly as a conceptually

separate system (ideational). Keesing (1981 p68), refers to the sociocultural system

as "the pattern of residence and resource exploitation characteristic of people", and

the ideational system as "systems of shared ideas, systems of concepts and rules and

meanings that underlie and are expressed in the ways that humans live". These two

distinct areas had been earlier clarified by Goodenough (1961), who argues that

anthropologists use the term culture to relate to two distinct meanings, firstly relating

culture to observable phenomena and secondly to an organised system of ideas and

beliefs. Sathe (1986, p234) uses the term 'adaptationist' rather than 'sociocultural'

when referring to culture as "what is directly observable about patterns of behaviour,

speech, and material objects", and identifies the ideational school with what is shared

in community members' minds (beliefs, values, and ideas).

In addition to the variable and interpretative perspectives, Sanday (1979), Sackmann

(1992) consider the 'holistic' style of study which is linked to configurationalists

Benedict and Mead, and funtionalists Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown. This

approach attempts to integrate several aspects of the culture concept, including

cognitive, behavioural, emotive and artefactual, and considers it as one unified whole (Sackmann 1992, p18). This approach involves 'viewing' both the intangible and tangible aspects of culture in order to gain an understanding of the cultural whole. Sackmann considers this approach to be difficult in terms of requiring extended ethnographic research, and argues that many researchers tend to focus on either the tangible or intangible aspects of the organisation's culture. Referring to Sanday's work, Gregory (1983) splits the holistic approach into 'explanatory holistic paradigms' (linking this to the structural-functional paradigm) and 'interpretative holistic paradigms' (linking this to the interpretative configurationalist theories of Boas and Benedict). Although Gregory criticises this perspective, an integrated approach to the culture concept, and bringing together the variable and interpretative modes of research, may be more sensible than concentrating on one perspective.

Sackmann (1992), for example, considers that a more simplistic approach to the complex concept of culture may help to unravel the complexities and resolve the many definitional conflicts. This approach to the understanding of culture as an integrated whole is not a new concept and has been the subject of considerable debate in both cultural anthropology and organisational theory. However, in applying the holistic perspective and considering culture as an integrated whole, an organisation's sub-cultures should be recognised and researched as important parts of that whole.

Meyerson and Martin (1987) consider three very different views of culture and culture change in organisations. They argue that the three approaches to culture research can be described as: integration; differentiation and ambiguity.
In the integration paradigm the focus is on the shared value philosophy of senior management as prescribed by Peters and Waterman (1982) and Deal and Kennedy (1982). Three key issues are highlighted in the integration paradigm, "consistency across cultural manifestations, consensus among cultural members, and - usually - a focus on leaders as culture creators" (Meyerson and Martin (1987 p625).

In the second paradigm differentiation, in contrast to integration, emphasis is on cultural diversity and the importance of subcultures in organisations. Within this approach "organisations are not simply a single, monolithic dominant culture. Instead, a culture is composed of a collection of values and manifestations, some of which may be contradictory" (Meyerson and Martin 1987 p630).

The third paradigm ambiguity, contrasts with integration and differentiation in terms of the acceptance of ambiguity. Meyerson and Martin (1987 p637) argue that in the third paradigm culture is neither harmonious or made up of conflicting subcultures. Rather, "individuals share some viewpoints, disagree about some, and are ignorant or indifferent to others".

Although the theories relating to cultural anthropological research are diverse the current corporate culture and organisational studies can be split into three distinct conceptual approaches, styles or perspectives. Although there is considerable overlap in both definition and use, the three perspectives can be broadly grouped into 'variable' 'interpretative' and 'holistic'. (see Figure 2.1)

The diagram shows the anthropological and organisational theory links as identified by Allaire and Firsirotu (1984) Smircich (1983) and Sackmann (1992), and draws on distinctions made by Goodenough (1961), Keesing (1974, 1981) and Swartz and Jordan (1980) in relation to the sociocultural and ideational approaches to the use of term culture.

The current research approaches have been sectioned into three distinct culture research areas of comparative, corporate and organisational culture studies. The comparative management studies are represented for example, by the work of Hofstede (1980) Ouchi (1981). The corporate culture studies are, for example, represented by the plethora of research carried by Peters and Waterman, and the

organisation studies are represented for instance by the works of Gregory and Smircich. A distinction has been made between 'corporate culture studies' and 'organisational culture studies' in order to differentiate the 'managerialist' literature from the 'interpretative' view of the culture concept. Although it is accepted that there is considerable overlap in the many perspectives, the integrated and differentiated paradigms of Meyerson and Martin (1987) are considered to be linked to the variable and interpretative perspectives respectively. It is also recognised that the integrated approach can be linked to the holistic approach which views culture as an integrated whole.

Figure 2.1 attempts to simplify the complexities of cultural anthropology and relate it to the current corporate and organisational studies. The general debate when researching organisational cultures is the question of variability ie can culture be managed, manipulated or created to satisfy corporate objectives? or is it something which is "deeply embedded in the contextual richness of the total social life of organisational members" (Meek 1988 p463). The former view can be described as a "managerialist" or "pro-management" approach to culture and can be broadly linked to anthropologists who view culture as an "sociocultural system". This view is also linked to the Human Relations school of management who consider culture as an organisational variable which can be controlled to satisfy management needs. The latter view leans more towards the approach taken by anthropologists who view culture as an "ideational" system, and the researchers who view culture from an interpretative stand point.

CULTURE CONCEPTS - ANTHROPOLOGICAL, ORGANISATIONAL AND CURRENT RESEARCH LINKS

re 2.1

	FUNCTIONALIST	STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONALIST	HISTORICAL DIFFUSIONIST (Historical Particularist)	ECOLOGICAL ADAPTATIONIST (Cultural Materialism)	COGNITIVE (Ethnoscience)	STRUCTURALIST	MUTUAL EQUIVALENCE	SYMBOLISM (Semiotic)
ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCHOOLS								
ANTHROPOLOGICAL THEORISTS	Malinowski (1944)	Radcliffe-Brown (1952)	Boas (1948) Benedict (1934) Kroeber (1917)	Steward (1955) White (1959) Harris (1964)	Goodenough (1971)	Levi-Strauss	Wallace	Turner (1967) Geertz (1973)
MANAGEMENT SCHOOLS	HUMAN RELATIONS / SELF ACTUAL-ISING MAN	COMPLEX MAN	-	OPEN SYSTEMS / CONTINGENCY THEORY	ORG CLIMATE / ORG LEARNING	-	-	-
MANAGEMENT THEORISTS	Mayo, Roethlisberger et al, Maslow, McGregor, Likert, Argyris	Schein, Bennis	Chandler	Katz & Kahn Lawrence & Lorch	Schnieder Argyris & Schon	March & Simon		
CURRENT RESEARCH APPROACHES	COMPARATIVE MANAGEMENT STUDIES	CORPORATE CULTURE STUDIES			ORGANISATIONAL STUDIES			
CURRENT AUTHORS	Hofstede (1980) Pascale & Athos (1981) Ouchi (1981)	Schwartz & Davis (1981) Peters & Waterman (1982) Deal & Kennedy (1982)			Smircich (1983) Morgan (1980) Gregory (1983) Sackman (1990)			

ORGANISATIONAL CULTURE-CONCEPTUAL APPROACH

INTEGRATION ———— DIFFERENTIATION

VARIABLE PERSPECTIVE ———— INTERPRETATIVE PERSPECTIVE

< ————————————— H O L I S T I C   P E R S P E C T I V E ————————————— >

Sociocultural System (culture is what an organisation has)

Ideational System (culture is what an organisation is)

Generic Constructs (culture is viewed as a whole)

A significant major shift in cultural anthropological thinking occurred in the mid 50's with a move from 'culture as behaviourism' to 'culture as knowledge'. This division between the behaviourist and cognitive schools is still an issue for debate in both anthropological and organisational areas.

As identified in Figure 2.1, the different conceptual approaches of variable versus interpretative or sociocultural versus ideational and the holistic integrated perspective, are underpinned by eight anthropological schools. These are discussed briefly below:

Functionalism

The history of functionalism is firmly linked to the work of Malinowski (1944) and Radcliffe-Brown (1952), who although they differed in their derivatives of culture, were both interested in the viewing of culture as a 'complex integrated whole'. Their main differences stemmed from their respective definitions and understanding of 'function', and its relationship with 'social structure'. Malinowski for example, did not relate function to social structure and believed that culture could be explained or is derived from the biological needs of man. Radcliffe-Brown on the other hand considered that any definition of functionalism should include reference to social structure, arguing that function was the "contribution" an institution makes to the maintenance of social structure (Sanday, 1979 p. 530). This stance gave birth to the theories relating to the structural functionalist school of which Radcliffe-Brown (1949, p.322) wrote "this theory of society in terms of structure and process, interconnected by function has nothing in common with the theory of culture as derived from individual biological needs".

The viewing of organisational culture as an organisational 'variable' has its roots mainly in the anthropological areas of functionalism, (Malinowski 1944) and Structural-functionalism, (Radcliffe-Brown 1952). The functionalist paradigm

having great influence on classical management and contingency theory over the years and on the recent emergence of corporate culture studies. Burrell & Morgan (1979 p26) consider that functionalism "is characterised by a concern for providing explanations of the status quo, social order, consensus, solidarity, and actuality. It approaches these general sociological concerns from a standpoint which tends to be realist, positivist, determinist, and nomothetic".

The anthropological roots of functionalism are linked by many authors to past management theorists in organisation theory and development eg. Jacques (1952), Harrison (1972), Mayo (1933), Roethlisberger and Dickson (1939), Maslow (1954), and McGregor (1960). For example, Gregory (1983) considers that there is very little difference between these past theorists and the approach taken to the current corporate culture studies. Meek (1988), Smircich (1983), and many others agree with Gregory and link the current corporate culture studies to the structural-functionalist and functionalist schools of anthropology.

Historical Diffusionist

The historical diffusionist school or historical particularism as it is sometimes referred, stems primarily from the work of Boas, Benedict and Mead. Although this school and its theorists are similar to Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski, in their study of culture as a 'complex integrated whole' the historical diffusionist school was more interested in the historical nature of culture, in terms of historical reconstruction, and the relationship between historical factors and cultural transformation. Allaire and Firsirotu (1984, p202) link this school, although not directly, to the study of organisations "as historically produced sociocultural systems", and identify the closely related work of Chandler (1962, 1977), Stinchcombe (1965) and Filey and House (1969). More recently the work of Schein (1983), considers the notion of culture formation and historical transformation of values, norms and beliefs from the

original founder of the organisation through generations of owners and managers. In further work (1984 p13) he argues that "by constructing a careful organisational biography from documents, interviews, and perhaps even surveys of present and past key members, it is possible to identify the major periods of culture formation".

Ecological Adaptationist

The Ecological adaptationist or cultural materialism school is represented by the work of Steward (1955), White (1959), and Harris (1964). The theorists within this school stress the important link between ecological adaptation and culture formation. Harris (1964), for example, considers that the development of cultural traditions and customs is governed by the biological needs for survival within the environment, and that the maintenance of an adaptive relationship is the key. Allaire and Firsirotu link this environmental adaptation school to the open systems theory of Katz and Kahn (1966) and contingency theory of Lawrence and Lorch (1967) and Burns and Stalker (1961).

Cognitive

The cognitive (ethnoscience) school was pioneered to a great extent by Goodenough (1957), and has much in common with the structuralism of Levi-Strauss (1958). As mentioned earlier the move from behaviourism in the mid 1950's was in the direction of cultural knowledge. Goodenough and anthropologists from other schools including Geertz (1973), Schneider (1975) and Wallace (1970), presented arguments that culture consists not of things that we can observe, count, and measure nor is it patterns of behaviour, it is shared information or knowledge encoded in systems of symbols (D'Andrade 1984, Keesing 1981).

In the literature the cognitive perspective is linked to various authors and theorists in management research. For example, Smircich (1983) and Allaire and Firsiroto (1984) cite the work of Argyris and Schon (1978) who view organisations as 'cognitive enterprises' and along with many other researchers view organisations as networks of shared understandings or meanings. The work of Schneider (1975) and the concept of 'organisational climate' is linked by Allaire and Firsiroto to the cognitive school, who consider the concept to be a first attempt at conceptualising culture in organisational settings.

Structuralist

The structural or psychodynamic perspective, as developed in France by Levi-Strauss, focuses on the deep structures of thought and the unconscious psychological processes of the human mind. Levi-Strauss considers that man communicates by symbols and that the way symbols are constructed reflects the structure of the human brain. In the management literature, Turner (1977, 1983) is cited for his structuralist approach to the study of 'differences between bureaucratic and industrial arrangements' (1977) and 'the diagnosis of organisational conflicts' (1983).

Mutual Equivalence

There is very little reference in the literature to the mutual equivalence school other than the work of Wallace (1970) as identified by Allaire and Firsirotu (1983). Wallace does not consider shared values, beliefs, norms or meanings in his concept of culture, his fundamental approach is to view culture as "a system of instrumental cognitions, mutually predictive of behaviour, which nevertheless allow human beings with very different motivations and cognitive orientations to organise co-operative strivings and participate in the social life of a community" (Allaire and Firsurotu 1983 p205). In the more recent management literature the work of Ouchi (1981) and the

notion of ideal-type organisations 'A' 'J' and 'Z', type 'A' is linked to Wallace's concept. The type 'A' (American) organisation is characterised by 'limited contractual relations between employees'. This is in contrast with the type 'Z' (an American type with Japanese-like characteristics) organisation which is characterised by holistic relations between employees.

Symbolism

The symbolic school is represented in the literature mainly by the work of Geertz in his book 'The Interpretation of Cultures' (1973). Anthropologist Geertz and many others from the symbolic school, view cultures as 'systems of shared meanings'. According to Keesing (1981, p70) anthropologists who apply the symbolic perspective to analysis of organisational culture, identify culture as consisting "not of things and events that we can observe, count, and measure: it consists of shared ideas and meanings". In sharp contrast to the cognitive school who consider culture as being in the minds of individuals, Geertz argues that cultures are systems of 'public meanings' not private codes in the minds of individuals (Keesing 1980, p71).

In relation to the study of culture in organisational settings, and in particular the understanding of symbols and the interpretation of their meanings, Smircich (1983, p351) identifies the work of Manning's (1979) study of the world of detectives, Smircich (1983), study of the world of executive staff of an insurance company, and studies of police: Pacanowsky and Anderson (1981) and Van Maanen (1973, 1977). Smircich (1983) and Geertz (1973) consider that this approach to the study of organisational cultures involves an analysis of how individuals interpret their experiences and how these interpretations guide their actions. In Geertz's view "man is an animal suspended in webs of significance that he himself has spun, and that culture are those webs" (Sanday, 1979 p532).

Within the symbolic school Allaire and Firsirotu identify two contrasting sub-schools which are identified in the management literature as 'actionalist' and 'institutional'. Collectively the actionalists and institutionalists agree that "an organisation, as a result of the unique conjunction of its genesis, history, sociocultural context, technology, and successive leadership, may secrete and sustain its own system of symbols and meanings, widely shared by the organisation's members and instrumental in eliciting or rationalising their commitment to the organisation" (Allaire and Firsirotu 1984 p207). Although both these schools link organisational culture with the organisations history and past leadership, they differ on the emphasis.

For example, Pettigrew (1979) is identified with the institutional school for his strong views on the historical and leadership links with culture and the birth, growth, and evolution of organisations. On the topic of symbolism and the creation of organisation cultures, Pettigrew (1979, p573) identifies the work of Selznick, (1957) and Clark, (1972) for their approaches to the historical and leadership links to the culture concept. Pettigrew, Selznick, and Clark consider that leaders past and present are creators of both the tangible parts of the organisation and the less visible aspects ie symbols, ideologies, languages, beliefs, rituals, and myths (Pettigrew 1990). The 'actionalist' perspective is linked to the work of Silverman (1970) who although he agrees with the institutional concept, puts less emphasis on historical events and past leadership and concentrates on the 'shaping' of the organisation by present participants or leaders.

Although there are different views in the literature regarding the links between culture formation, the birth of the organisation, founders, past and current leaders, most authors "seem to agree with Selznick that the founder and leader is the major force in shaping, maintaining, and perpetuating culture in an organisation" Sackmann (1992, p29).

By reviewing the various anthropological schools, the related management theory and the current culture studies, a clearer picture has emerged regarding conceptual approaches to culture. Although the individual schools pursue their specific theories, there is considerable overlap which makes deciphering the different perspectives very difficult. The themes in both anthropological and organisational areas fall into two main perspectives, the variable (sociocultural) and interpretative (ideational). A third perspective which can be considered as covering the variable and interpretative approaches is the holistic view which according to Sackmann (1992 p23) "may eventually render a comprehensive picture of culture in organisations". The unification of the various aspects and concepts of culture, and thus viewing it as an integrated whole, is an interesting prospect. Sackmann (1992), however, considers that although this approach would highlight the multifaceted nature of culture, it would require a detailed extended ethnography. Nevertheless this approach could be used to view the tangible and intangible aspects of an organisations culture and subcultures.

A key area in the research into an organisation's culture(s) is the understanding of the constituent parts or subunits and identifying or understanding cultural shifts, and the underlying reasons why and how cultures change over time. From a standpoint of viewing culture from a 'multifarious perspective' using generic models, a framework can be developed for the study of culture(s) in organisational settings (see Figure 2.2).

The framework is intended as a workable research platform based on the assumption that :

* An extended ethnography by an internal or external researcher is feasible within the host organisation.
* Access to historical data and performance statistics is available over a long period of time.
* The organisations core or dominant culture and its sub-cultures are viewed not only independently but also as parts of the cultural whole.
* Access to past and present 'leaders' and 'subordinates' for interview purposes in order to identify significant events.

The viewing of culture as being multifarious which consists of both behaviouralistic and cognitive dimensions, and consists of sub-cultures which may be supportive or counter productive would appear to be a more fruitful approach than concentrating on one aspect or approach to the culture concept. The framework shown in Figure 2.2 is a guide to studying cultures in large geographically dispersed organisations which are likely to posses multiple cultures or sub-cultures, and is the general framework used to study the Bass cultures which are discussed further in Chapter 4 and 5.

Figure 2.2 suggests that organisations should be viewed as multicultural with each subunit being separate from the dominant culture. The dominant culture refers and relates to the ideals of senior management.

Figure 2.2   A Generic Framework for Studying Cultures and Sub-cultures in Organisational Settings

2.2 Culture Studies in Organisational Settings

In addition to the work carried out on defining and understanding culture and how the culture concept should be approached, there has been a plethora of research carried out on corporate cultures and the link between "strong" cultures and enhanced performance. Many critics of this research consider it to be a 'superficial fad', for example, (Allaire and Firsirotu 1984, Meek 1988, Hofstede et al 1990), and that the concept is 'sold' to corporate managers as a panacea for the creation of a homogeneous culture which will serve to satisfy the corporate objectives of the business. Much of this research and the consultants 'selling' solutions to 'problem' cultures, refer to the possible creation of 'corporate cultures', 'quality cultures', 'customer service cultures', 'productivity cultures', 'entrepreneurial cultures' and so on, relating the culture concept to a tangible organisational variable which is within the control of management.

Kilmann et al. (1986 p92) who are proponents of the concept of culture management and culture change, consider that the corporate culture concept is too important to be considered a 'fad'. They argue that "culture is the social energy that drives or fails to drive the organisation", and that culture therefore may have a 'positive' or 'negative' impact on organisational outcomes.

Much of the impetus for the interest in the culture concept in organisations came initially as a reaction to Japanese excellence in manufacturing and the means by which this excellence was achieved. The 'strong' or 'weak', 'homogeneous' or 'heterogeneous' corporate culture concept has been identified by many authors as an explanation for productivity differences across different countries and different organisations. In particular the Japanese versus American comparative studies of organisational performance carried out by Pascale and Athos (1981) and Ouchi

(1981), focused on the Japanese managerial culture and 'the Japanese way of doing things'.

The marketing of the corporate culture concept is carried out in very much the same way as the 'hard' technologies of J.I.T., M.R.P., C.I.M and T.Q.M. was in the 70's in that they were considered as a route to improved performance by adopting the 'worlds best practice'. Gill and Whittle (1993 p281) argue that many of these consultant led improvements to performance "seem to proceed through phases of high enthusiasm and much activity followed by a period of disillusionment, to be replaced by the next stage panacea". The main difference being that production, information technology and quality systems, although difficult to introduce and gain acceptance of change, are tangible parts of an organisation and the benefits of their introduction can be easily quantified. Culture on the other hand, is an invisible, intangible 'soft' side of an organisation which is very difficult to measure, manage or change. The approach taken by the corporate culture researchers who see culture very much as a variable part of the organisation and the sole property of management, is based on the assumption of an amenable flexible workforce.

Although the research carried out on the links between culture strength and performance have been widely acclaimed, certain authors have reservations on the research methods applied and the assumptions being made. For example, Gregory (1983) considers that the corporate culture studies are pro-management and not substantially different from past Human Relations research which aimed to illustrate the impact of irrational human factors on rational corporate objectives, for example, the work of Mayo (1933) and Roethlisberger and Dickson 1939). Gregory's view is that organisations are better viewed as multicultural in order to identify the cohesive and divisive functions of culture. Meek (1988 p455) argues that many of the corporate culture studies are "linked to the interests of management and which promulgate the idea that 'culture ' is the collective consciousness of the organisation,

'owned' by management and available to management for manipulation". Meek relates the cause of this to be the result of 'borrowing' from just one field of cultural anthropology ie. structural-functionalism. Gregory (1983 p361), linking the Human Relations School with the structural-functional paradigm, argues that the past research "enabled scientific managers to better control subordinates by taking workers' cultural reactions into account". Referring to the work of Kanter (1977), Gregory emphasises the pro-management bias of this past research and considers it to be similar to the current approach to corporate culture studies. Meek (1988) reviewing the work of Kilmann (1985) 'Gaining control of the corporate culture', and Ackroyd and Crowdy (1990 p5), in their 'autonomous' work group study of slaughtermen, question the feasibility of culture management and control and "whether cultures of excellence can be generated by managerial action or whether what happens is that cultures are gratuitously hijacked when possible by self-serving managerial groups, happy to co-opt the sub-culture of work groups when it works to their advantage".

A great deal of this research, so called the strong culture hypothesis, was advanced by Baker (1980), Ouchi (1981), Schwartz and Davis (1981), Deal and Kennedy (1982), Peters and Waterman (1982), Dennison (1984), and Wilkins (1984). These writers, and many others throughout the late 1970's and early 1980's, argued that 'managing' corporate culture is the key to corporate success and that successful organisations have strong homogeneous cultures with distinctive traits in terms of shared values, beliefs and behaviour patterns. Additionally they proposed that organisations create myths and legends, engage in rites and rituals and are governed through shared symbols and customs (Meek 1988).

High performance organisations such as IBM, Hewlett-Packard, Procter and Gamble, and Macdonalds are cited by Peters and Waterman (1982) as organisations having a highly developed set of managerial values and beliefs which are part of their organisational culture. The shared belief of many of these researchers and

management is that culture is an organisational variable and therefore can be manipulated or reshaped, and that supportive cultures can be created giving better organisational performance. Barney (1986 p 658), for example, in considering culture as 'a source of competitive advantage', argues that in order to achieve sustained superior performance the organisation's culture must be valuable, rare, and imperfectly imitable. Barney's argument is that an organisation which has a unique culture which cannot be copied will be in a far superior position than its competitors. Drawing on the work of Clark (1972), Barney links an organisation's uniqueness to the possible embodiment of cultural manifestations in an organisation's unique history. He proposes that "a firm with a history significantly different from that of a firm whose culture it would like to imitate may find an unbridgeable barrier to imitation. If the firm's culture is also valuable and rare, then it may enjoy a sustainable competitive advantage".

Deal & Kennedy (1982), in their research into 80 companies, found that successful companies place a great deal of emphasis on shared values, for example:-

- They stand for something, that is they have a clear and explicit philosophy about how they aim to conduct their business.

- Management pays a great deal of attention to shaping and fine tuning these values to conform to the economical and business environment of the company and to communicating them to the organisation.
- These values are known and shared by all the people who work for the company.

Deal and Kennedy feel that employees at all levels are more supportive of the business they work in if they understand what the company stands for. They identify 'slogans' such as:-

Caterpillar   -   '24-hour parts service anywhere in the world' -

indicating a commitment to satisfying customer needs.

Continental Bank   -   'We'll find a way' (to meet customer needs).

Although Deal and Kennedy see shared values as being a pre-requisite for success

they do make the point that when economic circumstances change 'shared values may

continue to guide behaviour in ways no longer helpful to the organisation's success.'

It is suggested that organisations who do not have these shared values and specific

traits are less successful and possess weak heterogeneous cultures. However, there is

very little evidence in the way of empirical research which shows this to be the case.

Hofstede et al. (1990), in their empirical study of organisation cultures in twenty

units from ten different organisations in Denmark and the Netherlands, concluded that

'shared perceptions of daily practices' not 'shared values' are the core of an

organisation's culture. Their findings contradict the prescriptions put forward by

many authors and proponents of the shared value philosophy, who assume that the

values of the founders, leaders and corporate heroes are shared by all members of the

organisation. Hofstede et al. (p311) concluded that "the values of founders and key

leaders undoubtedly shape organisational cultures but that the way these cultures

affect ordinary members is through shared practices". This view of passing on

leaders' views to members practices is linked by Hofstede et al. to the work of Weber

(1948 p297) who asserts that "when the organisation of authority becomes permanent,

the staff supporting the charismatic leader becomes routinised."

The 'excellent company' concept and the 'shared value' philosophy has been critically

reviewed and criticised by many authors who consider many of the best selling books

to be too populist, too idealistic and methodologically poor (Soeters 1986, Freeman

1985, Ray 1986, Mitchell 1985). Both Ray and Mitchell consider the ethical issues surrounding the so called 'excellent' companies. Mitchell, for example, carried out a comparison of Peters and Waterman's 62 excellent companies with his own study of the 100 best companies to work for, only 21 of the 62 were seen in the list. Mitchell views the excellent company hypothesis as manipulative in that it views people as instrumental for productivity and not valued per se.

The question of culture management has been addressed by many researchers, academics and consultants, many of whom agree that culture is extremely difficult to control and change. The debate on culture management revolves around definition and what is understood by the term corporate culture or organisational culture. Most researchers agree that culture within organisations exists at varying degrees or levels ranging from deeply set values and beliefs to the manifestations of culture in the form of structures, systems, symbols, myths, reward systems, rituals and heroes (Pettigrew 1990) Hofstede et al. 1990). Based on a simple model developed by Hofstede et al. 1990 p291), and the work of Pettigrew (1979, 1990) and Schein (1985) the varying levels of cultural manifestations can be shown in the form of concentric circles see Figure 2.3. The core of the culture is represented by the complex and deep rooted values, beliefs and assumptions which are largely unobservable yet have a considerable affect on behaviour. These core values are manifested in the 'practices' of the organisation and are the observable behaviour patterns and artefacts. Pettigrew (1990 p266), considers that although it is relatively easier to control the core values which are manifested in the 'practices', because to a great extent these are observable, a strategy for corporate culture change should include both core values and the manifestations of culture. Pettigrew (1985), in his study of change at ICI, identified changes in both the core values and practices over a 25 year period which occurred at critical points in the organisation's life. These critical points were linked to times of severe economic difficulties and changes in leadership and power. Pettigrew (1990) identifies these 'phases' of culture change in the study of Jaguar Cars, relating the

significant culture shifts to competition in the 80's and the leadership era's of Lyons 1928-72, the British Leyland era 1972-80 and the Egan era 1980 - to date.

Figure 2.3   Manifestations of Culture

SYMBOLS

SYSTEMS

STRUCTURES

VALUE
BELIEFS
ASSUMPTIONS

P R A C T I C E S   P R A C T I C E S

RITUALS

MYTHS

HEROES

Probably the most detailed account of cultural transformation is that given by Tunstall (1986), on the AT&T organisation in America. In his case study he proposes a three step guide:

First, management must understand the meaning and impact of corporate culture and must ascertain, often through empirical methods, elements of its own culture.

Second, the 'cultural wheat must be separated from the chaff'. Decisions must be made about which elements support future goals and strategies, and thus must be retained, and which elements are no longer appropriate, must be changed

Third, appropriate actions must be taken to effect the required changes in a way that leaves the desirable elements unaffected.

2.3   Multiple Cultures and Subculture Perspectives

The underlying assumption of the corporate culture studies is that there exists a single homogeneous culture which permeates the organisation, and that it can be manipulated to satisfy management objectives. This monolithic view of organisational culture is considered by many to be unrealistic and to stem from the ideals of senior managers. A pluralistic view, particularly in complex environments and in large geographically dispersed organisations is considered to be a far more realistic approach to the culture concept. Smircich (1983, p346), argues that "much of the literature refers to an organisation culture, appearing to lose sight of the great likelihood that there are multiple organisation subcultures, or even countercultures, competing to define the nature of situations within organisational boundaries". The assumption of the single unitary culture has been challenged by many other authors who consider that the study of organisational cultures should be viewed from a multicultural viewpoint, and that organisations consist of multiple, potentially

conflicting subcultures (Gregory 1983; Reynolds 1986; Martin & Siehl 1983; Louis 1985).

The term 'subculture' was used by Turner (1971) in his work 'Exploring the Industrial Subculture'. In his book he describes a subculture as "a distinctive set of meanings shared by a group of people whose forms of behaviour differ to some extent from those of the wider society". Turner refers to the industrial subculture as being part of the larger society. Within the organisational context the subculture can be described similarly as 'having different belief and value systems from the dominant culture'. Schein (1985) endorses this view and considers that a variety of cultures based on functions, geography, professions and so on do exist within organisations and can be considered as subcultures just as the corporate culture can be considered as a subculture of the wider society.

In the strong culture studies there is very little reference to the existence of subcultures and their possible supportive or negative impact on organisational performance. The emphasis is on a single unitary corporate culture even though in large geographically dispersed organisations the existence of multiple subcultures and possible counter-cultures is more than likely. The concept of a unitary or monolithic culture even in smaller organisations is considered to be unlikely, the strong belief is that subcultures appear to be the rule and unitary cultures the exception (Van Maanen & Barley, 1984). Marshall & Mclean (1985), and Gregory (1983) consider that any research into an organisations culture should include its different subcultures their relationship with each other and their impact on organisational functioning and performance.

In the single or multiple culture debate Kilmann et al. (1985) consider the theory 'X' and theory 'Y' principles of McGregor (1960) in order to differentiate between managers who view culture from a monolithic or pluralistic stand point. They

consider that managers and consultants who use the theory 'X' approach to managing people assume a single senior management culture, the converse applying to the theory 'Y' approach.

Although in the past, culture has been treated as a unitary concept, a few past researchers of organisational culture have identified the existence of multiple cultures, subcultures, and counter cultures. Smircich (1983), in her study of top executives in an insurance company found two different subcultures. These were two groups one consisting of long serving staff and one consisting of staff brought in from another company. Martin & Siehl (1983), discovered counter cultures developed by John Delorean who's values were in direct conflict with the dominant culture at General Motors. Saffold (1988), highlights the work carried out by Faux (1982), in the automobile industry where highly complex subcultures affected organisation development. Gregory (1983), identified different cultural views in her ethnoscientific research into technical professionals in Silicon Valley. In this particular study the subcultures identified with their particular profession rather than the organisation's dominant culture.

There is clearly a lack of empirical research in the area of subcultures and multiple cultures, however, this is not so surprising as, management employ consultants to create uniform cultures not to identify the existence of potentially conflicting subcultures.

From the research it would appear that most cultures are not unitary or homogeneous and that they have diverse values and patterns of behaviour which, weak or strong, have a powerful influence on the performance of both management and the workforce.

In viewing organisations from a multicultural view point Louis (1985), and Saffold (1988), suggest that researchers should assess the aspect of cultural penetration. Their proposals are centred around the assessment and diagnosis of cultural penetration in terms of the sociological, psychological, and historical aspects. The sociological aspects refer to the extent to which the corporate level culture permeates the organisation. Past research indicates that culture within organisations changes significantly from top management to the lower ranks (Martin & Siehl 1983). The psychological aspects refer to the measurement of the homogeneity of shared meanings and shared understandings within the different subcultures. Finally historical penetration refers to the stability of practices and shared understandings over a period of time. Louis considers that the assessment of historical penetration will give important indicators to potential resistance to change.

The historical analysis of organisational cultures is considered to be of significant importance when trying to analyse current behaviour patterns and predict future reactions to change. Pettigrew (1979), advocates that organisations should be explored as a continuing system with a past, a present and a future. In his empirical research study of a British boarding school he used critical historical events to plot the growth, evolution, and transformation of the organisation. Schein (1984), in line with Pettigrew, includes an historical analysis in his four part approach to the understanding of an organisation's cultural paradigm. Schein considers that it is possible to identify periods of culture formation by carrying out a review of critical incidents over time and analysing the outcomes. In addition to the historical analysis he suggests analysing: the process and content of socialisation of new members; the beliefs, values, and assumptions of "Culture Creators or Carriers;" and jointly exploring with insiders the anomalies or puzzling features. This mode of study, Schein suggests, will help decipher the concept of culture and determine the relationship between culture and organisational effectiveness.

2.4   Conclusions

Although there are several schools of thought within the area of cultural anthropology, and considerable overlap in both definition and use of the culture construct, the current interest in the concept of culture in organisational settings can be categorised into three key broad conceptual approaches. Firstly, culture can be viewed from a variable perspective, secondly it can be viewed from an interpretative perspective, and thirdly it can be viewed from an holistic perspective using generic constructs.

The variable approach or the viewing of culture as a sociocultural system has been linked to the anthropological schools of functionalism, structural functionalism, historical diffusionist, and ecological adaptionist. The viewing of culture from this perspective tends to have a 'managerialist' or 'pro-management' bias with the concentration being on observable phenomena ie from a behaviouristic stand point. The early literature on corporate culture management and consultants currently 'promoting' culture change programmes clearly see culture as a tangible organisation variable which is within the control of management. Because of this approach and the pro-management bias, the current corporate culture studies have been linked to the Human Relations School and the work of Mayo, Roethlisberger and Dickson and McGregor. For example, Gregory (1983), considers that there is little difference between the past human relations work and the current corporate culture studies.

The interpretative perspective or the viewing of culture as an ideational systems draws mainly from the anthropological schools of cognitive, structuralist, and symbolism. The move in anthropological thinking in the mid 50's from 'culture as behaviourism' to 'culture as knowledge' gave rise to the thoughts of anthropologists and management theorists who consider culture as 'systems of shared ideas and meanings'.

The distinction between variable perspectives and interpretative perspectives is not clear cut, and there is considerable overlap which causes conceptual confusion and ambiguity. The confusion arises when academics and managers 'pick' from both 'camps' and create generic constructs in an attempt to conceptualise organisational culture. One such approach is the holistic perspective or the viewing of culture as a unified whole. Although this perspective is linked to the functionalist and historical diffusionist school, and draws from the cognitive schools, it can be considered as an integrated approach to the study of organisational cultures in workplace settings. The holistic perspective, the bringing together of cognitive, behavioural, emotive, and artifactual aspects, would require extended ethnographic research, it is for this reason that it receives little attention in the management literature. However, Sackmann (1992 p23) considers that this approach would highlight the multifaceted nature of culture and "may eventually render a comprehensive picture of culture in organisations".

Assuming that an holistic approach is feasible within an organisation it is important that the research should include the organisation's subcultures. It is evident from past research that culture is best studied from a multicultural view point taking into account the possibility of subcultures which may be positive or negative towards the dominant organisational culture. From an holistic perspective the organisation's subcultures would form part of the whole. This is in line with Meyerson and Martin (1987) integration paradigm.

The indications from the literature are that there is a relationship between culture types and organisational performance, this is covered in more detail in Chapter 6. The question relating to culture management is linked, to a great extent, to how culture is defined. For example, if culture is defined in relation to behaviourism and linked to performance then culture is a measurable variable and can be manipulated and controlled. If culture is defined as part of the thought process and relates to

systems of shared ideas and meanings then culture is intangible, difficult to measure, and difficult to change. A more sensible approach is to consider culture as both in the minds of organisation members (beliefs, values and ideas), and in the actions of organisational members (organisation practices).

The organisation's founder and its past and current leaders play a key role in shaping the organisation's core or dominant culture. A key question is 'how far do the values of the leader permeate an organisation's culture and subcultures?'. To a great extent this is covered in Chapters 4 and 5 (Fieldwork).

In summary, culture is best viewed from a multicultural perspective taking into consideration the multifaceted aspects of the culture concept. One approach would be to view culture from an holistic perspective taking account of both the cognitive and behaviouristic aspects, the history of the organisation, and the role of the founder and leader in shaping an organisation's culture and subcultures. As Sackmann suggests this would require an extended ethnographic study in order to capture the cultural whole. However, this approach can be seen as an integrated approach, that is, the assumption of cultural consistency across the organisation.

The main focus of this research is on the management and control of subcultures in a multicultural organisation, specifically Bass Brewers and the subcultures in the geographically dispersed Distribution depots. From the literature research it is clear that managers generally view culture from a variable perspective and that many researchers view culture from an interpretative perspective. In order to firstly develop an understanding of an organisation's culture(s), and research the control aspects and the links between culture and performance, a structured research programme is required which incorporates an understanding of the Bass corporate culture and regional subcultures from all possible perspectives. In view of the literature research findings, it is clear that large geographically dispersed and complex organisations are culturally diverse and consist of subcultures which maybe negative in terms of the values and beliefs of

Senior Management. Therefore it is considered that the research methodology should concentrate on the assumption of 'differentiation', that is the assumption that complex organisations do not posses a single monolithic corporate culture, they are more likely to posses a variety of subcultures. From this view of the culture concept, subcultures are viewed as being part of, yet not an integrated part of, the overall Bass culture. That is not to say that the corporate culture does not exist. The corporate culture is the dominant culture which represents the values and ideals of senior management.

Culture is multifarious and therefore should be viewed from a 'multifarious perspective', from this perspective culture would be viewed as having great variety and depth. It is considered that rather than analyse culture from a single perspective it should be researched inductively from many perspectives. That is both the corporate culture and subcultures must be analysed to gain a clearer understanding of their relationship. From such a research approach it is likely that a more realistic view of culture and subcultures in organisations will emerge.

The following Chapter on Research Methodology details the approach to corporate culture and subculture research using ethnographic methods within an inductivist framework.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER TWO

Ackroyd S & Crowdy P A (1990)

Can Culture be Managed? - Personnel Review, Volume 19, No. 5 pp3-13

Agar M (1980)

The Professional Stranger - New York: Academic Press

Allaire Y & Firsirotu M E (1984)

Theories of Organisational Culture - Organisation Studies, 1984, Volume 5, No. 3 pp193-226

Argyris C & Schon D A (1978)

Organisational Learning - Addison Wesley

Baker E L (1980)

Managing Organisational Culture - Management Review, July 1980 pp 8-13

Barley S R, Meyer G W & Gash D C

Cultures of Cultures: Academics Practitioners of Normative Control - Administrative Science Quarterly Vol 33, 1988, pp24-60

Barney J B (1986)

Organisational Culture: Can it be a Source of Sustained Competitive Advantage? Academy of Management Review Vol 11 No 3, pp 656-665

Benedict R (1934)

Patterns of Culture - Houghton Mifflin

Blumer H (1969)

Symbolic interactionism : Perspective and Method - Prentice Hall

Boas F (1948)

Race, Language, and Culture. New York: MacMillan.

Burns T & Stalker CM (1961)

The Management of Innovation. New York: Barnes and Noble

Burrell G & Morgan G (1979)
Sociological Paradigms and Organisational Analysis - Heinemann Educational Books

Chandler A D (1962)
Strategy and Structure - Cambridge, Mass, MIT Press

Chandler A D (1977)
The Visible Hand, The Managerial Revolution in American Business: Cambridge Mass: Press of Harvard University Press

Clark B R (1972)
The Organisational Saga in Higher Education - Administrative Science Quarterly No 17: pp 178-184

D'Andrade R G (1985)
Cultural Meaning Systems - Culture Theory
Eds. Shweder R A & LaVine R A - Cambridge University Press

Davis S M (1985)
Culture is Not Just an Internal Affair (Gaining Control of the Corporate Culture)
in: Kilmann et al - pp 137-147 - San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Deal T E & Kennedy A A (1982)
Corporate Cultures - Addison Wesley

Dennison D (1984)
Bringing Corporate Culture to the Bottom Line - Organisation Dynamics 13 pp 5-22

Faux V (1982)
Unobtrusive Controls in Organisations: An action research approach to change. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University Cambridge.

Filley A C & House R W (1969)
Managerial Process and Organisational Behaviour - San Francisco: Scott, Foresman

Freeman F H (1985)
Books that Mean Business: The Management Best Sellers - Academy of Management Review No 10, April pp 345-350

Freilich M (1970)

Marginal Natives - New York: Wiley

Gill J & Whittle S (1993)

Management by Panacea : Accounting for Transience - Journal of Management Studies, Vol. 30, No.2, March pp 281-295

Geertz C (1973)

The Interpretation of Cultures - New York: Basic Books

Goodenough W H (1957)

Culture, Anthropology and Linguistics. P.Garvin (ed) Washington DC

Goodenough W H (1961)

Comment on Cultural Evolution, Daedalus 90: pp 521-528

Gregory K L (1983)

Native View Paradigms: Multiple Cultures and Culture Conflicts in Organisations - Administrative Science Quarterly 28 pp359-376

Harris M (1964)

The Nature of Cultural Things. New York: Random House

Harrison R (1972)

Understanding Your Organisational Character - Harvard Business Review pp 119-128

Hofstede G, Neuijen B, Ohayv DD & Sanders G (1990)

Measuring Organisational Cultures: A Qualitative and Quantitative Study Across Twenty Cases Administrative Science Quarterly, 35: pp286-316

Jacques E (1952)

The Changing Culture of a Factory - New York: Dryden Press

Johnson P & Gill J (1993)

Management Control and Organisational Behaviour - Paul Chapman Publishing

Kanter R M (1977)

Men and Women of the Corporation - New York: Basic Books

Katz D & Kahn RL (1966)

The Social Psychology of Organisations, John Wiley, New York.

Keesing R (1974)

Theories of Culture - Annual Review of Anthropology 3: pp73-97

Keesing R (1981)

Cultural Anthropology , A Contemporary Perspective - Holt, Rinehart & Winston

Kilmann R H, Saxtib M J, Serpa R & Associates (1985)

Gaining Control of the Corporate Culture - San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Kroeber A L & Kluckhohn C K (1952)

Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions - Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Papers, No 47, Cambridge: Harvard University

Lawrence PR & Lorch JW (1967)

Organisation and Environment, Boston: Harvard University Press.

LeVine R A (1985)

Properties of Culture - An Ethnographic View (Culture Theory) - pp 67-87
Eds. Shweder R A & LaVine R A - Cambridge University Press

Levi-Strauss C (1958)

Anthrapologie Structurale - Paris: Librairie Plon

Lorsch J W (1986)

Strategic Myopia: Culture of an Invisible Barrier to Change(Gaining Control of the Corporate Culture) in Kilmann et al - pp 84-102 - San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Louis M R (1981)

A Cultural Perspective on Organisations: the need for and consequences of viewing organisations as culture-bearing milieux - Human Systems Management, Volume 2 pp246-258

Louis M R (1985)

An Investigator's Guide to Workplace Culture - in:- Organisational Culture ed. P J Frost et al, Sage Publications

Maanen J V (1988)

Tales of the Field - The University of Chicago Press

Malinowski B (1944)

A Scientific Theory of Culture - Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press

Manning P K (1979)

Metaphors of the Field: Varieties of Organisational Discourse - Administrative Science Quarterly No 24 pp 660-671

Marshall J & McLean A (1985)

Exploring Organisation Culture as a Route to Organisational Change - Current Research in Management, ed. V Hammond - Francis Pinter Publishing Ltd

Martin J & Siehl C (1983)

Organisational Culture and Counterculture: An uneasy symbiosis - Organisational Dynamics 12(2): pp52-64

Mayo E (1983)

The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilisation - New York Macmillan

McGregor D (1960)

The Human Side of Enterprise - New York: McGraw Hill

Mead M (1959)

An Anthropologist at Work: Writings of Ruth Benedict. Boston: Houghton Mifflin

Meek V L (1988)

Organisation Culture: Origins and Weaknesses - Organisation Studies, 1988, Volume 9 No.4 pp-453-473

Meyerson D & Martin J (1987)

Cultural Change: An Integration of Three Different Views. Journal of Management Studies 24:6 November pp623-647.

Mitchell T R (1985)

In Search of Excellence Versus the Best 100 Companies to Work for in America: A Question of Perspective and Values - Academy of Management Review No 10, April, pp 350-355

Morgan G (1986)

Images of Organisation - Sage Publications

Ouchi W (1981)

Theory 'Z' - Addison Wesley

Ouchi W & Johnson J B (1978)

Types of Organisational Control and Their Relationship to Emotional Well Being -
Administrative Science Quarterly 23 June pp293-317

Pacanowsky M & Anderson J A (1981)

Cop Talk and Media Use - International Communication Association Convention - May

Pascale R (1985)

The Paradox of 'Corporate Culture': Reconciling Ourselves to Socialisation - California
Management Review, Volume 27, No. 2, pp26-41

Pascale R & Athos A G (1981)

The Art of Japanese Management - New York, Simon & Schuster

Peters T J & Waterman R H (1982)

In Search of Excellence - Harper and Row

Pettigrew A M (1979)

On Studying Organisational Cultures - Administrative Science Quarterly 24 pp570-581

Pettigrew A M (1985)

The Awakening Giant: Continuity and Change in ICI, Blackwell, Oxford

Pettigrew A M (1990)

Is Corporate Culture Managable - in Managing Organisations Eds Wilson D C &
Rosenfeld R H - McGraw Hill Book Company

Radcliffe-Brown (1952)

Structure and Function in Primative Society - London: Dohen and West

Ray C A (1986)

Corporate Culture: The Last Frontier of Control - Journal of Management Studies 23.3 May, pp
287-297

Reynolds P D (1986)

Organisational Culture as Related to Industry, Position and Performance: A Preliminary Report
- Journal of Management Studies 23:3 May pp333-345

Roethlisberger F J & Dickson W J (1939)

Management and the Worker: An Account of a Research Programme Conducted by a Western
Electric Company, Hathorne Works, Chicago, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Rose R A (1988)

Organisations as Multiple Cultures: A Rules Theory Analysis - Human Relations, Volume 41 No.
2 pp139-170

Sackmann S A (1992)

Cultures and Subcultures: An analysis of Organisational Knowledge - Administrative Science
Quarterly, Vol 37, March pp140 -161

Saffold G S (1988)

Culture Traits, Strength, and Organisational Performance: Moving Beyond 'Strong' Culture -
Acadamy of Management Review, Volume 13 No. 4 pp 546-557

Sanday P R (1979)

The Ethnographic Paradigm - Administrative Science Quarterly 24 pp527-538

Sathe V (1985)

How to Decipher and Change Corporate Culture in : Gaining Control of the Corporate Culture
Kilmann et al - pp 230-261 San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Schein E H (1983)

The Role of the Founder in Creating Organisational Culture - Organisational Dynamics,
Summer pp 13-28

Schein E H (1984)

Coming to a New Awareness of Organisational Culture - Sloan Management Review, pp 3-16

Schein E H (1985)

Organisational Culture and Leadership - Jossey Bass

Schneider B (1975)

Organisation Climates: 'An Essay' Personnel Psychology No 28: pp 447-479

Schwartz H & Davis S M (1981)

Matching Corporate Culture and Business Strategy - Organisation Dynamics, Summer pp30-48

Selznick P (1957)

Leadership in Administration - Evanston: Row Peterson

Silverman D (1970)

The Theory of Organisations - London: Heinemann

Smircich L (1983)

Concepts of Culture and Organisational Analysis - Administrative Science Quarterly 28 pp339-358

Smircich L (1983)

Studying Organisations as Cultures - in:- Beyond Method, ed. Gareth Morgan, Sage Publications

Soeters J L (1986)

Excellent Companies as Social Movements - Journal of Management Studies 23.3 May pp 299-312

Steward J (1955)

Theory of Culture Change. Urbana: University of Illinois Press

Stinchcombe A (1965)

Social Structure and Organisation in Handbook of Organisations, J C March (ed) - Chicago: Rand McNally

Swartz M & Jordan D (1980)

Culture: An Anthropological Perspective - New York: Wiley

Tichy N M (1983)

Managing Strategic Change - Wiley

Tunstall W B (1986)

The Breakup of the Bell System - A Case Study in Cultural Transformation - California Management Review, No 2 pp 110-124

Turner B A (1971)

Exploring the Industrial Sub-Culture, Macmillan

Turner S P (1977)

Complex Organisations as Savage Tribes - Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, No 7
(April): pp 99-125

Turner S P (1983)

Studying Organisation Through Levis-Strauss's Structuralism - In Gareth Morgan (ed), Beyond
Method: Social Research Strategies - Beverley Hills CA - Sage Publications

Tylor E B (1924)

Primitive Culture - (first published in 1871) Gloucester, MA: Smith

Ulrich D & Tichy N M (1984)

The Leadership Challenge - A Call for the Transformational Leader - Sloan Management
Review, Fall pp59-68

Van Maanan J (1979)

The Fact and Fiction in Organisational Ethnography - Administrative Science Quarterly 24
pp539-550

Van Maanen J & Barley S (1984)

Occupational Communities: Culture and Control in Organisations - in: B M Staw and L L
Cummings (eds), Research in Organisational Behaviour Volume 6 - Greenwich, C T : JAI Press

Wallace AFC (1970)

Culture and Personality - New York: Random House

White L A (1959)

The Concept of Culture. American Anthropologist, 61, pp 227 - 251

Wilkins A L (1983)

The Culture Audit: A Tool for Understanding Organisations - Organisational Dynamics, Autumn
pp24-38

Wilkins A L & Dyer W G (1988)

Toward Culturally Sensitive Theories of Culture Change - Academy of Management Review
Volume 13 No.4, pp522-533

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

CHAPTER THREE

3. <u>Research Methodology</u>

A manager carrying out research in his own organisation and simultaneously carrying out productivity improvement projects within the same research area, has both advantages and disadvantages as a researcher. The obvious advantage is the close proximity of the research subjects to the researcher, enabling easy access to data and facilitation of participant and general observation techniques. The major disadvantage or difficulty stems from the effective management of the two roles, that is the role of the 'manager' involved in quantitative analysis through the use of non-participant observation, and the role of the 'researcher' involved in qualitative analysis through participant observation. Additionally the quality of data collected may be adversely affected by suspicions of a manager collecting information from the shopfloor. In order to overcome these problems, rather than treating the two roles or methodologies of quantitative and qualitative analysis as mutually exclusive, the research methodology was developed to make use of both quantitative and qualitative data throughout the research process and at the theoretical development stage.

The research methodology used to analyse and understand the cultural and managerial differences in the fifteen depots, was broadly based around methods used in ethnographic fieldwork and within an inductivist framework. Within this framework the use of 'grounded theory' was used to order the material, induce specific historical and other distinctive links, and develop a coherent theory from the mass of fieldwork data. The main research approach used within this inductive framework was the application of observation techniques and other qualitative research methods in order to understand the research setting and subjects. This naturalist approach, which aims to research subjects in the natural interactive mode, is the opposite of the scientific deductive method which

requires development of theory prior to testing through empirical observation (Gill & Johnson 1991).

The ethnographic method of participant observation was used to observe the patterns of behaviour of both management and shopfloor personnel using both overt and covert observation techniques. The use of participant observation in the Distribution depots and other areas of the Bass organisation was supplemented by semi-structured interviews, statistical analysis, collection of life histories, psychometric testing and general observations.

The qualitative methods used in ethnographic fieldwork have been used by many researchers studying managerial and shopfloor work. For example, Dalton (1959) used covert observation techniques in his research into managerial cultures in four manufacturing organisations and Mintzberg (1973) used structured observation in his research into the work of five senior managers. Cunnison (1966) as a participant observer, carried out research into behaviour patterns in the waterproof garment industry and Beynon (1973) used participant observation and interviews in his research into cultures at Ford. In view of the nature of my research, which involved identifying and analysing managerial and cultural differences in the regional depots, and then viewing the Bass organisational culture from a corporate perspective, a methodological approach using techniques used in anthropological research appeared to be the most appropriate.

The main focus of the research was on the Distribution function, and the existence of and effect of subcultures on management control and overall performance. The conceptual approach to the culture concept was initially from an assumption of differentiation. From this assumption the subcultures were viewed as being part of the overall Bass culture, although they were not viewed as an integrated part.

This Chapter outlines the initial methodological choice for the research programme and the flexible strategy adopted throughout the work. The techniques used in order to research the regional organisational sub-cultures, and to develop a hypothesis inductively, are discussed and the problems encountered relating to data handling, access and ethical issues, are highlighted.

3.1   Research Methodological Choice

There is much debate in the literature between the relative merits of qualitative and quantitative research, and the respective methodologies of induction and deduction. For example, the following 'discussion' (Maanen 1979) gives an indication of how both methodologies are perceived:

Qualitative Researcher:

"Many people these days are bored with their work and are...."

Quantitative Researcher (interrupting): "what people, how many, when do they feel this way, where do they work, what do they do, why are they bored, how long have they felt this way, what are their needs, when do they feel excited, where did they come from, what parts of there work bother them most, which...."

Qualitative Researcher: "Never mind"

The above is very much a mis-conception of the interpretive approaches to research using inductive methodologies. While Popper (1968) considers the process of induction as being unscientific and not linked to the logic of scientific enquiry, many proponents of the inductive approach consider it to be more challenging than "checking out what we already know" (Selye, 1964; Mintzberg 1979 p584). The inductive process of working from data to theory however can be very problematic. For example, there is a

requirement, in the first instance to collect the data through observation, interviews and other methods, and secondly to interpret the mass of data and identify patterns and links. The final stage is then to move from data to theory. The whole process of working inductively can be complicated and at stages requires creativity and an enquiring mind. Research in this mode, as with deductive research, requires the researcher to ask the 'what, where, why, and who's' throughout the various stages of the research in order to understand the research setting and develop theory from the acquired data.

In the Management Services function the approach used to solve problems using work measurement and method study techniques is very systematic. For example, the traditional procedure and sequence of events when carrying out a method study project to improve methods of working would be: **select** the work to be studied; **record** the current operations using appropriate techniques; **examine** critically the current methods; **develop** new methods of working, and **present** the findings in a project report. This systematic approach to method study works extremely well because the study area and objectives are clearly defined and the appropriate techniques to use are well established. To a great extent I used a similar systematic approach at the start of the research project, which assisted in my early focus, see Figure 3.1.

Although the research procedure shown in Figure 3.1 can be used as an initial framework, the likely outcome of such a rigid approach would be fairly banal research. At the start of my research I used the project approach as a basic framework which was changed as the research developed. In reality I used the basic systematic approach as a 'closed loop', continually reverting back to the select, record, examine and develop stages. I continuously went back to the select stage having discovered patterns and possible further research areas at the data reduction stage. The systematic approach is not as clean as it looks, working inductively can be very messy simply because of the amount of data generated which requires reducing in order to develop a coherent theory.

<u>**Figure 3.1**</u>

<u>**Basic Research Procedure**</u>

Select

Area of research - Gain access - Carry out literature research

↓

Record

Various observation techniques - interviews - other source data

↓

Examine

Critical examination of facts - links, themes and patterns - validate

↓

Develop

Grounded theoretical analysis - write up - continuous validation

↓

Present

Draft theory - validate - final thesis

In relation to the fieldwork, my research can be broadly sectioned off into three major stages. The first stage was the detailed 'culture audits' in the 15 Distribution depots which involved extensive interviews and observations at each depot site. Through qualitative data analysis the three different sub-cultures theory was developed and formed the base framework for stage 2. It is worth pointing out that during the early stages of the research I had no preconceived ideas on the culture types which came out of the fieldwork and data analysis. However, I was aware of the differences in terms of attitudes, at management and shopfloor levels at each site, from my observations in my role as Manager. As Miles (1979 p591) points out, "research projects that pretend to

come to the study with no assumptions usually encounter much difficulty". Miles advocates the use of explicit preliminary frameworks which remain flexible throughout the life of the project.

Having identified the existence of different cultures in the depots, the second stage focused on the three sub-culture types using one depot from each cultural grouping. Although the 15 depots fitted quite nicely into three categories, this may be a little mis-leading, all 15 depots were very different in cultural terms, and 15 in-depth studies could have produced some interesting results. However, because of time constraints and the problem of access, which is discussed later, three in-depth studies were considered to be a representative sample. Having made this decision the fieldwork was concentrated on the three representative depots to gain a clearer understanding of the differences.

Simultaneously the research was widened to identify possible links with the regional sub-cultures and the Bass dominant culture. In essence this was a look at cultural dispersion, that is the degree to which the beliefs and values of the dominant culture are dispersed throughout the Bass organisational structure. To a great extent this was facilitated by my Management Services role which allowed me into all functions and regions on project work. I took every opportunity on my visits to other sites and functions to observe and compare my findings with the Distribution function. The observations and discussions in depots outside the Bass North boundaries were in general overt, in that a brief explanation of my research was given to the Distribution Managers. Other observations in different functions and regions were researched covertly as part of my Management Services project work. The main reason for this approach was the problem of negotiating access with the relevant site manager which could have resulted in rejection and a loss of valuable research data.

Additionally, at the same time as my stage two and three research, a management of change programme, which included modules on culture change within Bass, was being

introduced by the Board and being delivered through lectures down to middle management levels. As I was personally involved in the delivery of the modules to the Scotland and North/North West Management Services Teams I took the opportunity to analyse their response to the planned culture change from other peoples' perspectives. A major personal difficulty was delivering a two day lecture on management of change and culture change from pre-prepared notes provided by the Bass Board. Extracts from the notes included:

"Other companies seem to have changed their cultures over time, and this is what is so exciting for us. We can change our culture if we want to, although it does take time".

"Whether we use the word culture to describe countries or companies, it always means the way people do things".

Although the management of change programme was very well structured, the whole objective was to deliver the corporate message and obviously not personal views on culture. This is one of the many ethical issues that arose out of my dual role as 'manager' and 'researcher' which almost verged on 'schizophrenia' by the end of my research . The ethics relating to manager and researcher roles and the conflicts are discussed in later sections.

Stage two of the research, as with stage one, created a great deal of data which had to be analysed and reduced in order to set a base framework for further development of the thesis. Stage three used the findings from the previous stage to seek possible links between culture and performance and examine the leadership links with culture and performance. This was researched by analysing the corporate culture, that is the ideals of the Bass Brewers Board, and using quantitative data and interviews with key personnel.

It is relatively easy to set out research methodologies retrospectively into frameworks and stages of research and theoretical development. All this looks very neat and tidy, when in reality the whole process of working inductively from qualitative data can get very messy and very complicated particularly at the stage of qualitative analysis.

3.2   Slicing the Organisational Culture

Many authors have used the analogy of 'slicing up the organisation' or 'slicing the culture' in order to highlight and understand the complexities of an organisation's culture by focusing on particular aspects (Mintzberg 1979, Louis 1985). However, as Louis suggests there are many ways of slicing up an organisation's culture. My research methods used in the fieldwork at Bass can be best described as being analogous to 'slicing an icing topped fruit cake', which as a whole, viewed from different angles and dimensions, can be perceived in many different ways. For example, if we view the Bass Brewers 'cultural cake' two dimensionally (see Figure 3.2), although there are clear functional boundaries, these are linked together by a smooth homogeneous top. Many senior managers, who consider an organisation's corporate culture as a variable which can be manipulated to satisfy business objectives, see the organisation in this dimension.

This two-dimensional view, assumes a single unitary culture which has no depth and theoretically is easy to understand and manipulate. The organisation's culture, viewed in this dimension, is assumed to be on the surface and consisting of observable behaviour and tangible phenomena. Research from this dimension could be linked to the variable perspective of culture which is often linked to the top down approach to changing an organisation's culture. A research methodology based on this perspective would provide a mis-leading view of culture yet would probably satisfy many managers wishing to embark on a culture change programme.

Figure 3.2 <u>Slicing the 'Cultural Cake' - A Two Dimensional View</u>

If on the other hand we view the 'cultural cake' three dimensionally with the top off, we get a very different picture which shows a heterogeneous organisational culture, very rich in texture and depth both horizontally and vertically (see Figure 3.3). In order to research and understand an organisation's culture, the organisation might best be viewed three-dimensionally so that the existence of multiple cultures, which may be functional, geographical or professional can be explored.

Figure 3.3 <u>Taking the Top Off A Three Dimensional View</u>

My initial research approach, viewing the organisational cake three dimensionally, was to take out the Distribution 'wedge' and slice it into 15 smaller wedges (see figure 3.4). This provided the setting for the research into the 15 different depot cultures. The next stage was then to take horizontal slices from each Distribution depot wedge and carry out a detailed analysis to identify manifestations of culture in each setting.

Figure 3.4   Slicing the Function, A Three Dimensional View

The next stage was then to take vertical slices from the thick end of the wedge and work inwards towards the organisation's centrally controlled operations at its headquarters in Burton. With this approach the organisation's culture and structure can be viewed 'bottom up' and in-depth see Figure 3.5. This figure shows the direction in which the research programme was conducted and, as mentioned previously, the simultaneous culture change programme was conducted. An interesting feature of the Bass management of change programme was that it was aimed at managers and middle managers in the organisation, stopping at supervisors and below. However, the long term plan was to eventually involve all levels on 'customer service programmes', and to communicate the planned changes within the business. My research worked the opposite way and concentrated on the middle managers and their subordinates who have impact on performance and who are closest to the customer.

Figure 3.5   <u>Culture Research and Culture Change Programmes</u>

Culture Change

Board Level (HQ)

Regional Director Level

Regional Manager Level

Distribution Manager Level

Distribution Operatives and Staff

Culture Research

Once the organisation has been sliced into several segments and both horizontal and vertical slices have been taken the research can become more focused. For example, each individual slice could be analysed in detail both horizontally and vertically in order to understand the local culture and how this fits in with the Bass dominant culture. The mass of data gathered from each depot required organising in order to identify links and themes, and move from data to theory via data analysis and data reduction. This is the creative part of the inductive process and where the use of a grounded theoretical analysis of the data saved time and helped induce relevant data and produce coherent theory.

3.3   Qualitative Data Analysis

The process of data analysis is clearly an important issue in the overall process of theory generation and assistance with emergent theories. Formal approaches to data analysis and theory generation can be found in most texts on fieldwork methods, however, detailed accounts of methodological approaches to data analysis are sparse. Sieber (1976) in his review of field methods which included : Glaser and Strauss (1967); Filstead (1970); Glaser (1972); Runkel and McGrath (1972); Schatzman and Straus (1973); Bogdan and Taylor (1975) and Smith (1975), identified that only 5 to 10 per cent of book space was devoted to analysis. He concluded that "methodologists obviously prefer to spend more time on such matters as gaining access, interviewing, choosing informants, handling reciprocites, and so on, rather than on the intellectual work of analysis" Sieber (1976 p1). From the analysis Sieber did generate a list consisting of a general approach to the data analysis problem, this included: the intertwining of analysis and data collection; formulating classes of phenomena: identifying themes: and the provisional testing of hypotheses.

One of the texts reviewed by Sieber, 'The Discovery of Grounded Theory' (Glaser and Strauss 1967), is probably the most cited and most used of the theory generation techniques. Turner (1983), for example gives practical examples of its use in hospitals, manufacturing and local government. Turner makes the point that grounded theory generation is not a new technique, and cites the early work of Malinowski (1944) and Whyte (1943) where similar data analysis techniques were used.

Grounded theory, as termed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and developed by Turner (1981, 1983) and Miles (1979), in its basic form is a technique to assist in the problem of analysing and interpreting large amounts of data. Miles (1979 p591) relates it to "being open to what the site has to tell us, and slowly evolving a coherent framework rather than imposing one from the start". This is achieved by arranging the perceived important

aspects of the source data in a format which can be seen and therefore manipulated to identify links, themes and categories. There are other similar approaches to grounded theory analysis, for example, Sackmann (1991) used 'theoretical content analysis' in her research into cultural knowledge in organisations. Sackmann describes the technique, which was developed by Carney (1979), as focusing on the isolation and examination of equivalent themes and their patterns. There are variations of grounded theory, the key issue is that in any type of research which generates large amounts of data a system is required to move from data to a coherent theory.

The concepts and patterns derived from the initial stages of grounded theoretical analysis underpin further theoretical development. At each stage of the development process, an understanding of the research setting can be tested by referring back to the research subjects for confirmation and validation. This validation process is vital in the understanding of the research site, and ensuring that emerging theory is developed from reliable data.

In view of the mass of data collected through observation and interview, the concept of grounded theory generation was used as part of the detective work looking for clues, patterns and links. In order to facilitate theoretical development I arranged my collected data into three easy access filing systems. The main filing system was in geographical /depot order which contained fieldwork notes from observations and interviews and any other relevant information about the depot and location. The second filing system was a précis of the depot notes written onto a cards (playing card size) which were used as a visual aid to theory generation. Further cards were introduced into the pack as patterns and linkages emerged, for example those relating to history, work patterns and trade union links. The third filing system was generated from theoretical development and was in subject links order, for example, leadership, values, symbols and rituals.

The grounded theoretical analysis of the data using the card systems, referring back to the main notes and validating with participants and non-participants produced patterns and linkages which fitted into three culture types: the counter culture; the positive culture and the changing culture (see Figure 3.6). The next stage of theory development was linkages between the three subcultures and the Bass 'corporate' culture as perceived by the Bass board. Using the card system this produced evidence of a top down approach to culture and management of change which failed to reach the lower levels in the organisation. Once again these findings were backed up by further interviews with senior managers within the organisation.

Subculture 'C'

Subculture 'B'

Subculture 'A'

BASS CULTURE

CULTURE AND PERFORMANCE

HEROES

RITUALS

SYMBOLS

VALUES

LEADERSHIP

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

9 3 | 7 | 13 | 1 | 2 | 11 | 12 | 14 | 5 | 4 | 10 | 8 | 6 | 3

Bass North Depots (reference to Figure 3.6)

1	Abergele	9	Huyton
2	Barrow	10	Leyland
3	Bury	11	Portmadoc
4	Colne	12	Scarborough
5	Eaglescliffe	13	Sheffield
6	Grimsby	14	Sleaford
7	Hebburn	15	Tadcaster
8	Hull		

Figure 3.6 is a simplistic three stage model which was used to reduce the data and develop the theory of culture management in the Bass organisation. This was used in conjunction with the framework developed in Chapter 2, Figure 2.2. 'A generic frame work for studying cultures and subcultures'.

The data generation process can be summarised as:-

*   **Stage 1** - the generation of subculture types from the 15 depot analysis;

*   **Stage 2** - the generation of linkages between the 3 sub-culture types and the beliefs and values of the Bass leadership.

*   **Stage 3** - the generation of linkages between the Distribution sub-cultures, the Bass 'corporate' culture and overall performance.

At arriving at the three subculture types through grounded theoretical analysis, cross site analysis and validation, was carried out. Several workplace and managerial links and patterns were identified at this stage which are documented in Chapter 4.

As a précis the depots were categorised as:-

1.	Liverpool	**<u>Subculture 'A'</u>**
2.	Tadcaster	<u>Counterculture</u>
3.	Newcastle	(values conflict with the values of
4.	Sheffield	the dominant culture)

5.	Abergele	**<u>Subculture 'B'</u>**
6.	Barrow	<u>Enhancing Culture</u>
7.	Portmadoc	(values are in line with the values of
8.	Scarborough	the dominant culture)
9.	Sleaford	
10.	Eaglescliffe	

11.	Colne	**<u>Subculture 'C'</u>**
12.	Leyland	<u>Changing Culture</u>
13.	Hull	'C' subcultures are historically
14.	Grimsby	'A' types moving towards 'B' types.
15.	Bury	

3.4   Access

Access to carry out fieldwork to a great extent is dependant upon the objectives of the research and the mode of study to be used to satisfy both the fieldworker and the sponsoring establishment's requirements. For example, a manager carrying out research in his own organisation, overtly and in the participant as observer mode of study, will have little difficulty gaining access as long as he is satisfying the requirements of the organisation. In this mode of study both researcher and informant are aware of their role and relationship. However, problems may arise if, as is often the case, the research approach and initial objectives change as theoretical development proceeds. In this situation the sponsoring establishment and the researcher's objectives may be out of synchronisation and access becomes difficult. This particular situation arose in my fieldwork in the Distribution depot studies and was overcome to a great extent by moving from overt to covert participant observation. In this mode of study the researcher may become a complete observer with little or no contact with the observed. Although this move solved my research problems it created problems with the sponsor who had preconceived ideas of the study outcome. The issue of observation modes and associated ethical issues are discussed further in the following sections and in the main body of the thesis.

One of the most important issues regarding access is the development of "a web of influential contacts" (Delany 1960, p457). In terms of influential contacts, this should refer to all levels within the research area. For example, it is equally important to develop a friendship with the Shop Steward as it is with the Distribution Director if successful entry is to be achieved.

Formal permission to carry out the research was gained through approval from the Distribution, Personnel, and Information Technology Directors which at the time posed no problem. However, access became more difficult as the research developed, for

example, because of the sensitivity of planned changes, it became difficult to get approval for overt observations at Trade Union and Management meetings and for general observations. Additionally, as my theories of Distribution life and a view of the Bass corporate culture developed, in many aspects they conflicted with the beliefs of Distribution Director, who was the main sponsor of the research. The Distribution Director's view being from a variable perspective in that he believed that the depot cultures could be manipulated and in some instances completely, and quickly changed to satisfy business objectives.

Conflicting views with the main research sponsor is clearly a major problem in terms of access and one which is difficult to manage. In many ways my role as Management Services Manager, which allows me access into any function in Bass and to ask questions, enabled me to get around any access problems.

It was for this reason and because of possible sources of opposition, that covert observations were made at meetings and during Management Services projects.

Approval was given for the second stage of the PhD research into the three different subcultures at Liverpool, Bury and Abergele, although, because of sensitivity both overt and covert observations were necessary in order to understand the behaviour patterns of the group members.

An additional problem regarding access was in relation to staff turnover. For example, of the original 21 Distribution Management team at the start of the research, only 5 (24%) were still in the same position at the latter stages of the research. This included the main sponsor of the research, the Distribution Director leaving the company. With such a high turnover access had to be renegotiated and research terms agreed with the relevant Director and Distribution Manager.

3.5   Data Collection Techniques

Participant Observation

Participant observation is considered to be the key technique used by anthropologists in the qualitative methodologies associated with ethnographic fieldwork. Within anthropological ethnography the importance of a long residence or 'extended' participant observation is seen as essential to the understanding of the research setting and the people within it. Sanday (1979 p527), makes the point that "participant observation demands complete commitment to the task of understanding. The ethnographer becomes part of the situation being studied in order to feel what it is like for the people in this situation".

Although in the anthropological definition, 'extended' participant observation was not used in the Bass Distribution fieldwork, several variations of the participant observation mode of study, covertly and overtly, were used.

Several observations techniques are available to the researcher which range from total interactive participation within the research setting to a non-interactive mode as an observer. Additionally, linked to the choice or mode of observation, is a need to decide on the requirement for covert or overt observations. Gold (1958) and Junker (1960) conceptualised researcher and subject relationships into four roles and four categories, (see Figure 3.7).

Figure 3.7   A Taxonomy of Field Roles

Participant
Observation

(4)
Participant
as Observer

(1)
Complete
Participant

Overt
Research

Covert
Research

(3)
Observer
as Particpant

(2)
Complete
Observer

Spectator

Ref: Gill & Johnson (1991)

In role (1) complete participant, the researcher works covertly as a normal member of the

organisation and therefore requires no permission for access. In role (2) complete

observer, the researcher works covertly and there is no contact between the research

subjects, therefore again access is no problem. In role (3) observer as participant, the

researcher is generally an 'outsider' working overtly in the field and therefore access is

difficult to negotiate. In role (4) participant as observer, the researcher, usually an

'insider', works overtly and both researcher and the observed are aware of each others role

in the fieldwork.

My fieldwork in the Bass Distribution depots involved using the four field roles to

varying degrees, and were used both covertly and overtly to fit the particular situation. In

my professional role as Management Services 'observer' I was able to carry out project studies and research fieldwork simultaneously. In addition to my direct observations, access to data was gained through indirect observation, making use of informants' knowledge of the research subjects. A great deal of this data from indirect observation came from interviewing Management Services Analysts who had carried out direct observations in the depots over a 20 year period. Additionally interviews with long serving personnel and staff who were leaving the organisation through retirement or redundancy, and were therefore less inhibited, provided an in-depth view of the Bass culture past and present.

The role of the Management Services Manager involves attending meetings on a regular basis with Distribution Management and Trade Union officials, and involvement in project work at the depot sites. This unique situation enabled me to observe both management and shopfloor personnel in their daily routines as a 'manager' and a 'researcher'. Although the Distribution managers were aware of my PhD research through the formal interviews and questionnaires, they were largely unaware of the participant observations and the recording of events at meetings and site visits. This covert observation technique was used in order to observe 'true' behaviour rather than their reactions had they been constantly aware of the studies. Dalton (1959), used a similar approach in his ethnographic research on cultures in four manufacturing organisations. Dalton used participant observation as one of his techniques whilst being a full time employee, his work to a great extent was covert in that the observed were unaware of the observations taking place. The obvious problem with this technique is the information gained and how it is used, which could be damaging to the participant. This highlights the problems associated with covert participant observation and raises the question of ethics which will be discussed in one of the following sections.

Covert and Overt Observation

As briefly discussed, the research in Phase 1 involved the use of both overt and covert observations, the distinction being whether or not the person or group is aware of the observations being made. The main reason for the use of the covert approach is the assumption that the overt presence of the researcher will in some way invalidate the findings because of an artificial performance or may indeed result in a refusal to participate. It is very true from experience of carrying out work study and organisation and methods studies on both managerial and shopfloor personnel that people behave differently under observation. However, Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) argue that peoples reactions to knowingly being researched are as important as their reactions under normal conditions and that reactivity should be monitored and not eliminated. It is for this reason that both techniques of overt and covert observations were used to monitor the Distribution Managers reactions to certain themes of questioning. All meetings and observations were recorded in a research diary shortly after the event.

Socialising

In order to develop closer relationships with managers outside the work setting, Dalton (1959), used socialising as one of his techniques and sources of research data.
In order to develop closer relationships with the Distribution managers and shopfloor personnel and at a later stage as the research area widened I used a similar technique. This involved attendance at the local staff club at lunch times and outside working hours in the local pub. At these out of work meetings, general discussions would invariably lead to the work situation, the MMC report and the general state of the brewing industry and Bass. Additionally at formal events, such as the two day Distribution Managers Conference, the evening sessions at the bar were again very useful for discussing the various problems within the depots. This type of data gathering through socialising was used to gain an insight into the subcultures and the measurement of cultural dispersion.

As the technique of socialising provided me with useful data, as the research developed and the wider issues of the Bass culture and other functions required analysis, I used the technique of 'multifunctional socialising'. This involved generating debate about the management of the change programme and discussing the 'old' and 'new' culture with managers from various functions and regions. Not surprisingly generating debate, particularly amongst long serving personnel, was not a problem. The data from socialising with groups outside the Distribution function and outside the Bass North region provided me with an insight into other functional and regional cultures. All notes from this type of data collection were written up within a few hours of the discussions.

Formal Interviews

In the initial stages of the research formal interviews were conducted with the Distribution Managers. These were semi-structured interviews lasting about three/four hours and covered a brief introduction to the purpose of my research and then more detailed questioning covering a variety of topics about the Bass organisation and management of change. I used the same topic list and questionnaire for all 15 initial interviews with the depot managers (see appendix 4). In order to gain their confidence I assured them that the personal information being gathered, particularly that relating to personal viewpoints would be treated as confidential in the sense that individuals would not be identified. This seemed to ease some of the tension as many of the managers assumed that the Distribution Director had initiated the research in order to measure managerial performance. This initial suspicion was linked to two factors. Firstly, the Management Services function is perceived as being a 'senior management tool' for controlling both management and shopfloor overheads, as such, a Management Services Manager asking questions about depot culture and performance would automatically arouse suspicion. Secondly, because of the major restructuring in Bass Brewers, many middle managers were concerned about their long term future. In view of the suspicion generated by my research I was surprised when at the first meetings all depot managers

agreed to participate in the psychometric personality test and the whole research. On reflection, I believe that all the managers were concerned, yet collectively they had decided to participate on the grounds that the research had been sanctioned by the Distribution Director. It became obvious that the managers had been discussing the research, the news of tests and detailed questionnaires travelled from Newcastle to Liverpool and around the region within hours of my first depot interview.

In order to maintain confidentiality the personality tests were analysed by the Personnel Manager with the names deleted. The results of the tests were used to form the basis of the second less formal interviews.

In the second phase of the research, which involved culture audits in the three subculture groupings interviews were carried out with depot personnel at the three sites to determine the historical background to the subcultures and to use this as a starting point for the measurement of cultural dispersion and cultural impact on outcomes. The latter involved retrospective data collection and interviews with key personnel eg., Distribution Director, Manager, Regional Manager and Shop Stewards representing each depot. Because of the delicate nature of the research in terms of implicit criticism of the way in which senior management were managing changes, it was thought prudent at this stage not to explain in detail the full nature of the research to the informants.

Interviews with shopfloor personnel was covert and mainly carried out within my role as Management Services Manager. I spent three days working with the Draymen in the Liverpool, Bury, and Abergele depots which was once again covert. In this situation I was able to work and discuss a variety of topics with the warehouse operatives and the draymen in a work situation. Initially, my presence was viewed with suspicion, but this was overcome/accepted within an hour of working. A great deal of my observations came from discussing topics on the road, in the warehouse and in the works canteen

where a different 'canteen culture' was to be found in each depot. Notes from interviews and observations during the three days were written up shortly after the event.

During the research period many middle and senior managers within the Distribution function were made redundant or left the company to join competitors. Many of these were interviewed in the last week before they left the company and gave a descriptive picture of their thoughts of Bass and the way it had changed over the years.

Wherever possible I interviewed managers who had moved away from the North region and were now working at HQ or in a different region. For example, I interviewed the Headquarters Distribution Manager at Burton who had previously worked in the Scottish and Southern regions of Bass and had also worked in the North at the Liverpool depot. All these interviews were used to supplement and validate my findings.

Interviews with other regional Management Services Managers were also carried out in order to validate my findings in the North.

My techniques used for interviewing, ranged from structured and semi-structured to 'covert interviews' whereby the research subject was unaware that I was carrying out an interview. I used this covert interviewing technique mainly on senior managers outside the Bass North region and who in some cases did not work in the Distribution function. I used the technique simply because the decision to use it was usually spontaneous and I did not think I would get the same response to my questioning if I had to explain my research thesis. A good example of this was when I was working on a project in the Wales and West region. On one of the evenings I met up with the Production Manager to discuss a project in the Cardiff Brewery, this led to a discussion on the state of Bass and how it was changing. On this occasion and on many other occasions I wrote up notes on attitudes following such discussions.

Psychometric Testing

Although there is considerable debate as to the validity of psychometric testing, used to profile candidates for job vacancies, many large organisations use this technique including Bass. The original idea to use personality testing as part of the data collection process on the Distribution Managers, was to identify possible links between management style, culture type and depot performance. The usefulness of this exercise showed up in the grounded theoretical analysis which clearly linked specific leadership style to depot culture type and performance. For example, in the subculture type 'A' counter culture, all managers in these depots showed to have an autocratic management style. Conversely, managers in subculture type 'B' and 'C' were generally categorised as having a democratic management style. In carrying out the psychometric test, which was basically a questionnaire, and giving the feedback to the managers, it usually brought about a closer relationship between the researcher and the subjects.

The Thomas International Personnel Profile Analysis System (PPA) was used to broadly determine the Distribution Managers' personality. The PPA was used in conjunction with Blake and Mouton's 'Managerial Grid' and Tannenbaum and Schmidt's 'Continuum' to determine leadership behaviour and management style.

Other Data Sources

A great deal of information was available from the Management Services Department's performance records and from Distribution HQ in Tadcaster and Burton. Statistical information was gathered from all fifteen Distribution Depots relating to depot performance. This included information on tonnage throughputs, staff and shopfloor manning levels, and information regarding depot location and culture. This information was used to see if there was any correlation between the qualitative data I had collected

and the overall performance of the depot. A great deal of this information went back 20 years.

Other sources of data, particularly relating to Bass Brewers Board's view of the 'corporate culture came from detailed analysis of the Chairman's video and audio presentations, the Bass management of change programme, national newspaper cuttings, annual reports and publications in the company newspaper 'Bass News'.

A major source of information, as mentioned above, relating to my interpretation of the Bass culture came from a 'management of change' programme which was being implemented during the latter part of my research programme. My role in the change programme was to attend a two day workshop with other managers and be told how Bass was to change its culture. The next stage was then to deliver the corporate message to subordinate managers on a similar two day programme. Although a detailed analysis of the response from the programmes are discussed in the fieldwork, comments from other functions on the empowerment module were:

" Not practising what we're preaching "

" We need the right signals from the top"

" Empowered to do what we are told"

" BS 5750 is a contradiction to empowerment "

" You are empowered to save money"

The general message from many managers in different functions and regions was that "empowerment is not and will not be a reality until we see a difference in the behaviour of the board". Some feedback relating to culture and change, from the Management Services 'Management of Change Programme' are shown in Appendix 2

From a research view this information was confirmation of my findings in the
Distribution function, and from my own experience on the two day management of
change programme. That is, that the corporate message and beliefs and values of the
board were not dispersed throughout the organisation. This is clearly a critical issue in
terms of the Board's vision and the perception and acceptance of the vision by the
workforce. These key issues are analysed further in subsequent chapters.

3.6   Ethical Issues

The ethical issues which may arise are those relating to the possibility of conflict between
the researcher and members of the host organisation. As indicated above, in order to
obtain information, it is sometimes necessary to carry out covert observations and covert
interviews and in some cases deviate from the truth. Frame (1987), identifies deception
as a technique used by researchers to gain access to the research setting. Specifically he
cites the work of Johnson (1975), who considers that deception plays an important role in
facilitating access. Using a cover story, Johnson defocused his research topic, and only
made clear his research intentions after gaining access. Johnson argues that had he
revealed his methodological research focus initially, access would have been rejected.

In the long term deception may offend or adversely affect the subjects being researched
and therefore careful consideration must be given to the techniques used to obtain data
and how the data is to be presented. Ethically there should be mutual respect between the
researcher and the subject in order that no risk is involved. Beck (1970, p15) provides
some useful guidelines:

"coming on straight is the best approach"

"make explicit the terms of the bargain you are making"

"do not try to gain access without making a full disclosure"

"whatever advantages accrue from deception will come back to haunt you in later days"

It could be argued that a great deal of my research touched, and on occasions, went over the ethics boundary, simply because I was using my trusted role as a manager to obtain information.

In my research ethical issues arose when there was conflict between my role as manager and my role as researcher. For example, over a six month period I was involved in a project which entailed carrying out a review of Distribution manning levels in all depots in the Bass North and Midlands areas. Throughout the project I carried out interviews with the managers and obtained performance data; simultaneously methods reviews were carried out by Analysts from my department. Many of the Distribution Managers were convinced that I was using my fieldwork material, which I had obtained in confidence through lengthy interviews, to supplement my findings on manning levels in the Distribution Depots.

In terms of ethics and in relation to my particular role as both manager and researcher, a major question surrounds the issue 'should managers carry out research in their own work area' ?. A wider ethical issue of course is the question of organisations trying to change the beliefs and values of the workforce. My answer to the former is that managers should be aware of the culture in which they work and 'control', a greater understanding would lead to a better manager - subordinate relationship. From my own experience I now see the organisation's culture very differently and in many ways I have incorporated my views into my work role.

3.9 Conclusions

The advantages of a manager carrying detailed research in his own organisation far outweigh any disadvantages. In my particular role as a Management Services Manager, carrying out both regional and national projects, I was able to gain access into the main research area in the Distribution function and then compare and contrast my findings in the other regions, other functions and at the Bass Head quarters in Burton. The management services role was ideal for linking with a qualitative research role. Using both the role as manager and researcher 'simultaneously' enabled me to explore many avenues and to develop a coherent theory from the data collected. Involvement in the Bass 'Management of Change' programme enabled me to gain a clearer understanding of the Bass Boards perception of change and managers and their subordinates response. This became valuable research data as I developed my theory and understanding of the Bass culture and the subcultures in the regions' Distribution Depots.

As a basic framework I found the systematic approach, generally used in the approach to problem solving, a useful guide. This was used flexibly as a closed loop in which I continuously validated my findings at all stages and in particular from my data analysis. Validation was carried out by continuously checking patterns and themes with depot managers, regional managers, operatives and the Distribution Director. However, the first validation point was usually with Management Services personnel who had spent many years working on projects in the research area.

Viewing an organisation's culture two-dimensionally and top down will produce the elusion that culture is a single homogeneous entity which can be easily understood and manipulated to satisfy business goals. An organisation's culture and its subcultures are rather part of a complex system which requires in-depth research in order to gain a clear understanding. In order to understand culture the researcher must get below the surface or the corporate view and view the research setting from a three-dimensional perspective

and 'bottom up'. The culture change programme for example, was introduced top down to middle manager levels only, my research by contrast was conducted bottom up from the shop floor. From this perspective the full width and depth of the culture can be explored. Taking manageable slices from the 'cultural cake' both horizontal and vertical, can then be researched in detail. Once an understanding of each section has been achieved the data can then be compared and contrasted with other regions and with the corporate culture. Research from this multifarious perspective of culture clearly requires access to all parts of the organisation nationally in order to get the whole picture. To a great extent my role in management services, which involved working on projects in all regions, facilitated this.

Data analysis, theory generation and continuous validation are clearly key areas in research, and a system is required to handle the data generated from fieldwork, and to convert this to a coherent theory. Grounded theory is one such approach which was used in my research. The key to theory generation is being able to visibly see what you have gathered in order identify links, themes and patterns. This visibility, which can be a card system or white board or both can be used by the researcher and key informants for validation purposes.

At the start of the research I had only envisaged collecting data through the use of in depth interviews and overt observation techniques. As the research moved forward and more information was required to validate my findings and develop a theory on the Bass culture and subcultures, I used several different data collection techniques to fit the situation and research requirement. This included the full spectrum of overt and covert participant and spectator observations as indicated in Figure 3.7. On many occasions I was able to use my role as manager to obtain information, under the guise of a management services project.

Playing two roles, that of a researcher and a manager simultaneously in an organisation can be problematic. The key issue is the question of keeping the two roles mutually exclusive, or using each role to enhance and compliment each other. Throughout the research, as a manager I was constantly seeing problems from a research view, and as a researcher I was constantly viewing problems as a manager. A danger in playing two different roles simultaneously is that the two merge into one which could cause problems for both roles. It is my view that managers as researchers gain a clearer understanding of both their own role in the organisation and in addition, a greater understanding of the research setting.

The role conflict in this type of research raises the issue of ethics and the possibility of conflict between the researcher and the organisation. Although I did not use any confidential information from my research to solve problems in my management role, on many occasions I was perceived by my informants to be 'gaining their confidence' to satisfy business objectives. A manager in an organisation has power and influence which can be used to obtain information unrelated to satisfying the objectives of the business. Additionally, the outcome of the research may also be in direct conflict with the beliefs and values of the organisation. This puts the researcher/manager in a vulnerable position in trying to satisfy both roles.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER THREE

Beck B (1970)

Cooking Welfare Studies in : Habenstein R W (Ed), Pathways to Data, Chicago, Aldine pp7-29

Beynon H (1973)

Working for Ford, Penguin, Harmondsworth

Bogdan R & Taylor S J (1975)

Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods, New York, Wiley

Carney T F (1979)

Content Analysis: A Technique for Systematic Inference from Communications, Winnipeg, Canada: University of Manitoba Press

Cunnison S (1966)

Wages and Work Allocation, Tavistock, London

Dalton M (1959)

Men Who Manage, Wiley, New York

Delany W (1960)

Some Field Notes on the Problem of Access in Organisational Research, Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol.5 No3, September. pp448-457

Filstead W J (1970)

Qualitative Methodology, Chicago: Rand McNally

Frame P G (1987

The Management of Stringency and the Nature of Organisational Sub-Cultures, Unpublished 'hD thesis, Sheffield City Polytechnic

Gill J & Johnson P (1991)

'esearch Methods for Managers, Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd

Glaser B G & Strauss A L (1967)

The Discovery of Grounded Theory, Aldine, Chicago

Glazer M (1972)

The Research Adventure - Promise and Problems of Field Work, New York, Random House

Gold R (1958)

Roles in Sociological Field Observation, Social Forces, Vol 36, No 3, pp 217-223

Hammersley M & Atkinson P (1983)

Ethnography: Principles in Practice, Tavistock, London

Johnson J D (1975)

Doing Field Research, New York Free Press.

Junker B H (1960)

Fieldwork, University of Chicago Press

Louis M R (1985)

An Investigators Guide to Workplace Cultures - in:- Organisational Culture ed. P J Frost et al, Sage Publications

Maanen J V (1979)

The Fact of Fiction in Organisational Ethnography, Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol 24, Dec. pp 539-550

Malinowski B (1944)

A Scientific Theory of Culture - Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press

Miles B M (1979 p. 591)

Quantitative Data as an Attractive Nuisance: The Problem of Analysis; Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol 24, Dec. pp 590-600

Iintzberg H (1973)

he Nature of Management Work, Harper & Row, New York

Iintzberg H (1979)

n Emerging Strategy of Direct Research, Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol 24, Dec pp 82-589

Popper K R (1968)

The Logic of Scientific Discovery, New York; Harper & Row

Runkel P J & McGrath J E (1972)

Research on Human Behaviour: A Systematic Guide to Method, Holt Rinehart and Winston, New York

Sackmann S (1991)

Cultural Knowledge in Organisations, Sage Publications

Sanday P R (1979)

The Ethnographic Paradigm(s), Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol 24, Dec pp 527-538

Schatzman L & Strauss A L (1973)

Field Research, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall

Selye H (1964)

From Dream to Discovery: On Being a Scientist, New York: McGraw-Hill

Sieber S D (1976)

"A Synopsis and Critique of Guidelines for Qualitative Analysis Contained in Selected Text Books" New York Centre for Policy Research

Smith H W (1975)

Strategies of Social Research, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall

Turner B A (1983)

The Use of Grounded Theory for the Qualitative Analysis of Organisational Behaviour, Journal of Management Studies 20, 3, 1983 pp 333-348

Whyte (1943)

treet Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum, Chicago: Chicago University 'ress

CHAPTER 4

FIELDWORK - BASS CULTURE 15 DISTRIBUTION DEPOTS

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Fieldwork - Bass Cultures 15 Distribution Depots

In order to capture the multifaceted aspects of the Bass culture in terms of core beliefs and values and the manifestations of culture in terms of practices, the fieldwork was carried out in three main stages and covered historical and current events within Bass from 1961 to 1993. The year 1961 was chosen as a starting point because the early 1960's was the start of increased mergers and take-over activity in the brewing industry. In particular the Bass - Mitchells & Butler merger in 1961 and the Bass - Charrington United Breweries merger in 1967 involved many changes and movement of people from well established cultures to different cultural settings. These mergers and major changes in the late 60's and early 70's and the more recent changes as a result of the Monopolies and Mergers Commission Report on "The Supply of Beer" (1989), have been used as a base to determine how culture and subcultures emerge, develop and change in large geographically dispersed organisations.

The first stage of the fieldwork involved 'culture audits' in 15 distribution depots in the Bass North region, and identified the existence of multiple subcultures some of which were supportive and others subversive towards the Bass 'corporate' culture as perceived by the main board. The cultural differences in the depots were categorised as being either positive, negative or changing cultures relative to the Bass corporate culture. For example, the positive cultures were those depot subcultures in which the group values and practices were in line with the Bass corporate culture at both managerial and shopfloor levels. The negative subcultures were those which the values and daily working practices conflicted with the corporate culture. The changing cultures were those which were generally in line with the dominant culture yet historically they fitted into the negative category.

Having identified the three subculture types from the detailed culture audits the second stage involved focusing on the three culture types and using three depots, Liverpool, Abergele and Bury, for further in-depth analysis. The second stage also covered an assessment of cultural dispersion, that is the degree to which the beliefs and values of the core culture are dispersed throughout the Bass organisation and specifically throughout the three subculture groupings. The final stage was an examination of the impact that subcultures in the distribution depots have on outcomes. The 'management and control' of cultures and subcultures and their impact on performance is developed further in Chapter 6.

The research methodology used to understand the cultural differences in the 15 depots, from a cognitive and behaviouralistic perspective, was based on methods used in ethnography and within an inductivist framework. The use of participant observation was supplemented by data gathering techniques using: formal interviewing; questionnaires; psychometric tests; historical analysis and general observations. The use of both covert and overt observations was used because of inaccessibility of depots at times for research purposes. As mentioned in the previous chapter, when approved access became a problem, mainly because of the sensitivity of ongoing changes, I used my Management Services role as a cover to obtain research data. The covert approach was generally used for shopfloor observations as I had approval for access to discuss my research with Depot management. Additionally, discussions and observations in other functions and regions were also covert in order to obtain access. However, managers were generally aware that I was carrying out research, but this was not discussed in any detail.

In total 51 interviews were carried out in 15 Bass North Distribution Depots and in Bass South, Midlands, Scotland and Burton Headquarters. In order to gain an understanding of both the corporate culture and subcultures, interviews were conducted at all levels and across the different functions.

This Chapter details the findings from the first stage of the fieldwork study in the 15 distribution depots and relates it to past research into cultures in organisational settings. The second stage of the fieldwork, covering a more detailed analysis of subculture types and the Bass corporate culture, is detailed in Chapter 5.

4.1 Culture Audits 15 Bass North Depots

The culture audits were carried out in 15 Distribution depots throughout Bass Brewers North, a location map of the research area is shown in Appendix 3

List of research sites:

1.	Abergele	North Wales
2.	Barrow	Cumbria
3.	Bury	Lancashire
4.	Colne	Lancashire
5.	Eaglescliffe	North Yorkshire
6.	Grimsby	Humberside
7.	Hebburn	Tyne and Wear
8.	Hull	Humberside
9.	Huyton	Merseyside
10.	Leyland	Lancashire
11.	Portmadoc	Mid Wales
12.	Scarborough	North Yorkshire
13.	Sheffield	South Yorkshire
14.	Sleaford	Lincolnshire
15.	Tadcaster	Yorkshire

The initial fieldwork commenced with semi-structured interviews with the 15 Distribution Managers and was structured around a questionnaire covering a wide variety of personal and business topics (see Appendix 4). This included their career history, leadership and management style, motivation, decision making, reward systems, management of change, new technology, their work activity and the Bass Mission Statement. Discussions around the Bass Mission Statement and the Bass philosophy for success was used to compare their beliefs and values with that of Bass. At the end of each interview the Distribution Manager completed a psychometric personality

profile questionnaire. The personality profile was initially used with a view to identifying links with leadership style and the depot culture. However, it also proved of use as a vehicle to go back to the managers with the analysed profile and discuss further the cultural manifestations in the depots, and the more deep rooted beliefs and values of the managers and operatives.

This first stage of the fieldwork was an attempt at establishing a close relationship with the managers in order to gain an understanding of their beliefs and values in relation to the company or corporate values, and to identify the manifestations of these values in the distribution practices. "The term manifestation refers to the evidence or demonstration of the existence of something, or the form in which something is revealed" (Louis 1985 p84). As identified in Chapter 2, the manifestations of culture can be found in the form of linguistic symbols, rituals, myths, heroes, structures and systems and are generally observable behaviour patterns and artefacts.

The main objective of the fieldwork interviews and the many site visits was to identify these 'manifestations' and 'core values' in order to develop hypotheses. Using an inductive research methodology to identify, at that time, unknown cultural groupings would form a base for depot comparisons and attribute the differences to specific features of the depot culture.

In addition to the interviews with the distribution managers and discussions with site personnel, the Regional Distribution Managers, Distribution Directors, Personnel Directors and Regional Management Services Managers were interviewed in order validate the findings. Below is a précis of the findings in each Distribution depot.

Abergele Distribution Depot

Part of Colwyn Bay district of Clwyd, North Wales, industries include furniture manufacture and leisure resort. Population 48,639.

Distribution Manager - John Reynolds DOB 12/05/50

Background

YEAR	COMPANY	POSITION	AREA
1966	Local Authority	Transport Clerk	Stockport
1969	Gas Board	Gas Fitter	Stockport
1970	ICI	Process Operator	Stockport
1972	Bass	Stock Clerk	Portmadoc
1975	Bass	Distribution Manager	Portmadoc
1987	Bass	Distribution Manager	Chester
1989	Bass	Distribution Manager	Abergele

Statistics

Overall tonnage per annum = 16K

Manning levels - staff = 11

Manning levels - hourly paid = 22

Abergele is a small depot situated in an isolated farming area near the village of Abergele and to the North of Colwyn Bay. The depot supplies the North Wales area which to a great extent is seasonal trade. On visiting the depot for the research and on previous visits on project work, a feeling of the close knit village community and a friendly atmosphere is always present. The current Distribution Manager has worked in the Wales and Chester areas for Bass for over 20 years and has a good knowledge of the Bass culture and the North Wales culture.

The Bass values and philosophy for success in terms of productivity, profitability, quality and customer service, and the slogans 'Bass No 1 in the North' and 'Great Brands Best

Service' are much in evidence in the depot. The manager believes and promotes these values through flexible working arrangements, a democratic management style, staff status payment schemes, team working, and a high level of communication with the staff and shopfloor teams. Having worked at Portmadoc and Chester depots the manager feels that cultural differences exist at different locations and that these differences affect depot management and depot performance. For example, having worked at Portmadoc depot for 15 years, which is a small rural depot in North Wales, he found attitudes and working practices very different when he was transferred to the Chester depot. The main differences were related to trade union activities which brought about high levels of restrictive practices in the warehouse and on the delivery drays, and a general resistance to change. He considers the differences to be linked to the general attitudes of people in particular geographical locations, and that the attitudes and beliefs of "Chester people" or "Welsh people" are visible in daily working practices. When he moved to Abergele in 1989 he found again a difference in culture, in the Abergele case it was a move to a more amenable workforce which he believes is characteristic of the culture of people living in North Wales.

The Bass corporate values are manifested in the behaviour patterns and practices at the Abergele depot and are visible in the form of their total commitment to quality, customer service and in particular the teamworking and flexible working arrangements between the warehouse and delivery teams. The depot culture can be described as being supportive and very much in line with the values of the 'corporate' culture. This is very much in evidence at Trade Union negotiating meetings, observations on site tours and attendance at distribution management meetings. Although there appears to be harmony at the depot, conversations with warehouse operatives and draymen, revealed resentment regarding pay levels at other depots for carrying out the same job. The Liverpool and Bury depots were frequently cited as comparisons.

A more detailed analysis of the Abergele site is discussed in Chapter 5 as the depot was chosen as a representative site for the subculture type 'B' enhancing culture.

ABERGELE - ORGANISATION CHART

DISTRIBUTION MANAGER

OPERATIONS SUPERVISOR

ADMIN SUPERVISOR

TELE SALES SUPERVISOR

TRANSPORT CLERK

DRIVERS 12

MATES 4

WAREHOUSEMEN 6

DISTRIBUTION CLERK 3

TELE SALES CLERKS 3

Statistics

Tonnes per annum = 16k

Manning levels - staff = 11

Manning levels - hourly paid = 22

MAY 1990

Barrow Distribution Depot

Barrow-in-Furness, Cumbria, main industries include iron and steel and ship building.
Population 72,635.

Distribution Manager - Colin Howarth DOB 19/12/45

Background

YEAR	COMPANY	POSITION	AREA
1962	Taylor Anderton	Trainee	Colne
1964	Bass	Clerk	Colne
1966	Bass	Warehouse Manager	Colne
1969	Bass	Stock Auditor	N.West
1973	Bass	Warehouse Manager	Leyland
1977	Bass	Transport Manager	Leyland
1982	Bass	Distribution Manager	Barrow

Statistics

Overall tonnage per annum = 13K

Manning levels - staff = 5

Manning levels - hourly paid = 17

The Barrow depot was purpose built for the distribution of Bass products around the
Cumbria area in the 1970's. There are no historical links with the depot site and the
brewing industry, which the Distribution Manager considers as being significant in the
light of his experience and knowledge of other Distribution depots in Bass North. As a
Stock Auditor for four years, covering all Bass North West depots, he spent a great deal
of time in depots working with both management and shopfloor operatives on stock
control and auditing procedures. In terms of cultural differences he found that operatives
in depots who had historical links with the brewing industry were the most difficult to
work with. In particular he cited the Liverpool and Bury depots, which have historical
links with Bents Brewery (Liverpool) and Cornbrook Brewery (Manchester) respectively.
He described both depots as "having a long history of militant trade unions which
originated in the breweries and were then transferred into the depots when the breweries

closed". As a Stock Auditor he recognised many of the brewery traits and restrictive practices, for example, the beer drinking habits whilst out on the drays, three man crews on the drays and no flexibility across fleet and warehouse operations. In depots with no historical links, for example, Abergele, Portmadoc and Barrow he found a different culture which he described as "operating flexible working practices".

In the Barrow depot there are no restrictive practices in operation, due mainly to a salaried payment system, which encourages all deliveries to be made on the scheduled day by whatever manpower is available. The Barrow depot was one of the first depots to move onto a salaried pay system, which has been in operation for over four years. The salaried pay system incorporates all payments, including overtime, into a salary which is paid on the basis that all deliveries are made when required with no restrictive practices across warehouse and delivery operations.

The Barrow workplace culture is very similar to Abergele in terms of the manifestations of culture in their behaviour patterns and practices. This can be seen in the manager's shared values with the 'corporate' culture and the workforce's commitment to quality, customer service and total flexibility.

The manager at Barrow has worked 30 years for the Bass organisation and has seen many changes in leadership and in operating practices. Having worked at Colne and Leyland at manager level and for four years covering all North West depots as a Stock Auditor, he feels that the workforce attitudes and cultures are different in all areas. He believes in the Bass philosophy for success and communicates this message to the workforce.

There is a good trade union/management relationship with both sides flexible and working towards the same goals. For example, the depot manager and trade union shop steward regularly meet to discuss current and anticipated problems in both the warehouse and on the delivery drays. Total flexibility between staff, warehouse and draymen ensures that all customer deliveries are met. In situations where deliveries may be missed

staff generally provide assistance in the warehouse. A salaried payment system and teamwork is in operation at the depot and there is a very low resistance to change. However, as with Abergele, there is resentment regarding higher pay levels in other depots.

The workforce culture can be described as being supportive of the corporate culture in terms of the core values expressed in the Bass mission statement.

A key point made by the manager was the fact that at the smaller depots greater autonomy and self control is allowed by senior management. He explained that the Regional Distribution Manager and Distribution Director very rarely visited the depot. In contrast, in the larger depots there is much tighter control and regular visits by senior management.

```
                    DISTRIBUTION
                      MANAGER
                         |
          ┌──────────────┴──────────────┐
       SENIOR                      OPERATIONS
       CLERK                       SUPERVISOR
          |                             |
    ┌─────┴─────┐                 ┌─────┴─────┐
 GENERAL    GENERAL         WAREHOUSEMEN    DRAYMEN
  CLERK      CLERK               4            13
```

Statistics

Tonnes per annum = 13k

Manning levels - staff = 5

Manning levels - hourly paid = 17

MAY 1990

<u>Bury Distribution Depot</u>

Bury, Lancashire, main industries include cotton and textiles.

Population 176,578.

<u>Distribution Manager</u> - Derek Jones DOB 12/2/51

<u>Background</u>

YEAR	COMPANY	POSITION	AREA
1966	Masseys Breweries	Transport Admin	Colne
1969	Masseys Breweries	Asst. Transport Manager	Burnley
1972	Bass	Routeing Supervisor	Bury
1975	Bass	Retail Delivery Supervisor	Bury
1975	Bass	Transport Supervisor	Colne
1976	Bass	Distribution Manager	Barrow
1980	Bass	Distribution Manager	Blackpool
1986	Bass	Distribution Manager	Bury

<u>Statistics</u>

Overall tonnage per annum   = 60K

Manning levels - staff   = 18

Manning levels - hourly paid = 63

The depot at Bury was originally rented as a purpose built site and has been in operation since the early 70's. Previously, delivery operations were from central Manchester when part of the Cornbrook Brewery, which was Bass owned and closed in 1970 as part of a major rationalisation programme. Originally, because of the transfer of management and operatives from the Cornbrook Brewery in Manchester, the depot culture was strongly 'traditional' brewery with a high level of restrictive practices and poor productivity. As mentioned previously, a brewery culture is very different from a depot culture. This stems from the 1960's and 1970's when many brewery sites were integrated in terms of brewing and delivery operations. At this time, which was a time of 'strong' trade union

power, brewery shop stewards negotiated high levels of pay, introduced many restrictive practices and generally, management turned a blind eye to operatives drinking beer whilst on the job. In fact as one Distribution Manager stated "at that time it would have been hypercritical for management to have stopped the drinking in working hours". It would appear that, in the breweries, it was custom and practice for both brewery management and operatives to 'sample the beer', to use the technical term.

In an attempt to resolve problems linked to the 'Cornbrook culture', a major reorganisation in 1981 transferred trade to surrounding depots. This did not resolve all the problems but reduced the risk to Bass. Over the past 10 years there has been a significant change in the culture from being subversive to supportive. This culture change is considered to be a result of the demise of the 'Cornbrook Brewery Culture' or the 'Salford Mafia' as it is still referred, to a supportive depot culture. As the Cornbrook operatives left the organisation, new operatives were recruited locally, and a socialisation process linked to the Bury depot ways of working ensured conformity.

The Bury depot manager has worked in the brewing industry for 27 years, 6 years of which were spent in a 'brewery culture' and 21 years in various 'depot cultures'. He considers that there is a considerable difference between a brewery and a depot culture in terms of norms, beliefs and values. Having worked at Colne, Barrow and Blackpool depots he also considers there to be significant cultural differences between depots. He also considers that general strategic policies made from 'the centre' clearly do not fit all depot cultures.

Many of the Bury employees interviewed considered that the Bury culture had changed significantly over the years from being militant and subversive to more consultative and supportive. Although Bury operate an incentive payment system based on standard minute values the strong trade union team is flexible through negotiation. Overall the practices at Bury are in line with the values of the dominant culture.

Both management and operatives identified with past 'heroes' in terms of past

Distribution Directors and trade union leaders. In particular many operatives talked

about the shop steward between 1972 and 1988. Cornbrook employees clearly saw him

as a leader who could 'handle' management and negotiate high levels of pay. However,

many Bury employees saw him as "the cause of much unrest at the depot" and "the leader

of the Salford Mafia who looked after themselves". From discussions with both

management and Bury operatives, many feel that the culture change started when the

shop steward left the organisation in 1988.

A more detailed analysis of the Bury culture is discussed in Chapter 5 as the depot was

chosen as a representative site for the subculture type 'C' changing culture.

BURY - ORGANISATION CHART

DISTRIBUTION MANAGER

GARAGE MANAGER
- FITTERS (SELF EMPLOYED) 3

OPERATIONS MANAGER
- OPERATIONS SUPERVISOR 2
  - WAREHOUSE CHECKERS 3
    - WAREHOUSEMEN 19
  - FLEET
    - RETAIL DRIVERS 28
    - RETAIL MATES 11
    - TANK DRIVERS 5

OFFICE MANAGER
- CASHIER
- OPERATIONS SUPERVISOR
  - ROUTEING SUPERVISOR
    - CLERKS 3
  - STOCK CONTROLLER
    - STOCK CONTROL CLERKS 2

Statistics

Tonnes per annum = 60k
Manning levels - staff = 18
Manning levels - hourly paid = 63

MAY 1990

Colne Distribution Depot

Colne, East Lancashire, main industries include cotton and felts.

Population 18,873

Distribution Manager - Dennis Fitton DOB 3/9/58

Background

YEAR	COMPANY	POSITION	AREA
1979	Scottish & Newcastle	Graduate Trainee	Edinburgh
1980	Scottish & Newcastle	Ind. Engineer	Edinburgh
1981	Scottish & Newcastle	Warehouse Manager	Edinburgh
1983	Haywood Brothers	Ops. Manager	London
1985	Haywood Brothers	Asst. Sales/Production Director	London
1987	Pirelli	Distribution Manager	Swindon
1990	Bass	Distribution Manager	Colne

Statistics

Overall tonnage per annum   = 25K

Manning levels - staff   = 15

Manning levels - hourly paid = 29

Although the Colne depot is not on an original Brewery site there are strong historical links with the Masseys Brewery of Burnley which was closed in 1970. The brewery closure caused many employees to move from their traditional Brewery culture to the distribution function. Initially, the culture was an amalgam of brewery and warehouse operatives, the dominant culture being brewery culture of the Massey employees. The culture has changed over the past 20 years from a traditional brewery culture with established attitudes, norms and a resistance to change, to a supportive culture. In terms of culture change, the situation at Colne is similar to the changes occurring at the Bury depot. The demise of the former Massey employees and the socialisation of new operatives and management has resulted in a more flexible workforce.

The Distribution manager at Colne has only been with Bass for 3 years and therefore has no comparisons to make with other depots. However, having worked for a competitor (Scottish & Newcastle Breweries) he considers Bass in all functions to be 'old fashioned' and very traditional. His induction programme and socialisation into the Bass organisation involved an insight into all operations at Bass.

Discussions with the workforce and staff indicate that the culture at Colne has changed significantly over the past 20 years. The culture change, from the 1970's and the influx of the Massey's employees has been a move to, a more flexible trade union, team working in the warehouse and on the delivery drays, salaried payment systems and total quality systems. The workforce is supportive of the goals of the organisation in terms of those identified in the mission statement.

```
                    ┌─────────────────┐
                    │  DISTRIBUTION   │
                    │    MANAGER      │
                    └────────┬────────┘
            ┌────────────────┴─────────────────┐
   ┌────────┴────────┐                 ┌────────┴────────┐
   │   OPERATIONS    │                 │     ADMIN       │
   │   SUPERVISOR    │                 │   SUPERVISOR    │
   └────────┬────────┘                 └────────┬────────┘
      ┌─────┴──────┐              ┌──────────────┴──────────────┐
┌─────┴─────┐ ┌────┴──────┐ ┌─────┴──────┐             ┌────────┴───────┐
│ WAREHOUSE │ │OPERATIONS │ │ TELESALES  │             │     STOCK      │
│  FOREMAN  │ │SUPERVISOR │ │ SUPERVISOR │             │    CONTROL     │
└─────┬─────┘ └────┬──────┘ └─────┬──────┘             └────────────────┘
  ┌───┴────┐  ┌────┴────┐   ┌─────┴──────┐
┌─┴──────┐ ┌─┴────┐ ┌──┴───┐│ TELESALES  │
│TRANSPORT│ │WARE- │ │OPER- ││  CLERKS    │
│        │ │HOUSE │ │ATIONS││    6       │
└─┬──────┘ └─┬────┘ │CLERK │└────────────┘
          │   └──────┘
┌────┴────┐ ┌───┴────┐
│ DRIVERS │ │ MATES  │ ┌──────┴─────┐
│  13     │ │  8     │ │CHARGE HAND │
└─────────┘ └────────┘ └──────┬─────┘
                       ┌───────┴──────┐
                       │ WAREHOUSEMEN │
                       │     7        │
                       └──────────────┘
```

MAY 1990

Statistics

Tonnage per annum = 25k
Manning levels - staff = 15
Manning levels - hourly paid = 29

Eaglescliffe Distribution Depot

Eaglescliffe, near Middlesbrough main industries include iron and steel, heavy

engineering and chemicals.

Population 149,770

Distribution Manager - David Redfern DOB 27/5/48

Background

YEAR	COMPANY	POSITION	AREA
1965	Coach Company	Fitter	Sheffield
1969	Bass	Fitter	Sheffield
1971	Bass	Trunking Controller	Sheffield
1980	Bass	Trunking Manager	Sheffield
1985	Self Employed	General Dealer	Sheffield
1987	Bass	Warehouse Manager	Sheffield
1989	Bass	Distribution Manager	Eaglescliffe
1991	Bass	Wines & Spirits Manager	Grimsby

Statistics

Overall tonnage per annum   = 31K

Manning levels - staff   = 8

Manning levels - hourly paid = 28

The Eaglescliffe depot is on an industrial site on the outskirts of Yarm village, and has no

historical connections with the brewing industry. On visiting the site there is a distinct

lack of character about the warehouse and surrounding area. The manager has been with

Bass for 24 years and has seen many organisational changes and changes in working

practices brought about by changes in leadership and economic necessity. Having

worked in the Sheffield area for 20 years prior to moving to Eaglescliffe he finds there is

a considerable difference in attitudes/culture. He explained that the Eaglescliffe team

were more ready to accept change and work towards the goals of the organisation than

the Sheffield workforce. He believes there are three major reasons for the differences in

culture. Firstly, he considers that the militant unions in the Swinton depot, which transferred to Sheffield in 1981, has had an impact on the attitudes of the workforce in relation to resistance to change. Secondly he considers that there is still bad feeling with former steel workers at the depot in relation to the demise of the steel industry in Sheffield. Thirdly, he considers that the depot's link with brewing in Sheffield, that is the Cannon and Hope Breweries has a significant impact on the depot culture.

He contrasts the Sheffield depot culture with the Eaglescliffe culture which can be best described as being supportive though in the past there has been a strong trade union activity and some resistance to change. Restrictive practices are currently being reduced and a salaried payment scheme is planned for implementation.

Statistics

Tonnage per annum = 31k
Manning levels - staff = 8
Manning levels - hourly paid = 28

MAY 1990

<u>Grimsby Distribution Depot</u>

Grimsby, Humberside main industries include food-processing and chemical industry.

Population 92,147

<u>Distribution Manager</u> - Terry Rankin DOB 3/11/48

<u>Background</u>

YEAR	COMPANY	POSITION	AREA
1965	Motor Company	Motor Engineer	Liverpool
1968	Bass	Motor Engineer	Leyland
1969	Bass	Transport Manager	Blackpool
1976	Bass	Transport Manager	Liverpool
1978	Bass	Distribution Manager	Liverpool
1989	Bass	Distribution Manager	Grimsby

<u>Statistics</u>

Overall tonnage per annum   = 25K

Manning levels - staff   = 24

Manning levels - hourly paid = 64

Although the Grimsby depot is not on a brewery site the depot has historical links with Hewitt Bros Ltd of Grimsby. Bass had long standing trading agreements with Hewitt's in the 1960's, Bass stocking Hewitt Bros products in return for an agreement to sell Bass Worthington draught and bottled beers. Although the Grimsby Brewery closed as a result of the Bass Charrington mergers, evidence of this link can be seen in the Grimsby distribution offices. Artefacts in the form of posters, pictures and ornaments can be seen in most offices.

The Distribution manager has been with Bass for 25 years and has worked in many different depots. Having worked at the Leyland, Blackpool, and Liverpool depots he feels that there are significant differences in the depot cultures in terms of values and

attitudes and the effect these have on distribution practices. The manager considers that past leaders, Board level Directors, Distribution Directors and Trade Union leaders, have played a key role in the formation, development and changing of workplace and management cultures. He expands on this by using himself as an example in relation to bringing his experience of managing a large militant depot in Liverpool, to transform Grimsby. He believes that since moving from Liverpool to Grimsby in 1989 he has changed the workplace culture at Grimsby towards being more supportive of the Bass mission. This was achieved, he believes by introducing a salaried scheme, flexible working arrangements and the elimination of all restrictive working practices. During this period of change many employees left the organisation and were replaced by local people under the new terms and conditions.

An interesting point is that, whilst as a manager at the Liverpool depot for 11 years, despite numerous strategies, there were no significant changes in attitudes or working practices. Restrictive practices at the Liverpool depot (1990) amounted to 33 which clearly restricts operations. It would appear that the Grimsby depot managers approach to change was more readily accepted in Grimsby than at Liverpool. This point and the issues relating to behavioural compliance is examined in more detail in the following chapters.

There are strong Trade Union activities at the site yet both sides are flexible in negotiation. Resistance to change has been overcome by coercive methods such as the threat of closure resulting from the MMC report. For many years the depot has been under threat of closure because of its location which is not ideal for its customer delivery base. As such, on many occasions the threat of closure has been used in order to introduce more efficient working practices. This was the case when the current manager moved from Liverpool to Grimsby, this coincided with the MMC report and a real threat of closure. This has resulted in no restrictive practices and a move towards a salaried payment system. Generally the culture at Grimsby has changed over the years and is

more supportive of change, the operating practices are now in line with the Bass philosophy for success.

When asked about using the same threat of closure on the Liverpool depot to achieve change his reply was that "they would rather see it close than give in to management".

GRIMSBY - ORGANISATION CHART

```
                        REGIONAL
                      DISTRIBUTION
                        MANAGER
                           |
     ┌─────────────────────┼─────────────────────┐
     |                     |                     |
   BEER                 ADMIN               W & S OPS
 OPERATIONS            MANAGER               MANAGER
 SUPERVISOR
     |                    |                     |
 ┌───┴──────┐        ┌────┴──────┐         ┌────┴────────┐
 |          |        |           |         |             |
TRANSPORT  BEER    DEPOT      BOND        OPS SUPER    OPS SUPER
OPERATIONS W/HOUSE ADMIN      ADMIN       DUTY PAID    BOND
SUPERVISOR OPERATIONS SUPERVISOR SUPERVISOR
           SUPERVISOR
 |          |        |           |            |             |
TRANSPORT CHARGEHAND │        BOND CLERKS  CHARGEHAND    CHARGEHAND
 CLERKS      |       |            3           |             |
   2     WAREHOUSEMEN│                    ┌───┴────┐   WAREHOUSEMEN
 ┌──┴───┐    7   ┌───┴────┐               |        |       5
 |      |        |        |          WAREHOUSEMEN PLUS 6
BOND  RETAIL   W & S    STOCK            16     WAREHOUSEMEN
DRIVERS DRIVERS PURCHASER CONTROLLER           FROM 18/6/90
  6     17        |        |
        |      W & S CLERK STOCK CLERKS
     RETAIL MATES            4
        4
```

Box	Count
WAREHOUSEMEN (Ops Super Bond)	5
WAREHOUSEMEN (Ops Super Duty Paid)	16
PLUS 6 WAREHOUSEMEN FROM 18/6/90	
BOND CLERKS	3
STOCK CLERKS	4
WAREHOUSEMEN (Beer W/House)	7
RETAIL MATES	4
RETAIL DRIVERS	17
BOND DRIVERS	6
TRANSPORT CLERKS	2

Statistics

Tonnage per annum = 25k

Manning levels - staff = 24

Manning levels - hourly paid = 64

MAY 1990

Newcastle (Hebburn) Distribution Depot

Hebburn, Tyne and Wear near Gateshead main industries include ship building and engineering.

Population 23,597

Distribution Manager - Colin McLean DOB 8/11/56

Background

YEAR	COMPANY	POSITION	AREA
1980	Christian Salvesan	Grad. Trainee	Manchester
1981	Christian Salvesan	Supervisor	Manchester
1983	Christian Salvesan	Supervisor	London
1984	Christian Salvesan	Systems Engineer	Edinburgh
1985	Drybrough	Admin. Manager	Edinburgh
1987	Tetley	Dist. Manager	Durham
1988	Bass	Dist. Manager	Hebburn
1991	Bass	W/Spirits Manager	Glasgow

Statistics

Overall tonnage per annum   = 49K

Manning levels - staff   = 19

Manning levels - hourly paid = 52

The depot at Newcastle was purpose built for Bass distribution in 1974, previous operations being in South Shields. Although there are no historical brewery links with Bass in the North East, there has been and still is a strong brewery presence in the area. Newcastle, like many other industrialised cities, has a reputation for strong trade unions and a high resistance to change. The Newcastle depot does not appear to be an exception to that rule.

The distribution manager feels that an autocratic management style is required in an area/depot such as Newcastle where there is a subversive culture. The manager has been with Bass 5 years and remembers his induction or socialisation as being an introduction

to the traditional ways of the Bass culture. In comparison with his previous employers, Tetley and Christian Salvesan, he considers the Bass culture to be very traditional and highly resistant to change. Specifically he refers to the introduction of new technology and automated warehousing which were introduced many years ago in our competitors' breweries and warehouses. A painful example of this in Newcastle, was the building of a new £70k loading dock in 1990, on completion the draymen refused to use it, and it has never been used to date.

There is a very strong Trade Union at the Newcastle depot which to an extent is inflexible, however, there are signs of change which have been brought about by the economic situation and the need to change to survive. There is a high resistance to accept change readily with regards to quality systems, salaried payment schemes, and general changes to working practices. There are strict demarcation lines between the warehouse operatives and the delivery drivers and there are strong family links within the workforce.

Overall both the management and operatives' values conflict with values of the dominant culture. The manager for example does not believe that strategies generated from Burton HQ are suitable for the Newcastle culture. Examples of this are the salaried payment system which he believes would be counter productive at the depot. He believes that the workforce 'need' tightly controlled incentives payment systems in order to achieve target throughputs. Other examples given were the introduction of standard job titles and standard manning levels which he feels should be agreed at a local level and not determined nationally from central headquarters. Generally he considers that regional depot managers, within broad guidelines, should be given regional autonomy to control their own operation and regional culture. That is not to say move away from the overall mission of the organisation, but to work within the mission with a greater span of regional control.

DISTRIBUTION MANAGER

OPERATIONS MANAGER

ADMIN MANAGER

OPERATIONS SUPERVISOR

HOURLY PAID

TRANSPORT 36

WAREHOUSE 16

OPERATIONS ADMIN

STOCK CONTROLLER

STOCK CONTROL CLERK

TANK BEER CLERK

TRANSPORT CLERK

TELESALES

TELESALES SUPERVISOR

TELESALES CLERKS 5

GENERAL OFFICE

SECRETARY/ CASHIER

ASSISTANT CASHER/WAGES

RECEPTIONIST

Statistics

Tonnage per annum = 49k

Manning levels - staff = 19

Manning levels - hourly paid = 52

MAY 1990

Hull Distribution Depot

Based near the Humber, Hull's main industries include; large docks/fishing; oil extraction; four mills; saw mills; chemicals and engineering.

Population 268,302

Distribution Manager - Thomas Wightman DOB 10/01/48

Background

YEAR	COMPANY	POSITION	AREA
1965	Ford	Mechanic	South Shields
1971	Nat. Frt. Corp	Mechanic	Hebburn
1974	Bass	Mechanic	Hebburn
1977	Bass	Chargehand	Hebburn
1980	Bass	Garage Manager	Hebburn
1985	Bass	Transport Manager	Hebburn
1988	Bass	Distribution Manager	Hull
1990	Bass	Distribution Manager	Hebburn

Statistics

Overall tonnage per annum   = 25K

Manning levels - staff   = 7

Manning levels - hourly paid = 23

The Hull depot is on an industrial estate on the outskirts of Hull, previous distribution operations were in the centre of Hull near the docks area. Historically the depot is linked to Moores and Robson Breweries and Hewitt Bros. of Grimsby. Moores and Robson was an entirely-owned subsidiary of Bass and sold the company's products for many years. Although there is little evidence of Moores and Robson or Hewitts at the present depot many employees moved from the brewery location to the new site in the 70's. The original culture was a mixture of brewery and depot operatives.

Having worked for Bass for 19 years, 17 of which have been at the Newcastle depot, the Hull manager feels that there is a significant cultural difference between the two sites in

terms of attitudes, values and practices. He considers these differences to be linked to both the culture of the geographical location and cultural mix of the workforce.

Historically there has been a high resistance to change at the depot, however, the operatives are now considered to be more supportive of the dominant culture's values. This can be seen in the current practices at the depot ie a low level of restrictive practices, low container damage, and a move towards a salaried payment system. Discussions with past and present managers and operatives indicate that the changes are a result of changes in leadership at the depot and the demise of the 'old' culture which originated from the docks and brewery culture in the late 60's. This situation seems to be typical in many depots where a move to a different location as resulted in the formation of a mixed culture. It would appear that the 'old site culture' employees and the new site culture employees' try to work out their differences and the stronger of the two, in terms of union strength takes on shopfloor leadership. Invariably it is the old site culture which usually takes on initial leadership. The reason for this is that the old site culture has had high levels of shopfloor control in the previous cultural setting. The cultural mix continues, in some cases for decades, until eventually employees from the old culture leave the organisation and a 'new' depot culture emerges.

It would appear that Hull depot is at the transformational stage, that is moving towards · supporting the goals of the organisation.

```
                          ┌──────────────┐
                          │ DISTRIBUTION │
                          │   MANAGER    │
                          └──────┬───────┘
              ┌──────────────────┴───────────────────────┐
         ┌────┴─────┐                              ┌──────┴──────┐
         │  ADMIN   │                              │ OPERATIONS  │
         │SUPERVISOR│                              │ SUPERVISOR  │
         └────┬─────┘                              └──────┬──────┘
   ┌──────┬───┴───┬─────────┐                ┌────────────┴──────────┐
┌──┴───┐┌─┴────┐┌─┴─────┐┌──┴────┐      ┌────┴───┐              ┌─────┴─────┐
│STOCK ││GENERAL││GENERAL││TRANS/ ││CANTEEN│RETAIL│              │CHARGEHAND │
│CON-  ││ CLERK ││ CLERK ││ADMIN  ││WORKER │      │              │           │
│TROLLER││      ││WARE-  ││CLERK  │└───────┘      │              └─────┬─────┘
└──────┘└───────┘│HOUSE  │└───────┘   ┌───────┬───┘              ┌─────┴──────┐
                 └───────┘         ┌──┴────┐┌─┴────┐             │WAREHOUSEMEN│
                                   │DRIVERS││MATES │             │     5      │
                                   │  12   ││  5   │             └────────────┘
                                   └───────┘└──────┘
```

Statistics

Tonnage per annum = 25k
Manning levels - staff = 7
Manning levels - hourly paid = 23

MAY 1990

Liverpool (Huyton) Distribution Depot

Huyton, Merseyside near Liverpool.main industries include; ship repairing; flour milling; sugar refining; rubber processing and engineering.

Population 1,368,630 (Liverpool)

Distribution Manager - John Craven DOB 29/5/53

Background

YEAR	COMPANY	POSITION	AREA
1973	Bass	Stock Clerk	Bury
1975	Bass	Transport Clerk	Bury
1977	Bass	Warehouse Foreman	Blackpool
1979	Bass	Warehouse Manager	Abergele
1984	Bass	Transport Manager	Tadcaster
1985	Bass	Distribution Manager	Abergele
1988	Bass	Distribution Manager	Leyland
1990	Bass	Distribution Manager	Huyton

Statistics

Overall tonnage per annum = 69K

Manning levels - staff = 22

Manning levels - hourly paid = 81

A detailed analysis of the Huyton depot in Liverpool is presented in Chapter 5 as the depot was chosen as the representative depot in the category of subculture 'A' counter culture. In view of this, the comments below are a précis of the data gathered during Stage 1 of the research.

The Liverpool depot has been at Huyton since 1976 following the closure of two Bass depots and the Bents Brewery which were all based in the centre of Liverpool. Many of the brewery and depot operatives moved to Huyton and took with them many of the

working practices which had prevailed for many years. The majority of the workforce were former Bents Brewery employees including the senior shop steward who had previously led a militant brewery trade union membership through the 1960's and early 1970's.

When the teams formed the existing depot at Huyton there was much unrest as management tried to change the 'old' traditional ways of working, which had been the norm in the Bents Brewery for many years. Over a 17 year period many Directors and depot managers have unsuccessfully tried to change the culture at Huyton which is considered to be cohesive, tribal, protective and highly resistant to change.

The Liverpool manager had only recently taken up his new position as Distribution Manager and to a great extent he was finding his way around at Stage 1 of the research. His first thoughts of the Liverpool culture after a few months were that he finds the team very difficult to manage as they resist all attempts to introduce change. He compared the Liverpool culture with his previous positions at Bury, Blackpool, Abergele, Tadcaster and Leyland. His comments were that in terms of resistance to change the Blackpool, Bury and Tadcaster depots had similarities. However, he made the comment that the Liverpool work culture was different from any area in which he had worked.

Having moved from a medium sized depot in Leyland where management /trade union relations were stable, he found Liverpool to be quite volatile. However he put most of this down to 'trying out the new manager'. At our first and subsequent meetings we were interrupted on many occasions regarding operations and security problems. For example, on one occasion the police rang to say that they had two draymen in custody for stealing CO_2 canisters from the depot. The manager made the point that since his arrival there had been several problems with the police regarding missing stocks. In the depot manager's opinion " you can't trust them, you have to nail everything down and they think its fair game to steal".

The management /trade union mistrust seems to be a long standing tradition which is part of the socialisation process as managers and subordinates join the depot. For example, before the Distribution Manager took up his new position, he was fully briefed by the Director and Regional Manager about the Huyton Depot culture and the Liverpool culture in general. As a result the manager arrives with preconceived ideas about the depot and how to control it. Many of the depot managers in Bass North considered that the Huyton depot was the 'ultimate challenge' in terms of effectively managing a depot with long standing traditions and working practices which they were not prepared to change. Other depots, for example Sheffield, Hebburn, Tadcaster and the now closed Blackpool depot were considered to be equally as difficult to manage.

A great deal of information regarding the depot culture and working practices, from a management view point, came from past managers and supervisors who had moved on to other depots in the same or different regions. For example the current Burton Depot Manager, who was previously the Transport Manager at Huyton, was interviewed to get a broader view of the past ways of working in the depot. His main comments were in line with many other manager's views on the Huyton culture. He considers that the Huyton culture is very cohesive and in many ways like a family commune, and in a trade union sense they tend to work the system of 'one out all out'. In terms of the cohesive family description this is literally the case, as a glance at the employment register, reveals the family links. This stems from the brewery days when fathers would automatically have their sons working in the same organisation. The situation regarding family links were also found in the Hebburn and Tadcaster depots.

The previous Huyton manager, who worked for 11 years at the depot before being transferred to the Grimsby depot, accepted the culture as 'being the way they are'. As mentioned previously, during his years at the Huyton Depot he worked towards changing attitudes at the depot to conform with the ideals of senior management. These included changes in customer service, quality, salaried payment schemes and general working practices. He concluded that much of the resistance to change is because they believe the

change is for the worse in terms of work output and personal reward. He gave the example of the national initiative to introduce salaried pay systems which he believed, as did the workforce, that this would not motivate the draymen to increase outputs. Many of the operatives, particularly the draymen, preferred a payment system which rewarded them directly for effort.

Historically the depot has shown a high resistance to change which it would appear stems from the culture transferred from the Bents Brewery. The workforce at Huyton is characterised by strong trade union activities, high resistance to change and generally possessing different values from the dominant culture. The depot overall can be classed as being counter productive and a counter culture.

A more detailed analysis of the Huyton culture is given in Chapter 5.

HUYTON - ORGANISATION CHART

```
                        DISTRIBUTION
                          MANAGER
                             |
        +--------------------+--------------------+
        |                    |                    |
  OPERATIONS            TELE SALES            ADMIN
   MANAGER              SUPERVISOR           MANAGER
        |                    |              /       \
  OPS SUPERVISOR        TELE SALES      STOCK      CLEANER
        3                   4          CONTROLLER      2
        |                                  |
        |                          +-------+--------+
        |                          |                |
        |                       CASHIER      ASSISTANT STOCK
        |                                      CONTROLLER
        |                                           |
        |                                    STOCK CONTROL
TRANSPORT                                        CLERKS
  CLERKS                                            3
    2
        |
   +----+----+
   |         |
 RETAIL  CHARGEHANDS
   |          3
   |          |
   |     WAREHOUSEMEN
   |         27
+--+--+
|     |
DRIVERS  MATES
  31      20
```

MAY 1990

Statistics

Tonnes per annum = 69 k
Manning levels - staff = 22
Manning levels - hourly paid = 81

Leyland Distribution Depot

Leyland, Lancashire, main industries include; motor vehicles and rubber.

Population 23,391

Distribution Manager - Paul Cryer DOB 21/10/60

Background

YEAR	COMPANY	POSITION	AREA
1977	Tinsley Wire	YTS Trainee	Sheffield
1978	Banner Plant	Assistant Manager	Dronfield
1982	Bass	Transport Clerk	Sheffield
1983	Bass	Stock Controller	Sheffield
1984	Bass	Warehouse Manager	Blackpool
1985	Bass	Warehouse Manager	Liverpool
1987	Bass	Beer Manager	Sheffield
1989	Bass	Transport Manager	Liverpool
1990	Bass	Distribution Manager	Leyland

Statistics

Overall tonnage per annum   = 27K

Manning levels - staff   = 14

Manning levels - hourly paid = 32

The depot at Leyland was originally acquired to replace operations at the Blackpool Depot which was part of the Bass owned Catterill & Swarbrick Brewery. Industrial relations problems at the Blackpool site forced Bass to transfer all beer operations to the Leyland site. Initially the Blackpool depot was closed in 1900 and all beer and wines and spirits were transferred to Leyland. Many Blackpool employees, who at that time were considered to be a militant group, moved to Leyland to set up a new operation. The new operation proved difficult to manage and in 1900 all beer operations were moved back to Blackpool. Leyland then became the principle wines & spirits depot in the North West, and over a period of several years developed an expertise in this field. In 1900 beer operations moved back into Leyland as part of a major rationalisation programme.

The manager has been with Bass for 10 years and has worked in many different depot cultures, ie Sheffield, Blackpool, Liverpool and Leyland. Comparing the depot cultures he considers Sheffield, Blackpool, and Liverpool depots to be very similar in terms of their values, working practices and high resistance to change. In contrast he considers Leyland to have different values which show in the practices and operations in the depot.

Historically Leyland has been a depot with a high resistance to change which stemmed primarily from the transfer of the Blackpool 'Catterill and Swarbrick Culture'. The culture is only partly influenced by the brewery culture, having been much diluted by employment of local labour and transfers from neighbouring depots. This has resulted in a change in attitude and culture to a more supportive group.

LEYLAND - ORGANISATION CHART

```
                              ┌──────────────┐
                              │ DISTRIBUTION │
                              │   MANAGER    │
                              └──────────────┘
        ┌──────────────┬──────────────┼──────────────────┐
┌──────────────┐ ┌──────────────┐ ┌──────────────┐ ┌──────────────┐
│  TELESALES   │ │    ADMIN     │ │  OPERATIONS  │ │  OPERATIONS  │
│  SUPERVISOR  │ │  SUPERVISOR  │ │  SUPERVISOR  │ │  SUPERVISOR  │
└──────────────┘ └──────────────┘ └──────────────┘ └──────────────┘
```

TELESALES SUPERVISOR
- TELESALES FULL TIME 3
- TELESALES PART TIME 3
- CUSTOMER LIAISON

ADMIN SUPERVISOR
- DISTRIBUTION CLERKS 3

OPERATIONS SUPERVISOR
- CHARGEHAND (WORKING)
- STOCK CONTROLLER
  - WAREHOUSEMEN 9

OPERATIONS SUPERVISOR
- RETAIL DRIVERS 16
- RETAIL MATES 6

MAY 1990

Statistics

Tonnage per annum = 27k
Manning levels - staff = 14
Manning levels - hourly paid = 32

Portmadoc Distribution Depot

Portmadoc, Dwyfor, Gwynedd, Wales, no predominant industrial or service activity.

Population 3,665

Distribution Manager - Luigi Mansi DOB 9/7/66

Background

YEAR	COMPANY	POSITION	AREA
1984	Bass	Transport Clerk	Bury
1988	Bass	Transport Manager	Barrow
1989	Bass	Distribution Manager	Portmadoc
1990	Bass	Distribution Manager	Scarborough

Statistics

Overall tonnage per annum = 5K

Manning levels - staff = 3

Manning levels - hourly paid = 6

Portmadoc is the smallest depot in the Bass North region and was purpose build for deliveries in mid - Wales. There is no history of brewing linked to the depot and no links to other industries. The workplace culture is very similar to that of Abergele but on a smaller scale. As with Abergele, Portmadoc is a friendly depot with good trade union/management relationships. There is a very low resistance to change which is evident in the flexible working arrangements and the salaried payment scheme in operation. Overall the workforce culture is supportive of the corporate culture in terms of the core values expressed in the mission statement.

The manager has been with Bass for 10 years and worked at the Bury and Barrow depots before moving to Portmadoc. He considers himself as part of the team and regularly assists with warehouse and loading operations. The manager is very much a part of the workplace culture and shares the same values.

As with many of the smaller rural depots the Portmadoc manager very rarely has visits from senior management. In view of this he has almost total control of operations without interference. The manager believes that this situation assists with the development of the depot and the operatives within it. For example, with self control the depot can operate as a team and to a great extent set their own targets.

PORTMADOC - ORGANISATION CHART

```
                    DISTRIBUTION
                      MANAGER
                         |
         +---------------+
         |               |
  DISTRIBUTION        DEPOT
     CLERK           FOREMAN
                         |
        +----------------+----------------+
        |                |                |
  WAREHOUSEMAN        RETAIL           RETAIL MATES
       1             DRIVERS               2
                        3
```

Statistics

Tonnage per annum = 5k
Manning levels - staff = 3
Manning levels - hourly paid = 6

MAY 1990

Scarborough Distribution Depot

Scarborough, North Yorkshire, seaside resort.

Population 101,425

Distribution Manager - Craig Barnes DOB 26/08/51

Background

YEAR	COMPANY	POSITION	AREA
1977	Bass	Transport Clerk	Swinton
1981	Bass	Stock Control	Sheffield
1981	Bass	Transport Supervisor	Sheffield
1984	Bass	Tank Beer Manager	Sheffield
1986	Bass	Transport Manager	Tadcaster
1988	Bass	Distribution Manager	Scarborough
1990	Bass	Operations Manager	Huyton

Statistics

Overall tonnage per annum = 6K

Manning levels - staff = 3

Manning levels - hourly paid = 8

The Scarborough depot is one of the smallest depots in Bass North and distributes products to the Scarborough and surrounding areas. The trade is seasonal and to take up the off season spare capacity 'none' Bass products are stored and distributed from the site. The depot is situated on an industrial estate on the outskirts of Scarborough, apart from the Bass sign on the building there are no visible brewery links externally or internally. The depot was initially based in the centre of Scarborough and was part of Moores and Robson Brewery which was solely owned by Bass. The depot moved to the new site in 1976, and discussions with the Moores and Robson manager revealed that there was a reluctance by the operatives to move to the new site and only a small percentage eventually moved.

Unlike other depots with an history of connections with a brewery, Scarborough depot is very supportive of the Bass mission. Shared values can be seen in the practices at the depot eg flexible working, salaried pay scheme, teamworking, good trade union/management relationships, and a commitment to quality and customer service. The reason for this type of supportive work culture is considered, by the past and present managers to be linked to the culture of Scarborough. The Moores and Robson culture was considered to be a supportive culture and this was transferred to the distribution function.

The current depot manager, having worked in very different workplace cultures at Swinton, Sheffield, and Tadcaster, considers the Scarborough people to be very friendly and supportive both in and out of work. He contrasts this with the workplace cultures at Tadcaster and Sheffield which were very subversive and difficult to manage.

SCARBOROUGH - ORGANISATION CHART

```
                    ┌──────────────┐
                    │    DEPOT     │
                    │   MANAGER    │
                    └──────┬───────┘
          ┌────────────────┼────────────────┐
  ┌───────┴──────┐  ┌──────┴───────┐  ┌──────┴───────┐
  │ STOCK CLERK  │  │    ADMIN/    │  │  HOURLY PAID │
  │              │  │  SECRETARY   │  │              │
  └──────────────┘  └──────────────┘  └──────┬───────┘
                          ┌──────────────────┼──────────────────┐
                  ┌───────┴──────┐   ┌───────┴──────┐   ┌────────┴─────────┐
                  │    RETAIL    │   │    RETAIL    │   │  WAREHOUSEMEN    │
                  │   DRIVERS    │   │    MATES     │   │       2          │
                  │      4       │   │      2       │   │                  │
                  └──────────────┘   └──────────────┘   └──────────────────┘
```

MAY 1990

Statistics

Tonnage per annum = 6k
Manning levels - staff = 3
Manning levels - hourly paid = 8

Sheffield Distribution Depot

Sheffield, South Yorkshire, main industries include steel making and heavy engineering. Population 536,770

Distribution Manager - Harry Smith DOB 28/11/38

Background

YEAR	COMPANY	POSITION	AREA
1953	British Rail	Fitter	Doncaster
1964	Barnsley Brewery	Drayman	Doncaster
1965	Bass	Foreman	Doncaster
1966	Bass	Assistant. Manager	Hull
1967	Bass	Distribution Manager	Hull
1976	Bass	Distribution Manager	Sheffield (Swinton)
1981	Bass	Distribution Manager	Sheffield

Statistics

Overall tonnage per annum   = 89K

Manning levels - staff   = 28

Manning levels - hourly paid = 82

The depot in Sheffield was built in 1981 on an old British Steel site, the previous site being in Swinton, Rotherham. The depot, which is the largest in Bass North, is approximately 3 miles from the William Stones Cannon Brewery and 4 miles from the Hope Brewery in central Sheffield. There is a strong historical link with the depot and Sheffield's brewing operations, William Stones and the Cannon logo having symbolic meaning to the distribution workforce. Unlike the majority of depots the Sheffield depot displays the Stones sign and the Cannon logo on the main entrance to the distribution building. In the building there is very little evidence of Bass or the Bass corporate logo 'the red triangle' yet emphasis is on the 'Cannon' logo. Also evident is the fact that employees refer to William Stones as their employer and not Bass. This situation is evident in other parts of Bass, for example, the Wellpark Depot in Glasgow still use the

'T' logo of Tennents Breweries and the Cape Hill Depot in Birmingham still use the 'stag' logo of M & B Breweries.

The manager has been with Bass for 25 years and tells stories of 'the good old days' when the depots were autonomous units and managers were allowed the control of depot operations rather than the current central control from Burton Headquarters. He also links the 'better' past with past Distribution Directors and identifies with particular 'heroes' in terms of their leadership skills. Specifically he considers that the 'new' Directors exert too much control over regional operations, which he feels stems from dictations from the central head quarters. He maintains that when Bass North was Bass North Limited, and a truly autonomous region of Bass PLC, management and control at a local level was far more efficient in terms of being personally responsible for the profitability of the depot. With this level of control the depot manager could introduce any procedures in order to increase productivity.

The manager feels that central control and the selling of central or corporate values is out of line with the values of the manager and the workforce in the regions and feels that depots should be managed with cultural constraints in mind. Overall, the depot managers values conflict with the corporate prescriptions for success, the idea of staff status, total quality, and total flexibility is considered by the manager to be unsuitable for the Sheffield depot culture.

Having spent a day on the delivery drays and working in the warehouse two issues arose. Firstly there is a clear demarcation between the drivers and the warehouse operatives hence there is little evidence of teamwork or flexible working. Secondly, the values of the workforce appear to be in line with the depot manager but not in line with the corporate culture. Overall the values of the workplace culture conflict with the core values of the dominant culture.

SHEFFIELD - ORGANISATION CHART

```
                              DISTRIBUTION
                                MANAGER
                                   │
            ┌──────────────────────┴──────────────────────┐
            │                                              │
         ADMIN                                        OPERATIONS
        MANAGER                                        MANAGER
            │                                              │
  ┌────┬────┼────┬────────┐                    ┌───────────┼───────────┐
  │    │    │    │        │                    │                       │
TELE-  DIST- STOCK WAGES TRAINEE OPS      OPERATIONS              OPERATIONS
SALES  RIBU- CONT- CLERK SUPERVISOR       SUPERVISOR              SUPERVISOR
SUPER- TION  ROLLER                            │                       │
VISOR  CLERKS 2                                │                  TANK BEER
  │                                    TRANSPORT                  SUPERVISOR
┌─┴──┐                                 CLERKS 4                        │
│    │                            ┌────────┼────────┐            WAREHOUSE
FULL PART                         │        │        │             FOREMAN
TIME TIME                      RETAIL   RETAIL    TANK                │
 3    2                        DRIVERS  MATES    DRIVERS     ┌────────┼────────┐
                                 36       20       9         │        │        │
                                                         W/HOUSEMEN W/HOUSEMEN GATE
                                                         (C.ST) 16  (B.ST) 2  CHECKER
```

MAY 1990

Statistics

Tonnage per annum = 89k
Manning levels - staff = 28
Manning levels - hourly paid = 82

<u>Sleaford Distribution Depot</u>

Sleaford, Lincolnshire near Grantham, main industries include agriculture and agricultural implements.

Population 7,975

<u>Distribution Manager</u> - William Redpath DOB 7/3/34

<u>Background</u>

YEAR	COMPANY	POSITION	AREA
1949	Engineers	Transport Clerk	Glasgow
1958	Engineers	Transport Supervisor	Glasgow
1962	Bass	Transport Supervisor	Glasgow
1965	Bass	Transport Manager	Dundee
1972	Bass	Distribution Manager	Tadcaster
1984	Bass	Distribution Manager	Sleaford

<u>Statistics</u>

Overall tonnage per annum   = 10K

Manning levels - staff   = 5
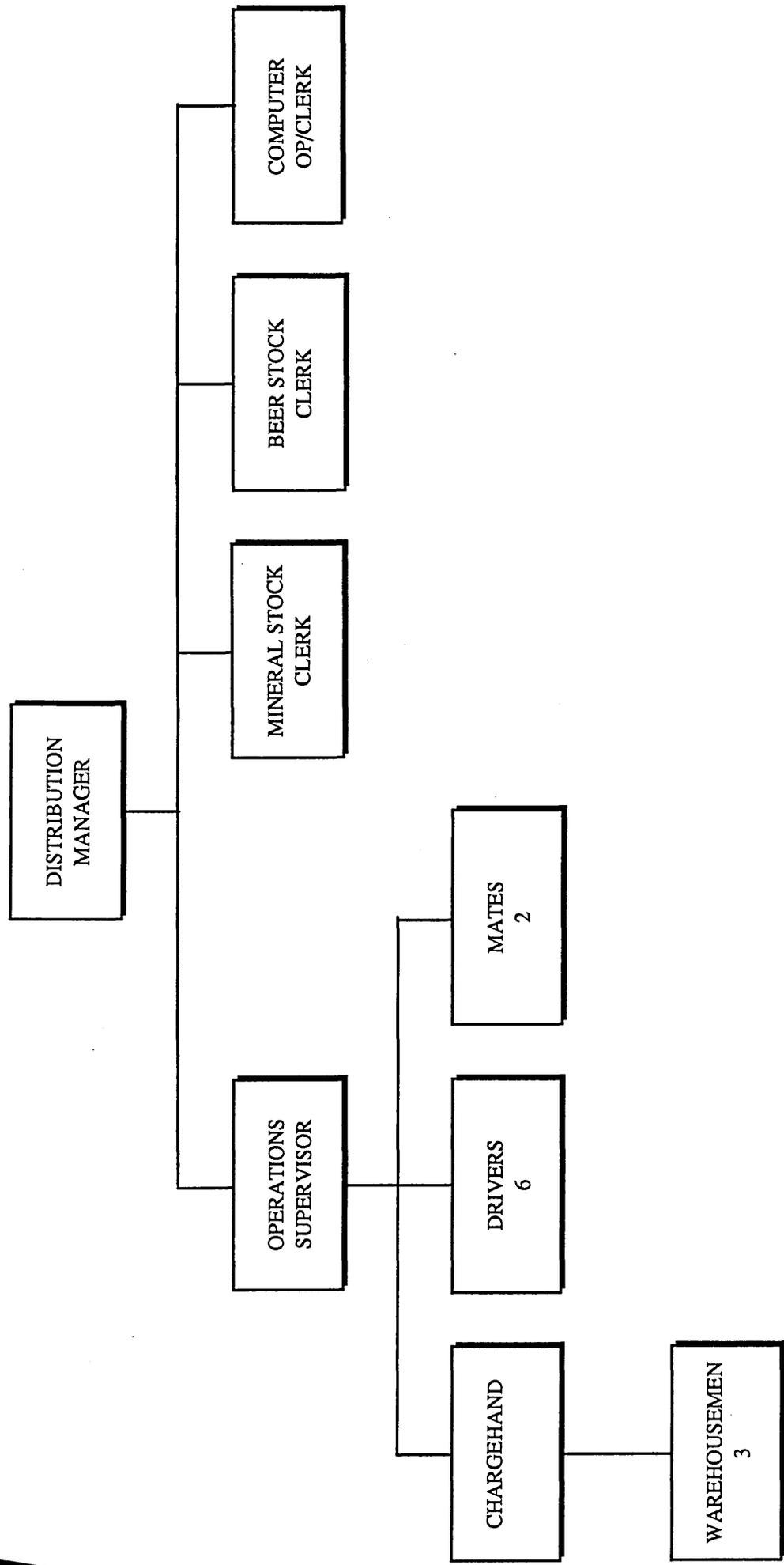
Manning levels - hourly paid = 12

The Sleaford depot is situated on an old Bass Worthingtons maltings production site 'Sleaford Maltings'. The site consisting of 34 acres was bought in 1891, the Maltings becoming fully operational in 1906. A decision to discontinue production was made in 1945, after a long run down period final production ceased in 1958. Although the production buildings are still on the site there is no cultural link with the old production site and the distribution workforce.

The Distribution manager has worked with Bass for over 30 years and has seen many changes in leadership and working practices. In terms of comparing workplace cultures, having worked in Glasgow (brewery), Dundee (depot) and Tadcaster (brewery), the manager considers there to be a significant difference in culture between depots on

brewery sites and remote depot sites. The tendency is for depots on brewery sites or depots which have historical links with a brewery to develop a traditional brewery culture. As previously mentioned, from experience and discussions with managers in other depots, functions and regions, traditional brewery cultures tend to be difficult to manage and develop a high resistance to change. At Sleaford, although there is an historical link with the brewing industry, because of the time factor of over 35 years, the brewing culture has been replaced by a pure depot culture.

The depot culture at Sleaford is similar to the other small rural remote sites in that there are good trade union/management relationships. Overall the values and practices at the depot are in line with the dominant culture.

SLEAFORD - ORGANISATION CHART

```
                        ┌──────────────────┐
                        │   DISTRIBUTION   │
                        │     MANAGER      │
                        └──────────────────┘
                                 │
        ┌────────────┬───────────┼────────────┬────────────┐
        │            │                         │            │
┌───────────────┐ ┌──────────────┐ ┌──────────────┐ ┌──────────────┐
│  OPERATIONS   │ │MINERAL STOCK │ │ BEER STOCK   │ │  COMPUTER    │
│  SUPERVISOR   │ │    CLERK     │ │   CLERK      │ │  OP/CLERK    │
└───────────────┘ └──────────────┘ └──────────────┘ └──────────────┘
        │
  ┌─────┼─────────┐
  │     │         │
┌────────────┐ ┌──────────┐ ┌──────────┐
│ CHARGEHAND │ │ DRIVERS  │ │  MATES   │
│            │ │    6     │ │    2     │
└────────────┘ └──────────┘ └──────────┘
  │
┌──────────────┐
│ WAREHOUSEMEN │
│      3       │
└──────────────┘
```

MAY 1990

Statistics

Tonnage per annum = 10k

Manning levels - staff = 5

Manning levels - hourly paid = 12

Tadcaster near York, North Yorkshire, main industries include chocolate, confectionery, railway workshops.

Population 99,787 (York)

Distribution Manager - Brian Hawthorne DOB 21/2/53

Background

YEAR	COMPANY	POSITION	AREA
1970	Local Govt.	Clerical Asst.	Teeside
1970	Wimpey	Labourer	Teeside
1971	Bass	Bonus Clerk	Eaglescliffe
1972	Bass	Tank Beer Supervisor	Eaglescliffe
1977	Bass	Reg. Stock Controller	York
1982	Bass	Tank Beer Manager	Sheffield
1984	Bass	Transport Manager	Sheffield
1986	Bass	Distribution Manager	Eaglescliffe
1989	Bass	Distribution Manager	Tadcaster

Statistics

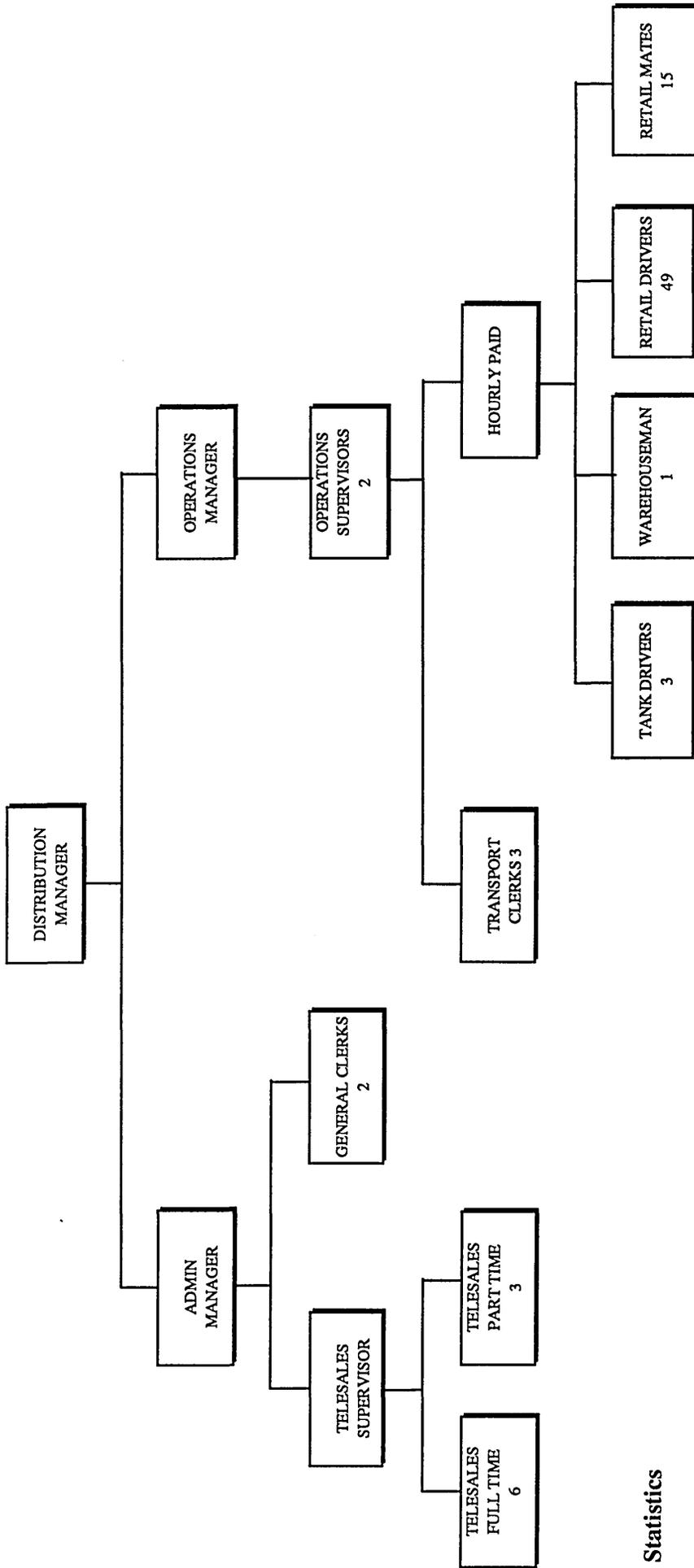Overall tonnage per annum   = 72K

Manning levels - staff   = 21

Manning levels - hourly paid = 68

Tadcaster is a small brewing town with an approximate 6000 population. The distribution depot is on the same site as the Tadcaster brewery which has been there in various forms and owned by different brewing companies since 1885. From 1960 to the Bass- Charringtons merger of 1967 it was the headquarters of United Breweries and prior to the merger became part of Charrington United Breweries. Tadcaster is known locally as the Tower Brewery and is often referred to by the workforce proudly as "the Burton of the North". With over a century of brewing on the site the culture in the depot is very traditional and linked to the brewing team.

The Tadcaster manager has been with Bass for over 20 years and has a good understanding of the Bass culture, other depot cultures and the Tadcaster culture. Having worked in Eaglescliffe and Sheffield depots and all other Bass North depots, as part of a TQM implementation team, he believes that all depots have their own culture and different attitudes which affect the way in which the depot is managed. Although the manager is willing to negotiate and implement change at Tadcaster and therefore be in line with the core values and beliefs of the central culture, he feels that different cultures require different treatment.

The workforce at Tadcaster is characterised by strong trade union activities, high resistance to change, high levels of absenteeism and generally different values from the dominant culture. One significant problem at Tadcaster is the fact that the depot warehouse operatives are controlled by brewery management and the drivers by distribution management. This situation, which is historical, creates problems at negotiations where different rates are agreed separately for warehouse and delivery operations. This creates a problem when trying to operate flexible working.

TADCASTER - ORGANISATION CHART

```
                          DISTRIBUTION
                            MANAGER
                    ┌───────────┴────────────┐
               ADMIN                    OPERATIONS
              MANAGER                     MANAGER
         ┌──────┴──────┐                     │
    TELESALES      GENERAL              OPERATIONS
   SUPERVISOR       CLERKS             SUPERVISORS
   ┌─────┴─────┐      2                     2
TELESALES  TELESALES              ┌─────────┴─────────┐
FULL TIME  PART TIME         TRANSPORT            HOURLY PAID
    6          3             CLERKS 3
                                      ┌──────┬──────┴──────┬──────┐
                                 TANK      WAREHOUSEMAN  RETAIL    RETAIL
                                DRIVERS        1         DRIVERS   MATES
                                  3                        49       15
```

Statistics

Tonnage per annum = 72k

Manning levels - staff = 21

Manning levels - hourly paid = 68

MAY 1990

4.2   Data Analysis and Theoretical Development

The use of theoretical data analysis in the first stage of the research showed that cultural differences exist in all 15 distribution depots, and that these differences clearly affect the way in which the Distribution Manager controls daily operations and manages strategic change. Cultural differences were highlighted particularly by the managers who had spent time in several different depots and had experienced difficulties/resistance to change in certain areas. For example the Grimsby manager, who had previously worked at Leyland, Blackpool and Liverpool, found that Grimsby and Leyland depots were similar in terms of accepting change whereas Blackpool and Liverpool depots were similar in terms of resistance to change. Also highlighted was the fact that managers generally change their management style when they move to a depot with a different culture. The Liverpool manager who moved from Leyland in 1990 revealed that because of the attitude of the Liverpool workforce he developed a more autocratic style to achieve objectives.

A key issue to emerge was the degree of autonomy and empowerment provided in the depots. For example, the medium and large urban depots were tightly controlled with regular visits and 'interference' from senior management. In the smaller and some medium sized rural depots the managers were given for more control with very few visits by senior management.

Through the use of the fieldwork questionnaire, participant observation and discussions with both management and shopfloor personnel, several significant points arose. The differences in the depots, i.e. beliefs and values, leadership styles and the high or low resistance to change relating to the introduction of T.Q.M., salaried payment systems and working practices, are directly related to the activities of the different subcultures present in the fifteen depots. These subcultures can be grouped into three types:-

| Counter Culture | - | This is a subversive group in which the group's values and practices conflict with the values of the dominant culture. |

| Changing Culture | - | This subculture group's values and practices are generally in line with the dominant culture yet historically it is a counter culture. |

| Enhancing Culture | - | This subculture group's values and practices are in line with the dominant culture with strong evidence of shared values. |

The dominant culture is defined as the Bass corporate culture and the values of the dominant culture are related to the Bass philosophy for success. The Bass core values are represented to a great extent in its mission statement which refers to quality, profitability, customer service, security for employees and care for the environment.

Each subculture group has both specific workplace and management characteristics.

The groupings and characteristics are as follows:-

1.	Liverpool	**<u>Subculture 'A'</u>**
2.	Tadcaster	<u>Counterculture</u>
3.	Newcastle	(values conflict with the values of
4.	Sheffield	the dominant culture)
5.	Abergele	**<u>Subculture 'B'</u>**
6.	Barrow	<u>Enhancing Culture</u>
7.	Portmadoc	(values are in line with the values of
8.	Scarborough	the dominant culture)
9.	Sleaford	
10	Eaglescliffe	
11.	Colne	**<u>Subculture 'C'</u>**
12.	Leyland	<u>Changing Culture</u>
13.	Hull	'C' subcultures are historically
14.	Grimsby	'A' types moving towards 'B' types.
15.	Bury	

<u>Subculture Type 'A' - (Counter Culture)</u>

a)   <u>Workplace Characteristics</u>

1.   Historical links with traditional 'Brewery Cultures' and strong links with other industries, for example, steel, docks etc.

2.   Strong trade union activities.

3.   Strict demarcation between warehouse operatives and drivers (draymen) - inter group conflict to the extent of a warehouse culture and delivery culture.

4.   Strict adherence to management/union agreements (inflexible).

5.   High resistance to change   - TQM

                                                    - Salaried Scheme

                                                    - Working Practices

6.   High level of restrictive practices.

7.   Strong family connections.

8.   Higher than average pay levels.

9.   High level of accidents, sickness and days lost.

10.   High container and cellar damage (poor quality).

11.   Operate an incentive bonus scheme with resistance to move towards a salaried scheme.

12.   High tonnage handled (large depot).

13.   Unwelcoming atmosphere for outsiders.

14.   The 'ritual' of collective bargaining to reach agreement is drawn out over several meetings.

15.   Self developed planning system for allocation of work (drivers draw out of a hat to determine work allocation each morning) - Liverpool depot only.

b)   <u>Management Characteristics</u>

1.   Autocratic style of management (which is felt most appropriate by the manager of a type 'A' culture).

2.   'Scientific' management techniques used to achieve results (the use of work study and incentive payment systems).

3.   General feeling that salaried payment schemes are unsuitable for the type 'A' culture.

4.   General feeling that managing change in type 'A' cultures is very difficult and generally questions the need for change.

5.   Generally requires more support and consultation with the Distribution Director on planned changes (generally tightly controlled)

6.   Questions the decisions made by the centre (anti central control-Burton).

<u>Subculture Type 'B' - (Enhancing Culture)</u>

a)   <u>Workplace Characteristics</u>

    1.   No historical links with brewing or other large industries

    2.   A consultative trade union team.

    3.   Good interdepartmental relationships (team-work).

    4.   Adherence to management/union agreements yet totally flexible through

            negotiation.

    5.   Low resistance to change (flexible).

    6.   Zero restrictive practices.

    7.   Lower than average days lost through sickness and accident etc.

    8.   Low container and cellar damage (pro TQM).

    9.   Lower than average pay levels.

    10.   Salaried payment scheme in operation.

    11.   Low tonnage handled (small depot).

    12.   Welcoming and friendly atmosphere for outsiders.

    13.   Collective bargaining procedures less time consuming.

b)   <u>Management Characteristics</u>

    1.   Democratic style of management (high level of team-work and

            consultation).

    2.   Salaried payment system is felt most appropriate for this sub-culture type.

    3.   Accepts change readily and 'sells' the ideas of senior management.

    4.   Requires little support from the Regional Distribution Manager and

            Distribution Director (greater autonomy than the 'A' subculture)

Subculture Type 'C' - (Changing Culture)

a)   Workplace Characteristics

      1.   Historical yet diminishing links with the Brewing industry.

      2.   Strong trade union activities.

      3.   Reasonable interdepartmental relationships.

      4.   Adherence to management/union agreements yet flexible through lengthy negotiation.

      5.   Resistance to change overcome by coercive methods (historically high).

      6.   Level of restrictive practices vary in this group (historically high).

      7.   Above average days lost through sickness and accident etc.

      8.   Medium to high damage levels.

      9.   Medium to high tonnage handled.

      10.   Operate an incentive bonus scheme (currently negotiating salaried type scheme).

      11.   Collective bargaining tends to be lengthy.

      12.   Pay levels in this category vary.

b)   Management Characteristics

      1.   Democratic style of management (autocratic to achieve results).

      2.   Although incentive payment schemes are in operation the manager feels that a salaried scheme is feasible.

      3.   Strives to implement change and move the group towards a 'B' type culture.

      4.   Requires less support from the Distribution Director and Regional Distribution Manager on implementation of changes (greater degree of autonomy and empowerment).

5. 'Scientific' management techniques used to assist with change (the use of work study).

6. Question the decisions made by the centre (Burton HQ)

4.2   Conclusions

The research in Stage 1 identified the existence of different cultures in each of the 15 distribution depots. The depot cultures were different in terms of management attitudes, working practices, workplace characteristics and the people employed in the depot. In relation to the Bass corporate mission, some of the depots appeared to be supportive, others negative and a number of depots which appeared to be in a transition phase of moving from negative to supportive. These different subcultures clearly affect the way in which the depot is managed and account for differences in values, practices and depot performance. Additionally the high or low resistance to change, relating to the introduction of total quality initiatives, staff status payment systems and changes to working practices, is directly related to the activities of the subcultures.

Initially the subcultures were analysed in terms of their workplace and related management characteristics and fell into three groups:-

Subculture 'A'

Subculture 'A' type depot was considered to be a counter culture in that the group's values and practices tended to conflict with the values of the dominant or corporate culture. The workplace characteristics included: large urban depots; strong trade union activities; high resistance to change; low productivity; and low quality. The management characteristics included: autocratic management style; a high use of scientific management techniques to achieve objectives. Additionally, depots in this category had strong links with traditional brewery cultures and other large local

industries. The significance of this is that many brewery operatives moved to new depots and took with them the old brewery culture and ways of working. As a result many of the working practices, attitudes, beliefs and values are those which have been transferred from the breweries. Distribution depots which fall into this group are Liverpool, Tadcaster, Newcastle and Sheffield.

Subculture 'B'

Subculture 'B' type depot was considered to be an enhancing or positive culture in that the groups values and practices were in line with the dominant culture. Workplace characteristics included: small/medium rural depot; a consultative trade union; low resistance to change and high levels of quality. The management characteristics included a democratic management style, acceptance of change and a belief in shared practices. In contrast with the type 'A' subculture these depots had no historically strong links with breweries or any other large industry. As such the cultures in these depots were 'pure' depot cultures. Distribution depots in this group were Abergele, Barrow, Eaglescliffe, Portmadoc, Scarborough and Sleaford.

Subculture 'C'

Subculture 'C' type depot was considered to be a changing culture in that historically it fell into the counter culture or subculture 'A' category. Generally this group's values and practices were seen to be moving towards the values of the dominant culture and developing the characteristics of the positive subculture 'B' types. Workplace characteristics included: strong trade union activities; medium/large urban depot; average quality levels; mixed resistance to change. The management characteristics included a democratic/ autocratic management style, and use of scientific management techniques. Through discussions with site management and operatives it would appear that historically these depots had similar characteristics to the counter cultures in subcultures 'A' type depots. Specifically, similarities were

those in relation to historical links with breweries and the transferring of these cultures into depots. The research in stage 1 has shown that over a long period of time, as the old brewery culture is diluted, a new depot culture emerges which is easier to control. Distribution depots in this group were identified as being Leyland, Colne, Hull, Grimsby and Bury.

The first stage of the research has revealed different cultures in all 15 depots. Detailed research into all depots would clearly provide useful research data from which theory can be developed. However, in view of the three groupings identified it was considered a better approach to concentrate on one depot from each subculture grouping and then compare the findings with the Bass Brewers corporate culture as perceived by the Board. The second stage of the research was an in-depth analysis of Liverpool (subculture 'A'), · Abergele (subculture 'B') and Bury (subculture 'C'). There was no specific reason for the choice of depots other than ease of access. At the time of the research all three depots were the responsibility of the North West Distribution Director and therefore access was through one contact. It is considered that any choice of depot from each subculture group would have been representative. The results of the research are discussed in the following Chapter 5.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER FOUR

Hawkins K H (1978)

A History of Bass Charrington - University Press, Oxford.

Louis M R (1985)

An Investigator's Guide to Workplace Culture - in:- Organisational Culture ed. P J Frost et al,
Sage Publications

MMC Report (1989)

The Supply of Beer - A report on the supply of beer for retail sale in the United Kingdom.
Her Majesty's Stationary Office

Owen C C (1992)

The Greatest Brewery in the World - A History of Bass, Ratcliffe and Gretton
Derbyshire Record Society Vol XIX.

CHAPTER 5

FIELDWORK - SUBCULTURE AND CORPORATE CULTURE

ANALYSIS

CHAPTER FIVE

5. **Subculture and Corporate Culture Analysis**

The first stage of the research revealed that cultural differences in terms of beliefs, values and overt behaviour existed within the 15 Distribution depots, and that these differences affected the way in which the depots were managed, and how they related to the Bass 'corporate' culture. The different subcultures in existence at the depots were not homogeneous and within them was a variety of patterns of behaviour, beliefs and values which in some depots were supportive and in others subversive. For the purpose of the detailed research and analysis, the subcultures were grouped into three types: the counter or negative culture; the enhancing or positive culture and the changing or neutral culture.

In view of the practicality and time constraints of analysing 15 depots in detail, it was considered that a sensible approach would be to carry out detailed culture audits in three depots (one from each subculture grouping). Additionally, in order to compare and contrast regional and central differences, fieldwork research was conducted outside the Bass North region, including the Burton Headquarters,

This Chapter is a summary of the detailed fieldwork carried out in the three subculture groupings and identifies the factors which influence subculture formation, development and change. Additionally the Bass 'corporate' view on culture is analysed in relation to the findings in the North and other regions.

5.1   Culture Audits - Bass Brewers Culture - Background

Broadly based on the concepts developed by Louis (1985), Saffold (1988), Pettigrew (1979, 1985, 1990), Schein (1984, 1985), and Martin & Siehl (1983), the objective of the detailed culture audits was to identify subculture origins, and ascertain cultural dispersion and cultural impact on outcomes. Subculture origins were identified through an historical analysis, cultural dispersion was a measure of the level to which cultural characteristics are dispersed throughout the organisation, and cultural impact on outcomes was a measure of the commitment and productivity of members of the subculture groups.

The main aim of this stage of the culture audit was to measure the degree to which the beliefs of the core culture are dispersed throughout the three different subculture groupings. Comparisons of values, rituals, heroes and symbols were made in order to identify cultural manifestations in the depots. As with the historical analysis this provided an understanding of the subcultures and why there are differences in terms of performance and resistance to change. Values, rituals, symbols and heroes are defined as follows:-

Values   In terms of the Bass core values these relate to the philosophy for success and are emphasised to an extent in the Bass mission statement. The core values of the corporate culture were compared with the values of the subculture members

Symbols   These are the words, stories, gestures or objects which carry specific meaning in Bass and in the different subculture groups. These were compared initially across the 15 depots and in depth in the depots representing the three subculture groupings.

Rituals   These are the events and activities or 'the way things are done' in the depots which are socially essential within the culture groups. Again these were compared across the three subculture groupings.

Heroes   These are past and present leaders who have significant meaning for the employees in terms of the way the cultures have been shaped. In the fieldwork, depending on the interviewee, these were either Trade Union leaders or Senior Managers.

In order to assess cultural dispersion, in-depth interviews were conducted with managers and shopfloor personnel in the three subculture groupings and in other regions including Bass Scotland, Bass South and Burton Headquarters. In terms of defining the Bass culture, Dr Tony Portno, Chief Executive of Bass Brewers, gave an early indication of his personal view of 'the old' Bass culture and his vision of 'the new' culture. With support from the Bass Brewers Board he defined the old and new cultures as :

'Old' Culture - Paternalistic, comfortable, undemanding, apolitical, hierarchical, command driven, custodial, bureaucratic and functional.

'New' Culture - Flexible, dynamic, empowered, risk taking, analytical, non hierarchical, demanding, non-bureaucratic, team working, cross functional, still apolitical and meritocratic.

This old and new view of the Bass culture was presented to all managers within the organisation with the clear message that, in order to maintain a market lead the old culture must be change.

Dr Tony Portno was appointed Chief Executive of Bass Brewers on June 1 1991. A scientist by discipline, he joined Bass from university in 1961. His early career took

him to the Brewing Research Foundation and then on to Pfizer, the pharmaceuticals company. He rejoined Bass in 1971 where he became Research Director and then Technical Director. In 1989 he took charge of Bass PLC's corporate strategic planning, human resources and pensions. Additionally he became Chairman of Augustus Barnett, Britvic Soft Drinks and Delta Biotechnology (Brewers News 1991). On joining Bass Brewers he made early statements of his intent to build on the strengths of the business and manage Bass through the future anticipated changes. In an article to all Bass Brewers managers 'The strategic way forward' Portno wrote:

"we have in this business, many loyal, highly committed, exceptionally knowledgeable and able people. Few of them, however were trained to foresee, evaluate, and manage change. The historic requirement for custodial skills colours the style and attitude of a proportion of employees at all levels. Every effort must be made to change them and help them adapt. We need now and in the future people who are excited and stimulated by change, who can construct and evaluate scenarios for change and who are skilled in the management of change. *This needs to be accompanied by an overall cultural change within the company"*.

With the Bass Board's cultural view in mind further research was carried out in the three subculture areas. The three depots chosen to represent their subculture grouping were :-

Liverpool - Subculture 'A' Counter/Negative Culture

A large urban depot delivering 69k tonnes per annum with a manning level of 22 staff and 81 hourly paid.

<u>Abergele - Subculture 'B' Enhancing/Positive Culture</u>

A medium size rural depot delivering 21k tonnes per annum (includes Portmadoc deliveries 5k tonnes per annum) with a manning level of 14 staff and 28 hourly paid.

<u>Bury - Subculture 'C' Changing/Neutral Culture</u>

A large urban depot delivering 60k tonnes per annum, with a manning level of 18 staff and 63 hourly paid.

In addition to further interviews and observations, three days were spent working in the distribution warehouse and on the delivery drays at the three depots. This was organised by the Distribution Director and was explained to the trade union representatives as a personal development programme and not as being part of the research. Notes were taken covertly during the day and detailed accounts written up at the end of the day.

5.2   Liverpool Depot - Subculture 'A' Counter Culture

It is extremley difficult to decipher and understand a workplace culture in isolation from the wider social culture of the area in which it is located. The workplace culture is a subculture of both the corporate culture and the wider external social culture in which it operates. In the Liverpool case, the decline of : transatlantic shipping; ship building; dock work; car manufacturing and associated industries, has led to many changes in the area over the past 30 years. Over this period, Liverpool, rightly or wrongly, has acquired an image associated with militant shop-stewards and a suicidally militant workforce who have a national reputation for being ' the first to strike and the last to go back'. This image has led many organisations to either move their businesses away from Merseyside, or in the case of relocation, not consider Merseyside at all.

Huw Beynon's book 'Working for Ford' (1973), which was an account of labour relations in Ford's Halewood plant in Liverpool in the 1960's, gives an excellent account of the workforce culture, the Merseyside culture and union activity taken very much from a shopfloor perspective. In the Bass fieldwork in the Liverpool depot, an attempt has been made to gain an understanding of the culture both from a shopfloor and management perspective. The ethnography, developed from participant and general observations, gives a detailed account of work in the depot and provides an understanding of the workplace and Merseyside culture and how this relates to the Bass corporate culture and ideals.

The Liverpool distribution operation was originally part of the Liverpool Bents Brewery, this was acquired by Bass shortly before the Bass Mitchells and Butler merger with Charrington United Breweries in 1967. Originally Bass owned three depots all situated in central Liverpool. One of the depots was on the Bents Brewery site and was situated near the docks area of central Liverpool. The Bents depot had a

very 'traditional' Brewery culture with a strong militant trade union and a high resistance to change. Discussions with Brewery managers in Bass North and other regions revealed the reasons behind the 'traditional brewery cultures'. Leading up to the merger activities in the early 1960's there had been little change in the brewing and delivery operations on many integrated sites. As one brewery manager remarked "the only major change over 100 years has been the replacement of the horse and dray with a diesel driven dray".

This level of inactivity in terms of change led to 'jobs for life' in a culture where working in a brewery, and particularly as a drayman, was held in high esteem socially. Breweries paid high levels of pay for a reward system based on 'job and finish', that is, draymen could deliver their allocated loads and then go home. With this type of reward system, brewery draymen usually had drinks of beer at the delivery point and did not rush to get back to the brewery. This system and many 'slack' working practices were negotiated and accepted by management and the trade unions (T.& G.W.U.) at a time when there was little competition and no threat to jobs or brewery profits. When competition intensified and changes in working practices were required, many brewery unions developed a strong resistance to the changes. Rather than confront the unions and risk delays and stoppages to brewery production and deliveries, management generally allowed many of the outdated practices to persist. It is only more recently, following the 1989 MMC report, that management have moved to significantly change some of the traditional ways of working.

A decision was made in 1976 to move the distribution operations from the centre of Liverpool and a suitable site was sought outside the area. Because of past problems with the Liverpool 'culture' a site was sought in the Warrington area and away from the old Bents Brewery and Liverpool traditions. However, because of political and trade union pressures to keep operations and employment in the Liverpool area, a

decision was made to locate the site at Huyton a few miles outside the Liverpool centre.

The present depot site at Huyton was purpose built for Allied Breweries but because of a dispute regarding transfer agreements it was sold to Bass. Almost all Bents Brewery employees moved to Huyton and many of the traditional methods and restrictive practices were transferred, many of which exist today. An analysis of restrictive practices at the depot (1990) revealed 33. Many of these were negotiated practices from the Bents Brewery era and restrict output at the depot, for example:

* work loads are not allocated by management, they are drawn out of a hat
* customers are not allowed to collect their orders from the depot
* no deliveries to the Wirral area via the tunnel twice in one day
* no deliveries to the same area twice in one day
* no pre-loading for the following day
* no adding to loads after allocation

The above practices are typical examples, a full list of the restrictive practices is shown in Appendix 5.

Initially the culture at Huyton was a mixture of the two Bass depots and the Bents Brewery depot. The Bents culture was the dominant culture of the three and had the strongest trade union leadership. As a result, the Bents culture and traditions became the norm at Huyton. As mentioned previously, brewery cultures had developed strong trade unions throughout the 1960's and 1970's and Bents was no exception. The senior shop steward at Bents took up the same role in the new depot and remained there until he retired in 1992. An interesting point and one mentioned by many managers and staff was that the shop steward was a Londoner, and not as probably would be expected a Merseysider. Although a Londoner, the shop steward

had spent many years in the Merseyside area and it would appear that he had won the hearts and minds of the Liverpool workforce.

Trade union activities, in particular the role of the senior shop steward and his committee of 5, play a key role within the depot and in the dicipline of operatives on the shopfloor. As described in the Bury case study, the Huyton shop stewards committee were often referred to by management and operatives as 'The Huyton Mafia'. As such, and in mafia style, the shopfloor would not dare to step out of line with a union directive. Stepping out of line would result in a severe repremand, and as described by one supervisor " the committee were not averse to roughing people up who stood in their way". In many ways the senior shop-steward and his committee ruled the shop-floor, which resulted in the operatives being subordinate to the union not management. One former transport manager, who worked in Huyton between 1983 and 1985 and is now working in the Burton depot, explained that the "senior shop steward would often 'walk the floor' and shout at operatives for not carrying out tasks in the agreed procedure". In the fieldwork it was observed that allocated tea and meal breaks were taken at a certain time and the shop-steward would chastise anyone who failed to take advantage of negotiated breaks.

The culture at Huyton is typically Merseyside, tribal and protective from outsiders and highly resistant to change. As one depot manager explained, "they work closely together almost like a family and would see the depot close rather than to be seen to give in to management and change working practices". The similarity to a family commune, as expressed by many managers, is not surprising, as many of the shopfloor and staff are related in some way. This stems from the brewery days when it was traditional for a son or daughter to follow in their father's footsteps. On many occasions I was cautioned by management to be careful of what I asked or said to shopfloor or staff in the depot because of the family ties. Apparently it was safe to

talk to outsiders in confidence, these were the employees that did not have a Merseyside accent and were referred to by the locals as 'woolley backs'.

The Merseyside culture has been a problem to Bass and many other industries locating in the Liverpool area. The recent closure of the Bass Preston Brook Brewery at Runcorn (1991) is an example of the problems associated with the Liverpool culture. The Brewery was built 20 years ago following the closure of many outdated breweries. Many brewery employees from the Merseyside area moved to Runcorn and over a 20 year period the brewery failed to meet production efficiency targets. On many occasions, disputes at Runcorn would gain support from the Liverpool distribution depot. The shop-stewards at the brewery and in the depot kept in close contact over pending disputes and would support each other if required. The culture at the Preston Brook Brewery was very similar to the Liverpool depot, in that whilst carrying out project work you were always cautioned, " don't upset the workforce and don't let them see any stop watches". The closure of the Preston Brook brewery was part of a plan which involved closing four breweries because of over-capacity within Bass. The brewery was one of Bass's most modern and most recently built plants and would not have figured in the closure plans had the workforce been willing to change to meet the strategic objectives of the business. The Personnel Manager at the time of the closure revealed that "even right up to the day of the closure many operatives and union representatives believed that management would back down and keep the plant running". This continuous confrontation with management seems to persist in the depot despite threats to close and move to another area.

In terms of shared values with the Bass corporate culture, interviews with past and present managers and operatives, indicate that the values of the workforce are out of line with the Bass philosophy for success. This is more clearly shown in the daily working practices at the depot where quality, customer service and productivity are secondary to completing the tasks within the rules agreed by Trade Union and

Management many years ago. These agreements of course include the restrictive practices mentioned previously. Although some changes have been made at the depot the culture remains highly resistant to change and can be described as a 'counter' culture. Although many of the original Bents and Bass depot employees transferred from central Liverpool have left the company, the traditions have been passed on literally through families by a strong socialisation process. This has resulted in very little change in values and working practices. However, there are signs of change and a move towards more flexible working, this has been accepted reluctantly and bears no relationship with any shared value philosophy.

Examples of Huyton's attitude to quality and customer service were highlighted during the fieldwork. The depot managers view was that " the draymen will do exactly what you ask of them as long as it is within the guidelines agreed by the Trade Union and management". However, problems arise when the workforce carry out a task which they know is wrong yet they do it because they have been instructed to. For example, on one occasion the draymen were asked to deliver 18 bottles of Black Label Whisky to a Pub, this was obviously a wrong order which should have been an 18 gallon keg of Carling Black Label. Rather than query the order the draymen delivered the whisky and then had to bring it back to the depot. In mitigation the draymen argued that " if it says 18 bottles of whisky on the order form then thats what they get, if it's wrong then that's management's problem". The draymen were right of course yet in other depots this error would have been recognised and been rectified before delivery. This behaviour and attitude towards management seems to prevail in the Liverpool depot and any opportunity to make fun of management, because of errors or general mis-management, seems to them to be fair game.

A comparative analysis, carried to compare depot accident levels, container damage and working days lost due to absence, showed that out of the 15 depots, Huyton had

the highest levels in all categories. Management put much of this down to a general disregard for safety, industrial sabotage, a lack of interest in quality and the operation of an unofficial 'sickness rota'. An example of 'deliberate' damage to property occurred during the research period, when new loading docks had just been completed in the warehouse loading area. Within hours of the cement drying, a fork lift truck driver accidentally demolished one of the walls. This was met with great laughter in the depot because they had been arguing against the use of the new docks for many months. As regards the sickness rota, management were aware of its existence yet did very little to stop it. The system had been in operation for such a long period that operatives considered it as being a perk of the job.

The 'us and them' attitude at Liverpool can be disruptive in terms of quality and customer service. It is perceived by management that in order to deliver a first class service, management and the workforce must be in harmony. In many of the depots this appears to be the case, in Liverpool, management and the workforce appear poles apart. A Business Analyst, who had spent a 3 month period in the depot in 1989 carrying out an operations project, described the depot culture as a 'naughty culture' referring to the workforce's obsession with horseplay and joking. Expanding on this he described how on many occasions the operatives would lark around almost like school kids when the boss was'nt around and even with the supervisors around they would invariably 'take the mickey' particularly with the younger less experienced supervisors. On one occasion the Managing Director of Bass North was on a visit to the site, and as usual he would carry out a shopfloor tour and talk to the operatives. On this particular visit he was walking across the warehouse floor and was almost knocked down by a speeding forklift truck. The forklift driver quickly jumped off the truck and apologising to the Managing Director said " I'm sorry Mr Morkill but with the new tonnage bonus scheme I've got to work a lot faster on my truck", the driver then jumped back onto his truck and sped off. News of the fork lift truck driver's encounter with the Managing Director soon spread and is still talked about today.

The Liverpool workforce seem to always want to get a message across to management and they find an approach using humour or 'playing' with management an acceptable form of communication. This hard hitting humour, sarcasm and playfulness is not restricted to the trade union and management interface, it seems to be a way of life and a way of getting through the day without too much monotony for the operatives. Roy (1952), in his participant observations of machine operators, noted that many operatives invented games and indulged in horseplay in order to alleviate monotony.

Past and present depot managers appear to accept that the Huyton depot culture and the Liverpool culture, as a whole, is different from many other depots and areas. However, many depot managers recognised similarities with other large urban depots, for example Sheffield, Newcastle and Tadcaster, which all have historical links with breweries and other large industries, and have developed a high resistance to change through trade union membership. There is a consensus amongst managers controlling these depots that different treatment in terms of strategies for success are required. For example the managers believe that, rather than try to introduce uniform practices as dictated from the 'centre', greater autonomy should be allowed so that the depots can be managed as cost centres. This view, of managing difficult subcultures as autonomous units and not from a central command point, is shared by many managers who control depots in both subculture 'A' counter cultures and subculture 'C' changing cultures.

The Bents Brewery still has symbolic meaning to the workforce in terms of reference to 'the better days' when the Brewery and distribution operations were based in the central Liverpool docks area . Many interviewees were proud to tell 'stories' of the operations in the late 60's and early 70's. Most interviewees told stories relating to the power of the trade unions and the good deals which were negotiated for the

workforce. Some told 'myths' about better ways of working and delivery tonnages and productivity levels being higher than todays figures. For example, many former operatives believe that the management team at the Bents Brewery was better in terms of adhering to agreements, and providing fair pay for a fair days work. Many referred to both the drinking habits of the draymen and management and how this had changed over the years. One operative explained that " before the clamp down on drink driving, many daymen would be well over the legal alchol limit by the end of the day, and on many occasions have been known to race each other back to the depot on the last return". The custom of drinking beer with the landlord, whilst out on the delivery drays, was always seen as an accepted part of the job by both management and the workforce. In recent years, although this practice exists, it is not condoned by management. In the Liverpool depot many of the draymen adhere to the traditional drink with the landlord, as it is seen as part reward for delivering the beer.

Rituals or 'the way things are done' at the Huyton depot are typical of other subcultures in the counter culture category 'A'. For example, there is a strict demarcation line between warehouse work and delivery work, almost to the extent of having a warehouse culture and a delivery dray culture. Draymen, particularly in large depots, are paid considerably more money than the warehouse men and consider themselves to be of a higher status. Discussions with warehouse men in the larger depots revealed some resentment regarding work levels and pay levels between warehouse operatives and draymen. One warehouse man argued that " the warehouse operatives worked long hours making up loads and preparing the loads for delivery, the draymen only had to deliver the loads to the pubs and would have long rest periods and drinks on the road".

Although many of the daily working practices at Liverpool are similar to other depots in the same subculture category some unique differences were identified. For example, all other depots allocate work routes through a complex rota system

managed by a route planner. Although difficult, this system aims to provide a fair allocation of work to the delivery draymen. For many years the Huyton draymen argued that the system was unfair and put forward a proposal to manage the allocation themselves. The proposal involved 'drawing out of a hat' load allocations and working on a system based on 'luck of the draw'. This system is to a great extent 'management by self control' which is a far more efficient and cost effective way of planning loads. In other depots where the management team control the load allocation, there is always dispute as to the fairness of the system. It was interesting observing this ritual which was performed each morning by all the draymen. The draymen would congregate in the transport office and wait for the transport controller to carefully fold and place the hand written load allocations into a dirty old hat in the centre of the room. In turn, but not in any formal queue, each drayman would pick a number out of the hat and then check to see if he had picked a 'winner' (an easy route with few deliveries) or a loser (a long difficult route with many complicated deliveries). The whole exercise was conducted in an almost carnival atmosphere with cheers and laughter from the 'winners' and moans and groans from the 'losers'. A drayman who picked a bad route for the second day running moaned bitterly about the unfairness of the system before getting on with the work. Although the system could be unfair, it was devised by the shop stewards committee and accepted by the workforce as a better system than the one devised by management. Overall, the draymen appeared to enjoy the 'game' of chance despite the possibility of unfair work allocation.

Security, in terms of stock loss both within the depot and out on the road, was identified as a problem by both management and the operatives. From a management view the stock losses were associated with pilfering and damage through careless work. The depot manager's view was that " many of the operatives considered pilfering as part reward for work and that they thought that stealing was only bending the rules and not breaking them". On one of my visits to the depot the police rang the

depot manager to say that they had two Bass employees in custody on suspicion of stealing and selling CO2 cylinders. At the time the depot manager remarked that " this is a common occurrence". The manager seemed more concerned about the fact that one of the operatives being detained was the son of one of the shop stewards.

Out on the road, and in particularly 'rough' areas of Liverpool, many of the draymen have been victims of pilfering from the tanker and dray vehicles. On one occasion a tanker crew parked their vehicle outside a pub and went into the pub to open the cellar doors. On their return to the vehicle, the beer pipes had been cut and people were helping themselves to beer by filling up buckets as if it was an emergency water stand pipe. On another occasion a drayman's Bass issue overcoat was stolen from the vehicle and susequently sold in the pub the same day. One story came from a draymen who had been threatened by a tramp with a knife demanding a drink of beer from the back of the dray. The frightened drayman gave the man a can of beer and then drove off to the next pub. The following week the drayman was confronted by the same man who had brought along 10 of his friends for a drink. These stories, although funny as told in a Merseyside accent by the draymen, are an indication of some of the rough areas in which beer is delivered. Whilst out on the drays I noticed that at every delivery point the dray cab was locked and the side curtains drawn. Apparently, the stealing of tax discs from inside the cab by people passing by was a common occurrence. This level of security whilst out on the drays was unique to the Liverpool area.

As explained earlier, the senior shop steward and his committee have had great influence on shaping and maintaining working practices in the depot. Although the senior shop steward was not a full time official, he was rarely seen out on the drays or working in the warehouse. It was accepted by management and the union that his role was one of maintaining harmony, through constant communication with depot management. The problem with this situation was that on many occasions

management meetings would be disrupted by the shop steward over trivial matters. On one occasion I was in a meeting with the manager and his team when the shop steward interrupted the meeting to discuss load planning, rather than arrange to see the union official later, the manager 'jumped up' abandoned the meeting and followed the union official. It appeared that the union representatives had power over the manager, and at all cost the manager would bend to satisfy union demands and avoid conflict.

The practice of having a six man union committee at Liverpool is unique in itself, as at most other depots the union representation was through a shop steward and at the most a deputy. At negotiating meetings there are always six representatives in attendance and all six must agree with the proposals before delivering the message to the workforce. At management/union meetings, the committee tend to sit and listen and are careful not to agree or disagree with any proposals initially, or appear to be enthusiastic about any management proposals. On one occasion I gave a presentation to the committee on the introduction of a salaried scheme to replace the existing tonnage based scheme. Although the proposal was controversial, and it was common knowledge that the workforce were against such a scheme, the committee sat through the presentation for 30 minutes and said very little. In the true tradition of the Liverpool 'comedy culture' I was asked by one representative " does this mean that we can have the same salary as you Mr Farrar and a company car". At the end of the presentation, they were very polite and said " thankyou Mr Farrar we will go away and think about it and discuss the proposal with the membership". I had noticed on previous occasions that the committee members were very polite almost in a condescending and mickey taking way. The practice of having a committee stems from the Bents Brewery, where it was custom and practice to have a high presence at negotiating meetings.

Another feature which was observed at Liverpool was the operatives alliance to a particular football team, for example, Everton and Liverpool and the associated religious split, which is taken very seriously. This was also observed, although to a less serious degree at Sheffield (Wednesday and United) and Hebburn (Sunderland and Newcastle) Although this is unrelated to negotiated working practices, it is culturally significant in that it disrupts work patterns and reduces flexibility. However, many of the football debates I came across in the depot appeared to be in a light hearted vain.

On the subject of leadership, operatives identified with Trade Union leaders as their 'Heroes' in particular they held in great esteem the Trade Union leader from 1976 - 1992 who was originally from Bents Brewery. Additionally operatives had high regard for the Distribution Manager between 1978 - 1989 who was originally born in the Liverpool area and was accepted as part of the Huyton culture. As one drayman explained "Terry was one of us, he used to walk the shopfloor and always had time to talk to us, we never see the new manager". Past and present managers all made reference to 'good' and 'bad' Distribution Directors over the years. A good Director was classified as one who could give a good fight when negotiating with the trade unions. Interestingly, both management and operatives had the same opinion of a 'good' or 'bad' Director.

The time spent working in the warehouse, on the delivery vehicles and site visits gave an insight into both the Liverpool culture and the depot culture. As with the other days spent in the depots, I was allocated to a delivery team consisting of two operatives one who had been with the company for 28 years and had worked at Bents Brewery, and the other had been with Bass 8 years all spent at Huyton. Fortunately someone loaned me a book ' Lern Yerself Scouse' which proved useful when trying to translate some of the conversations. For example, whilst out on the road, one of the draymen was always referring to doing things 'wi der tart thisavvy', which translated

means 'taking the wife out this afternoon'. Having got to grips with the language, after a couple of hours I was able to laugh in the right places at the right time.

A great deal of time spent at the depot on project work, at meetings and interviews revealed a very humorous culture. The day spent in the warehouse, on the delivery drays and meeting the customers revealed that humour and sarcasm is a trait of the Liverpool culture and extends beyond the depot. For example, throughout the day the draymen constantly made comments to the public whilst waiting at traffic lights and driving along the road, and in many cases got sarcastic comments back. This rapport continued with the pub landlords and with the warehouse operatives and staff on return to the depot.

The atmosphere in the warehouse and on the loading docks, particularly first thing in the morning, was very much like a busy market preparing for opening. The warehouse men were usually busy preparing the loads whilst the fork lift truck drivers were rushing around assisting the draymen with loading. What at first appeared to be heated arguments between the draymen, fork lift truck drivers and warehouse operatives, turned out to be playful yet hard hitting 'mickey taking' which carries on throughout the working day. The draymen generally stand around waiting for the warehouse team to sort the loads, as soon as the loads are sorted the draymen can get out on the road where to a great extent they are unsupervised.

In the depot canteen, at lunch and tea breaks, the humour and sarcasm continued. During the early stages of the research there were two canteens one for the shop-floor and one for the staff. On the occasions I used the shop-floor canteen, mainly because of project work, it was very noisy with the, by now familiar, joking and general fooling around. Much of the noise came from the operatives having playful conversations with the canteen staff. The canteen 'ladies' were the only people I came across who could handle the draymen, giving them a similar amount of verbal abuse

back. One Business Analyst, who was carrying out a project in the depot refused to use the canteen because, in his words " the Huyton canteen ladies frightened him with their manner". He gave one example when he asked for a cup of tea, the canteen lady, slid the cup towards him spilling half of the tea on the bench, his complaint was met with " whats the problem, you've got half a cup of tea more than when you came in".

Discussions between deliveries revealed that the two draymen strongly believed that the Huyton workforce were being coerced into changing their ways of working. Both draymen made the point that for many years the Liverpool people have been 'victimised' for not giving in to pressures from management. One of the draymen remarked that " if we give in to management on one thing they will take advantage on what we have fought for over the years". In particular they were referring to the proposed move to a salaried scheme which they feel will reduce their earning potential and allow management to impose different working practices. This to a certain extent was true in that in return for a salary, which would incorporate overtime payments earned over the past 12 months, the draymen would have to accept flexible working and the elimination of restrictive practices.

The ways of working are different at Huyton in that very little has changed since the move from Bents Brewery. For example, as with the Cornbrook Culture at Bury, the ritual of drinking whilst out on the delivery rounds is still seen as 'the way we do things around here'. The difference at Huyton was that the first of 4 pints for the former Bents drayman started at 9.30 in the morning. An interesting point was that drinks at the pubs were only offered by Liverpool (scouser) landlords reflecting an inward looking cohesive culture. I noticed that the draymen tended to work faster and with less care at some pubs, and soon realised that these were the pubs where they were not being given an alcoholic drink. Before reaching the pub, one of the draymen would say " we won't be long at this pub, he's a miserable so and so". The

idea behind this was that if they worked faster, they could be at the next pub in order to have another chat and drink. At their 'favourite' pubs, the draymen would be extremely helpful and quality conscious in terms of helping the landlord sort his cellar out. At other pubs, they would deliver the beer into the cellar, get a signiture for the beer and drive on to the next outlet as quickly as possible. On many occassions the kegs of beer were dropped into the cellar without any care not to damage the cellar walls or the aluminium kegs.

Overall, the culture at Huyton does not appear to have changed significantly since the transfer of operations from the Bents Brewery and the two Bass depots in the centre of Liverpool. The values of the workforce conflict with the values of the corporate culture in terms of productivity, profitability, quality and customer service. The values of the corporate culture are not dispersed throughout the depot and are not manifested in daily practices. Many examples have been highlighted in which an 'us and them situation' exists particularly through the shop-steward and his committee. The shopfloor operatives appear to respond not to management but to directives from the committee. Many of the findings in the Liverpool depot are typical of depots in this subculture grouping. For example, the hard hitting humour and the indulging in shopfloor horseplay, was found in both Newcastle and Sheffield although to a lesser extent in Tadcaster. The demarcation between drayman's work and warehouse work existed in all four counter cultures, and the strong 'us and them' attitude was found in all four, although this appeared to be stronger in the Liverpool depot.

The interviews and observations in the depot enabled a picture to be drawn of the depot culture. At the same time it was possible to construct a historical picture from managers and operatives, who had worked in the old and new Liverpool depots, and who had worked in other areas of Bass Brewers. The sequence of historical events listed below add to the picture drawn from the site ethnography.

<u>1976</u> - The Closure of the Bents Brewery site and two other Bass depots in the central docks area of Liverpool. The operations from the three sites were amalgamated in to one site at Huyton which is on the outskirts of Liverpool. The culture from the Bents Brewery became the dominant depot culture and the Trade union leaders took control of negotiations. Between 1976 and 1978 and previously at Bents there had been industrial relations problems which resulted in a 2 month strike.

<u>1978</u> - New Distribution Manager appointed.

<u>1984</u> - New Distribution Director appointed.

Between 1978 and 1985, following the 1977 strike, industrial relations and management/trade union relationships were very poor. During this period there was very little change to working practices, and any proposed changes were strongly rejected. In view of the strategic importance of the depot, in terms of tonnages delivered to the Merseyside area, management tended not to force issues and risk a dispute. In the previous strike the business had been severely affected and management could not afford to risk further loss of business. A major problem for brewers is the fact that when free trade pubs do not get deliveries through disputes, they go to a competitor. After disputes, many customers tend to keep with the new supplier and brand for safety. Additionally, the Huyton union had strong long standing relationships with the nearby Preston Brook Brewery which was of strategic importance in terms of beer production in the North West. At this time Bass could not afford to lose any production or customers because of the competition.

<u>1985</u> - New Distribution Director appointed.

<u>1988</u> - In view of the gradually increasing competition, this was the year in which major changes to the overall Bass philosophy for success were introduced. During

this period an attempt was made to introduce different working practices in the form of total quality control, flexible working arrangements, salaried payment schemes, and the handling of wines and spirits. The salaried pay scheme was rejected and the quality initiatives were enforced by management. The introduction of wines and spirits to the depot was agreed after lengthy negotiations, however, operations and productivity were poor and discussions began with a view to transferring the operations to other depots.

1989 - The MMC report was issued and a new New Distribution Manager was appointed. At this time, many of the large brewers took the MMC report as a major attack on the Brewing industry, and considered that in order to survive the proposed reduction in owned estates, a major rethink in ways of working was required.

1989 - New Distribution Director appointed.

In 1989 the MMC report involved the need to reduce costs in all depots through more efficient working practices. A new Director and Manager, appointed in the same year, tried to introduce new practices and threatened to transfer wines and spirits to other depots. This resulted in a strike which, because of a lack of support from the other depots lasted only 3 days. Eventually wines and spirits were transferred to other depots.

1990 - New Distribution Manager appointed
1991 - New Chief Executive appointed - New Mission Statement.
1992 - New Distribution Director appointed.
Following the strike and the retirement of the Trade Union leader, who had led the workforce from the Bents era, the workforce began to accept changes to working practices in a small way.

<u>1993</u> - Plans to change the Bass culture and adopt a programme of continuous change in relation to customer service and total quality.

The 'new' Bass culture, as defined by the Bass Brewers Board, does not fit well with the Huyton culture or the subcultures in the same group. The Huyton subculture emerged from the transfer of operatives from the Bents Brewery and two depots in the militant dock areas of central Liverpool. The traditional brewery culture and associated ways of working stem from the Bents Brewery and in particular the influence of the Senior Shop Steward and his committee. Additionally, the Merseyside culture, in terms of humour and general attitudes to management, appear to have an impact on all aspects of the workplace culture. Over the years there has been great difficulty experienced by managers trying to change the practices at Huyton, and there is little evidence to show that there is a sharing of values with the corporate culture. However, the depot continues to operate at levels which are acceptable, although not optimum to Bass.

On a recent visit to the depot (January 1994), the Distribution Manager explained that there were signs that the workforce were prepared to change working practices. For example, a quality management system accredited to ISO 9000 had been introduced, and the salaried scheme had reluctantly been accepted. The manager explained that "the workforce had been told that the new ways of working were essential for the survival of the depot, and that they had no option other than to accept the changes". Although the manager does not claim to have changed the depot culture, he is pleased with the move forward in the acceptance of some initiatives. A trip around the shopfloor revealed that, in the five years that I have been working on the research, little has changed in terms of the sarcastic humour and the general attitudes towards management, and indeed the overall culture of the Huyton workforce. What appears to have changed is a general acceptance by the workforce of the need to behave in a different way in order to sustain employment. This could be classified as behavioural

compliance and not internalisation of the changes or culture change. This view was shared by the depot manager who feels that "the changes are a result of constant pressure from management, and that to sustain this acceptance level, the pressure must be maintained". He strongly believes that any 'slackening off' by management will result in the Huyton team taking advantage of the situation and reverting back.

5.3   Abergele Depot - Subculture 'B' Enhancing Culture

In comparison with the Liverpool depot, and depots in the 'counter' culture category, Abergele is at the other extreme in terms of cultural similarities with the Bass corporate culture and ideals. For example, the workforce appear to have fully embraced the Bass philosophy in relation to customer service, quality and flexible working. As identified in the Merseyside research, and research in all other depots, the culture within the Abergele depot cannot be viewed in isolation from the social culture within the North Wales area. Socially and industrially the area of North Wales is linked to farming and leisure with little or no past links with the brewing or other large manufacturing industries. As such, there is little evidence of militant trade union activites or an 'us and them' situation, which was found in depots with past links with breweries and manufacturing organisations.

In sharp contrast with the Merseyside culture, the Welsh culture and depot culture appear to be almost passive in nature and appear amenable in terms of accepting change in the workplace. The site observations revealed a workplace culture which showed signs of friendliness, seriousness, commitment and very little humour. In comparison with other depots, and in particular Liverpool, there was a distinct lack of interesting stories of the past, and very little conflict with management. Compared with the Liverpool site, Abergele is a quiet depot where, despite the many changes to working practices, there is little controversy and disruption throughout the working day. Overall the Abergele depot can be best described as being flexible, supportive and enhancing and is typical of depots in the same subcultural group.

The Abergele depot was originally part of the Mitchells and Butler Breweries (M&B) which became part of the Bass organisation through a merger in 1961. Although originally part of the M & B group there is no evidence in the existing depot to show any connections. There are no links with Breweries or brewing operations at the

depot as the depot was purpose built for warehousing and distribution operations only. A new depot was built on the original site in 1979 and provided new office accommodation and modern delivery facilities. The depot itself stands alone in a tranquil open field area near the village of Abergele. This setting in many ways matches the quiet unassuming culture found in the depot.

The atmosphere at the depot is very friendly and is typical of other depots in the same subcultural category. For example, Scarborough, Portmadoc, Sleaford and Eaglescliffe all have similar characteristics in terms of them being a welcoming site for visiting outsiders. The only exception in this group is Barrow, which is only marginally different in its friendliness, this may be because of past links with shipbuilding and union activity over the years. All other aspects of the depot culture fit similar behaviour patterns.

In the Abergele warehouse and loading areas, particularly early morning, which is the peak loading time, the distinct lack of noise from the workforce appears strange in comparison with say for example Liverpool and Bury. As discussed previously, in these depots, early morning is almost like 'carnival time' with horseplay, singing shouting and sarcastic humour being part of a daily work ritual. Although very friendly and polite by comparison, the Abergele team appear to be, less flamboyant whilst working, prefer to talk rather than shout and have the occasional discrete joke. Being sarcastic or using hard hitting humour to get a point across to each other or to management does'nt appear to be in their make up. It is difficult to describe and understand the reason behind some of the different behaviour patterns at the different depots. In the Abergele depot, the warehouse operatives and draymen, apart from a polite 'good morning ', prefer to work quietly and quickly and load the dray vehicles up as a team. As soon as the drays are loaded the teams can go to the canteen for a drink before setting off on the deliveries. The canteen is very much the same as the shopfloor in terms of atmosphere, that is, friendly yet quiet. The behaviour of the

operatives, in the canteen, on the delivery rounds and with customers is discussed further in this section.

Interviews with past and present managers, discussions with operatives and site visits, revealed that the Bass core values and philosophy for success is much in evidence at the depot. In terms of shared values with the corporate culture, the key performance areas of productivity, profitability, quality and customer service are given high priority and value by both management and operatives. The values of the corporate culture are deeply manifested in the daily working practices at the depot and on the delivery operations. In contrast with the 'counter' and 'changing' cultures, Abergele and other depots in the 'enhancing' culture category, promote total flexibility and team working. Additionally, and again in contrast with other depots, the demarcation between the warehouse operatives and the draymen does not exist. Observations on the shopfloor revealed a culture in which the warehouse operatives and draymen help each other in order to complete the task quicker.

The sharing of values and the supportive nature of the Abergele culture is very much in evidence at Trade Union negotiating meetings, distribution management meetings and at customer service seminars. Unlike depots in the subculture 'A' and 'C' categories the union at the site, which consists of a shop steward and a deputy, tend to be flexible and negotiate the best deal for the operatives, and also for the long term survival of the depot. There are many examples where the Abergele depot has taken the lead in accepting different methods of working. For example, the depot was one the first to accept a salaried scheme, the first to link with another depot in order reduce stock levels, and additionally the depot has embraced the concepts of quality control, flexible working and total customer service.

The ameanable and supportive nature of the depot operatives and management showed in a Distribution strategic review of operations in the Abergele and

Portmadoc depots in 1991. I carried out a project at both sites with the aim of amalgamating both operations onto the Abergele site. This entailed Abergele becoming the 'controlling' depot and Portmadoc becoming a 'no stock' operation. In such an operation, Abergele would plan loads, pre-assemble orders in bulk and then transfer the orders to Portmadoc ready for delivery to the customers. For such an operation to work successfully, both depots were required to communicate and organise effectively although 50 miles apart. Throughout the project both management and operatives at both sites were supportive of the move, despite the possibility of increased workloads and manning reductions at both management and shopfloor levels. The strategy was successfully implemented with significant savings to Bass Brewers. The success of the project was largely due to the 'enhancing' nature of both the Abergele and Portmadoc sites. In comparison with other sites, where such a project would have caused great concern and conflict between management and the union, the teams at Abergele and Portmadoc viewed the situation in relation to long term survival rather than maintaining two operations short term.

The calm approach to change can be seen in the daily working practices at the depot and when discussing strategic change with operatives and management. For example, whilst I was out working on the drays I asked one of the drivers about the many changes in Bass over the years his reply was "we can accept the changes to working practices, what we don't like is when Bass keep changing the colour of the drays. When they changed from brown to white we were sat outside a pub for 20 minutes waiting for the landlord to open the cellar doors, he did'nt recognise the dray". An interesting point is the fact that they don't see the move to salaried status, flexible working, total quality and stockless depots as major change. As one drayman explained "we're here to do a job, if that means being flexible to keep the depot open then we'll be flexible". Their only major argument seems to be centred around the inflexibility and higher pay levels of some of the other depots. However, this does not appear to alter the way they are in terms of being prepared to accept change

within their particular work environment. Both management and operatives tend to make it clear that, although they will accept change and work collectively to achieve business goals, they are not happy with the pay differentials.

Many of the conversations with the operatives ended with derogatory comments about other depots. For example, "the problem is that we're being flexible whilst other depots are resisting change and being paid more money". This resentment regarding different pay levels for similar work in other depots seemed to be a contentious issue and raised by both management and the shopfloor. To a great extent the different pay levels were a result of the militant unions in the larger depots receiving higher levels of pay in the 1970's. Although the situation was in the process of being resolved through the introduction of salaried pay systems for all depots, for obvious reasons the high earning depots were rejecting such a move.

In terms of efficiency and flexible working, a Business Analyst, after completing an efficiency review of operations at the depot, wrote the following general comments, "looking at the current operation, it was noted that the warehouse was neat and well laid out and that correct and effective operating procedures were adhered to. There was not, at this stage, felt to be any area where significant changes could be recommended". This comment by an Analyst who had spent 2 weeks in the depot in August 1991, says alot about the pride the operatives take in their job and their work rate. This level of efficiency and flexibility showed in a quantitative analysis to determine differences in practices and quality of work at the fifteen depots.

The analysis was carried out to identify levels of restrictive practices, accident levels, and days lost through sickness. The results showed Abergele at the lower levels in all categories. For example, there are no restrictive practices in the depot, these were negotiated out when the depot operatives moved to salaried status. Accident levels were almost non existent, which is likely to be linked to the careful approach used in

the loading operations in the warehouse and at the pubs. In comparison with Liverpool, where little care was taken in loading and unloading goods, high damage and accident levels were recorded.

The flexibilty of the shopfloor team also extends to the management and staff on the site. For example, in 1990 I carried out a detailed organisation and methods review in all fifteen Bass North distribution depots. At many of the sites the staff were against the review, although they did participate. In Liverpool, for example, staff refused to fill in self recording sheets and were opposed to being studied. At Abergele they were cooperative in all areas and were keen to explain their role in the department and their level of activity.

Throughout the research period many customer service events were organised, bringing together management and shopfloor in order to understand the new Bass approach to customer service and quality. The one day seminars were usually well attended by approximately 50 representatives from all areas of the business. At one of the seminars, which I attended in October 1992, I was attached to a group of six other employees to discuss ways in which service quality could be improved. In addition to Customer Service and Telesales representatives, the group included a Liverpool drayman (Philip), an Abergele drayman (Peter) and a Bury driver's mate (Peter). Throughout the day I covertly observed and took notes in order to compare the different attitudes of the operatives from each site. This showed that what had been observed in the depots, in terms of attitudes and the characteristics of the different subcultures, to an extent showed in an 'out of work setting'.

For example, in one exercise we were asked, as a group, to put forward ideas for improving our service offer to our customers. The Abergele drayman put forward many feasible ideas relating to providing additional services including cellar management. The Liverpool drayman made derogatory remarks about improving the

quality of management first, and the Bury operative tended to agree with the Liverpool drayman. Throughout the day it was clear that many of the representatives from the 'enhancing culture' depots tended to be supportive of the Bass initiative to provide the 'best service', whereas the 'counter culture' operatives tended not to enter into the spirit of the seminar and were generally cynical about the quality initiatives. In situations where all three subculture types are represented at customer service seminars the 'A' and 'C' cultures tend to support each other in arguments, and also tend to socialise at meal breaks. In contrast, the Abergele operatives appear to talk more to management and appear to have a genuine interest in the changes the organisation is trying to make. Beyond this they feel that being cooperative is a better strategy for long term survival, and makes for a more pleasant atmosphere in the workplace. This particular view was expressed by the Abergele shop steward, and is a view, which he considers is shared by the workforce.

During 'out of work' settings on the management side there were similar findings. For example, at Distribution conferences and meetings, which were generally held in hotels, the managers in the 'enhancing', 'counter' and 'changing' cultures would tend to sit and discuss work matters within their own groupings. This closeness with subculture types would also carry on socially at the bar in the evening. As identified with the operatives, in out of work situations, the 'counter' culture managers tended to be extrovert, whilst the 'enhancing' managers appeared reserved. From this I assumed that either, managers with a particular style were matched with the style of the depot, or the managers' behaviour reflected the culture of the depot.

The Abergele culture operates through a system of 'shared ideas and meanings' which are visible in the behaviour and working practices of the workforce. Unlike the depots in the 'counter' or 'changing' cultures, symbolic meaning is given to corporate objects or artefacts. For example the slogans 'Bass No 1 in the North' and 'Great Brands Best Service' are seen as meaningful and are visible throughout the depot.

There is a distinct lack of interesting stories about the past in terms of the Mitchells and Butlers era, and there is no indication that the M & B era has special meaning to the workforce. A drayman explained that " when we were part of M & B we never felt as if we belonged to the group because in effect, the majority of depots and breweries were in the Midlands area". In fact geographically and logistically, Abergele should have been in the North Region, but for some reason when depots were being allocated to regions, it was placed in the Midlands.

The rituals or 'the way things are done' at the depot strongly reflect the message from the corporate culture in terms of management and operatives working as a team with total flexibility. From discussions it would appear that this supportive way of working has been the norm for many years and is considered part of the North Wales culture. Within this culture the ritual of drinking on the delivery drays does not appear to exist. The team tend to work on the deliveries and return as quickly as possible in order to have a tea break, or in the case of the last delivery return as quickly as possible so that they can go home. In the instances when they stop off at a pub for a drink it is generally a soft drink or a cup of tea.

Abergele's high propensity to change has been demonstrated over the years and to some extent during the research period. An example of this was the depot's acceptance of a salaried scheme for the workforce in 1988. Abergele was one of the first depots to accept such a scheme and move away from time studied standard minute values. Although I was not involved in the negotiations, management services personnel, who were directly involved with negotiations and the implementation of the scheme, revealed that the workforce saw the move to a salaried scheme as a move towards a secured weekly wage. Post implementation discussions with the operatives revealed that, many felt that by knowing their wage level this helped them plan their finances better, compared with having a fluctuating wage based on tonnage output and overtime payments. In many of the other depots the operatives preferred to have

a basic pay with the potential to work weekday and Saturday overtime. For the Abergele team, the system works extremely well, because the salary included average overtime payments for the previous year, so the team work hard during the week and deliver 6 days work in 5 and do not have to work Saturday morning. Reducing the working week was a bonus for the operatives, as many of them have small holdings or work part time on local farms.

Discussions with past depot managers and current operatives on the subject of leadership, revealed that both sides did not relate particularly to 'local' heroes as in trade union leaders, or management leaders. Reference was made specifically to corporate 'heroes' such as the Robin Manners era and the 'new' Tony Portno era. However, in sharp contrast with other depots very little was said about the recent changes or the history of the depot. In fact there were no funny stories to tell, or maybe there were, but they did'nt want to tell me. From a research view, Abergele seemed less interesting than for example Merseyside, although the lack of stories and humour says a lot about the Abergele depot and the North Wales culture.

An interesting observation at the Abergele site was the level of autonomy the manager was given in terms of running the depot operations. During the fieldwork and on management services project work, no visits by the Distribution Director or the Regional Distribution Manager were observed. This high level of autonomy and empowerment allowed the manager more scope for developing the team, and the ability to be more flexible. In many of the other depots there was much tighter control over operations, which many managers considered to be restrictive in terms of gaining support and acceptance of change.

The time spent on the delivery operations was very different from the days spent at Bury and Liverpool, particularly in terms of warehouse and delivery relationships and relationships with customers. For example, at the start of the shift there was no

warehouse/drayman demarcation, every operation was shared in order to complete the task more quickly. In comparison with the 'counter culture' depots, the warehouse seemed more civilised and organised, and probably the most significant observation was the tranquilty, for example, compared with Liverpool, there was no sarcasm or general fooling around nor was there any 'mickey taking' of the supervisors or the depot manager. On many occassions the supervisor was observed assisting warehouse operatives and drayman with the dray loading operation. The point here is that 'the flexible team approach' at Abergele means total flexibilty at all levels in the depot, from the manager to the operative.

At the delivery outlets, customers were given a first class service in terms of beer delivery into the cellar and then making sure that everything was clean and clear in the cellar. The draymen were on first name terms with most of the landlords and were extremely friendly, at many of the outlets the draymen asked about the landlords family as if close friends. Having spent a great deal of time on the drays in Liverpool, Bury and Sheffield, I was surprised at many of the pubs when cups of tea and biscuits were offered and not beer, which is in sharp contrast with the ritualised drinking habits at Liverpool and Bury. On one of the trips the draymen were rushing to get to a pub in Bangor for 12.30. When we arrived the landlord had prepared sandwiches and a cup of coffee for the draymen. Apparently, this is standard practice for the draymen on the Bangor run. All the landlords seemed quite friendly with the draymen and in return they were given correct deliveries on time.

The supportive nature of the Abergele operatives extends beyond the depot and customer relationships at pub deliveries. For example, on one occasion a dray crew was returning back to the depot when they noticed another team delivering a fairly heavy load at one of the pubs. They promptly stopped the dray and helped the draymen with the deliveries. Although I only noticed this on one occassion, apparently it is regular practice to support each other on the road as well as in the

depot. In similar situations at Liverpool, Bury and Sheffield, the draymen would normally drive past the struggling draymen and make fun of their predicament.

The Abergele canteen was also a friendly place, and considering the fact that I was an outsider and from management services, I was treated as part of the team. The only occassion when the canteen appeared to be noisy was when 'the scouser' was in. This was one of the Liverpool operatives who had been transferred from the Huyton depot to Abergele. In true traditional Merseyside humour, on one occasion he remarked to the draymen I was with " I see you've got the time and motion man with you is he making you work harder". One of the draymen quickly retorted " no but he ought to be up in Liverpool studying your lot and making them work for their money". That remark seemed to make him worse until just about everyone in the canteen told him to 'shut up'. It seemed obvious that the Merseysider ' was disliked for his sarcastic humour and his outspoken views. This view was expressed by one of the draymen as we went out on the second round of deliveries, "there all the same scousers, out for what they can get and not prepared to work for it".

The two operatives I worked with had both worked at Abergele for over 20 years, and therefore could explain descriptively the past ways of working and the culture of the depot. However, the draymen talked more about the present and the future rather than referring to past activities. Both explained that up to the new depot being built in 1979, the Mitchells and Butler logo was displayed on the side of the building. The new depot was built displaying the Bass 'Triangle' logo and no reference or evidence was left to identify M & B with the depot's history. However, as previously mentioned, it would appear that the M & B logo and historical connections with the M & B group had no symbolic meaning. Since the Bass merger in 1961 the brewery connections have been with Burton, and the strong association with Bass North

Although there were very few stories told by the draymen, a former manager at Abergele, who was Warehouse Manager between 1979 - 1984 and Manager between 1985 -1988 told some interesting stories about the workforce. The manager who is currently the Liverpool depot manager and still lives in Abergele, referred to the Abergele workforce as 'the beverley hill billies' because of their links with farming and the fact than many of them had small holdings. In one story he explained that " for many weeks a particular dray crew had been late returning back from the early morning deliveries. Eventually he found out that the crew, due to popular demand had started delivering and selling eggs to the pub landlords". When I asked if he had diciplined them his reply was that "it was very difficult to take any action simply because everyone in the depot was also buying the eggs. He jokingly put this situation down to the first steps in developing an 'entreprenurial culture' before Bass had even thought of it.

Another point he made was the fact that, similar to Merseysiders not liking 'woolly backs', the Abergele people do not generally take to working with outsiders or people from 'the city'. In one example, a dray team who had been transferred to Abergele from one of the Lancashire depots, were setting off on the delivery rounds with 36 gallon kegs of dark mild bitter. On their way to the delivery point they would stop at the nearby reservoir and syphon off 18 gallons of beer into empty containers and then top the keg back up with reservoir water. They then delivered the 'lighter' dark mild bitter to the pub and sold the syphoned beer to other customers. This went undetected for a long time with no complaints from the customers. Members of the Abergele workforce did'nt like this and 'grassed' on the other draymen. The manager explained that if the operatives found any illegal operation ongoing, particularly when managed by outsiders, they would 'grass' to management. The former Abergele manager who told this particular story, who is currently the Liverpool manager, explained that 'grassing' for example in Liverpool would never occur to the workforce.

The Abergele culture was best described by a former depot manager: " it is a nice area with nice people, and if I was given the choice of working and living in a particular area in this country I would choose Abergele".

The Abergele team see all the changes as survival, for example, one of the drayman explained that " if we had'nt gone down the salaried route or introduced flexible working the depot may not have survived, at least this way we can ensure longer term survival". Having said this the drayman expressed dissatisfaction with the pay levels of the other depots who had not accepted the changes. In particular he quoted Liverpool, " they are the highest paid and least worked of all the draymen yet management allow it to go on ". This anger and resentment was voiced at the other depots in which there were lower levels of pay.

In comparison with depots in the other subculture groupings, Abergele and depots in the 'enhancing' group tend not to have any historical links with either breweries or any strong links with other major industries.

The sequence of historical events at Abergele are listed below:-

1961 - The Bass merger with Mitchells and Butler resulted in the M&B site becoming the Bass Abergele Depot

1972 - New Distribution Manager appointed. There was very little change during this period, although in many of the other depots, particularly those with traditional brewery cultures, there was a general strengthening in the union movement.

1979 - New depot built on existing site

In the 60's and 70's there appears to have been a long period of stability with no significant changes to working practices. The major change at the depot was the building of a new depot on the existing site.

1984 - New Distribution Director appointed.

1985 - New Distribution Manager appointed.

1985 - New Distribution Director appointed

1987 - New Distribution Manager appointed.

1988 - Major changes to Bass philosophy for success.

During this period different working practices in the form of total quality control, salaried payment schemes, and flexible working arrangements were introduced. The salaried pay scheme was readily accepted and the quality initiatives were gradually introduced by management.

1989 - M.M.C. report issued.

1989 - New Distribution Director appointed.

In 1989 the MMC report involved the need to reduce costs in all depots through more efficient working practices. A new Distribution Director, appointed in the same year, introduced new working practices and linked the Portmadoc operations with Abergele. The new joint operation was accepted by both Abergele and Portmadoc operatives.

1991 - New Chief Executive - New Mission Statement.

1992 - New Distribution Director.

1993 - Although in 1993, plans to change the Bass culture were well under way with customer service seminars, distribution road shows and management of change

programmes, the Abergele team, to a great extent were well ahead of the changes. Whilst most other depots were still contemplating change, the depot had already introduced flexible working, a salaried pay scheme, no stock operation with Portmadoc and were supplying a first class quality service to its customers.

The 'new' Bass culture, as defined by the Bass Brewers Board, fits well with the Abergele culture and the subcultures in the same group. Over the years there has been considerable changes to practices at the depot which have been accepted by both management and the operatives. Although these changes were seen by many other depots as being major, they seemed acceptable by Abergele and other depots in the enhancing category. For example, Abergele was the first depot to accept a salaried scheme and then take advantage by increasing output during the week to avoid weekend working. The depot was also the first to control another depot, for example the no stock operation at Portmadoc. This high level of acceptance is also evident in the acceptance of Bass new initiatives, for example, customer service and quality control.

The observations at the site revealed that there is a sharing of values at management and operative level and these are manifested in the daily working practices at the depot. The tranquility of the village of Abergele appears to reflect in many ways in the working practices in the depot. Additionally, the fact that there are no historical links with a traditional brewing cultures, appears to have a significant effect on the depot culture. For example, of particular significance is the high acceptance of change and a very amenable workforce which is not led by a traditionally militant trade union. The behaviour of the workforce at the depot appears to be genuinely based on internalised values and not, as I experienced in other depots in the counter and changing subcultures, behavioural compliance. Although I did'nt spend the same amount of time in the other 'enhancing' depots, the friendliness and close links with local and corporate level ideals appeared to be the same. The overall view is that

certain depots located in particular geographical areas have developed cultures which are linked to the culture of the area and are amenable to the Bass senior management ideals and general philosophy for success.

5.4   Bury Depot- Subculture 'C' Changing Culture

Building on the work from stage 1, an historical analysis over a 21 year period at

Bury from 1972 - 1993 revealed changes in both core values and practices which

occurred at critical stages in the depot's life. As found by Pettigrew (1979, 1985,

1990) in his studies of a British boarding school, I.C.I and Jaguar Cars respectively,

these critical stages were linked to economic difficulties, mergers, and changes in

leadership and power. Over this 21 year period the culture at Bury has changed and

is still changing from a 'negative' to a more 'positive' culture, and is now more in line

with what the Bass Board see as the 'corporate' culture.

The depot at Bury was purpose built for Bass and has been in operation since 1972.

Previous operations for the Bury delivery area were at the Cornbrook Brewery in

Manchester where there was a strong trade union presence and a typical traditional

'brewery culture'. From observations on site visits to breweries across the Bass group

a 'brewery culture' is very different from a depot culture in that in the true sense of the

word 'traditional', the ways of 'doing things' have been passed down through

generations of families over the centuries with very little change, consequently there

is a strong resistance to change.

With the mergers in the 60's and 70's and the closure of breweries at Manchester

(Cornbrook), Burnley (Massey's), Blackpool (Catterill & Swarbrick) and Liverpool

(Bents) many employees moved from the breweries into delivery depots. The start up

of the Bury depot was a mixture of traditional brewery cultures from Burnley,

Blackpool and Manchester, and local labour. In a short space of time a dominant

shopfloor culture emerged which was predominantly employees from the Cornbrook

Brewery in Manchester. For many years the Cornbrook culture sustained the brewery

traditions and were known for many years as the 'Salford Mafia' for their strong views

and militant tendencies. In recent years, however, the demise of the operatives from

the brewery cultures of Burnley, Blackpool and Manchester, changes in leadership and enforced changes in working practices, has resulted in a 'new' changing culture.

In terms of shared values, interviews with past and present managers, directors and operatives, indicate that the core values of the dominant culture are gradually being shared by members of the Bury subculture in the form of changes to daily practices. This is in sharp contrast with the 70's culture which was organisationally and culturally inflexible and best described as being a counter culture. Almost all interviewees considered the culture change to be partially a result of the 'old' culture from Cornbrook gradually being replaced by a new generation of Bury operatives. Additionally, many past and present Bury employees consider the changes to be a result of changes in leadership, at both management and trade union leader levels. For example, when the Cornbrook Brewery closed in 1972 the senior shop steward moved to the new Bury depot and led the operatives in negotiation for a sixteen year period, he finally left the organisation in 1988. Former Cornbrook employees consider the shop steward to have successful negotiated high rates of pay and better working conditions, Bury operatives believe that he was the cause of unrest and that he delayed investment and progress at the depot. Many staff and shopfloor operatives believe that a major cultural shift started in 1985/1986 with the appointment of a new Distribution Director and Distribution Manager. At this time many old working practices were changed, for example, many three man deliveries were reduced to two men, flexible working arrangements between the warehouse and delivery fleet were introduced. However, all depot personnel interviewed agreed that the major changes started when the 'Salford Mafia' leader left the company.

The demise of the Cornbrook influence coincided with increased competition which resulted from the M.M.C. report in 1989. Additionally, high levels of unemployment in the North West, and the threat of closure resulted in the Bury operatives accepting change more readily. The threat of closure was used on many occasions by the

Distribution Director appointed in 1989. The Distribution Director was the former Personnel Director and was well experienced in negotiating with the Bury Shop Stewards. The changes which have occurred since 1985, in terms of leadership, market conditions and the demise of the 'old' Cornbrook culture, has resulted in a 'single' culture which supports, through its working practices, the Bass mission in terms of productivity, quality and customer service. However, although the depots practices reflect the values of the core culture, the Distribution Manager still finds it difficult accepting uniform strategies put forward by Headquarters in Burton. For example, the depot manager considers that decentralisation and empowering regional managers would be far more productive in terms of providing the manager with more control over the depot culture.

Although there has been many changes at Bury the Cornbrook influence is still present in the depot. The Brewery still has symbolic meaning to both former brewery employees and new depot operatives. Although the Brewery closed in 1972, all interviewees made reference to the 'Salford Mafia' and all had 'stories' to tell about the power of the militant shop stewards and 'myths' about the beer drinking habits of the Cornbrook draymen. A former Cornbrook employee told a story of draymen having a pint of beer at every pub delivery starting at 9am every day. At the end of the day the draymen, ten pints or so over the limit, would then all be taken home on the back of the last dray back into the depot. Other stories relating to the drinking habits of the managers and their supervisors came from many former Cornbrook employees. Many operatives believe that the reason why draymen were allowed to get away with the drinking sessions and other mal-practices was because management accepted much of it as custom and practice.

The former Cornbrook operatives still working at Bury are still outspoken and still have different ways of doing things. For example, the ritual of drinking whilst out on the delivery drays is still predominant amongst the former Cornbrook Brewery

workers. Although not to the same extent as in the Brewery days, I was told that many drink four or more pints per day whilst out delivering beer to the pubs. In contrast the Bury draymen will usually accept a bottle from the landlord to take back to the depot and then take home. The Cornbrook draymen are also less sociable with outsiders than the Bury operatives and more likely to refuse to carry out tasks which are outside their job description. In the canteen, at tea and lunch breaks, they are usually loud and outspoken in comparison with other operatives.

Discussions with managers and operatives on the subject of leadership and change, revealed that both sides have or relate to 'heroes' past and present who have significant meaning. The depot operatives from Cornbrook for example hold the shop steward who led them from 1972 - 1988 in high esteem because of his negotiating skills and leadership. The managers and staff relate to specific Distribution Directors who have made significant changes throughout the late 70's and 80's. Both sides enjoyed telling stories of conflict and difficulties in managing or accepting change.

The time spent working in the warehouse and on the delivery vehicles involved a full working day assisting two operatives on loading and delivery operations. This enabled me to observe practices and discuss the changes at Bass and in the Bury depot over the years. Additionally it was possible to observe the behaviour and listen to discussions between other operatives at tea and meal breaks. This assisted in the validation of the stage 1 findings and previous discussions with former and current Bury employees. The two operatives were picked at random, one had been with Bass for 7 years and had previously worked at the Blackpool depot (Catterill & Swarbrick Brewery Culture) and the other one had worked for Bass for 27 years and had previously been at the Manchester (Cornbrook Brewery Culture).

Between deliveries to the pubs it was possible to have lengthy discussions about Bass, the past, present and future. Discussions were centred around historical issues (culture formation and change) past and current leaders (culture 'creators') and the Bass philosophy for success (beliefs and values). Both operatives told 'stories' of the Blackpool and Manchester cultures and how the Bury culture had changed significantly over the years, and specifically over the past 5 years. On the delivery operation it was possible to see the Bass drayman interact with the customer, and observe the legendary drinking habits of draymen. On the latter point it would appear that the 'ritual' of drinking on the delivery rounds is no 'myth', the first of 4 pints was at 10.30am for the former Cornbrook employee, the driver drank two pints and the researcher two pints (to be sociable). Most of the pub managers offered alcoholic refreshment (8 deliveries), the former Cornbrook employee explained that draymen have had to change their drinking habits because of the introduction of Electronic Point Of Sale cash tills (E.P.O.S.) which keeps records of all drinks dispensed. With this system the pub manager or landlord must account for all beer stock discrepancies. In the Cornbrook and Catterill & Swarbrick years, it was explained that drinking was 'part of the job' and not uncommon for draymen to a have a drink at every delivery outlet (myth ?).

Overall, over a period of 21 years, from the birth of the depot to the current situation, daily working practices have changed considerably. This finding is consistent with the findings in stage 1 and is typical of depots in the subculture type 'C'. However, there is evidence to show that the values of the dominant culture are not dispersed or shared throughout the depot. This emerged through discussions with the depot manager who, although 'sells' the Board's philosophy, does not necessarily share its values. This leads to the debate between 'culture as behaviour' and 'culture in the mind'. In the Bury case and depots in this subculture category, behaviour patterns have clearly changed, but the values of some group members have remained the same.

The sequence of historical events in terms of culture formation and change is shown below:-

<u>1972</u> - Closure of Cornbrook Brewery - Birth of Bury depot.

Within a short period of time the 'Salford Mafia' from Cornbrook became the dominant culture, set the rules for behaviour and passed this on to new members as part of the socialisation process.

<u>1974</u> - New Distribution Manager.
<u>1975</u> - New Distribution Manager.
<u>1979</u> - New Distribution Manager.

Between 1974 and 1979 there was a succession of Distribution Managers with no significant changes to working practices or the demise of the Cornbrook dominance. During this period the unions were very militant and sustained restrictive practices and demarcation between warehouse and delivery operations. The main restrictive practices were those relating to the number of deliveries per day and the number of draymen per delivery. All deliveries to pubs had been measured using work study and standard times had been issued for each task. However, the standard times were based on using safe working practices to lower beer by rope into the cellar, what actually happened was that beer was simply dropped into the cellar thus cutting the standard times by half. This provided the draymen with more drinking time and they would invariably stay 'out' until the standard times had been achieved. It was argued by the draymen that three men were required to safely deliver beer into cellars. In actual fact even using the standard times allocated two men could easily deliver the tonnage required. This as been proven in recent years as most depots operate two man drops to cellars. It would appear that over the years many of the standard times

were extremely 'slack' and that this was allowed by depot management. Discussions with Bury management on this topic revealed that, throughout the 1970's and 1980's the main concern was delivering beer and avoiding delays through industrial disputes. Therefore, rather than risk conflict, restrictive practices were condoned.

At this time there was no flexibility between the Warehouse and the Draymen and demarcation was strict. The warehouse men prepared the loads and unloaded the returning empties and the draymen delivered the beer.

1984 - New Distribution Director.
1985 - New Distribution Director.

Between 1979 and 1985 there were significant enforced changes to working practices. In 1981 a great deal of trade was transferred away from Bury to surrounding depots in an attempt to reduce the power of the unions. At this time because of legislation, Trade Union activities were less damaging and some changes to working practices were agreed. The changes were pioneered by a dominant Distribution Director who after a period working in a different region in a similar capacity (1984 -1985) returned to lead further changes at the depot.

1986 - New Distribution Manager.
1988 - Major changes to Bass philosophy for success.

Between 1986 and 1988 Bass embarked on a new mission for success which involved the introduction of quality systems, flexible working, salaried pay schemes and new I.T. support systems. At this time (1988) the leader of the 'Salford Mafia' left Bass and was replaced by a consultative Trade union leader. This was significant in that the planned changes could be negotiated without the Cornbrook influence.

<u>1989</u> - M.M.C. report issued and new Distribution Director appointed.

The MMC report on the supply of beer resulted in many strategic changes in ·
breweries and depots. In order to be more competitive Bury depot had to be more
flexible reduce delivery costs. To achieve this, restrictive practices had to be
eliminated, and more efficient ways of working had to be introduced. For example
the introduction of two man deliveries, flexible working between warehouse and
draymen, quality control, information technology and redesigned pay structures.
Following the issue of the MMC report, the Personnel Director of Bass North was
appointed to the post of Distribution Director, and was successful in achieving
significant changes at the Bury depot.

<u>1991</u> - New Chief Executive - New Mission Statement
<u>1992</u> - New Distribution Director
<u>1993</u> - Plans to 'change' the Bass culture

Following the appointment of Dr Portno in 1991 and subsequent changes at Board
level, the message is that the Bass culture must be changed. At Bury many changes to
working practices have been introduced and accepted. However, some of the old
culture and values from the Cornbrook Brewery still exist at the depot and are clearly
very difficult to change.

In addition to the culture audits at the three depots, research in stages 1 and 2 showed that
subcultures that are out of line with the dominant/corporate culture are more difficult to
manage and are less productive. For example, the research in stage 1 showed that the
type 'A' counterculture produces a poorer quality product and has a higher resistance to
change in comparison with the type 'B' and 'C' cultures. Further research in Stage 2
showed that major differences in performance were in the areas of quality, costs, delivery
output and days lost through accidents and sickness. The data analysis showed that

the impact that subcultures in the three subculture groupings have on outcomes and the reasons why there are differences is clearly linked to the particular depot culture.

What has occurred in these depots in terms of formation, development and overall transient nature of their cultures and sub-cultures is analogous to methods used in microbiology and in alcoholic fermentation. In microbiology a culture containing one kind of micro-organism is classified as a pure or axenic culture or as being 'monomorphic'. A culture which contains two or more kinds of micro-organisms is considered to be a two-membered or mixed culture, and is referred to as being 'pleomorphic'. In relationship to pleomorphism Stanier et al 1986, explain what happens when microbial populations are mixed: " the principle of natural selection at once begins to operate, and the microbe that can grow most rapidly under the conditions provided soon predominates. As a result of its growth and chemical activities, the composition of the medium changes; after some time, conditions no longer permit growth of the originally predominant form". It is at this stage where the environment provides an opportunity for growth of a second micro-organism which will eventually replace the previously predominant form in the culture.

Abergele and depots in the same subculture group can be described as being 'monomorphic' in that it is a relatively pure un-contaminated culture. Liverpool and depots in the same culture group can be described as being 'pleomorphic' in that the culture is still a mixture of Bents and Bass depot operatives. Bury depot and the other 'changing' cultures are also 'pleomorphic' because of the Cornbrook influence. However, this situation is changing as the Cornbrook operatives gradually leave.

5.5   Conclusions

The research in Stage 1 identified the existence of subcultures in the 15 distribution depots, some of which were positive and others negative in relation to supporting the corporate ideals. Additionally, some of the depot subcultures were in the process of change, moving from traditionally negative towards a more positive culture. For the second stage of the research, the subcultures were therefore grouped into three categories : counter cultures; enhancing cultures and changing cultures.

The second stage of the research involved an in-depth analysis of the subculture groupings in terms of values and practices in relation to those prescribed by the Bass Board. This revealed that, in addition to the characteristics identified in Stage 1, for example the links with trade union power and leadership, cultural transformation is very much linked to the geographical location of the depots, the culture of the area and the associated historical factors. For example, depots in the 'A' and 'C' subcultures, the counter and changing cultures, had strong historical links with brewing and other large industries. This resulted in the formation of strong 'traditional' cultures which were highly resistant to change, and to a great extent, were counter to the way in which senior management wanted to develop the business. The traditional cultures were acceptable during periods of high profits and high market dominance, however, in a changing market and industry, they were seen by management as a liabilty and a target for change. The 1989 MMC report and the resultant need for change brought many of the traditional cultures under the Bass spotlight, and many were coerced into changing their working practices. Although many of these changes were considered by senior management to be changes in culture, in reality they were simply observable changes to working practices and were not linked to changes in the deep rooted attitudes and beliefs of the workforce. This was clearly the case in Huyton, where the depot culture was very much linked to the values and attitudes of the Merseyside people and culture.

The strong links with the culture of the area and the depot culture were also identified in the research in the 'enhancing' cultures. For example, in Abergele the culture of the North Wales people, which is generally friendly and amenable, was reflected in the ways in which the depot operatives carried out their daily tasks. The history of both the depot and the area also seems to have an impact on depot culture and behaviour. In contrast with the counter cultures, which have developed traditional cultures from historical links with brewing and other large organisations, the enhancing cultures, which have no links with brewing or manufacturing, have developed cultures which appear to fit the Bass ideals in terms of flexibilty towards change.

There is evidence from the research that some subcultures can change over time although this does not appear to be linked to the efforts of management. In the 'changing' cultures it would appear that the move from a traditional culture to an 'enhancing' culture is the result of labour movement over a long period of time. For example, in the Bury fieldwork, the movement of labour from the Cornbrook Brewery in Manchester to the Bury site created a mixed culture which was dominated by the Salford Mafia. Over a 20 year period, there has been a cultural transformation as the Cornbrook operatives have left the organisation. What is currently developing in the Bury depot is a subculture which more mirrors the culture of the area and the ideals of the Bass corporate culture.

The historical nature of culture sits within the historical diffusionist school and is linked by Allaire and Firsirotu (1984 p202) to the study of organisations "as historically produced sociocultural systems". Within the symbolic school and the sub-schools of 'actionalist' and 'institutional', strong views are expressed on the historical and leadership links with culture and the birth, growth, and evolution of organisations (Pettigrew 1979, Selznick 1957, Clark 1972).

In terms of cultural dispersion, the research has shown that the cultural characteristics of the Bass 'corporate' culture are not dispersed throughout all of the distribution depots. What appears to be the case is that, assuming culture is 'what an organisation is' as opposed to 'what an organisation has', some depot cultures, because of what they are, naturally fit the Bass corporate ideals. Conversley, some depots, because of what they are, do not fit the Bass corporate ideals. The argument is that depot cultures will either fit or not fit the Bass philosophy for success simply because of the historical and cultural factors in relation to the geographical area of the depot. This is probably why attempts to quickly change the deep rooted beliefs and values of the workforce to a great extent fail.

In line with Gregory (1983), Reynolds (1983), Smircich (1983), Martin & Siehl (1983), and Louis (1985), the fieldwork has shown that the notion of a single homogeneous culture which permeates the organisation is unrealistic and stems from wishful thinking and the ideals of senior managers. In the Bass organisation, which operates in a complex environment and is geographically dispersed, multiple organisational subcultures and counter cultures exist and affect the way in which the business is managed.

Furthermore, In line with Hofstede et al. (1990), the findings of the fieldwork study contradict the prescriptions put forward by many authors and proponents of the shared value philosophy, that is the assumption that the values of the leaders and corporate heroes are shared by all members of the organisation. The fieldwork has shown that there exists subcultures which do not share the same values of the corporate culture and that these cultures are counter productive in the sense that they offer resistance to the corporate ideal. Additionally, the findings of Hofstede et al. (1990) that 'shared perceptions of daily practices' not 'shared values' are the core of an organisations' culture appears to link in with the research findings.

Overall, the findings support the differentiation paradigm of Meyerson and Martin (1987) in that the Bass organisation does not have a homogeneous single corporate culture. What appears to be the case is that Bass Brewers has a new corporate culture which has to a great extent been developed by the 'new' Chief Executive of Bass Brewers and his 'new' Board members. The findings show that the ideals of the senior management team are not dispersed throughout the organisation and are clearly not shared by many of the regional subcultures.

The following Chapter, in view of the fieldwork findings, examines the link between culture management and performance and how subcultures can be effectively managed or controlled. Within this analysis the issue relating to effective leadership as a means of culture control is explored.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER FIVE

Allaire Y & Firsirotu M E (1984)

Theories of Organisational Culture - Organisation Studies, 1984, Volume 5, No. 3 pp193-226

Bass Brewers News (1991)

New Head for Bass Brewers - Issue No 4, pp 1-2

Beynon H (1973)

Working for Ford, Harmondsworth : Penguin

Clark B R (1972)

The Organisational Saga in Higher Education - Administrative Science Quarterly No 17: pp 178-184

Louis M R (1985)

An Investigator's Guide to Workplace Culture - in:- Organisational Culture ed. P J Frost et al, Sage Publications

Martin J & Siehl C (1983)

Organisational Culture and Counterculture: An uneasy symbiosis - Organisational Dynamics 12(2): pp52-64

Meyerson D & Martin J (1987)

Cultural Change: An Integration of Three Different Views. Journal of Management Studies 24:6 November pp623-647.

Pettigrew A M (1979)

On Studying Organisational Cultures - Administrative Science Quarterly 24

Pettigrew A M (1985)

The Awakening Giant: Continuity and Change in ICI, Blackwell, Oxford

Pettigrew A M (1990)

Is Corporate Culture Manageable - in Managing Organisations Eds Wilson D C & Rosenfeld R H - McGraw Hill Book Company

Roy D (1952)

'Quota Restriction and Goldbricking in a Machine Shop', American Journal of Sociology, Vol 57.

Sackmann S A (1992)

Cultures and Subcultures: An analysis of Organisational Knowledge - Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol 37, March pp140 -161

Saffold G S (1988)

Culture Traits, Strength, and Organisational Performance: Moving Beyond 'Strong' Culture - Academy of Management Review, Volume 13 No. 4

Sanday P R (1979)

The Ethnographic Paradigm - Administrative Science Quarterly 24 pp527-538

Schein E H (1984)

Coming to a New Awareness of Organisational Culture - Sloan Management Review, pp 3-16

Schein E H (1985)

Organisational Culture and Leadership - Jossey Bass

Schneider B (1975)

Organisation Climates: 'An Essay' Personnel Psychology No 28: pp 447-479

Schwartz H & Davis S M (1981)

Matching Corporate Culture and Business Strategy - Organisation Dynamics, Summer pp30-48

Selznick P (1957)

Leadership in Administration - Evanston: Row Peterson

Shaw F (1984)

Lern Yerself Scouse - How to talk proper in Liverpool, Scouse Press: Liverpool

Silverman D (1970)

The Theory of Organisations - London: Heinemann

Smircich L (1983)

Concepts of Culture and Organisational Analysis - Administrative Science Quarterly 28 pp339-358

Smircich L (1983)

Studying Organisations as Cultures - in:- Beyond Method, ed. Gareth Morgan, Sage Publications

Stanier R Y, Ingraham J L, Wheelis M L, Painter P R(1986)

General Microbiology - McMillan Prentice Hall

CHAPTER 6

CULTURE MANAGEMENT AND PERFORMANCE

CHAPTER SIX

6.   Culture Management and Organisational Performance

The many proponents of culture management and change generally view culture as an organisational variable which can be manipulated to satisfy business objectives. The notion of culture management is linked by many writers to improvements in organisational performance, and to the differences in productivity levels between similar organisations. The concept of culture control or changing an organisation's culture has been adopted by senior managers in many different organisations who view the concept as a route to maintaining or gaining a competitive advantage. Although culture control is considered as a means to improved performance there is little research evidence to show that gaining control of or changing an organisation's corporate culture has a single positive impact on performance.

Based on the research in the Bass organisation, performance seems to be more related to subcultural characteristics rather than to changes in leadership and associated changes to structures and mission statements. Additionally, performance appears to be more related to observable changes in working practices rather than to perceived change in beliefs and values, which have been promulgated at Board level and have then been cascaded down to lower management levels.

As discussed in Chapter 2, many researchers, academics, and consultants agree that culture is extremely difficult to control and change, and that it exists in the form of deep rooted beliefs and values and manifestations in the form of daily working practices. This has clearly been the case in the Bass organisation, in which an attempt has been made to change the organisation's corporate culture by changing leadership, developing a new mission, changing the structure of the organisation and introducing new working practices. In working towards cultural change, many organisations concentrate on

changing the observable behaviour patterns or working practices in order to achieve short and long term productivity improvement. To a great extent this approach is no different from previous attempts to motivate and control labour through the use of 'bureaucratic' and 'humanistic' controls. The earlier bureaucratic approaches to control were to a great extent linked to 'scientific management' and the work of F.W. Taylor. The basic assumption being that subordinates would be motivated by reward systems controlled by management, which would provide the desired improvements in productivity. The human relations approach, although still concerned with improvements in productivity, sought to provide subordinates with working conditions which would facilitate better performance. This approach was later developed to include an understanding of motivation theory, that is, the link between human needs and motivation.

Behaviour changes in relation to working practices do lead to improvements in performance, they are also observable and therefore can be measured. However, observable behaviour is only the top surface of culture in organisations. The beliefs and values of organisational members are deep rooted and lie below the surface of organisational life. Beliefs and values in relation to the organisation's mission tend to be promulgated at senior management level and are then cascaded down in an attempt to 'share' the company philosophy or mission for success with all members of the organisation. Particularly in large geographically dispersed organisations, cascaded beliefs and values tend to be diluted by the time they reach customer facing managers and their subordinates. In many situations where strong regional subcultures have developed, through the historical transformation of values and beliefs, changes in values and beliefs at senior management level have little or no impact on the performance and productivity of lower level managers and their subordinates. The research in the three subculture groups clearly showed that in the category 'A' counter subcultures and in some cases the category 'C' changing subcultures, the ideals of senior management were not shared by the manager or his subordinates.

This Chapter is a review and discussion of past research carried out in three key areas : culture management and leadership; cultural change; and cultural impact on outcomes. The key questions addressed in this Chapter are can culture be managed or changed, and assuming culture or parts of it can be changed, what effect if any has this on organisational performance? Additionally the detailed interviews with senior and middle level managers within Bass, and the analysis carried out at local distribution level, will be used to argue the points raised in the three key areas of leadership, culture change and performance.

6.1   Culture Management and Leadership

"Culture is created in the first instance by the actions of leaders; culture also is embedded and strengthened by leaders. When culture becomes dysfunctional, leadership is needed to help the group unlearn some of its cultural assumptions and learn new assumptions" (Schein 1985 p317).

The quote from Schein above is one of many similar assertions from academics and consultants who believe that effective leadership is a key issue in the 'control' of an organisation's culture. A great deal of research has been carried out on the whole concept of leadership and the role of the manager, with differing emphasis placed on the leaders prime task(s). Earlier definitions, for example Fayol (1916), considered there to be five basic functions of management: planning; organising; co-ordinating; commanding and controlling. Although many subsequent authors considered the five functions to bear little resemblance to what managers actually do (Mintzberg 1973), it would appear that the 'controlling' element of Fayol's functions of management, particularly in relation to culture management, is still regarded by managers, particularly at senior executive levels, to be a primary task. The belief that effective leadership is synonymous with tight controls over subordinates still persists despite many of the popular prescriptions for

culture change revolving around empowerment, autonomy and the devolving of tasks in order to foster the philosophy of shared values and beliefs of senior managers.

Many consultants and academics consider that the values and beliefs of organisational leaders, which may be from the original founder or past and present managers, have an impact on the formation, development and changing of an organisation's culture (Schein 1983, 1985 Anthony 1990, Tunstall 1986, Lorsch 1986, Pettigrew 1979, 1985, 1990). It is argued that in the first instance the founder of an organisation will create the original culture through the formation of a group of associates or managers. The attitudes beliefs and values of the founder and his management team are built into rules and ways of working, and are passed on to employees who join the organisation through various socialisation and selective recruitment processes. Although there is some debate in the literature as to the importance placed on either past or current leaders, most agree with the importance of the leader in terms of culture creation and change. In the Bass case study, the appointment of a new Chief Executive and subsequent changes at senior management level clearly had impact on the management and strategic direction of the organisation. What was created was a new board level culture which made observable changes throughout the business. In the fieldwork there was no clear evidence to show that changes at senior levels had an impact on the beliefs and values of the lower level managers and their subordinates.

Many successful major changes in American and British Industrial organisations have been directly associated with changes in leadership at top executive level and subsequent changes at Board level. For example, Michael Edwardes (1983) gives a detailed account of his five years transforming the ailing British Leyland organisation. Within days of his appointment he restructured the Board, bringing in new members who he thought would best manage the planned changes, and be the agents of cultural change. Pettigrew (1985), in his study of ICI between (1960-1983) linked leadership changes to cultural transformation during periods of economic difficulties. Specifically he associates the

Paul Chambers era in the early 1960's, and the more recent John Harvey-Jones era, with changes in core beliefs and values. In the brewing industry both Bass Brewers and the Fosters Brewing Group appointed new leaders following the need to be more competitive as a result of the MMC report. Within 12 months both Brewing Groups restructured membership of their Board bringing in new members in an attempt to improve their respective beer groups' performance. In the Bass Brewers case, over a two year period, six out of seven original board members including the Chief Executive were replaced (see Appendix 7).

The link between leadership and culture change is identified by Tichy and Ulrich (1984), who consider that the revitalisation or transformation of organisations requires a new type of leadership. Based on work carried out by McGregor Burns (1978) on"transformational leadership", they argue that the leader is the creator of vision within the organisation and responsible for gaining commitment and transforming the vision or mission into reality. Specifically they identify transformational leadership with Lee Iacocca who as chairman of the American Chrysler Corporation in the early 1980's turned the company round from bankruptcy to profitability. In addition to high profits, Iacocca is claimed to have "attained high levels of employee moral, and helped employees generate a sense of meaning in their work ". The transformation of organisations through new leadership, new mission statements, gaining commitment and sustaining that commitment is seen by consultants and practising managers as a route to increased productivity. However, programmes developed for cultural transformation are unsurprisingly 'top down' driven through various cascading processes. Many of these programmes tend to be diluted by the time they reach the customer facing non-managerial subordinates. At this level, changes in behaviour and working practices are required in order to satisfy the mission objectives. The difficulties arise, as Davis (1985 p165) points out, with acceptance or rejection of the message or proposal, " those in non-managerial jobs find it difficult to accept the justice of a system in which managers have superior pay, prestige, and privilege as well as power to tell them what to do". This view tends not to be recognised

by senior management in their strategies for change despite their need for subordinate commitment in the sharing of beliefs and values.

In Dyer's examination of historical events of cultural change in five organisations (1985 p223), he concludes that "the most important decision in culture change concerns the selection of a new leader ". His study of the histories of General Motors, Levi Strauss, National Cash Register, Balfour Company and Brown Corporation revealed that in each case a new leader had been selected and had transformed the organisation's culture through the introduction of new values and beliefs. However, Dyer does make the point that in each of his case studies the cultural changes were not planned as such. Recessions, financial crises and unexpected departures of key leaders were identified as the 'triggers' of cultural change.

In the literature on culture management and change effective leadership at 'top management' level is seen as crucial if control is to be gained or culture is to be changed. It is assumed that the values and beliefs of the Chief Executive and his senior management team will be accepted by managers, middle managers and their subordinates. This assumption is based on the notion of a single homogeneous culture in which the values and beliefs of top management is cascaded down and readily accepted by all members of the organisation. This assumption still persists although challenged by many academics who consider that organisations, particularly those which are large and geographically dispersed, consist of multiple, potentially conflicting subcultures. The fieldwork in the Distribution function identified the existence of three subculture types, two of which were potentially counter productive. Although Distribution is only one of the Bass functions it is likely that the findings would be the same in other regional functions. Davis (1986 p164) makes a valid point in that too little attention is given to the different perspectives of management and the lower level jobs in the organisation. He considers that "the people at the bottom that actually make the product or deliver the service are, arguably, equally as important as managers at the top".

Macdonalds is often cited in the literature as a high performance organisation which has a highly developed set of managerial values and beliefs, which are shared with employees. An interview with an MBA student at Leeds University, who had worked for several months as a server at Macdonalds in America, highlighted some interesting features of leadership in an 'excellent' organisation:

i)   The main role of the Manager and Supervisors was to 'closely control and supervise subordinates'. The slogan 'if you've got time to lean you've got time to clean' was rigidly adhered to. Meal break times were also strictly adhered to, and staff were expected to work continuously during the working hours.

ii)   Standard minute values (the basis of Scientific Management) existed for every conceivable operation from producing a cheeseburger to cleaning a table.

iii) The task of producing any food item was broken down into simple repetitive, easily learned operations, with these operations being allocated to various staff along a production line type process. Creativity was frowned upon as every Big Mac burger had to look and taste the same in all outlets.

iv)   Management's prime responsibility was productivity through the effective use of resources in terms of maximum output with minimum staff.

Clearly in the Macdonald's case the beliefs and values of senior managers had been effectively cascaded down to local management level. However the message appears to be one which bears a great resemblance to traditional control theory and coercive Taylorite methods. It may be the case that in many 'excellent' organisations behavioural compliance is mistaken for a shared value culture. As mentioned previously the Regional Distribution Director made many changes to working practices throughout the Bass North region which were perceived by himself as changes in culture. In reality what

was achieved was behavioural compliance by a workforce which was concerned about job losses. The notion that leaders have the ability to control and change organisation culture is discussed further in the following sections.

The top down approach and the apparent need for a transformational or charismatic leader to achieve change, can be seen as leading to an excessive reliance on the leader and a consequent stifling of initiative and creativity in subordinates through processes of transference and counter-transference (Gill and Farrar 1992). This was found to be the situation in the Bass Distribution case whereby many changes in regional working practices were dictated from central Headquarters in Burton with little or no involvement for the Regional Distribution manager. A good example of this was the plan to replace the existing incentive bonus schemes with salaried schemes. Although central management planned to introduce the schemes nationally, many operatives rejected the scheme, and many managers were opposed to controlling their particular subculture with a scheme which they had not been involved. The Distribution manager's argument was that, they should have involvement in something as critical and sensitive as the depot payment system. Other examples, were the introduction of information technology systems, changes to warehouse operations and procedures and the introduction of standard manning levels in both the staff and shopfloor areas.

Many of the managers interviewed in the field research considered that they were working within tight managerial controls which stemmed from the centre. Although many culture change programmes involve the introduction of empowerment, autonomy, decentralisation and a move away from tight managerial controls, organisations still tend to be centrally command driven. It would appear that many managers find the idea of empowerment difficult to adopt as this takes away one of their traditional roles of 'subordinate control'.

Following the major reorganisation within Bass Brewers in 1990/91, which was intended to create six autonomous regions, many of the middle level Distribution managers in Bass North considered the 'new' organisation to be more centrally command driven from the Burton Headquarters than the previous structure. This is not surprising, because following the reorganisation many Regional Directors were either made redundant or moved to different positions in the centre.

In the Bass case study the appointment of Dr Tony Portno in 1991 as the new Chief Executive of Bass Brewers, was the start of a new era in terms of major change. His appointment followed the issue of the M.M.C. report on 'the supply of beer', which required all brewers to be more competitive. The Portno era was preceded by a long period of relative stability in the Brewing Industry with the 'Big Six' brewers enjoying a monopolistic situation in the market.

Within months of his appointment Dr Portno issued a new mission statement giving Bass Brewers a new customer service focus (see Appendix 6). Many Board level Directors were replaced, and a 'culture change' programme was formulated and cascaded down to all management levels within the organisation. The main purpose of the programme was to enable all Bass Brewers employees to understand and adapt to change. The programme objectives were that all employees should:

*   Understand the climate of change, Bass Brewers response to it and their individual responsibilities within that changing world.

*   Accept that the changes will continue.

*   Understand the characteristics of organisations in a state of change.

*   Identify and understand the personal, departmental and cross functional implications.

*   Develop an understanding of core processes and key performance indicators, their importance to Bass Brewers and the implications, functionally, cross functionally and individually, of their implementation.

*   Understand and develop core competencies.

*   Understand empowerment and accountability.

*   Equip themselves to deal with continuing change.

*   Commit to personal actions.

The notion that leaders have the ability to control and change an organisation culture, and that many leaders themselves believe this to be the case, was highlighted in an interview with the Bass Brewers Distribution Director. Over a two year period the Distribution Director had introduced many changes in working practices in the fifteen depots across Bass North. In an attempt to improve efficiency and reduce costs, changes were introduced which included: restructuring and merging Distribution Depots; reducing manning levels; the introduction of Total Quality Management; the introduction of staff status salaried payment systems; and the introduction of computerised information systems. All these changes were part of a centrally driven strategy to improve performance across all Bass Brewers Distribution sites and were introduced by the local Distribution Depot Managers. In an interview a few days before the Distribution Director left Bass to join Simon Engineering as Chief of Personnel, he outlined his involvement in the changes and the 'changing' of the culture in the Bass Distribution Depots.

The Director explained how, through his leadership over a two year period, he had 'changed' the culture at all the distribution depots in the Bass North region. He also strongly believed that he had changed the culture at all levels within the function from senior managers down to warehouse operatives. His definition of culture was "the way we do things around here" which is often used in the popular literature on culture management and change. Clearly, the Director had made many changes in working practices which resulted in improved overall performance in terms of delivery costs per tonne and delivery output per man-hour. His productivity improvements were a result of changes to working practices through the use of fairly coercive 'Taylorite' methods. For example, in order to reduce depot operating costs in the North East, he sponsored a two month work study exercise to carry out time studies on the draymen. This showed that the original standard times were 'slack' and as a result threatened to introduce the new standards if salaried schemes were not accepted. After debate about the validity of the studies all North East Depots accepted salaried schemes. On many occasions he threatened the use of 'time and motion' and the closure of depots in order to gain acceptance of change. In addition to the work study exercises on the operatives he also sponsored many reviews on supervisors and their staff in order to introduce flatter structures and reduce costs. Resistance to change was always met with the threat of using third party contractors to load and deliver the beer to the retail outlets.

The Distribution Director had made the assumption that changes in behaviour, through enforced changes in working practices had led to a change in attitude, beliefs and values and an overall change in the Distribution function's culture. He had also assumed that his beliefs and values, which were in line with those of the main Bass Brewers Board and the company mission, had been readily accepted by his Regional Distribution managers, the depot managers and their subordinates. Interviews with the Regional managers and detailed interviews with the depot managers proved this not to be the case. Many of the distribution managers, particularly in the larger and historically traditional depots, reluctantly introduced the new working practices. These were the subculture 'A' and 'C'

types where there was a strong resistance to change. In the smaller rural depots which were not historically linked to 'traditional' brewing practices and where a low trade union activity existed, the changes to working practices were more readily accepted. These were the subculture 'B' types which were seen as generally sharing the ideals of senior management. The degree of acceptance, for example, behavioural compliance in some depots and total commitment in others, were all seen as being a 'change in culture' by the Director. Where proposals were rejected coercive leadership control was used to achieve compliance.

In a recent article (Williams 1993) the Distribution Director explained his approach and management style when he closed 4 depots, lost 600 staff and cut wages by 15%. "I did this by being open, explaining what the problems were and telling staff what our route through them was. They were quite prepared to listen because this was the only solution". The management style of the Distribution Director was clearly autocratic and based on the philosophy 'ask them nicely in the first instance and then tell them if there is an unfavourable response'. It would appear that he has taken his particular style of management to Simon Engineering. As most of the company's sites are not unionised he is "typically hard-nosed about shedding staff who are not performing. He considers that it is time for companies to be a little more ruthless in that direction, there is no room for passengers" (Williams 1993 p22).

The Distribution Depot Managers, for their part, considered the changes in working practices to be no different from previous changes imposed by senior managers. As we have seen, the Distribution depots are geographically dispersed and are located in very different local environments and have long, idiosyncratic histories and subcultural variety. Many of the Distribution Managers interviewed, considered that they would have preferred to have been more involved in the changes rather than implementing uniform controls dictated from the centre and controlled by senior regional Directors. Their view was that changes in working practices and required changes in attitudes values

and beliefs, are better managed by lower middle level managers. These middle managers are in fact part of the subculture and have a better understanding of their subordinates and the internal and external environment in which the depots operate.

The belief by many senior managers that changes in working practices and observed behaviour will lead to a change in culture is a popular mis-conception. Leaders who exert control from a command centre tend to assume a single unitary culture and one which can be controlled by central leaders. They assume that managers at the middle levels and below will buy into a new strategy or mission and transfer this onto subordinates. In many cases the cascading of beliefs and values from senior executives will appear to work, with groups in the organisation readily accepting the company philosophy and mission. Acceptance or rejection is very much linked to subcultural activity and the strongly held views of managers and their subordinates in the subculture groups. As we have seen, in the negative cultures, customer service and quality initiates for example have largely been rejected. Even in the other subcultures, the 'keep smiling at the customer' philosophy appears to have been accepted half-heartedly. As one depot drayman put it "the last thing a pub landlord wants to see first thing in the morning is a draymen with a silly grin on his face".

The link between leadership and culture change is almost always linked to the top leaders when in reality an equally important area of leadership in large organisations is the middle manager level. The middle level managers are the customer facing managers who manage the customer facing subordinates. At this level in the organisation the middle manager is expected to introduce uniform practices as prescribed by central management. As previously discussed this is extremely difficult in organisations which have much cultural variety. The middle managers are part of and understand the local culture yet in many cases are only used to pass on the corporate message. One of the platforms from which leaders work to change an organisation's culture is empowerment, "a belief that people should be innovators and take risks, without feeling that they will be punished if

they fail" (Peters and Waterman 1982). Empowerment and diminishing tight managerial controls are considered to be important issues and key to a successfully shared value driven organisation. In reality, and certainly in the Bass Distribution fieldwork, many top leaders find empowering very difficult as this takes away the traditional 'controlling' element of leadership from them. This is at a time of change in Bass when senior management themselves are insecure.

In order to achieve more than just behavioural compliance, which is often perceived as culture control, leaders must move away from the obsession of personal control and coercive control over middle managers and their subordinates. Empowerment in a true sense is a move away from tight controls and the centrally command driven organisation towards risk taking and accountability at the lower management levels and the customer facing subordinates.

Based on work by Tannenbaum and Schmidt (1958) on leadership styles, a continuum, representing rejection and acceptance of the company mission and the beliefs and values of senior management, has been drawn to represent the two extremes (see Figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1

Continuum of Acceptance

I - - - - - - - - - - - - - SUBORDINATE RESPONSE - - - - - - - - - - - - - I

| Rejection | Compliance | Identification | Internalisation |

Degree of Central
Control

Degree of Autonomy and
Empowerment

| Tight Mgmt | Coercive Mgmt | Charismatic | Shared Values and |
| Control | Control | Leadership | Beliefs Philosophy |

I - - - - - - - - - - - - - MANAGEMENT APPROACH - - - - - - - - - - - - - I

In the centrally command driven organisations where there is a high degree of control
exerted over managers and subordinates there is likely to be a rejection or non
compliance with the company mission and the beliefs and values of senior management.
Managers and their subordinates particularly in large geographically dispersed
organisations find it difficult to accept changes when they have not been part of the
decision making process.

Where the control or change cannot be rejected and is enforced by coercive management
methods then behavioural compliance will result. In this situation the manager or
subordinate is given no choice on the change and will reluctantly comply with little or no
commitment.

The third area of acceptance is identification which relates to the acceptance of an idea or proposal because the recipient strongly identifies with the initiator (Handy 1981 p130). In this situation the leader will exert great influence and control over the subordinate which generally leads to the stifling of initiative and a reduction in flexibility. This type of leadership influence is often related to the charismatic or transformational leadership theories. The main focus is on a sense of vision and the emotional empowerment of followers by pushing autonomy and responsibility downwards and engaging the followers' self esteem and confidence in the leader (Gill and Farrar 1993). In reality charismatic leaders tend to control rather than empower, this leads to a high degree of obeyance and dependence on the part of the follower.

Finally, the most desirable acceptance level in terms of the organisation as a whole and the company mission is internalisation. At this acceptance level the follower or subordinate is totally committed to the proposal or change and accepts the required changes in behaviour through choice. Internalisation will only result when there is a high degree of autonomy and empowerment and a true feeling of values and beliefs being shared amongst organisational members. Although behavioural compliance and identification will both produce improvements in performance and productivity short term, internalisation is more likely to provide a sustained higher performance level. The leadership style and the degree of control adopted at senior management level clearly affects acceptance at lower management levels and their subordinates. The subordinate response is far more likely to be positive where there is a high degree of autonomy and self control.

Research evidence suggests that, self control is likely to be exercised, and people to be intrinsically motivated to perform effectively, when they perform tasks that provide feedback and which have goals which are accepted by them (Gill and Farrar 1992). In the case of the Distribution Manager, rather than be asked to manage changes which have been introduced from the centre, he would prefer to be involved in the negotiation of

targets and strategies in order to effectively manage in his particular depot culture. This was highlighted to a great extent in the subculture analysis. For example, in the smaller rural depots where a greater degree of autonomy was allowed, commitment was high and changes internalised. In the larger urban depots which were very tightly controlled, rejection or behavioural compliance resulted.

A shared value culture is far more likely to exist in a culture which fosters self control through autonomy and empowerment at all levels of the organisation. In the Bass case it is fair to say that the corporate message is to move towards a high degree of autonomy and empowerment. In reality, and certainly in the Distribution function, coercive management control is being used to change observable behaviour. The notion of empowerment and self control clearly conflicts with the scientific management approach which is being used in the regions.

6.2   Changing an Organisation's Culture

The link between effective leadership and management of cultural change is seen as a key issue in achieving a successful transformation. As we have discussed in the previous sections, in many cases a change in leadership is the first step in an organisation's strategy for cultural change, and is generally accompanied by changes in structures, communication networks, strategic focus and the overall organisation's mission. Many organisations plan cultural change and base their transformation models on how the high performance 'excellent' organisations operate. Recipes prescribed by consultants and the popular writings of Peters and Waterman (1982), Deal and Kennedy (1982), Kilmann et al. (1985) and many other authors who offer generic culture change models, are used in an attempt to create a high performance culture.

Although culture change models are popular and widely used in organisations, there is still great debate amongst academics as to whether an organisation's culture can be

controlled or manipulated to satisfy business objectives. Managers in organisational settings tend to be influenced by popular writers and consultants who offer enhanced performance through relatively simplistic change models. As a result, managers are prepared to go to great lengths and expense if there is a promise of improvements in performance at the end. Throughout the literature there are examples of cultural changes in organisations and the associated models used to get the required result, for example, Tunstall (1985), Dyer (1985), and Sathe (1985) give detailed accounts of culture transformation in large American organisations. However, Smith and Peterson (1988) make the point that "published cases do exist of organisations within which major changes in culture have been successfully accomplished and shown to persist, but they are rare".

A great deal of these planned culture change models are derived from the earlier writings of Peters and Waterman (1982), Deal and Kennedy (1982) and Ouchi (1981) who stressed amongst other things the importance of shared values and the possibility of creating an ideal 'excellent' culture. These change models are packaged and 'sold' by consultants to senior Directors who are generally under pressure to change business direction due to economic difficulties. Although the work of Peters and Waterman and other advocates of culture change throughout the 80's is somewhat dated, their eight 'basic attributes of success' are still used by consultants and managers as the platform for transforming an organisation's culture. Peters and Waterman's attributes for success, which are listed below, are translated by managers who then concentrate on the easier to achieve aspects of reducing bureaucracy, focusing on customer service, introducing flatter structures, and improving productivity through managers and their subordinates. All these aspects were recognised by Bass and to a great extent were built into the company's mission statement. However, this recognition by Bass was not surprising as the consultants advising Bass were from the Mckinsey Consulting Group from which Peters and Waterman and many other popular consultants emerged. As previously

discussed, the other aspects relating to changes in leadership style and central control versus regional control tend to be more difficult to accept and change.

1. Bias for action - Getting on with it. The organisation is not paralysed by analysis. Managers think about decisions then get on with implementing them.

2. Close to the customer - Learning from clients. Key concepts are quality, service and reliability.

3. Autonomy and entrepreneurship - Foster many leaders and innovators throughout the organisation.

4. Productivity through people - The labour force is the root of quality and productivity. We/they attitudes are dysfunctional.

5. Hands-on, value driven - Top management keeps in touch with all areas of organisation. An emphasis on managing by walking about.

6. Stick to the knitting - The odds for excellent performance seem to favour those organisations which stay close to the businesses they know.

7. Simple form, lean staff - Keep structure simple and top management levels lean.

8. Simultaneous loose-tight properties - Organisations are both centralised and decentralised. Autonomy and product development are decentralised. Core values are centralised.

Drawing on past research and case studies, and based on more recent work by Pettigrew (1990), Key areas have been identified which are considered essential in facilitating

cultural change. Using 'the old' Bass culture and the vision of the future culture as perceived by the Bass Chief Executive, the transformational requirements have been identified (see Figure 6.2).

Figure 6.2

Cultural Change - Generic Model

OLD CULTURE	KEY TRANSFORMATIONAL REQUIREMENTS	NEW CULTURE
Paternalistic	New leadership vision	Flexible
Comfortable	New Mission Statement	Dynamic
Undemanding	Flatter leaner management structures	Empowered
Apolitical	New communications and training strategy	Risk Taking
Hierarchical	Decentralisation	Analytical
Command Driven	Autonomy, empowerment and accountability	Non Hierarchical
Bureaucratic	Elimination of bureaucracy	Demanding
Functional	Socialisation of new members	Non Bureaucratic
	Introduction of cross functional working	Team Working
		Cross Functional

In the Bass case the strategy for change came as a result of the MMC report on 'the supply of beer' (1989). This brought about a need for all brewers to be more competitive. With the help of several outside consultants a strategy for change was developed which involved a redefined business strategy with a new focus on customer service, a £70m investment in information systems, a £50m investment in production facilities, and a major investment in communication and training. Additionally, as part of the change process, a strategy was developed to train all managers in the understanding of management of change. The overall plan was to 'change' the Bass culture to fit the strategic plans. Changes in the way Bass operated started following the MMC report in 1989 with a restructuring of the operating regions into 3 'super' regions consisting of Scotland, North and South. However, the major strategic changes and the planned 'culture changes' started following the appointment of Dr Portno in 1991.

Stage 1 of the process was the appointment of a new Bass Brewers leader at Chief Executive level. Dr Tony Portno was not new to Bass, prior to his appointment he was in charge of Bass PLC's corporate strategic planning, and was Chairman of Augustus Barnett, Britvic Soft Drinks and Delta Biotechnology. At a very early stage of his appointment Dr Portno made it very clear that there would have to be many strategic changes in Bass to comply with the MMC requirements. He made the point on several occasions that an overall change in culture was required to compliment the strategic changes. In January 1992 Dr Portno announced several significant changes at board level which involved the appointment of four new Directors. Appendix 7 shows the 'old' and 'new' Bass Brewers Board structure.

The most surprising appointment was that of Mike Southwell, from Britvic Soft Drinks, who joined the board as Production Director. The surprise was the fact that Southwell, who had previously worked for Bass between 1972-1989, in the Distribution and Production functions, was not a qualified brewer. His appointment broke many years of tradition of having a qualified brewer responsible for all Bass brewing operations.

In order to strengthen Portno's new focus on customer service, and in line with the view that a commitment to customer service is essential in 'excellent' organisations, Jeremy Fowden was appointed Customer Services and Sales Director. Fowden joined the Bass board from Pepsi-Cola International where he was Marketing Director, Middle East and Africa.

Portno also appointed an IT Director and a new position of Technical Director to board level. The IT position was previously below board level reporting to the Finance Director, and the Technical Director previously reported to the Production Director. Portno decided to recruit from outside the Bass organisation for the IT post and appointed someone from the Courtalds Group. The new position of Technical Director was filled by promotion from within the organisation.

Portno's new board of 8 Directors consisted of 4 new members 3 of which had been appointed from outside Bass Brewers. In line with the new appointments and the new focus on people and customer service, a new mission statement was issued. The 'old' mission statement focused more on productivity, profitability and quality. The 'new mission' focused more on the creation of an entrepreneurial culture and the adaptation of the workforce to manage the anticipated changes in the business. The major new focus of the mission was on customer service and linked to the creation of an entrepreneurial culture.

In May 1992, in line with a new focus on customer service, major changes in the company's organisation structure were made. As Stage 2 of the culture change, Portno restructured Bass Brewers back to 6 regions: Scotland; North West; North; Midlands; Wales and West; and South. The intention of this strategy was to move away from a central command driven organisation to autonomous units which would best supply local regional needs and improve market share. In line with the new focus on customer service

a planned capital investment programme was announced in breweries and depots in order to improve productivity and improve product support to the sales teams.

In order to improve communications a new position of Director of communications was created and regional communications teams were established to communicate the new mission and the beliefs and values of the 'new' executive and board members. A survey was carried out by external consultants (Aspen Business Communications) in order to determine how Bass Brewer's current communications network was perceived by its employees. All Bass Brewers employees (7,165) were sent a detailed questionnaire inviting them to comment on communications within the business. The results were analysed and an employee communications charter was established and issued to all employees. In addition to a new communications strategy, elaborate roadshows were set up which involved Board Directors giving presentations on 'the future of Bass' to all distribution, production and commercial employees in all locations. The detailed results of the survey relating to the Distribution function are shown below:-

Summary

The Distribution response was 33% against an overall average of 42%. The response rate was lower than average, but this was expected in a population with a high proportion of hourly paid employees who are dispersed geographically. The response rate was considered sufficient to be statistically representative of the whole population.

Media

*   Two thirds thought that informal face-to-face communications were effective - in line with average.

*   About 50% of Distribution employees said they held meetings to discuss operational information - this was slightly less frequent than the 55% average.

Even fewer, 34%, met to discuss wider company issues (average 50%). Nearly 60% thought that meetings were effective.

* Half thought that inductions were effective (average) and half also thought that team briefings were effective (less than 66% average).

* Distribution hourly paid employees did not generally receive information through print and paper - they did not have desks or pigeon holes - they referred to notice boards for memos and circulars. As a source of company information, only around 50% said that they thought notice boards were effective.

* Around 56% of Distribution employees said that the Bass Brewers News was effective, in line with company average. As a source of company information, only around 50% thought that notice boards were effective.

* 48% thought TU's to be effective as a source of company information, compared with the company average of 38%.

* Around 40% thought that computer information systems were effective, in line with company average.

Topics

* About half said they received enough information on the performance of the company and there was 40% satisfaction on the amount of information received on performance of the region, function and department (average results).

* 30% satisfaction (average) with news about Bass Brewers plans, and around 15% on what was happening in other functions and regions (average).

*　　Only a quarter (average 35%) received enough information on their own performance.

*　　Between a third and a half were satisfied with the amount of information received on personnel issues (including Health & Safety, terms and conditions, pay benefits, job and training opportunities). Only 20% on marketing and promotions - all average. Around a fifth satisfaction with information about competitors - again company average.

Line Managers

*　　Around 55% to 65% of distribution employees were positive about their line manager's general communications and management skills. Around 80% thought them approachable.

*　　However, on some other measurements, line managers in distribution were perceived by the hourly paid employees as being less open and more constrained by time to communicate as well as others do: around 50% of line managers were said to take time out to talk to employees and to praise them for good work (compared to 60% average); around 60% said their managers were willing to listen to ideas and suggestions (compared to an average of 70%) and the same number thought that their managers withheld information, compared to a company average of 51%.

*　　Just under half of all distribution employees thought that their line manager could influence senior management decisions - in line with company average.

<u>Senior Management</u>

* 62% said that senior managers' communications were believable but that they were slow (87%). Around 70% said they did not make efforts to keep in touch. NB these results are in line with the company average and this was before the distribution road show.

* Distribution hourly paid employees were less aware of who the board members were (25% compared with an average of 34%).

* Distribution employees thought senior management policies to be consistent (25% compared to 31% average) and 44% had confidence in their leadership (average).

<u>Change</u>

* Distribution were among the least satisfied with communication on change. Two thirds said they were aware of the mission (average 77%) and around 45% understood the reasons for change (53% average).

<u>Cross-functional communications</u>

* 50% of distribution thought that cross-functional communications were effective but were actually less positive about many aspects:- 40% thought they had improved (46% average), 48% knew what other functions did (62% average), 29% were satisfied they had enough opportunity to meet with people outside their department (38% average).

The results of the above survey were used with results from other functions to develop a new employee communications charter (see Appendix 8).

Stage 3 of the change process was the cascading of the corporate message down to the lower level managers. This was achieved through a series of 'Management of Change Programmes which were delivered by managers to middle and lower level supervisors. These programmes involved 8 two hour sessions delivered by managers to their subordinates and covered: Understanding Change; Core Processes and Key Performance Indicators; Living With Change and Empowerment. The whole programme was designed to explain the current Bass culture as seen by Dr Portno and the Bass Brewers Board, and to explain how the business was changing and the need for all employees to change with it.

Figure 6.3 shows the three stage Bass model for cultural change and identifies the major changes which occurred over a three year period.

Figure 6.3   **Bass Model for Cultural Change**

CHANGES IN		CHANGES OUT

New leader (Chief Executive)

Changes at Board Level

Changes at Management
levels

New Mission Statement

**STAGE 1
OLD CULTURE**

Managers who do not
fit the new culture

Restructuring of regions

Cascading of new mission

Socialisation of new
members

Flatter structures

Management of change
training

**STAGE 2
OLD CULTURE/
NEW CULTURE**

Old practices (traditions)

Old systems

Hierarchies

New reward system

Cascading of change
programme

New communications
charter

Process management

Empowerment

Regional Autonomy

**STAGE 3
NEW CULTURE**

Functional management

Bureaucracy

Centrally command driven

- 258 -

It is difficult to measure the success of culture change in terms of how well the corporate culture or beliefs of top management are dispersed throughout an organisation. It is also difficult to measure the impact of changes in culture on performance unless the behaviour changes are measurable. In the Bass case, a great deal of time and money has been spent on strategic changes and on influencing behaviour changes throughout the business in order to maintain a competitive advantage. Portno, in one of his early statements on the proposed changes and in relation to elements of performance said "if you can't measure it you can't control it". Portno believes that culture can be measured and therefore can be controlled. As a member of the Bass culture myself for the past four years I have seen many changes in working practices and many changes in attitudes towards work in my own function and all other functions in the organisation. Most of the changes in behaviour have resulted from changes in structures and working practices. It is difficult to measure the effect of changes in the attitudes, beliefs and values of employees on performance. Yet positive changes over time in attitudes, beliefs and values are likely to occur as new members move into Bass, and the new ways of working are internalised by existing members.

Bass as an organisation, advised by consultants, has treated culture as a single homogeneous entity which if manipulated will provide increased levels of performance. As discussed in Chapter 2 a more realistic approach would have been to take a pluralistic view of culture and consider the multiple organisation subcultures which exist in the regions. This can be achieved by taking a 'layered' view of the organisation's culture. For example, the top layer of senior managers should be responsible for the corporate mission and the strategic objectives of the business. The bottom layer of middle managers should be responsible for controlling their particular subculture within broad parameters. This approach is a differentiated approach which recognises that a corporate culture can exist which recognises and empowers middle managers to control its own subculture. However, this is not to say that the Bass model is a wrong approach, the likely outcome from all the changes will be a positive improvement in performance. The

key issue is which parts of the improvements can be directly attributable to changes in core values and beliefs, and which can be attributable to changes in working practices and external marketing conditions.

It is relatively easy to measure changes in behaviour patterns which are directly linked to observable changes in output. Changes in behaviour are not always synonymous with changes in beliefs and values and vice versa. Ogbonna and Wilkinson (1990) found this to be the case in their study of culture changes in four supermarkets where a strategic focus on customer service had been developed. They concluded that changes in organisational culture are likely to be behavioural rather than changes in values. This was based on the findings that, although subordinates appeared to accept the directives of management in terms of 'the customer comes first philosophy' they tend to act out the required behaviour to satisfy management and because of the fear of sanctions. This finding is consistent with the view that the shared value philosophy is manipulative in that it views people as instrumental for productivity and not valued per se (Mitchell 1985). It also raises the issue of the middle manager and whether in fact the manager will change his behaviour in order to comply with the top management. Behavioural compliance, as discussed earlier, can be mistaken for a change in organisational culture and may not be long lasting.

It may be the case that many organisations see changes in behaviour as 'essential' to improve performance, and see changes in values as being 'nice to have' but not essential to improved performance. The bottom line for many organisations is profit through people and their performance, if this can be achieved by coercive methods and the use of bureaucratic and humanistic controls, then changes in attitudes, values and beliefs will become secondary issues. A major misconception in the understanding of the whole concept of culture is that a behaviour change produces a change in culture. Culture should be considered as being both in the minds of organisational members (beliefs, values and ideas), and in the actions of organisational members (working practices).

Changing and measuring behaviour in terms of working practices is relatively easy compared with trying to change peoples values and beliefs.

6.3   Cultural Impact on Productivity

Earlier managerial approaches to subordinate control and improvements in productivity focused primarily on the simplification of an operator's required tasks, and the use of direct financial incentives. The use of 'scientific management' techniques, as developed and prescribed by F. W. Taylor, was seen by managers as a route or tool to enhance worker efficiency. Despite many criticisms, Taylor's scientific management approach is still widely used in both manufacturing and service industries as a rational approach to improved performance. It would appear that many culture conscious managers of the 80's and 90's still control behaviour/operations using Taylorite measurement techniques and payment systems based on work measured standards to achieve business objectives. These methods have not been replaced by the 'culture controllers' and their shared value philosophies, they are used in tandem. Anthony (1990 p5), makes the point that "some recent reports suggest that attempts at the management of organisational culture, rather than alternatives to primary control by technical or administrative measures, are accompanied by direct and fairly coercive methods". This clearly the case in the Bass Distribution function in which direct financial incentives are used and coercive management control is used to secure changes in behaviour. This approach to culture change was identified with the management style and approach of the Distribution Director.

On the managerial side there has been a shift from basic salaries with increments to performance related pay which involves rewarding managers for achieving tangible business goals. Many of these schemes are linked to satisfying mission goals and incentivised staff receive financial rewards for achieving financial, quality, and customer service targets. Although in recent years there has been a shift towards salaried schemes

for the shopfloor team these schemes tend to still be based on measured values and are tightly controlled by management. All layers of management within the Bass organisation are now on measured incentives based on performance related pay, and are linked to core competencies in relation to the Bass mission.

There is an important link between reward systems, trade unions, management and culture which should be recognised if beliefs and values are to be truly shared. The trade union link in particular has been highlighted by Morgan (1986 p128), who considers that "the philosophy, values, and norms of union culture usually exert an important impact on the mosaic of culture, subculture and counter culture that characterises life in any organisation". As discussed, in the many examples of culture change in the literature the existence of multiple cultures, counter or enhancing tend to be over looked. In particular, and certainly within large geographically dispersed organisations, the regional trade union and their member's values norms and beliefs have over the years greatly influenced local payment systems and productivity.

A considerable amount of work has been undertaken on the successful selection, development and implementation of payment schemes, and the important influence that reward systems have on organisational cultures. For example, Daniel and Mcintosh (1976), concluded that many human and economic problems that organisations faced could be traced directly to irrational, inequitable and uncontrolled systems of payment. The theory that work behaviour is influenced only by direct financial incentives still persists despite the apparent move to the salaried status operative and a move away tight managerial controls. Although management yielding to shop-floor bargaining power was seen by Flanders (1967), as a basic cause of the weakening of managerial control, the demise of union power throughout the 80's has led to a reversal of this situation.

Lupton and Gowler (1969), categorised four kinds of influence on payment systems: technology; labour markets; disputes and disputes procedures; and structural

characteristics. They argued that the four kinds of influence, which was further split into a 23 dimension profile, could be used as a procedure for selecting a payment scheme appropriate to the circumstances of a company. The work by Lupton and Gowler clearly shows the complexity of selecting and developing an appropriate payment scheme. Research shows that because of complex payment systems over 50% of pieceworkers do not understand how their wage is calculated. This is one of the reasons why many organisations are now examining new methods of wage payment for all levels of employees. The trend, particularly in the fast moving consumer goods (F.M.C.G.) market, is towards the salaried worker or schemes based on contracted pay or measured day work. However there is little evidence to show that there is a surge towards a salaried workforce. Work carried out by I.P.M. 1977 'Staff Status For All' highlighted management's approach to staff status as being piecemeal and usually in response to labour shortage, or to attract people into manual work with staff status. This piecemeal approach is still evident in the 1990's.

As identified by Lupton and Gowler (1969), the most appropriate payment system will depend upon the particular characteristics and culture of a given organisation. Clearly, in larger organisations these characteristics will vary from region to region with cultural, motivational, and new technology issues causing resistance or acceptance of payment schemes.

The link between culture and performance in relation to the type of reward system was highlighted in the distribution research. For example, in subculture type 'A' (counter culture) where direct financial incentives were in operation under tight managerial controls, performance levels were lower. In the subculture type 'B' (enhancing culture), where salaried payment schemes were in operation higher performance levels were recorded in relation to quality and output.

In organisational settings the notion of culture management and change is seen as a means to improved performance and the gaining of a competitive advantage. This, it is believed, can be achieved by gaining the commitment of the workforce to the values and beliefs of top management and the creation of a unified corporate culture. Kilmann et al. (1985) argue that there is not much point in attempting to change culture if it does not affect what goes on in organisations. Although culture, as seen from a cognitive or behavioural dimension, appears to have an impact on performance, there is no conclusive evidence that culture control or change alone will lead to short term or sustained improvements in performance. The difficulty appears to be in deciphering or segregating improvements through 'normal' processes and those improvements attributable to culture control and the sharing of beliefs and values. As mentioned previously claimed changes to an organisations culture are usually part of strategic changes which would have given improvements in performance alone.

Over the past decade attempts have been made to link strong 'shared' managerial values to superior performance and improvements in productivity. Peters and Waterman (1982), Deal and Kennedy (1982) and many more throughout the 80's are advocates of this notion. However, as pointed out by Soeters, (1986), many of the so called 'excellent' companies performed badly in the years following the book 'In search of excellence'. Carroll (1983), considers the reason behind the poor performances to be factors in the economic environment. These factors appear to be missing from Peters and Waterman's analysis. Barney (1986 p 659), makes the point that unique geographical advantages and luck can lead to sustained superior financial performance, and that "a valuable culture today could, in different economic or competitive conditions, become an economic liability". Deal and Kennedy (1983 p 34) make a similar point in that when economic circumstances change "shared values may continue to guide behaviour in ways no longer helpful to the organisations success".

Uniqueness in cultural terms is often regarded as a strong characteristic of the more successful organisations and preservation of their unique qualities will lead to a sustained competitive advantage. Barney (1986) for example linked superior financial performance to organisations who had valuable and rare cultures and cultures which were imperfectly imitable. Barney argues that if an organisation has a culture which is impossible to imitate because of its unique history and set of symbols, beliefs and values, then it is more likely to enjoy a sustainable competitive advantage. If this is the case then imitating the cultural attributes of the 'excellent' company as suggested by Peters and Waterman or developing a Theory 'Z' culture as suggested by Ouchi (1981) becomes impractical. Organisational cultures are difficult to define and imitate because of their many multifaceted aspects. The view that organisations can adopt certain cultural characteristics of other organisations is only easily achieved if tangible working practices are to be duplicated.

A classic case of the decline of one of Peters and Waterman's so called 'excellent' companies is that of the IBM Corporation. Throughout the 80's IBM was cited, along with many other well-run American organisations, as having a very strong unified culture, a highly focused mission, and strong leadership which shared its beliefs and values with the workforce. Explanation's of IBM's sustained superior financial performance throughout the 80's focused mainly on its managerial values and beliefs which were said to be embodied in the organisations culture (Barney 1986). In 1984 profits after tax were in excess of $7 billion and profits were sustained at a high level throughout the 1980's. Following IBM's after tax profits of $6 billion in 1990 their fortunes changed leading up to a massive $5 billion loss in 1992.

In a recent article (Cassidy 1993), carried out an analysis of the 'rise and fall of IBM' and asked the question what went wrong. The author interviewed many senior managers inside and outside of IBM and the overall answer in simple terms was that "the world changed rapidly and IBM didn't". Cassidy argued that IBM's decline was to a great

extent beyond its control, "powerful exogenous factors, notably technical progress and increased competition combined to undermine the industry leaders unique position, which was based on monopoly power in the incredibly lucrative market for mainframe computers". In terms of culture it would appear that IBM's 'unique' culture became arrogant, inflexible, insular, bureaucratic and unable to adapt to a rapidly changing competitive market.

Many writers and consultants treat culture as an internal organisational variable which is flexible, manageable and a source of competitive advantage. The IBM example is a classic case of cultivating a unique culture and failing to observe trading conditions in the outside world. A strong unified culture within an organisation will have little influence on productivity and performance if external factors beyond its control dictate operations. Culture is not easy to change, in a dynamic environment external factors and the ability of the workforce to adapt quickly will dictate performance. Meek (1988 p461) makes a similar valid point " corporate success, particularly economic success, is dependent far more upon external environmental influences and the vagaries of the market place than on internal interpersonal dynamics". In the Bass case the environmental influences on the subcultures clearly had more impact on performance than changes in leadership, structures and mission statements.

6.4   Conclusions

Effective leadership in organisations is required in order to satisfy business objectives particularly in terms of performance and profitability. In the past, leaders and their management teams have adopted many techniques in an attempt to gain control and maintain the support of their subordinates. For many years the use of 'scientific management', 'bureaucratic' and 'humanistic' control mechanisms proved to be adequate in a system of tightly controlled operations. Throughout the 80's there was a significant shift towards the belief that gaining control of an organisation's culture and fostering a

shared value philosophy with the workforce, would lead to improved performance. In the 90's culture control is seen as a 'new method' of gaining total commitment from a more amenable workforce which will more readily work jointly with management towards satisfying business objectives.

Many writers and consultants believe that effective leadership, particularly at the highest level, is a key issue in changing an organisations culture and in gaining and sustaining subordinate commitment. To achieve this commitment, the beliefs and values of the leader, which are generally written into the company mission statement, are adopted by managers, middle managers and their subordinates.

Understandably, strategic change and 'planned' changes to an organisation's culture requires to be driven by effective leaders. This is the case because leaders are expected to manage and control aspects of the business which may have an impact on organisational performance. It is in the 'control' element where there appears to some contradiction and ambiguity. In many culture change programmes emphasis and attributes of success in relation to leadership are seen as autonomy, entrepreneurship, empowerment, decentralisation, and a general move from tight managerial control. In practice many leaders believe control over subordinates to be a key task in their role as a manager and leader. Empowering, for example, takes away the traditional 'controlling' element of leadership which is seen as a loss in authority. If leaders are to achieve commitment and the sharing of beliefs and values then the fostering of empowerment and accountability must be seen to be working. Tight controls over subordinates by leaders in pursuit of improved performance will result in rejection of the mission or at the best lead to behavioural compliance. Behavioural compliance is not a change in culture or culture control it is a management illusion of culture control.

Throughout the literature on organisational culture there is great debate as to whether culture can be controlled and if it can be controlled can it be a source of improved

performance and competitive advantage. The view here is that culture assumed as a variable, and as observable behaviour in the form of measurable work, can be a source of improved performance. Changes in beliefs and values are intangible yet are likely be reflected in the behaviour and performance of managers and their subordinates. To a great extent these deep rooted aspects of culture are immeasurable and therefore can only be assumed to be a source of improved performance. In many cases where strategic change is coupled with an assumed change in culture, it is impossible to decipher the various attributes to improvements in performance.

The type of reward system adopted for both management and their subordinates will have an impact on cultural behaviour and performance. As highlighted in the distribution fieldwork, reward systems which are tightly controlled and based on work measured standards are likely to be less productive. A move towards a salaried scheme for operatives, which is comparable with their superiors, is more likely to give rise to a sustained higher performance.

The overall conclusion is that there are many aspects to the concept of culture in organisational settings, some of which are tangible and therefore can be measured and controlled and others which are intangible and therefore less obvious for measurement and control. Changes in working practices are controllable and therefore performance can be measured and to a great extent manipulated. A sustained higher performance will result from subordinates accepting the beliefs and values of senior management as their own. In large geographically dispersed organisations like Bass, unless the various subcultures are recognised as important aspects of the overall culture, in terms of their contribution to profitability, optimum performance will not be achieved. Leadership style at all levels of the business will clearly have an impact on achieving superior performance. Acceptance of the philosophy of shared values is strongly linked to the levels of managerial control adopted by senior managers and by the lower middle level managers.

<u>REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 6</u>

Ackroyd S & Crowdy P A (1990)

Can Culture be Managed? - Personnel Review, Volume 19, No. 5 pp3-13

Anthony P D (1990)

The Paradox of the Management of Culture or 'He Who Leads is Lost', Personnel Review 19,4 pp3-8

Barney J B (1986)

Organisational Culture: Can it be a Source of Sustained Competitive Advantage? Academy of Management Review Vol 11 No 3, pp 656-665

Carroll (1983)

'A Disappointing Search for Excellence' - Harvard Business Review, No. 63 November-December, pp 78-88

Cassidy J (1993)

The Rise and Fall of IBM - Sunday Times - Business Focus 28 March

Daniel W and Mcintosh N (1976)

The Right to Manage - McDonald & Co

Davis S M (1985)

Culture is Not Just an Internal Affair (Gaining Control of the Corporate Culture) Kilmann et al - pp 137-147 - San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Deal T E & Kennedy A A (1982)

Corporate Cultures - Addison Wesley

Dyer W G (1985)

The Cycle of Cultural Evolution in Organisations - Gaining Control of the Corporate Culture - San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Dennison D (1984)

Bringing Corporate Culture to the Bottom Line - Organisation Dynamics 13 pp5-22

Edwardes M (1983)

Back From the Brink: An Apocalyptic Experience, Collins London

Fayol H (1949)

General and Industrial Management, Pitman (first published in French in 1916)

Gill J & Farrar S (1992)

Leadership as Developing Subordinate Self-control and Managing Without Managers - Occasional Paper, Sheffield Business School

Gregory K L (1983)

Native View Paradigms: Multiple Cultures and Culture Conflicts in Organisations - Administrative Science Quarterly 28 pp359-376

Handy C B (1981)

Understanding Organisations - Penguin Books

IPM (1977)

Staff Status for All - IPM Publication

Kilmann R H, Saxtib M J, Serpa R & Associates (1985)

Gaining Control of the Corporate Culture - San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Lorsch J W (1986)

Strategic Myopia: Culture as an Invisible Barrier to Change - Gaining Control of the Corporate Culture - San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Lupton T and Gowler D (1969)

Selecting a Wage Payment System - Penguin

Meek V L (1988)

Organisation Culture: Origins and Weaknesses - Organisation Studies, 1988, Volume 9 No. 4 pp453-473

Mintzberg H (1973)

The Nature of Managerial Work, Harper & Row

Mitchell T R (1985)

In Search of Excellence Versus the Best 100 Companies to Work for in America: A Question of Perspective and Values - Academy of Management Review No 10, April, pp 350-355

Morgan G (1986)

Images of Organisation - Sage Publications

Ogbonna E and Wilkinson B (1990)

Corporate Strategy and Corporate Culture: The View from the Checkout ,Personnel Review, pp 9-15

Ouchi W (1981)

Theory 'Z' - Addison Wesley

Ouchi W & Johnson J B (1978)

Types of Organisational Control and Their Relationship to Emotional Well Being - Administrative Science Quarterly 23, pp293-317

Peters T J & Waterman R H (1982)

In Search of Excellence - Harper and Row

Pettigrew A M (1990)

Is Corporate Culture Manageable - in Managing Organisations Eds Wilson D C & Rosenfeld R H - McGraw Hill Book Company

Pettigrew A M (1985)

The Awakening Giant: Continuity and Change in ICI, Blackwell, Oxford

Pettigrew A M (1979)

On Studying Organisational Cultures - Administrative Science Quarterly 24

Saffold G S (1988)

Culture Traits, Strength, and Organisational Performance: Moving Beyond 'Strong' Culture - Academy of Management Review, Volume 13 No. 4

Sathe V (1985)

How to Decipher and Change Corporate Culture (Gaining Control of the Corporate Culture) Kilmann et al - pp 230-261 San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Schein E H (1983)

The Role of the Founder in Creating Organisational Culture - Organisational Dynamics, Summer pp 13-28

Schein E H (1984)

Coming to a New Awareness of Organisational Culture - Sloan Management Review, pp 3-16

Schein E H (1985)

Organisational Culture and Leadership - Jossey Bass

Smith P B and Peterson M E (1988)

Leadership, Organisations and Culture - Sage Publications

Soeters J L (1986)

Excellent Companies as Social Movements - Journal of Management Studies 23.3 May pp 299-312

Tannenbaum R and Schmidt W H (1958)

How to Choose a Leadership Pattern - Harvard Business Review, March-April p96

Taylor F W (1972)

Scientific Management, Greenwood Press

Tichy N M & Ulrich D (1984)

The Leadership Challenge - A Call for the Transformational Leadership - Sloan Management Review Fall pp59-68

Tunstall W B (1986)

The Break-up of the Bell System - A Case Study in Cultural Transformation - California Management Review, No 2 pp 110-124

Williams (1993)

Nuts and Bolts Man - Personnel Today, January, pp22-23

CHAPTER 7

AN INSIDER'S PERSPECTIVE OF AN ORGANISATION'S CULTURE AND SUBCULTURES - A CONCLUSION

7. <u>An Insider's Perspective of an Organisation's Culture and Subcultures - A Conclusion</u>

This final Chapter reviews the thesis findings which are based on an insider's view of the methodological approach to the research and understanding of organisational subcultures. Carrying out research into an organisation's corporate culture and its subcultures, in order to gain some understanding of the complex relationships, is not an easy task. It is hoped that the findings of the research will throw some light onto a subject matter which in many ways defies clear definition and understanding. References made about the culture concept as being 'a black hole', 'the missing link' and 'the invisible barrier' are possibly an indication as to the evasive nature of the whole concept, and indeed whether organisational cultures can be effectively managed or researched.

It may be the case that managers and researchers are on an impossible mission when trying to gain a complete understanding of such a multifarious concept. What may be achieved from research in this area, is possibly an understanding of the complexities of the subject matter. This in itself is a step forward and adds to the existing knowledge of culture in organisations. An understanding of the complex nature of the culture concept may aid future researchers and managers seeking to gain some understanding of corporate culture and subcultures in the workplace.

Conclusions have been drawn from the main sections of the thesis to formulate overall conclusions and to identify further research in the area of subcultures in organisational settings. Additionally, the contribution of the thesis to existing knowledge is highlighted and discussed, and various conceptual models are presented which provide an understanding of: a methodological approach to researching cultures and subcultures in a large geographically dispersed organisation; the links between culture and performance, and the links between culture and managerial control. The conceptual model for studying

corporate culture and subcultures, which was developed at an early stage in the fieldwork and depicted in Chapter 2, has been further developed in order to reflect my understanding of the culture concept, and the complexities involved in research in this area.

The major contribution the thesis makes to knowledge is therefore in three key areas:

* Firstly the thesis provides a contribution in the area of research methodology both from a manager carrying out research within his own organisation, and the methodological approach used to study the corporate culture and subcultures in a large geographically dispersed organisation.

* Secondly the thesis provides a contribution in the area of culture and performance in that it explores in depth the relationship between subcultures and an organisation's corporate culture and provides an explanation for different culture types and their effect on business performance.

* Finally the thesis provides a contribution in the area of culture and managerial control in that the research identifies the links between leadership and control at both senior and middle management levels. The development of an understanding of the relationship between cultures, subcultures and managerial control, has implications for Bass and other large geographically dispersed organisations which are incorporating culture change programmes as part of major strategic changes within their businesses.

Following an introduction, the Chapter is split into three main sections in line with the major contributions identified above: the methodological approach used by a manager, as an insider, carrying out research in his own organisation ; the impact and importance of subcultures on the management of change, and the implications for Bass of the thesis

findings on culture, subcultures and managerial control. A final section covers possible further research in the area of subcultures and their impact on management of change and organisational performance.

7.1   Introduction

The research findings indicate that, the notion of controlling or changing an organisation's culture, is to a great extent questionable. This however is not surprising as the whole concept of culture, in both fields of anthropology and organisational theory, tends to hinge on definitional issues and arguments. This situation further adds to complexity of researching and understanding cultures in the workplace. Throughout the research period I asked many managers and operatives to define culture, not because I had the right definition myself, but simply because I thought someone would provide me with a definition which would provide a key to a complex subject. Many managers provided me with definitions which were arguably right. For example, it was described as " the way we behave ", " the way we are", " the way we think ", "attitudes and values", "the way we do things" and so on. When I am asked to define culture myself, having spent many years researching the subject, I feel I should have a clear concise definition. However, I find myself struggling to explain culture in a few words, and generally provide a long explanation covering the many aspects of the subject. I find that trying to define the culture concept in one sentence or paragraph tends to over simplify it. I feel that the reason why managers and researchers provide numerous definitions, which may be contradictory, is because culture is multifarious and therefore has many aspects and can afford many different definitions.

The problem for managers appears to be associated with trying to control or change something which cannot be clearly defined or indeed measured. This is probably why many managers relate culture to observable behaviour which is tangible and to an extent can be controlled and measured. This problem also extends to the researcher who is

trying to study and understand a concept, which has both tangible and intangible elements in the form of overt behaviour, and attitudes, beliefs and values, which are in the minds of the research subjects.

Following on from the above, it is accepted that any attempt to change an organisation's culture at any level is not an easy task, and that internalisation of behavioural changes is likely to require a high degree of autonomy, empowerment and, most importantly, a sharing of values and beliefs amongst organisational members. In terms of shared values, which it is assumed relate to the organisation's corporate mission, it is argued that successful change programmes should directly involve all levels of the workforce from executive level to the person who packs and delivers the final product to the customer. Although the involvement of all organisational members may provide a better understanding of the organisation's mission, and may even assist with the implementation of change, it is considered that 'culture change' is not likely to result from subcultures accepting proposed changes in working practices. The research has shown that many change programmes, including the Bass programme, tend to be driven top down with the emphasis on the creation of a single homogeneous corporate culture. With this approach, there is a tendency not to recognise the existence of potentially conflicting subcultures, the concentration being on changing the beliefs and values of senior managers, and then cascading the message down to organisational members.

As part of many change programmes, the inclusion of a 'culture change' is often seen as an important ingredient within the overall strategy. This is often highlighted in the company's new mission statement, for example, in the Bass mission statement, " we will create an entrepreneurial culture ", was considered an important message to the workforce and to the future success of the organisation. Managers tend to key into these messages and subsequently use the words " we've got to change the culture ", whenever there is a sign of resistance to change. As part of the overall change programme it is therefore

generally seen as another variable which may disrupt management plans if it is not changed.

As culture change is often seen by senior management as being synonymous with the planned business changes, little research is carried out within the business to understand the existing culture and the possible existence of negative subcultures. That is, negative in a sense that they do not conform with the ideals of senior management. A lack of understanding or the failure to recognise the existence of multiple and possibly conflicting subcultures could be costly to the organisation which, as a result of resistance from counter cultures, may fail to meet anticipated strategic goals.

There are many books and consultants selling packages which purport to make culture change feasible and which support the view that the changes will provide a sustained competitive advantage. The assumption made in much of the popular literature is that an organisation's culture is a variable which can be manipulated to satisfy business objectives. Additionally it is assumed that a single homogeneous culture can be developed and controlled to meet the changing demands of the market place and of senior management. Much of the literature relates culture change to 'changing the corporate culture', which in many cases involves changing management at a senior level, and then developing new strategies for success. Trying to change subcultures in the regions of geographically dispersed organisations, in order to create an homogeneous culture, is very much a complicated issue if not an impossible task. The introduction of standard working practices throughout the organisation may be achievable, but the changing of deep rooted beliefs and values is a far more complex issue. The complexities involve the links between the culture of the area, the depot workplace culture and the corporate culture. These linkages are discussed in later sections of this Chapter.

The variable concept of culture tends to have a 'managerialist' or 'pro-management' bias with the main focus being on observable phenomena. The early literature on

corporate culture management, and consultants promoting culture change programmes, appear to view culture as a tangible organisation variable which is within the control of management. In view of this managerialist approach, the current popular corporate culture studies have been linked to the human relations school and the earlier work, for example, of Mayo, Roesthlisberger and Dickson, and McGregor. Smircich (1983) and Gregory (1983), both consider that there is little difference between the work of the human relations school and the current corporate culture movement.

The alternative view, the interpretative perspective or the viewing of culture as an ideational system, draws mainly from the anthropological schools of cognitive, structuralist, and symbolism. The distinction between the two perspectives is not clear cut, as there is considerable overlap which causes conceptual confusion and ambiguity. Although the differences are linked to a move in anthropological thinking in the 1950's from 'culture as behaviourism' to 'culture as knowledge', the two perspectives or approaches are often used by academics and managers in parallel in an attempt to conceptualise organisational culture. This approach is a third perspective on culture which is the viewing of culture as a unified whole which consists of both behavioural and cognitive aspects. Although this perspective is linked to the functionalist and historical diffusionist school, and also draws from the cognitive schools, it can be considered as an integrated approach to the study of organisational cultures in workplace settings.

The bringing together of the cognitive, behavioural, emotive, and artifactual aspects, requires extended ethnographic research, and it is for this reason that it receives little attention in the management literature. However, Sackmann (1992 p23) considers that this approach would highlight the multifaceted nature of culture and " may eventually render a comprehensive picture of culture in organisations". It is argued throughout this thesis that, a suitable approach to the understanding of the complex

nature of an organisation's culture could be through the 'differentiation paradigm' (Meyerson and Martin 1987). That is the assumption that organisations, in terms of culture, consist of diverse subcultures which are affected by both internal and external influences. It is also argued that research of this nature can perhaps be best achieved by an insider who has access to people, past and present employees at all levels, and to historical and current data within the host organisation.

The research for the thesis from an insider's perspective, has shown that in a large geographically dispersed organisation, there does not appear to be one homogeneous culture. The findings indicate that there exists a corporate culture, which represents the ideals of senior management, and provides behavioural direction for organisational members. Additionally, in other parts of the business there exist subcultures, some of which are positive and others which are negative in relation to the corporate beliefs and values, and the corporate message for success. The research has also shown that culture does appear to change over time, yet this does not appear to be strongly influenced by the efforts of senior management. What appears to be the case is that workplace cultures emerge and develop from the culture of the area in which they are based, and are influenced by the history of the site in terms of trade union power and historical links with other organisations. An organisation's corporate culture can be seen to change at Headquarters through the recruitment of 'outsiders' at Board level, and the issuing of new mission statements. This is probably a misuse of the words 'changing culture', as what is happening can best be described as a 'change in strategic direction' which is facilitated by the new members. However, as mentioned previously, acceptance of change at regional levels seem to be more influenced by historically transmitted beliefs and values, and the environment within the geographical location.

The problem associated with an approach to culture change, which is top down and viewed simplistically from a monolithic perspective, is that the changes may be a result of behavioural compliance and not a true willing acceptance of change by the workforce.

It may be the case that behavioural compliance, as opposed to internalisation of change, is an acceptable level of control. Although this level of control is often considered to be culture control, it may be the case that this is an illusion of culture control by senior management. The research in the Bass organisation indicated that the beliefs and values of the Board in relation to quality, customer service and performance levels, were not dispersed throughout the organisation. If this is the case, then perhaps leaders of organisations should be made aware of the possible failings of the shared value philosophy. Otherwise behavioural compliance and the elusion of culture control will persist.

With this in mind, it is probably a sensible approach on 'Management of Change' programmes, which incorporate anticipated changes in culture, to involve members of the workforce which have direct impact on business performance. That is, the lower levels of the hierarchy which invariably have direct contact with the customer. Workforce involvement on management of change programmes could lead to internalisation of changes. Additionally, empowerment, autonomy and decentralisation could be a strategy towards cultures and subcultures 'adapting' to change rather than them being coerced into short term behaviour change.

From the fieldwork and research, it would appear that a major problem in organisations seems to stem from the lack of understanding by managers of the concept of culture. In the 90's it is still seen as 'the way we do things around here', and is considered as being observable behaviour which is within the control of management. To a great extent this is the result of more than a decade of popular books and consultants convincing executives that culture can be readily changed using 'simple' formulae. The advent of Business Process Re-engineering (BPR), the acronym of the 1990's, and the latest panacea (Gill and Whittle 1993), has led organisations down the path of major change. With reported failure rates of BPR at 80% and failures being attributable to 'people'

issues, it would appear that the human or cultural aspects of change are still secondary to process and technology.

A key issue in the notion of culture control in organisations is one of definition and interpretation. If culture is perceived simply as observable behaviour linked to output, then senior management will concentrate on strategies which will alter observable behaviour patterns or working practices, and give little importance to the deep rooted values and beliefs of the workforce. It may be the case that this is an acceptable level of control, in which case it could be referred to as 'worker control' and not 'culture control'.

7.2   Researching Organisational Cultures and Subcultures - An Insider's Approach.

Although the concept of culture in organisational settings has been developed from the field of anthropology, there is little evidence in the literature or research linking anthropological techniques to the analysis of an organisation's culture. A great deal of the popular corporate culture concepts are based on the 'outsider's' view in the form of external consultants and academics selling 'culture change programmes' to senior management. However, it is not difficult to understand the attractiveness of culture change programmes which aim to create a single homogeneous culture, and can be readily manipulated by senior management. It is argued by consultants that the end result will be a sustained level of superior performance. From this view, the possibility of managing culture as a control mechanism has a clear promanagement bias.

The popularity of the single homogeneous corporate culture concept continues despite criticisms that the whole notion lacks empirically sound research data. Research carried out in the area of culture in organisations, indicates that organisational cultures are best viewed from a multicultural view and that organisations consist of multiple, potentially conflicting cultures (Gregory 1983; Reynolds 1986; Martin and Siehl 1983; Louis 1985).

However, it is worth pointing out that whatever approach is used, the fact remains that culture is extremely complex and requires in depth research from all possible angles.

In order to overcome the promanagement bias and the monolithic view of culture, the research into the Bass cultures was conducted using a fieldwork approach similar to that used by the social anthropologist. The direct contact approach associated with 'participant observation' is seen by anthropologists as the best approach in the field in order to understand the structure of the organisation and the processes of social interaction within it. This native view approach in which anthropologists represent themselves as 'marginal natives' (Frielich, 1970) or 'professional strangers' (Agar, 1980), also enables the researcher to get closer to understanding the complex behaviour patterns and systems of meanings of the research subjects from an insider's perspective. It is my view that, based on my research in the Bass organisation, a great deal of knowledge and understanding of an organisation's culture can be gained by managers, as insiders, carrying out research in their own organisation. Additionally I consider that in large geographically dispersed organisations the existence of multiple cultures is likely to be the rule rather than the exception. From a multicultural perspective, concentration would be on the organisation's cultural diversity rather than assuming cultural homogeneity.

The next paragraphs within this section argue that in order to gain acceptance of change and to internalise changes in behaviour, a clearer understanding of the organisation's culture and subcultures is required. It is argued that an effective approach to gaining an understanding of culture may be through research by an insider, in this case a Management Services Manager conducting culture research whilst simultaneously carrying out his role within the organisation. It is accepted that, because of the complex nature of the culture concept, a 'complete' understanding of the research area and subjects may not be possible.

The manager or an insider conducting research in his own organisation has both advantages and disadvantages. The main advantage is the insider's access to data and access to participant's knowledge of the organisation. From the insider's perspective aspects of the organisation's corporate culture and subcultures can be researched. Additionally the insider is part of the culture and can therefore relate to behaviour patterns and the various manifestations of culture within the organisation.

In my particular role as a Management Services Manager, carrying out both regional and national projects, I was able to gain access to the main research area in the Distribution function and then compare and contrast my findings in the other regions and functions, and at the Bass Headquarters in Burton. Using both roles as manager and researcher 'simultaneously' enabled me to explore many of the cultural aspects from the bottom of the organisation to the Board and Chief Executive Level.

Involvement in the Bass 'Management of Change' programme enabled me to gain a clearer understanding of the Bass Board's perception of culture and change. Through active participation in terms of delivering the corporate message, I was also able to observe managers and their subordinates responding to the changes. This became valuable research data as I developed theory and understanding of the Bass culture and the subcultures which I had identified in the regional Distribution Depots.

The main disadvantage of the insider as researcher is in relation to the quality of data collected, particularly from interviews and overt participant observations. For example, a manager asking questions and gaining information from the shopfloor may be viewed with suspicion and this may have an adverse effect on the quality of information provided. Another disadvantage which is occasionally apparent is that culture is viewed from a managerialist rather than a more 'neutral' perspective. Additionally, this may also be the case for the manager asking questions of his fellow managers. In both situations a system of cross validation must be established with

other managers and operatives. For example, all the information from observations and interviews was validated by other distribution managers.

In Chapter 2 a conceptual framework was developed, which during the early stages of the research, was based on an understanding of the concept of an organisation's corporate culture and its relationship with its subcultures. The generic model was based on the assumption that there existed a dominant culture which controlled various subunits in the organisation from a central command position in the organisation.(see Figure 7.1)

Figure 7.1

Figure 7.1   A Generic Framework for Studying Cultures and Sub-cultures in Organisational Settings

SUB CULTURE

ENVIRONMENT · REWARD SYSTEM · PERFORMANCE · HISTORY · CORE VALUES & BELIEFS · STRUCTURES · LEADERSHIP · ARTEFACTS · SYMBOLS

SUB CULTURE

ENVIRONMENT · REWARD SYSTEM · PERFORMANCE · HISTORY · CORE VALUES & BELIEFS · STRUCTURES · LEADERSHIP · ARTEFACTS · SYMBOLS

DOMINANT CULTURE

ENVIRONMENT · REWARD SYSTEM · PERFORMANCE · HISTORY · CORE VALUES & BELIEFS · STRUCTURES · LEADERSHIP · ARTEFACTS · SYMBOLS

SUB CULTURE

ENVIRONMENT · REWARD SYSTEM · PERFORMANCE · HISTORY · CORE VALUES & BELIEFS · STRUCTURES · LEADERSHIP · ARTEFACTS · SYMBOLS

SUB CULTURE

ENVIRONMENT · REWARD SYSTEM · PERFORMANCE · HISTORY · CORE VALUES & BELIEFS · STRUCTURES · LEADERSHIP · ARTEFACTS · SYMBOLS
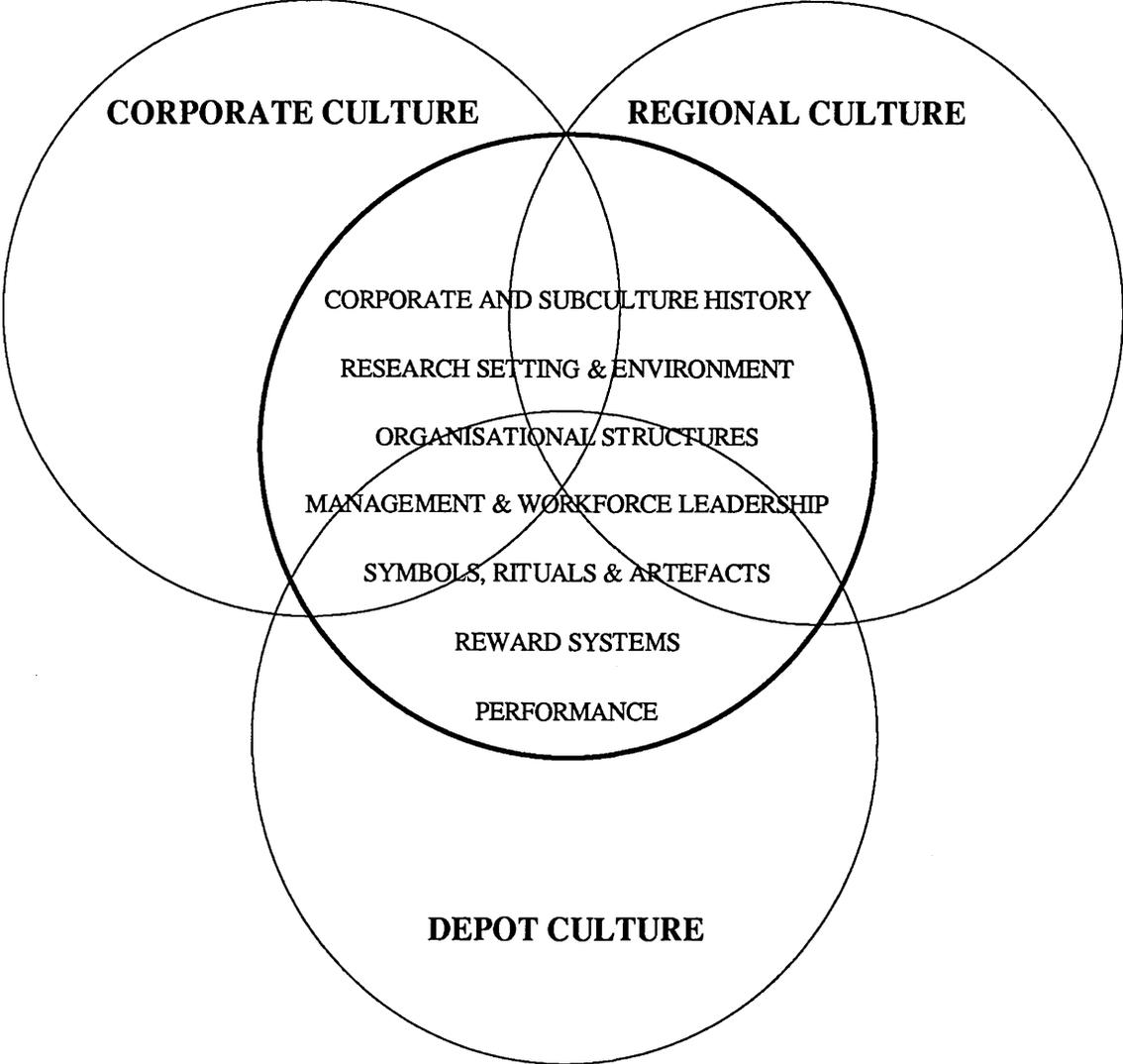
The fieldwork and research has shown that the generic model for culture research, as identified in Figure 7.1, is an over simplification. The findings show that, in trying to decipher workplace cultures, there is considerable overlap involving the culture of the region, the site culture and the corporate culture. This overlap, which is depicted in Figure 7.2, makes the understanding of the culture concept at a local, regional and corporate level more difficult. That is, difficult in the sense that it is not sensible to consider the depot culture in isolation from the culture of the area and the corporate culture or ideals of the organisation. However, it is considered that the key areas of research, as shown in Figure 7.2 are important, and that gaining a clearer understanding of an organisation's culture and subcultures can be obtained by the insider based on the assumption that:

* An extended ethnography by an internal researcher is feasible within the host organisation.

* Access to historical data and performance statistics is available over a long period of time.

* The organisation's corporate culture and its sub-cultures are viewed not only independently but also as parts of the cultural whole.

* Access to past and present 'leaders' and 'subordinates' for interview purposes is feasible in order to identify significant events.

The viewing of organisational culture as consisting of both behavioural and cognitive dimensions, and subcultures which may be supportive or counter productive would appear to be a more fruitful approach than concentrating on one aspect or area of culture. The framework shown in Figure 7.1. was used initially as a guide to studying cultures in

large geographically dispersed organisations which are likely to possess multiple cultures or subcultures, and was the general framework used to study the Bass cultures.

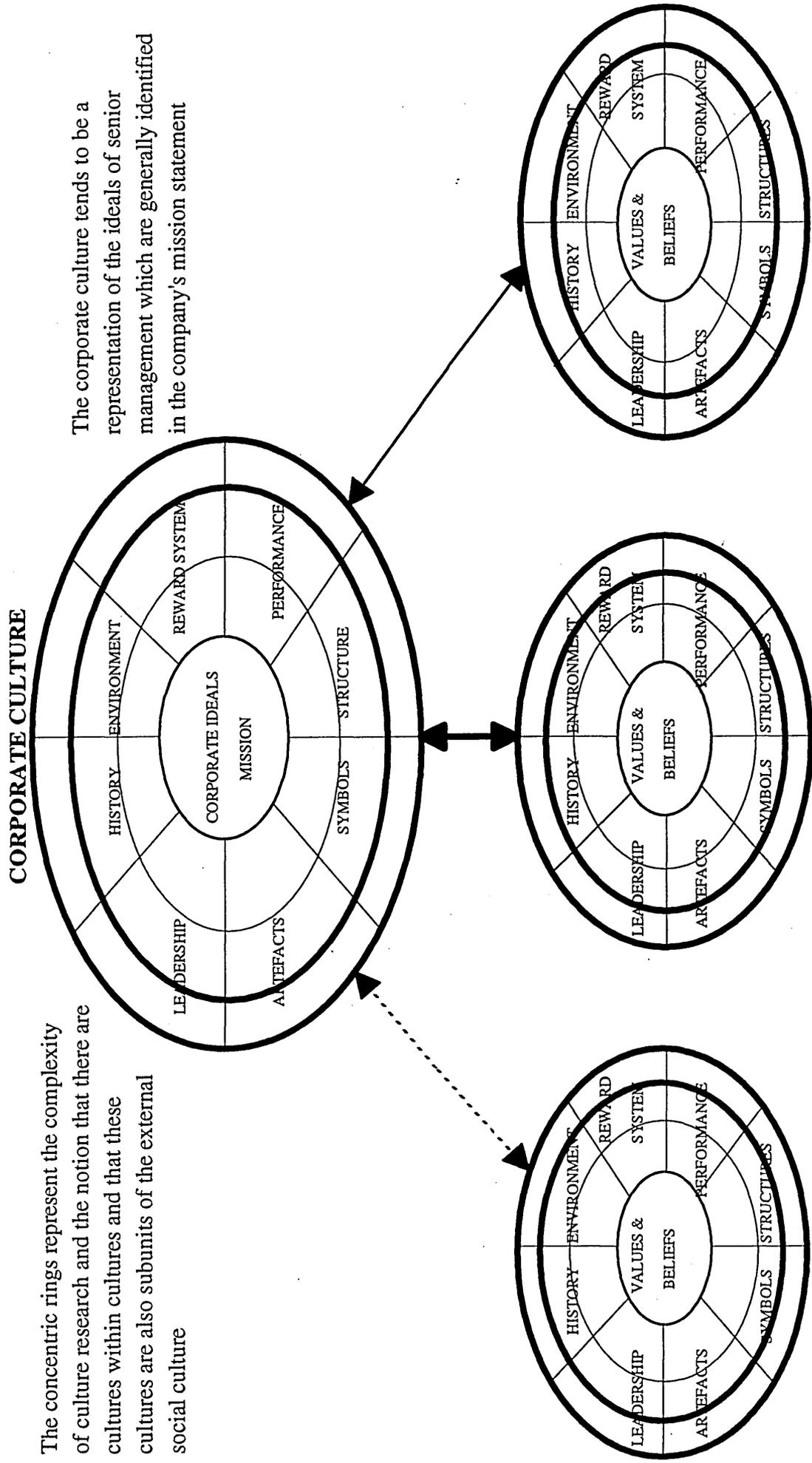**CORPORATE CULTURE**   **REGIONAL CULTURE**

CORPORATE AND SUBCULTURE HISTORY

RESEARCH SETTING & ENVIRONMENT

ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURES

MANAGEMENT & WORKFORCE LEADERSHIP

SYMBOLS, RITUALS & ARTEFACTS

REWARD SYSTEMS

PERFORMANCE

DEPOT CULTURE

An additional problem, which adds to the complexity of researching cultures, is that culture is very much like 'magical boxes' or 'Russian dolls', you lift one up and you find another one below, and this process may repeat down to small subunits or cultures. For example, below the corporate culture are subcultures, and in many cases there are subcultures of and within subcultures. This was the case in the Bury depot whereby the depot culture was a subculture of the corporate culture and within that subculture there were subcultures relating to the Cornbrook Brewery. This was also the finding in the Liverpool depot with the Bents subculture, and to some extent the existence of a warehouse subculture. In addition to this, although not researched in any detail, there appeared to be staff cultures, management cultures, and in depots where a garage facility was on site, the mechanics and engineers were very much a separate subculture. Adding to all this complexity is the culture of the area which, from the research findings, has a considerable impact on the workplace cultures.

The linkage with the corporate culture, as depicted in Figure 7.1, is also a simplification of the complex nature of culture and its research. The research findings indicate that, not only are there subcultures within subcultures, the relationships that subcultures have with the corporate culture vary considerably. In Figure 7.3 an attempt has been made to show these relationships. Basically the subculture linkages are categorised as being 'dotted', 'thick' or 'thin' in relation to the corporate culture or corporate ideals. The figure also shows the existence of cultures within the cultures as concentric circles, and a darker outer layer which represents the culture of the area which, as the research indicated, has a significant impact on organisational workings at all levels.

Figure 7.3 Conceptual Framework for Studying Cultures and Subcultures

The concentric rings represent the complexity of culture research and the notion that there are cultures within cultures and that these cultures are also subunits of the external social culture

CORPORATE CULTURE

The corporate culture tends to be a representation of the ideals of senior management which are generally identified in the company's mission statement

CHANGING SUB-CULTURES

These are generally traditional cultures which have a 'thin' relationship with the corporate ideals which appear to be linked to a mixed culture

ENHANCING SUB-CULTURES

These are cultures with a 'thick' relationship with the corporate culture and appear to mirror the corporate ideals

COUNTER SUB-CULTURES

These are 'traditional' cultures which to a great extent have only a 'dotted' relationship with corporate ideals

- 290 -

Referring to figure 7.3, it could be argued that the corporate culture is not a culture at all, and could be best described as the body which provides the business with guidelines for business operations and performance. As such, the corporate culture or body may be changed by: bringing in new members at a senior level in the organisation; introducing new mission statements; introducing strategic change and generally changing working practices. This is often referred to as 'changing the corporate culture' when in actual fact what occurs is a large scale change in 'image' and a change in strategic direction for the organisation. In the regions or subunits within the organisation, changes in image and direction, tend to be adopted or rejected by organisational members depending on the culture of the geographical area and the culture of the unit. To highlight the complexity of cultural linkages; the 'dotted' 'thick' and 'thin' cultural relationships between corporate ideals and subcultures are discussed below.

Firstly, the subcultures with a 'dotted' relationship are the counter cultures which do not sit well with the organisation's mission. Many of these subcultures tend to be 'traditional' cultures in a sense that they prefer to carry out their daily tasks and rituals in long standing traditional ways. As such, they do not like change and will resist and even try to reject it. A good example of this was the Liverpool depot culture, which was influenced by the traditional brewery ways of working from the Bents era. Additionally, it was influenced by the traditional ways of the culture of Merseyside in terms of attitudes towards management, and their values, beliefs and attitudes in relation to workplace behaviour. This strong relationship between the depot culture and the culture of the area appeared to be a dominant influence in terms of rejection or acceptance of change. This finding seems to indicate that in some instances, the dominant culture, in terms of influencing workplace behaviour, may not be the corporate culture but the culture of the area.

Secondly, the subcultures with a 'thick' relationship with the corporate culture, appear to be more amenable and more in line with the corporate ideals. The subcultures with a

'thick' relationship are considered to be enhancing cultures, not because they are culturally similar to the corporate culture, but because they are flexible and willing to readily accept change. In this sense they appear to mirror the ideals of senior management. As with the counter cultures, the enhancing cultures appear to be influenced by the culture of the area, which to some extent dictates behaviour in the workplace. For example, the Abergele depot culture was influenced by the nature of the North Wales culture, which tends to be friendly, amenable and hard working. It may be the case that regional subcultures in this area would have a 'thick' relationship with corporate cultures in any organisation simply because of the nature of the people and the culture of the area.

Thirdly, the subcultures with a 'thin' relationship with the corporate culture are the changing cultures which, from a research point of view, are probably the most difficult to understand. Subcultures with a 'thin' relationship appear to fluctuate from a positive or negative relationship with the corporate ideals, yet generally they are moving towards being a more flexible subculture than has been the case in the past. The reasons why these cultures are difficult to understand is because they are generally mixed cultures, that is, mixed in a sense that they consist of subcultures which are pulling against each other. This was found to be the case in the Bury depot where the Manchester Cornbrook Brewery subculture had mixed with the Bury depot culture. Although the Cornbrook culture appears to be the dominant culture, there still exists the Bury culture which is linked to the culture of the area. Gradually, as the Cornbrook influence is reducing, through labour turnover, the Bury influence is taking over and may eventually represent a subculture which is more representative of the area.

In carrying out research into organisational cultures, a major problem is underestimating the task in terms of complexity and diversity. At the outset of the research I had made certain assumptions about corporate culture being the dominant culture, and subcultures which were neatly portrayed as subunits in a workplace behavioural sense. It is now

clear that the culture concept is extremely complex and that an understanding goes beyond the workplace activities. In order to understand some of the complexities I feel that you must keep lifting up the 'Russian Dolls' and certainly look beyond the workplace setting for clues about the behaviour patterns of the workplace operatives. In particular, the history of the organisation, depot culture, and geographical location, appear to hold key links to understanding the behaviour of subcultures.

Throughout the research the importance of an organisation's history in the deciphering of it's culture was seen as a key issue. The historical nature of culture, in terms of historical reconstruction, and the relationship between historical factors and cultural transformation is seen as a key issue in understanding the complex nature of culture. For example, the macro analysis of the long history and traditions of brewing at Bass Brewers, highlighted the many changes over the years and up to the current situation at both the corporate and regional levels. The importance of understanding the history and traditional ways of working at Bass became apparent throughout the thesis as this was a key issue in understanding the origins of the various subcultures and how they had developed and changed over the years. For example, the historical analysis of the Liverpool depot revealed the strong influence that the Bents Brewery had on the beliefs and values of the workforce. This coupled with the influences from outside the organisation, for example, the 'Liverpool culture' itself, produced a very strong subculture which was very different from the Bass corporate ideals and culture. This was also true of the Bury depot and the connection with the Manchester Cornbrook Brewery, which had a strong influence on attitudes throughout the 70's and early 80's. As previously mentioned, in the Bury case study, as many of the Cornbrook employees left the organisation and local operatives were employed, the subculture appeared to change and move towards the corporate ideals. This was particularly the case in 1988 when the senior shop steward, a former Cornbrook employee and leader of the 'Salford Mafia', left the organisation. This was a significant turning point for the Bury 'locals' to take charge of union activities. In contrast, in the Abergele case study where there had been no strong links with the

brewing industry or any other large industry, the subculture was very much in line with the corporate ideals with very little cultural shift over a 30 year period.

The historical nature of culture sits within the historical diffusionist school and is linked by Allaire and Firsirotu (1984 p202) to the study of organisations "as historically produced sociocultural systems". Within the symbolic school and the sub-schools of 'actionalist' and 'institutional', strong views are expressed on the historical and leadership links with culture, and the birth, growth, and evolution of organisations (Pettigrew 1979, Selznick 1957, Clark 1972). Although the research in the Bass organisation indicated the importance of the historical links, the importance of the leadership links with culture change, were less obvious.

The analysis of past and present leadership and structures is necessary in trying to piece together organisational change and the possible impact on the organisation's culture. However, the research findings indicate that leadership has an impact at the corporate level, yet this appears to have very little impact on changing the beliefs and values of the members of subcultures which exist throughout the organisation. At the corporate level, for example, new leadership is often seen as a starting point for changing the organisation's direction, structure and culture. The Mckinsey & Company Consultancy , who played a major role in the Bass strategic changes and the development of the 'management of change' programme, consider that a new leadership vision is an essential ingredient of culture change. A Mckinsey partner was quoted, "it is very difficult for a company to achieve broad cultural change without new leadership" (Ogbonna 1993 p73). However, in researching cultures, leadership analysis should include leaders at the middle levels in the organisation and also include workforce leaders in the form of shop stewards. The research in the Bass Distribution Depots, which included interviews with past and present Trade Union and Distribution Managers provided a clearer understanding of the formation and development of the depot subcultures. Effective leadership is clearly important in

developing and implementing strategies, it may be a gross overstatement to assume that leaders are capable of controlling or changing a culture. In terms of research, the middle levels in the hierarchy are as important in the understanding of culture as the senior level managers. Often, culture transformation is considered to be within the control of senior management, when in reality if changes are to be effectively implemented it is the customer facing managers and their subordinates who have 'control' over their particular sub-unit.

In order to gain a better understanding and to identify differences in cultural activities, research into the variety of artefacts, symbols and rituals will provide interesting and valuable information. Artefacts and symbols are defined as the words, stories, gestures and objects which carry specific meaning in Bass generally, and in the different subculture groupings. Rituals are defined as the events and activities or 'the way things are done' in the cultural settings which are socially essential within the culture groups. During the first phase of the research in the fifteen Distribution Depots, many of these artefacts, symbols and rituals were identified through on site visits and participant observation. For example, in the Sheffield Depot where there are strong historical links with Sheffield's brewing operations, William Stones and the 'Cannon' logo both have symbolic meaning to the workforce. In the main reception and office complex there is little evidence of Bass or the corporate 'red triangle' logo, employees also refer to William Stones as their employer and not Bass. Other parts of Bass Brewers have also retained their regional identity, for example the Wellpark Brewery and Depot in Glasgow still use the 'T' logo of Tennents Breweries, and the Birmingham Brewery and Depot still use the 'Stag' logo of M & B Breweries. Although these may seem trivial they are important to subculture members as they form part of the subculture's history and identity. In the more detailed analysis of the three subculture groupings many of these historically transmitted rituals, symbols and artefacts were identified. For example, the beer drinking habits of the draymen in the 'A' type counter culture compared with the tea drinkers in the 'B' type enhancing culture.

At the start of the research, reward systems were a key issue in that there was an overall plan to introduce uniform salaried reward systems in all depots. As highlighted in the distribution fieldwork, reward systems which were tightly controlled and based on work measured standards were more likely to be less productive. An assumption was made that a move towards a salaried scheme for operatives, which was comparable with their superiors, would be more likely to give rise to a sustained higher performance. In terms of research there is an important link between reward systems, trade unions, managerial control and culture. Morgan (1986) considers that "the philosophy, values and norms of union culture usually exert an important impact on the mosaic of culture, subculture and counter culture that characterises life in any organisation". It is for this reason that culture research should include interviews and observations covering trade union activities. In many of the depots, trade union activities and work activities were one and the same. For example, in Liverpool all activities were linked to union rules and negotiations, in Abergele union activity was related to occasions when change was required.

It was argued in Chapter Three 'Research Methodology' that viewing an organisation's culture two-dimensionally, and top down would produce the illusion that culture is a single homogeneous entity which could be easily understood and manipulated to satisfy business goals. Throughout the thesis, it has been argued that an organisation's culture and its subcultures are extremely complex systems and are to a great extent differentiated. From this view, to gain a clearer understanding of the complexities involved, the research must involve getting below the surface or the corporate view. To achieve this, the research area may be best viewed from a three-dimensional perspective and 'bottom up'. From this approach it is more likely that subcultures will be found, that is, both depot and external regional cultures as opposed to the corporate culture.

The culture change programme, for example, was introduced top down initially to middle manager levels only, my research ran in the opposite direction, that is, bottom up, from the shop floor. From this perspective an insight was gained into the many different cultural levels and the complex links between the regional, depot and corporate cultures. Taking manageable slices from the 'cultural cake' both horizontally and vertically, provides an opportunity to carry out research in detail. Once a better understanding of the individual cultural slices has been achieved these can then be compared and contrasted with each other and with the corporate ideals. It is worth pointing out that taking manageable slices does not provide the key to a full understanding of a particular culture. As explained earlier with the 'Russian Dolls' analogy, trying to get to the bottom of a culture, and a full understanding is an almost impossible task. Research from this perspective, however, clearly requires access to many parts of the organisation, regionally and nationally, in order to identify and understand possible linkages. To a great extent my role in the management services function facilitated this.

Data analysis, theory generation and continuous validation are clearly key areas in research, and a system is required in order to handle the data generated from the fieldwork, and to convert this to a coherent theory. Grounded theory is one such approach which was used in the Bass research. The key to theory generation is being able to visibly see what you have gathered in order to identify links, themes and patterns. This visibility, which can be a card system or white board or both can be used by the researcher and key informants for validation purposes. As with all aspects of culture research, data analysis is not a simple task and in many cases in this type of research, links and themes tend to emerge as opposed to being found.

At the start of the research I had only envisaged collecting data through the use of in depth interviews and overt observation techniques. As the research moved forward and more information was required to validate my findings and develop a theory on the Bass culture and subcultures, I used several different data collection techniques to fit the

situation and research requirement. This included the full spectrum of overt and covert participant and non participant observation. On many occasions I was able to use my role as manager to obtain information, under the guise of a management services project.

Playing two roles, that of a researcher and a manager simultaneously in an organisation can be problematic. The key issue is the decision to either keep the two roles mutually exclusive, or use them to complement each other. A danger in playing two roles simultaneously is that the two may merge into one which could cause problems for both roles. It is my view that managers, as researchers, gain a clearer understanding of both their own role in the organisation and a greater understanding of the research setting. In the Bass research it was very difficult to separate the two roles, therefore I used them as complementary.

Possibly a more critical point in terms of the insider as researcher, is the case of the Management Services Manager as researcher, who in other contexts is likely to be regarded as a negotiating adversary. This aspect, and many other situations involving the fine line between the manager/researcher, can be both enlightening and stressful. For example, for many years I have worked in the field of Work Study, albeit in the disguise of Industrial Engineering, Productivity Services, Internal Consultancy and Management Services. The objective of the Work Study Engineer is to reduce costs by 'making the most effective use of resources', this in many cases involves increasing worker output and improving working methods. Although a major part of the Work Study Engineer's role is to act as a catalyst for change, the behavioural aspects of change are not generally considered important when introducing changes to working practices. The research has provided me with an opportunity to see and understand the importance of the human factors in management of change programmes.

Whilst carrying out research of this nature, the researcher has a tendency 'to go native' and become an integral part of the research setting. Although this wasn't the case

with my research, because of my limited periods of research time spent in each setting, I did find myself 'taking sides' particularly with the subcultures who were strongly resisting change. For example, the Sheffield, Liverpool, Tadcaster and Newcastle depots all had long standing traditions, not just relating to working practices but to the culture of the area, which they clearly did not want to lose.

I found myself taking more than a research interest in the plight of the Merseysiders, for example, who did not want to move away from traditional ways of working associated with long standing attitudes, values and beliefs. This situation is probably analogous to demolishing a listed building and replacing it with modern facilities, once the building has gone it can never be replaced. This is probably why many of the subcultures strongly resist a change which will take away something which has taken years to build. From this view it could be argued that traditional 'buildings' in the form of counter subcultures, should be encouraged to fit in with the new surroundings, rather than them being demolished. However, this view would probably not sit well with the vision of the developers of corporate cultures. The point I am making is that the dual role of manager/researcher is a unique role which provides an opportunity to play a part in the actions of management and the reactions of the workforce. On reflection, I feel that, had I been an 'outsider' researching the Bass cultures, I would not have developed my understanding of the concept of culture as much as I have from an 'insider's' view.

A final note on the approach to culture research from an insider's perspective is that the role conflict in this type of research raises the issue of ethics. In particular, research using both covert and overt techniques gives rise to the possibility of conflict between the researcher and the organisation. Although I did not use any confidential information from my research to solve problems in my Management Services role, on many occasions I was perceived by my informants to be 'gaining their confidence' to satisfy business objectives. A manager in an organisation has power and influence which could be used

against informants to satisfy business goals. Ethically it is important that the two roles of manager and researcher are not confused.

7.3   The Impact and Importance of Subcultures on Management of Change

Strategic change programmes tend to be conceived and driven by senior managers and consequently top down. If within the change programme there is a requirement to change the organisation's culture this is invariably the corporate culture as perceived by the main board members. In the Bass case study and within the literature on 'changing an organisation's culture' there is little mention of the existence of subcultures or the possibility of multiple, possibly conflicting, counter cultures within the organisation. One of the main themes in the corporate culture literature relates to leadership and the way in which the leader can transform culture from a central command position. The thesis research, rather than analysing the Bass corporate culture, which would have involved examining board level strategies and activities, started by researching the regional depot cultures and then relating the findings to the corporate culture as perceived by the Bass Brewers Board. The initial research revealed that regional subcultures existed in the 15 distribution depots, and that these could be grouped into specific culture types in relation to the Bass corporate culture. For example, the subculture groupings were conceptualised as either being positive, negative or changing in relation to the corporate ideals. The different subculture types had an impact on the way in which the depot was managed and accounted for differences in values, practices and depot performance. Additionally the high or low resistance to change, relating to the introduction of total quality initiatives, staff status payment systems and changes to working practices, was directly related to the characteristics of the subcultures. Initially the subcultures were analysed in terms of their workplace and related management characteristics and fell into three groups:-

Subculture 'A - Counter Culture

Depots in this category were considered to be counter cultural in that the group's values and practices conflicted with the values of the corporate culture. The workplace characteristics included, large urban depot, strong trade union activities, high resistance to change, lower than average productivity, and lower than average quality levels. The management characteristics included autocratic management style, and a high use of scientific management techniques. Distribution depots in this group were Liverpool, Tadcaster, Newcastle and Sheffield, all of which had historical links with the Brewing Industry and other large industries in the region.

Subculture 'B' - Enhancing Culture

Depots in this category were considered to be enhancing cultures in that the groups values and practices were in line with the corporate culture. Workplace characteristics included small/medium rural depot, consultative trade union, low resistance to change and high quality. The management characteristics included a democratic management style, acceptance of change and a belief in shared practices. Distribution depots in this group were Abergele, Barrow, Eaglescliffe, Portmadoc, Scarborough and Sleaford, the majority of which had little or no historical links with the Brewing Industry or other manufacturing industries.

Subculture 'C' - Changing Culture.

Depots in this category were considered to be changing cultures in that historically they fell into the counter culture category. Generally this group's values and practices appear to be moving towards the values of the corporate culture. Workplace characteristics include strong trade union activities, medium/large urban depot,

average quality levels, mixed resistance to change. The management characteristics included a democratic/ autocratic management style, and use of scientific management techniques. Distribution depots in this group were Leyland, Colne, Hull, Grimsby and Bury, as with the subculture 'A' many had long historical links with the brewing industry

The second stage of the research involved an in-depth analysis of the subculture groupings in terms of values and practices in relation to those prescribed by the Bass Brewers Board. This revealed that in terms of cultural dispersion, that is the level at which the corporate mission reaches, the cultural characteristics of the Bass 'corporate' culture were not dispersed throughout the regional distribution depots. This finding is important in a large complex organisation where a strategy has been developed to implement uniform structures, practices and procedures. For example in the subculture 'A' counter cultures and possibly 'B' changing culture depots, there is likely to be a high resistance to change.

Although strategic changes can and often are enforced upon the workforce, behavioural compliance should not be an objective when trying to introduce a shared value philosophy. However, it may be the case that senior management are quite happy to see visible behaviour changes, and do not consider the sharing of beliefs and values to be important at the lower levels in the organisation. Although this clearly may be the case, rather than enforce changes, organisations should possibly seek to provide an environment in which subcultures can accept and adapt to change. One such approach could be through the development of an environment which could provide subcultural self control by means of : decentralisation; autonomous regions and the fostering of empowerment. Based on the findings of the research that cultures, 'because of what they are', will take a positive or negative stance to change. Then this approach may be more sensible than coercive treatment to achieve standard working practices across the organisation. This is clearly not an easy strategy to

implement as moving away from a centrally command driven organisation does not come easily to the central senior managers who perceive their role to 'control'. The fostering of self control in relation to Bass Brewers is discussed further in the following section covering 'Culture, Subcultures and Managerial Control'

In line with Gregory 1983, Reynolds 1983, Smircich 1983, Martin & Siehl 1983, and Louis 1985, the fieldwork showed that the notion of a single homogeneous culture which permeates the organisation is unrealistic and stems from the ideals of senior managers. In reality and certainly in the Bass organisation, which operates in a complex environment and is geographically dispersed, multiple organisation subcultures and counter cultures exist and affect the way in which the business is managed. Recognition of subcultures in complex organisations could be a first step in understanding the complexities of the concept of culture. Once an organisation recognises the existence and importance of subcultures, which may for example be regional, functional or professional, it is more likely that there will be a move away from the monolithic concept of culture.

In line with Hofstede et al. 1990, the findings of the fieldwork contradict the prescriptions put forward by many authors and proponents of the shared value philosophy, that is the assumption that the values of the leaders and corporate heroes are shared by all members of the organisation. The fieldwork has shown that in reality there exists subcultures which do not share the same values of the corporate culture and that these cultures can be counter productive. This finding is in agreement with Meyerson and Martin's (1987) 'differentiation paradigm' in which complex organisations are not seen as a single, monolithic culture. They are rather seen as a collection of subcultures which may agree or disagree with an organisation's values espoused by senior management.

The recognition of subcultures in organisations maybe the 'missing link', and a key issue in management of change strategies which managements are failing to acknowledge. If organisations are made up of powerful subcultures which can have a positive or negative impact on performance, then the importance of subcultures cannot be overstated. The fieldwork showed that complex organisations similar to Bass Brewers are not likely to be monolithic in cultural terms, and therefore strategies which purport to introduce uniform practices under the banner of the sharing values and beliefs, are likely to experience resistance to change. Although, as in the Bass case, many uniform working practices can be introduced and be seen to be accepted by the workforce, enforced behaviour changes are discordant with 'the shared value philosophy'. Changes in behaviour, through enforced changes in working practices do not necessarily lead to changes in attitude, beliefs and values. In many cases the sharing of attitudes, beliefs and values between corporate cultures and subcultures is coincidental. For example, the enhancing cultures are to a great extent 'the way they are' because of the culture of the area and the history of the depot, not because they are particularly influenced by the corporate ideals.

7.4   Culture, Subcultures and Managerial Control - The Implications for Bass

Following the 1989 MMC report on 'The Supply of Beer', Bass Brewers embarked on a programme of change which was intended to transform the whole business system. The management of change programme challenged assumptions, principles and past working methods in the key areas of, organisational structures, business processes, management information systems and new technology. Most importantly, the programme involved a plan to 'change' the organisation's culture to fit the redesigned business. In terms of defining the Bass culture, Dr Tony Portno, Chief Executive of Bass Brewers, defined 'the old' Bass culture and the Board's vision of 'the new' culture as:-

'Old' Culture - Paternalistic, comfortable, undemanding, apolitical, hierarchical, command driven, custodial, bureaucratic and functional.

'New' Culture - Flexible, dynamic, empowered, risk taking, analytical, non hierarchical, demanding, non-bureaucratic, team working, cross functional, still apolitical and meritocratic.

The approach used by Bass involved changing three key areas of the business, that is technology, organisation and people. This provides us with the acronym T.O.P. which also fits the approach used by Bass, that is TOP down. Figure 7.4 shows the elements of the 'TOP' approach used to transform the organisation.

Figure 7.4 The 'TOP' Approach to Organisation Redesign

TECHNOLOGY

Systems
Automation
Processes

ADAPTABILITY
VARIABILITY
PREDICTABILITY

ORGANISATION

Flatter Structures
Central Support
Regional Autonomy

PEOPLE

Culture
Empowerment
Leadership

The TOP'S in figure 7.4 are clearly interrelated in that changes to one aspect has an impact on the other. The balance between the three is very fine and if too much emphasis is given to one aspect, then returns may be less than anticipated. For example, in the 1980's failure to recognise the people issues when implementing Materials Requirement Planning systems and Just in Time philosophies, resulted in costly high failure rates. In management of change programmes the important issue is recognising the importance and the interrelationship between the three areas. For example, whilst aspects of organisation and technology can be manipulated, because to a great extent they are predictable and variable and can be made to adapt, the people within an organisation are less easily manipulated, unpredictable and in many case will not readily adapt to change. It is for this reason that I have put a fourth dimension in the TOP approach which includes variability, adaptability and predictability. An understanding of the fourth dimension, particularly in relation to culture is an important issue when trying to introduce global changes.

In the Bass case the strategic changes involved changes through the introduction of new technology and a restructured organisation. This was intended as a move away from the old style functional hierarchy towards flatter process driven structures. The overall strategy also included a planned move away from a centrally command driven organisation, to a regional structure which would have a great deal of autonomy, and be empowered to make regional decisions with the support of the Burton Headquarters. Additionally, and as stated in the Bass Brewers Mission Statement, in order to maintain a leading edge in the beer market, "we will create an entrepreneurial culture in a company which anticipates, responds to and shapes change in the market place".

The introduction of new technology and the major changes in the organisation structure, from traditional hierarchy to one which focused on processes, required support from all levels in the organisation. As indicated in Figure 7.4, the key people issues to emerge in strategic change programmes are those relating to leadership control, empowerment and

culture. For example, effective leadership and managerial control in organisations is required in order to satisfy business objectives particularly in terms of performance and profitability. In times of crises or economic difficulties the effectiveness of the leader becomes much more critical. This was seen to be the case in the Bass organisation following the MMC report. A decision was made that in order to transform the organisation to meet the new demands of the market place, a change programme would need a leader with a different vision. This resulted in the appointment of a new Chief Executive of Bass Brewers and subsequent changes at Board level.

In the past, leaders and their management teams have adopted many techniques in an attempt to gain control and maintain the support of their subordinates. For many years the use of 'scientific management', 'bureaucratic' and 'humanistic' control mechanisms proved to be adequate in a system of tightly controlled operations. Throughout the 80's there was a significant shift towards the belief that gaining control of an organisation's culture and fostering a shared value philosophy with the workforce, would lead to improved performance. In the 90's culture control is still seen as a method of gaining control through total commitment from a more amenable workforce which will more readily work jointly with management towards satisfying business objectives.

It is believed that effective leadership, particularly at the highest level, is a key issue in changing an organisation's culture and in gaining and sustaining subordinate commitment. To achieve this commitment, the beliefs and values of the leader, which are generally written into the company mission statement, are adopted by managers, middle managers and their subordinates. The research findings indicate that, within a centrally command driven organisation, a top down approach based on the notion of a single homogeneous culture concept, is not likely to reach the 'hearts and minds' of all subculture members within the business. The notion that leaders can change an organisation's cultures is also questionable in the light of the research findings. For example, the many changes at senior management level over a 30 year period, appeared

to have little impact on the attitudes, values and beliefs of the subculture members. Although leadership changes have had an impact on the strategic direction of the business, which has resulted in changes in working practices, it would appear that the subcultures are more influenced by a complicated web linked to their local cultures.

It is recognised that strategic changes to business operations and 'required' shifts in culture requires effective leadership. Leaders are required to manage and control aspects of the business which may have an impact on organisational performance. It is the 'control' element where there appears to be some contradiction and ambiguity. In many culture change programmes emphasis and attributes of success in relation to leadership are seen as autonomy, entrepreneurship, empowerment, decentralisation, and a general move from tight managerial control. This issue was raised in Chapter 6 where a continuum of acceptance was drawn to represent the subordinate responses to managerial approaches, see Figure 7.5.

Figure 7.5   Continuum of Acceptance

I - - - - - - - - - - - - - SUBORDINATE RESPONSE - - - - - - - - - - - - - I

Rejection	Compliance	Identification	Internalisation

Degree of Central
Control

Degree of Autonomy and
Empowerment

Tight Mgmt Control	Coercive Mgmt Control	Charismatic Leadership	Shared Values and Beliefs Philosophy

I - - - - - - - - - - - - - MANAGEMENT APPROACH - - - - - - - - - - - - - I

There are many definitions of empowerment throughout the management of change literature. In the business sense and as defined in the Bass Brewers Management of Change Programme, empowerment is considered to be:

*   providing guidelines for individuals to take initiative in providing
        excellent customer service.

*   risk taking, but with accountability.

*   trust.

Figure 7.5 is based on an assumption that the degree of autonomy and empowerment provided by management could be a key to the internalisation or total acceptance of the proposed changes, and total commitment to maintenance of the changes. It is not argued that such an approach will change the culture of a subunit, it is argued that such an approach could provide an environment in which subcultures can adapt to change more readily.

Although the Bass programme was intended to move away from a 'centrally command driven organisation', in reality the organisation has become more centrally command led than before the changes. Quotes from managers at all levels when asked about the changes included "empowered to do as we are told" and "you can make any decision as long as it is approved by the centre". Many of these general views from managers, came out of frustration at not being given a clear lead as their level of control in their particular subunit.

The findings from the research support recent research findings by Ezzamel, Lilley and Willmott (1993 p99) who caution on the 'new wave' organisation and argue that:

"Behind the facilitate-and-empower facade of many companies, the realities of the old philosophy of command-and-control lie concealed."

The research, conducted in 1992 and covering interviews with a sample of the Times 1000 companies, identified that although many middle managers were capable of taking on more responsibility, many senior managers did not want to give it away. The researchers, through in-depth interviews, found that there was a "widespread reluctance, particularly at the top, to dilute or weaken hierarchical control".

To a great extent the reluctance to relinquish power and control is linked to past leadership theory, which perceived an effective leader as being concerned with directly and closely controlling subordinates. The early leadership theorists took a managerialist position in that traditional leadership theory focused, at least in part, on the leader as controller over aspects of the followers' environment such as rewards, punishments and limits of authority (Gill and Farrar 1993).

There are many reasons for the unwillingness of managers to empower or give their subordinates more responsibility and accountability. The problem seems to be linked to the historical view of what a manager's role is, it would appear that 'to control' is still perceived as being a key management task. For example, many leaders believe control over subordinates to be a key task in their role as a manager and leader. Empowering, for example, takes away the traditional 'controlling' element of leadership which is seen as a loss in authority. This is not surprising, particularly in a situation where an organisation is delayering and moving away from functional to process structures. In this situation insecure managers become very protective of their responsibilities.

A key point, and particularly in relation to the findings in the Bass organisation, is that if leaders are trying to gain commitment to change, then the fostering of empowerment,

accountability and the decentralisation of operations must be seen to be working. The use of tight controls by senior managers in pursuit of improved performance, may result in rejection of the mission by lower level managers and their subordinates. The research findings indicate that behavioural compliance is widespread at levels below the main Board. As discussed, behavioural compliance is not a change in culture or culture control as it is often perceived, it can be seen as a senior management illusion of culture control.

It is accepted that the organisation's mission and vision will be generated by senior management, however, the acceptance of the mission may be dependent upon the process by which the new vision is delivered and the degree of control given to lower levels in the hierarchy. Figure 7.6 shows that, a possible approach, through a process of decentralisation, autonomy and empowerment, subcultures may be more likely to accept the organisation's mission and adapt to meet business objectives.

Figure 7.6 Internalisation of Changes Through Empowered Subcultures

Throughout the literature on organisational culture there is great debate as to whether culture can be controlled and if it can be controlled can it be a source of improved performance and competitive advantage. The answer seems to be that culture assumed or defined as a variable, and as observable behaviour in the form of measurable work, can be a source of improved performance. However, the monolithic view of culture, which is linked to the 'strong culture hypothesis' prescribed by the early work of Peters and Waterman's 'In Search of Excellence' and Deal and Kennedy's 'Corporate Cultures', tends to be a superficial view of culture in organisations. The unitary concept of culture tends to lead to a mechanistic approach which is largely manipulative and coercive in order to achieve changes in behaviour. This approach tends not to address the deeper roots of culture in terms of beliefs, values and attitudes and the key issue of possibly counter productive subcultures.

There are many aspects to the concept of culture in organisational settings, some of which are tangible and therefore can be measured and controlled and others which are intangible and therefore less obvious for measurement and control. Changes in working practices are controllable and therefore performance can be measured and to a great extent manipulated. A sustained higher performance is more likely to result from subordinates readily accepting change and accepting the organisation's mission. In large geographically dispersed organisations, the various subcultures are important aspects of the overall culture in terms of their contribution to profitability.

The indications from the Bass fieldwork are that there is a relationship between subculture types and organisational performance. The question relating to culture management is linked, to a great extent, to how culture is defined. For example, if culture is defined in relation to observable behaviour and linked to performance then culture is a measurable variable and can be manipulated and controlled. If culture is defined as part of the thought process and relates to systems of shared ideas and meanings then culture is intangible, difficult to measure and difficult to change. A

- 313-

more sensible approach is to consider culture as both in the minds of organisational members (beliefs, values and ideas), and in the actions of organisational members (organisation practices).

Senior management tend to view 'culture change' in terms of new mission statements, new structures and new managers, all of which are 'controllable'. When the mission and structures have been established new managers are recruited and a socialisation process ensures conformity. Internalisation of changes at the lower levels in the organisation, as indicated in the research, appears to be more linked to the complex nature of the subculture in terms of its location and history.

The notion of empowering the workforce, decentralisation and the development of autonomous regions in order to develop a shared value system in a monoculture would appear to be a contradiction in terms. Organisations do have corporate beliefs and values and leadership visions which are usually built into mission statements and communication networks. However, the research findings indicate that organisations are not monolithic cultures, they are built up of subunits or subcultures which may or may not follow the corporate philosophy. Rather than trying to change or control these subcultures, the introduction of empowerment, decentralisation and regional autonomy may be a route to subordinate self control which could facilitate subcultures owning problems and more readily adapting to change. This approach is not a new approach, it is in fact the approach being pursued by Bass Brewers as part of the Management of Change programme. However, as discussed previously, gaining control appears to rest easier with management rather than relinquishing it. A major problem appears to be linked to the realisation that it is difficult to have a policy of empowerment and autonomy in a heavily centrally command driven organisation. The research has shown that Bass Brewers, although they consider decentralisation as a positive strategy towards a wider acceptance of change, are finding the idea of moving away from a centrally command driven operation to be difficult.

Bass Brewers, over a five year period, has made many changes to the way in which it provides goods and services to its customers. The major changes have been in the form of a new leader, new managers from 'outside' the organisation at Board and Senior Management level, the restructuring of all functions, delayering, and the introduction of new technology. The major proposals within the 'Management of Change Programme' were the 'creation' of a 'new' Bass culture which would focus on customer service, and the fostering of empowerment in the regions through a decentralised operation. It is evident from the research that an approach to culture change which concentrates on creating a single homogeneous culture does not fit easily with a policy of power and control to the regions. Whilst middle managers and subordinates in the regional subcultures are prepared to accept control, the senior managers in the centre are not prepared to let go.

Finally, a question posed by Ogbonna (1993 p94), "does it matter to management whether or not the behaviours generated are based on internalised values"?. In reality, as found by Ogbonna and Wilkinson (1988) in their research into the UK supermarket industry, the answer is that managements are satisfied to achieve behavioural compliance. This in part appears to be the case in the Bass fieldwork where changes in observable behaviour are seen as an acceptable level of 'culture control'. A disturbing issue is that, if managements are only interested in observable behaviour which is concomitant with the strategic changes, why go to great lengths to convince the workforce that a shared value philosophy will provide individuals with greater freedom and control of their own destinies. Willmott (1993 p526), links the notion of corporate culturism with Oceania in George Orwell's Nineteen Eighty Four:

"In corporate culturism, respect for the individual is equated with complying with the values of the corporate culture. To challenge the values enshrined in this respect is a crime against the culture. Here there is a direct parallel between the discipline of strong

corporate cultures and Party discipline in Nineteen Eighty Four, exemplified in 'crimestop', which Orwell characterises as":

"the faculty of stopping short as though by instinct at the threshold of any dangerous thought...of being bored or repelled by any train of thought which is capable of leading in a heretical direction" (Orwell, 1989 p220).

The danger is that the notion of the single culture in organisations will lead or has led to a more authoritarian type of control than was the original intention. If the notion of a single homogeneous culture is one of a long list of manipulative managerial panaceas for total control, it is time to move on. The thesis suggests that the recognition of multiple cultures, which have their own sets of attitudes beliefs and values, and which may not fit the corporate ideals, is a key issue in the understanding of culture. Gaining a better understanding of culture in organisations, could be a sensible starting point in a move away from the 'single homogeneous culture concept'. This may lead to a 'management' notion that 'culture is for understanding not for changing'.

7.5   Further Research - Understanding and Empowering Subcultures

Although the Bass research was concentrated in one specific area, that is the Distribution function, and identified three different culture types, it is more than likely that similar subcultures would be found in the other regional functions.

Empirical research in the area of organisational subcultures and their impact on management of change and organisational performance is still very sparse. In order to understand the nature of subcultures it is important that more research is carried out with the main focus on the subculture rather than the corporate culture. This may lead to a clearer understanding of the complexities of the culture concept in organisational settings. Until more research is carried out in this area, culture will generally be viewed

from the corporate level which only provides a surface view of culture in the organisational setting.

The research in the Distribution function revealed the existence of geographical subcultures in the depots which had emerged historically from links with Breweries, declining industries and the nature of the area. To a great extent the research was limited in that the focus was on one function and predominantly one geographical area, that is the Distribution function in the Bass North Region. However, what emerged from the research was a view that the dominant culture in an organisation may not be the corporate culture, the findings indicate that in many cases the culture of the area is the dominant culture. With this in mind, and on reflection, it may be more fruitful for researchers to investigate in more depth the links between regional subcultures and the external culture of the location . This may provide a clearer understanding of the formation, development and decline of organisational subcultures. More importantly, it may provide valuable decision making information for organisations seeking to relocate or expand their business.

In view of my findings it is likely that, within Bass and other similar organisations, regional subcultures exist in all functions and divisions within the functions. Additionally the research revealed that subculture groupings were linked to rural and urban settings. For example, the 'negative' cultures were situated in urban areas which had long histories of industrial activity for example Sheffield (Steel), Liverpool (Docks), Newcastle (Ship Building) and Tadcaster (Brewing). As indicated above further research is required on the external influences on subcultural activity in organisations.

Although mentioned only briefly, Business Process Re-engineering (BPR) is gaining momentum in both the financial and manufacturing areas of business in the United Kingdom. BPR is seen as the latest 'panacea' which will provide a sustained competitive advantage through the use of advanced technology, the introduction of TQM and a

fundamentally new way at looking at the business from a 'process view' rather than a 'functional view'. Reported implementations of BPR in the United States show a failure rate of 80% and is attributable to people issues. It would still appear that over zealous executives in search of competitive advantage are still failing to get to grips with the complexities of culture and subcultures within organisations.

In October 1993 I attended a 2 day conference in London on Business Process re-engineering. The programme was represented by 16 major manufacturing and service organisations in the UK:

Manufacturing	**Service**
Rover Cars	National Westminster
Lucas Engineering	Barclays Bank
Rank Xerox	Midland Bank
Texas Instruments	Abbey National
British Telecom	Nationwide
Motorola	National & Provincial
ICL	Sun Alliance
Ford	Western Provident

Sixteen speakers from the above organisations presented case studies on implementing BPR in their respective organisations. All speakers made reference to changing the culture as in the 'corporate culture with no reference made to regional subcultures. Understanding the complexities of culture through subcultural analysis is more complex than assuming a single corporate culture. Subcultures are the backbone of an organisation and are capable of affecting business performance in both a positive and negative way. It is important that more research is carried out in this area which may provide the key to improved performance through the understanding and empowerment of the organisational subcultures.

Throughout the research it has been argued that an 'insider's view of culture is one way of gaining an understanding of culture at all levels within the organisation. It is considered that this approach may yield better results in terms of understanding culture, as opposed to research by an 'outsider'. In the Bass case, one possible approach may be to use internal managers on project research into it's organisational subcultures. This approach could be used as a means of increasing learning and understanding, and as a catalyst for more sophisticated change.

Agar M (1980)
The Professional Stranger - New York: Academic Press

Allaire Y & Firsirotu M E (1984)
Theories of Organisational Culture - Organisation Studies, 1984, Volume 5, No. 3, pp193-226

Clark B R (1972)
The Organisational Saga in Higher Education - Administrative Science Quarterly No 17: pp 178-184

Ezzamel, Lilley & Willmott (1993)
Be Wary of the New Waves - Management Today, October pp99-102

Freilich M (1970)
Marginal Natives - New York: Wiley

Gill J & Farrar S (1992)
Leadership as Developing Subordinate Self-control and Managing Without Managers (occasional paper no. 6, Sheffield Business School, Sheffield City Polytechnic)

Gill J & Whittle S (1993)
Management By Panacea: Accounting for Transience - Journal of Management Studies Vol 30 No 2 March, pp 281-295

Gregory K L (1983)
Native View Paradigms: Multiple Cultures and Culture Conflicts in Organisations - Administrative Science Quarterly 28, pp339-376

Hofstede G, Neuijen B, Ohayv DD & Sanders G (1990)
Measuring Organisational Cultures: A Qualitative and Quantitative Study Across Twenty Cases Administrative Science Quarterly, 35: pp286-316

Louis M R (1985)
An investigator's Guide to Workplace Culture -in- Organisational Culture ed. P J Frost et al, Sage Publications.

Martin J & Siehl C (1983)
Organisational Culture and Counterculture: An uneasy symbiosis - Organisational Dynamics 12, pp52-64

Mayo E (1983)
The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilisation - New York Macmillan

McGregor D (1960)
The Human Side of Enterprise - New York: McGraw Hill

Meyerson D and Martin J (1987)
Cultural Change: An Integration of Three Different Views - Journal of Management Studies 24:6 pp623-647

Morgan G (1986)
Images of Organisations - Sage Publications

MMC Report (1989)
The Supply of Beer - A report on the supply of beer for retail sale in the United Kingdom. Her Majesty's Stationery Office

Ogbonna E (1993)
Organisation Culture and Human Resource Management: Dilemmas and Contradictions - In Re-assessing Human Resource Management, edited by Blyton and Turnball - Sage Publications

Pettigrew A M (1979)
On Studying Organisational Cultures - Administrative Science Quarterly 24 pp 570-581

Reynolds P D (1986)
Organisational Culture as Related to Industry, Position and Performance: A Preliminary Report - Journal of Management Studies 23:3 May, pp333-345

Roethlisberger F J & Dickson W J (1939)
Management and the Worker: An Account of a Research Programme Conducted by a Western Electric Company, Hathorne Works, Chicago, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Sackmann S A (1992)
Cultures and Subcultures: An analysis of Organisational Knowledge - Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol 37, March pp140 -161

Smircich L (1983)
Concepts of Culture and Organisational Analysis - Administrative Science Quarterly 28, pp339-358

Selznick P (1957)
Leadership in Administration - Evanston: Row Peterson

Schein (1984)
Coming to a New Awareness of Organisational Culture - Sloan Management Review, pp 3-16

Thackeray J (1993)
Fads, Fixes, and Fictions - Management Today June pp40-42

Willmott H (1993)
Strength is Ignorance; Slavery is Freedom: Managing Culture in Modern Organisations - Journal of Management Studies 30:4, pp 515-552

APPENDICES

DISTRIBUTION FUNCTION

```
                        ┌──────────────┐
                        │ DISTRIBUTION │
                        │  DIRECTOR    │
                        └──────┬───────┘
                               │
  ┌──────────┬──────────┬──────┴──────┬──────────┬──────────────┐
  │          │          │             │          │              │
REGIONAL   GENERAL   REGIONAL     DISTRIBUTION  REGIONAL    REGIONAL FLEET
DISTRIBUTION MANAGER DISTRIBUTION  BOND MANAGER DISTRIBUTION   ENGINEER
MANAGER              MANAGER                    MANAGER
```

Box	Contents
DIST. MANAGER	ABERGELE
DIST. MANAGER	PORTMADOC
DIST. MANAGER	LEYLAND
DIST. MANAGER	HUTTON
DIST. MANAGER	BARROW
DIST. MANAGER	BURY
DIST. MANAGER	COLNE
DIST. MANAGER	SHEFFIELD
DIST. MANAGER	SEAFORD
DIST. MANAGER	GRIMSBY
DIST. MANAGER	HEBBURN
DIST. MANAGER	EAGLESCLIFFE
DIST. MANAGER	TADCASTER
DIST. MANAGER	SCARBOROUGH
DIST. MANAGER	HULL

Under GENERAL MANAGER:
- REGIONAL STOCK CONTROLLER
- VEHICLE ADMIN MANAGER
- CAR CO-ORDINATOR
- TELESALES MANAGER
- SERVICE PROJECTS MANAGER

Under REGIONAL FLEET ENGINEER:
GARAGE MANAGERS
- BURY
- HEBBURN
- HUTTON
- SHEFFIELD
- TADCASTER

MAY 1990

i

DEFINITION OF CHANGE

TEAM A	TEAM B	TEAM C

* Moving from old to new
 	
* Upheaval
 	
* Metamorphosis
 	
* Adapting to external forces/ environment/pressures
 	
* Different ways of doing things to potentially improve performance and effectiveness
 	
* Grasping opportunities
 	
* Increasing response times
 	
* Keeping ahead of competitors ie. competitive advantage
 	
* Incremental or planned or emergent
	* Process by which current situation is altered
	
	* Mechanism which enables company to respond to external/ internal pressures of the business
	
	* Change is breaking from the past and adapting to the future (attitudes/methods/structures/ response times/skills)
	
	* Change is vital in a dynamic environment
		* A different way of doing things (not necessarily better!)
		
		* Different methods
		
		* Different levels of change:
		
		  - strategic
		  - local procedures/ operations)
		  - individual (ways of working/ responsibilities)
		
		* New approaches to current problems
		
		* An attack on an individuals security
		
		* A way of improving the current situation
		
		* An opportunity to improve performance against currently accepted standards
		
		* A challenge

DEFINITION OF CULTURE - PAST & FUTURE

TEAM A

PAST	FUTURE
* Happy family * Reactive * Defensive * Secure * Loyalty * Regionally autocratic * Local culture * Caring company * Traditionally conservative	* Proactive * Aggressive * Team/individualistic * Mercenary * Centrally autocratic (Dr T Portno) * Central culture * Head counts * Dynamic

TEAM B

PAST	FUTURE
* Relaxed * Complacent * Pub oriented * Comfortable * Traditional * Secure * 'Blue Chip' * Regionalised * Hierarchical * Autocratic * 'Sloppy' * Paternalistic	* Tense * Disciplined * Entrepreneurial * More 'competitive' (market oriented) * Insecure * Results oriented * Centralised * 'Flatter' structure * With much more * Centralised control/direction * Standardised * Meritocracy

Management Services Department
April 1993

SESSION 1 - UNDERSTANDING CHANGE

DEFINITION OF CULTURE - PAST & FUTURE

__TEAM C__

PAST	FUTURE
* Steady * Relaxed * Family approach to employees (individual loyalty) * Limited change * Long term/gradual change * Fear/strength of union power * Arrogant attitude to market/lack of customer awareness * Non integration of functions * Limited communications * Non integrated objectives (TCB, W&W, Bass North)	* Dynamic * Competitive/aggressive * Customer oriented * Committed to change * Short/medium/long term change goals * Aware of union power (restricted through recession) * Cross functional working * Common goals and objectives * Team working

GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF RESEARCH SITES

HEBBURN (NEWCASTLE)

BARROW

COLNE

LEYLAND

BURY

HUYTON
(LIVERPOOL)

ABERGELE

PORTMADOC

EAGLESCLIFFE

TADCASTER

SCARBOROUGH

HULL

GRIMSBY

SHEFFIELD

SLEAFORD

FIELDWORK QUESTIONNAIRE - SEMI STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

This document is a precis of the semi structured interviews carried out at the 15 Distribution Depots (stage 1 of the thesis).

1. General Questions

   * Background information (career history)
   * Depot details - operations etc
   * Training/qualifications

2. Information Technology

   * Current Systems (Distribution Support System)

   * How did you manage the introduction of the DSS system?

   * What specific problems if any did you experience with the introduction?

   * How did you sell DSS to your subordinates?

   * Future Systems (PC on desk networks etc)

   * How did you feel about the proposed £100m spend on IT?

   * How do you think it will affect your management ability in terms of decision making, planning and communicating etc?

3. Leadership/Management Style

   * How would you describe your management style?

   * What style do you think the ideal manager should adopt?

   * Does the style of your supervisor or his superior affect your leadership style?

   * Do you think your style affects the way your subordinates perform?

   * In view of changes in Bass ie. IT developments, TQM BS5750, salaried pay schemes, distribution strategic review, and the MMC report does this affect the way in which you manage?

   * Does culture affect your leadership style?

   * Fill in PPA form.

4. <u>Motivation</u>

* How do you motivate your staff?

* How do you motivate the shop floor team?

* Is there any difference if so, what?

* Do you practice teamwork? - staff/shop floor interface.

* What do you think motivates your subordinates?

5. <u>Decision Making</u>

* What kind of decisions does the job involve? long term/short term, complex/simple.

* How much authority do you have to make decisions?

* At what level of problem do you pass on to a higher authority level, ie. Regional Distribution Manager/Distribution Director.

6. <u>Payment Systems</u>

* What is the current payment system in operation?

* If salaried scheme, is this working effectively?

* If incentive type scheme, is this working effectively?

* Does the type of scheme affect the way in which you manage operations?

* If not a salaried scheme do you feel longer term that staff status for all is a realistic target?

7. <u>Management of Change</u>

* In view of the dynamic situation Bass/the Brewing Industry is in, how do you see all this change affecting your position?

* How will you manage the envisaged changes brought about by the information of:-

  - Information Technology?
  - Total Quality Initiative (TQM BS5750)?
  - Distribution Strategic Schemes?
  - Proposal from the MMC Report?

8. <u>Planning/Work Activity</u>

* How specialised is the job?

* Does the job require a great deal of planning?

* What is your average daily workload?

* What are your main contacts, internal and external?

* Where are the main methods of communication?

RESTRICTIVE PRACTICES - HUYTON DEPOT

1. Third load mid-week guarantees Saturday work for everybody.
   ie. transport will only deliver two loads per day unless Saturday work is involved.
2. No customer collections.
3. No one handed deliveries for bulk loads.
4. Use of non standard keg/cask Loading Sheet.
5. Warehouse start times - 0730 hrs (payment made).
6. Transport start times - 0800 hrs.
7. Ten, third or emergency loads, loaded by warehouse - every man present receives two hours overtime.
8. Third tip payment made to transport personnel.
9. No pre-loading.
10. No unloading of empties ready for following day.
11. With regard to Saturday work, personnel must be informed by Thursday morning. The number of loads must be finalised by Friday morning.
12. Transport crews are paid job and finish, this leads to cutting corners.
13. Warehouse guaranteed two hours supplementary pay per day whether the hours are worked or not.
14. Transport crews payments- three men's pay is paid to two men for fulls, empties or ullage.
15. Emergency is classed only as a minimum required to keep account trading until next day and can be refused.
16. No clocking in or out - Transport/Warehouse.
17. FLTs loading both keg and smallpack on rear of vehicle.
18. No communication to depot regarding non-deliveries from Transport personnel.
19. No staggered starts.
20. If a transport man fails to attend for work, the load to be dropped is the van load.
21. Will not deliver to the Wirral via the tunnel twice in one day.
22. Will not deliver to the same area twice in one day.
23. Work load is not allocated, it is drawn out of a hat.
24. Both loads AM/PM must be allocated together.
25. No changing of PM loads after allocation.
26. No adding to loads after allocation.
27. Will not pull out ullage when wet conditions.
28. Minimum fourteen tonnes restrictions per crew per day.
29. Will not wait at supermarkets and wholesalers for any reasonable amount of time.
30. Emergency deliveries are normally in local area only.
31. Personnel finishing at different times.
32. On Saturday all warehouse personnel attend regardless of number of loads working.
33. Warehouse will not lighten any vehicle required for servicing.

BASS BREWERS MISSION STATEMENT

1. Our primary objective is to establish an increasingly pre-eminent position in the UK beer market.

    We also intend to attain a leading position in the European beer market.

2. We will achieve these objects by the following means.

    We will own an unrivalled range of brands.

    We will provide our customers with quality value and service second to none.

    We will be highly cost competitive.

    We will attract develop and motivate a team of people of outstanding quality who will share the success they generate.

    We will create an entrepreneurial culture in a company which anticipates, responds to and shapes change in the market place.

3. In pursuing these objectives we will achieve superior financial performance and attractive returns for shareholders.

ORGANISATION STRUCTURE (SEPTEMBER 1990)

```
                        ┌──────────────┐
                        │    CHIEF     │
                        │  EXECUTIVE   │
                        │  R MANNERS   │
                        └──────┬───────┘
   ┌──────────┬──────────┬─────┴─────┬──────────┬──────────┐
┌──┴───┐  ┌───┴────┐ ┌───┴────┐ ┌────┴───┐ ┌────┴─────┐ ┌──┴─────┐
│FINANCE│  │DISTRI- │ │COMMER- │ │MD BASS │ │PRODUCTION│ │PERSONNEL│
│M P    │  │BUTION  │ │ICAL    │ │UK      │ │TECHNICAL │ │A SMITH  │
│CHILDS │  │J DEAVIN│ │V KEHOE │ │E       │ │R RICKETTS│ │         │
│       │  │        │ │        │ │MATTHEWS│ │          │ │         │
└───────┘  └────────┘ └────────┘ └────────┘ └──────────┘ └────────┘
```

ORGANISATION STRUCTURE (CURREND)

```
                          ┌──────────────┐
                          │    CHIEF     │
                          │  EXECUTIVE   │
                          │ DR A D PORTNO│
                          └──────┬───────┘
                                 │
   ┌──────┬──────┬──────┬────────┼────────┬──────┬──────┬──────┐
   │      │      │      │        │        │      │      │      │
┌──┴──┐┌──┴──┐┌──┴──┐┌──┴──┐  ┌──┴──┐  ┌──┴──┐┌──┴──┐┌──┴──┐┌──┴──┐
```

| FINANCE P THOMAS | CUSTOMER SERVICE & SALES J S G FOWDEN | TECHNICAL J E M GUTHRIE | PERSONNEL A SMITH | INFORMATION SERVICES M FISHER | LOGISTICS M T SOUTHWELL | BUSINESS INFORMATION J R DEAVIN | MARKETING S McBRIDE |

Bass Brewers

EMPLOYEE COMMUNICATIONS CHARTER

Bass Brewers' communications policy commits us to providing staff (by which we mean all employees) with open, honest, timely information about the company's progress and plans and on issues affecting their jobs, working environment and career prospects. We believe that fostering staff involvement in the success of the business and in understanding and implementing strategy is in the interests of the whole company.

STAFF CAN EXPECT A communications lead from the top - the Chief Executive and Board ■ Valuable line and cross-functional information ■ Encouragement of feedback and careful consideration of suggestions.

ON THE FOLLOWING SUBJECTS Good and bad news ■ Objectives, plans and decisions ■ Economic background and impact of external forces ■ As much as commercially possible on sensitive matters.

BY THE FOLLOWING MEANS Primarily team briefing/face to face discussions ■ Range of other media including bulletins, newspaper, videos, conferences, well-planned and professionally produced.

IN RETURN, ALL STAFF WILL BE EXPECTED TO Participate in the briefing process and training ■ Foster team spirit and cross functional co-operation ■ Provide and encourage feedback throughout the company.

All managers will be accountable for the quality of communications to their direct reports.

In addition, the Board will guarantee to monitor the effectiveness of the Bass Brewers communication strategy and take all steps to achieve its stated communications aims.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ackroyd S & Crowdy P A (1990)
Can Culture be Managed? - Personnel Review, Volume 19, No. 5 pp3-13

Agar M (1980)
The Professional Stranger - New York: Academic Press

Allaire Y & Firsirotu M E (1984)
Theories of Organisational Culture - Organisation Studies, 1984, Volume 5, No. 3 pp193-226

Anthony P D (1990)
The Paradox of the Management of Culture or 'He Who Leads is Lost': Personnel Review 19,4 pp3-8

Argyris C & Schon D A (1978)
Organisational Learning - Addison Wesley

Baker E L (1980)
Managing Organisational Culture - Management Review, July 1980 pp 8-13

Barley S R, Meyer G W & Gash D C
Cultures of Cultures: Academics Practitioners of Normative Control - Administrative Science Quarterly Vol 33, 1988, pp24-60

Barney J B (1986)
Organisational Culture: Can it be a Source of Sustained Competitive Advantage? Acadamy of Management Review Vol 11 No 3, pp 656-665

Bass Brewers News (1991)
New Head for Bass Brewers - Issue No 4, pp 1-2

Beck B (1970)
Cooking Welfare Studies in : Habenstein R W (Ed), Pathways to Data, Chicago, Aldine pp7-29

Benedict R (1934)
Patterns of Culture - Houghton Mifflin

Beynon H (1973)
Working for Ford, Penguin, Harmondsworth

Blumer H (1969)
Symbolic interactionism : Perspective and Method - Prentice Hall

Boas F (1948)
Race, Language, and Culture. New York: MacMillan.

Bogdan R & Taylor S J (1975)
Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods, New York, Wiley

Burns T & Stalker CM (1961)
The Management of Innovation. New York: Barnes and Noble

Burrell G & Morgan G (1979)
Sociological Paradigms and Organisational Analysis - Heinemann Educational Books

Carney T F (1979)
Content Analysis: A Technique for Systematic Inference from Communications, Winnipeg, Canada: University of Manitoba Press

Carroll (1983)
'A Disappointing Search for Excellence' - Harvard Business Review, No. 63 November-December, pp 78-88

Cassidy J (1993)
The Rise and Fall of IBM - Sunday Times - Business Focus 28 March

Chandler A D (1962)
Strategy and Structure - Cambridge, Mass, MIT Press

Chandler A D (1977)
The Visible Hand, The Managerial Revolution in American Business: Cambridge Mass: Press of Harvard University Press

Clark B R (1972)
The Organisational Saga in Higher Education - Administrative Science Quarterly No 17: pp 178-184

Cunnison S (1966)
Wages and Work Allocation, Tavistock, London

D'Andrade R G (1985)
Cultural Meaning Systems - Culture Theory
Eds. Shweder R A & LaVine R A - Cambridge University Press

Dalton M (1959)
Men Who Manage, Wiley, New York

Daniel W and Mcintosh N (1976)
The Right to Manage - McDonald & Co

Davis S M (1985)
Culture is Not Just an Internal Affair (Gaining Control of the Corporate Culture)
Kilmann et al - pp 137-147 - San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Deal T E & Kennedy A A (1982)
Corporate Cultures - Addison Wesley

Delany W (1960)
Some Field Notes on the Problem of Access in Organisational Research, Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol.5 No3,September. pp448-457

Dennison D (1984)
Bringing Corporate Culture to the Bottom Line - Organisation Dynamics 13 pp 5-22

Dyer W G (1985)
The Cycle of Cultural Evolution in Organisations - Gaining Control of the Corporate Culture - San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Edwardes M (1983)
Back From the Brink: An Apocalyptic Experience, Collins London

Ezzamel, Lilley & Wilmott (1993)
Be Wary of the New Waves - Management Today, October pp99-102

Farrar S (1988)
Materials Management in Manufacturing Organisations - Unpublished MSc Dissertation - Sheffield Business School

Faux V (1982)
Unobtrusive Controls in Organisations: An action research approach to change Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University Cambridge

Fayol H (1949)
General and Industrial Management, Pitman (first published in French in 1916)

Filley A C & House R W (1969)
Managerial Process and Organisational Behaviour - San Fransisco: Scott, Foresman

Filstead W J (1970)
Qualitative Methodology, Chicago: Rand McNally

Frame P G (1987
The Management of Stringency and the Nature of Organisational Sub-Cultures, Unpublished PhD thesis, Sheffield City Polytechnic

Freeman F H (1985)
Books that Mean Business: The Management Best Sellers - Acadamy of Management Review No 10, April pp 345-350

Freilich M (1970)
Marginal Natives - New York: Wiley

Geertz C (1973)
The Interpretation of Cultures - New York: Basic Books

Gill J & Farrar S (1992)
Leadership as Developing Subordinate Self-control and Managing Without Managers - Occasional Paper, Sheffield Business School

Gill J & Johnson P (1991)
Research Methods for Managers, Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd

Gill J & Whittle S (1993)
Management by Panacea : Accounting for Transience - Journal of Management Studies, Vol. 30, No.2, March pp 281-295

Glaser B G & Strauss A L (1967)
The Discovery of Grounded Theory, Aldine, Chicago

Glazer M (1972)
The Research Adventure - Promise and Problems of Field Work, New York, Random House

Gold R (1958)
Roles in Sociological Field Observation, Social Forces, Vol 36, No 3, pp 217-223

Goodenough W H (1957)
Culture, Anthropology and Linguistics. P.Garvin (ed) Washington DC

Goodenough W H (1961)
Comment on Cultural Evolution, Daedalus 90: pp 521-528

Gregory K L (1983)
Native View Paradigms: Multiple Cultures and Culture Conflicts in Organisations - Administrative Science Quarterly 28 pp359-376

Hammer M (1990)
Re-engineering Work: Don't Automate, Obliterate - Harvard Business Review July/August pp104-112

Hammersley M & Atkinson P (1983)
Ethnography: Principles in Practice, Tavistock, London

Handy C B (1981)
Understanding Organisations - Penguin Books

Harris M (1964)
The Nature of Cultural Things. New York: Random House

Harrison R (1972)
Understanding Your Organisational Character - Harvard Business Review pp 119-128

Hawkins K H (1978)
A History of Bass Charrington - University Press, Oxford.

Hofstede G, Neuijen B, Ohayv DD & Sanders G (1990)
Measuring Organisational Cultures: A Qualitative and Quantitative Study Across Twenty Cases
Administrative Science Quarterly, 35: pp286-316

Humphreys R (1991)
Bass view on the changing beer market - Brewing and Distilling International September pp70-71

IPM (1977)
Staff Status for All - IPM Publication

Jacques E (1952)
The Changing Culture of a Factory - New York: Dryden Press

Johnson P & Gill J (1993)
Management Control and Organisational Behaviour - Paul Chapman Publishing Limited

Johnson J D (1975)
Doing Field Research, New York Free Press.

Junker B H (1960)
Fieldwork, University of Chicargo Press

Kanter R M (1977)
Men and Women of the Corporation - New York: Basic Books

Katz D & Kahn RL (1966)
The Social Psychology of Organisations, John Wiley, New York.

Keesing R (1974)
Theories of Culture - Annual Review of Anthropology 3: pp73-97

Keesing R (1981)
Cultural Anthropology, A Contemporary Perspective - Holt, Rinehart & Winston

Kilmann R H, Saxtib M J, Serpa R & Associates (1985)
Gaining Control of the Corporate Culture - San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Kroeber A L & Kluckhohn C K (1952)
Culture: A Crtical Review of Concepts and Definitions - Peabody Museum of Archeology and Ethnology Papers, No 47, Cambridge: Harvard University

Lawrence PR & Lorch JW (1967)
Organisation and Environment, Boston: Harvard University Press.

LeVine R A (1985)
Properties of Culture - An Ethnographic View (Culture Theory) - pp 67-87
Eds. Shweder R A & LaVine R A - Cambridge University Press

Levi-Strauss C (1958)
Anthrapologie Structurale - Paris: Librairie Plon

Lorsch J W (1986)
Strategic Myopia: Culture of an Invisible Barrier to Change(Gaining Control of the Corporate Culture) in Kilmann et al - pp 84-102 - San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Louis M R (1981)
A Cultural Perspective on Organisations: the need for and consequences of viewing organisations as culture-bearing milieux - Human Systems Management, Volume 2 pp246-258

Louis M R (1985)
An Investigators Guide to Workplace Cultures - in:- Organisational Culture ed. P J Frost et al, Sage Publications

Lupton T and Gowler D (1969)
Selecting a Wage Payment System - Penguin

Maanen J V (1979)
The Fact of Fiction in Organisational Ethnography, Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol 24, Dec. pp 539-550

Maanen J V (1988)
Tales of the Field - The University of Chicago Press

Malinowski B (1944)
A Scientific Theory of Culture - Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press

Manning P K (1979)
Metaphors of the Field: Varieties of Organisational Discourse - Administrative Science Quarterly No 24 pp 660-671

Marshall J & McLean A (1985)
Exploring Organisation Culture as a Route to Organisational Change - Current Research in Management, ed. V Hammond - Francis Pinter Publishing Ltd

Martin J & Siehl C (1983)
Organisational Culture and Counterculture: An uneasy symbiosis - Organisational Dynamics 12(2): pp52-64

Mayo E (1983)
The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilisation - New York Macmillan

McGregor D (1960)
The Human Side of Enterprise - New York: McGraw Hill

Mead M (1959)
An Anthropologist at Work: Writings of Ruth Benedict. Boston: Houghton Mifflin

Meek V L (1988)
Organisation Culture: Origins and Weaknesses - Organisation Studies, 1988, Volume 9 No.4 pp-453-473

Meyerson D & Martin J (1987)
Cultural Change: An Integration of Three Different Views - Journal of Management Studies 24:6 November pp623-647

Mintzberg H (1973)
The Nature of Managerial Work, Harper & Row

Mintzberg H (1979)
An Emerging Strategy of Direct Research, Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol 24, Dec pp 582-589

Mitchell T R (1985)
In Search of Excellence Versus the Best 100 Companies to Work for in America: A Question of Perspective and Values - Acadamy of Management Review No 10, April, pp 350-355

Morgan G (1986)
Images of Organisations - Sage Publications

MMC Report (1989)
The Supply of Beer - A report on the supply of beer for retail sale in the United Kingdom. Her Majesty's Stationary Office

Miles B M (1979 p. 591)
Quantitative Data as an Attractive Nuisance: The Problem of Analysis; Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol 24, Dec. pp 590-600

Ogbonna E and Wilkinson B (1990)
Corporate Strategy and Corporate Culture: The View from the Checkout, Personnel Review, pp 9-15

Ogbonna E (1993)
Organisation Culture and Human Resource Management: Dilemmas and Contradictions - In Re-assessing Human Resource Management, edited by Blyton and Turnball - Sage Publications

Ouchi W (1981)
Theory 'Z' - Addison Wesley

Ouchi W & Johnson J B (1978)
Types of Organisational Control and Their Relationship to Emotional Well Being - Administrative Science Quarterly 23 June pp293-317

Owen C C (1992)
The Greatest Brewery in the World - A History of Bass, Ratcliffe and Gretton Derbyshire Record Society Vol XIX.

Pacanowsky M & Anderson J A (1981)
Cop Talk and Media Use - International Communication Association Convention - May

Pascale R (1985)
The Paradox of 'Corporate Culture': Reconciling Ourselves to Socialisation - California Management Review, Volume 27, No. 2, pp26-41

Pascale R & Athos A G (1981)
The Art of Japanese Management - New York, Simon & Schuster

Peters T J & Waterman R H (1982)
In Search of Excellence - Harper and Row

Pettigrew A M (1979)
On Studying Organisational Cultures - Administrative Science Quarterly 24 pp 570-581

Pettigrew A M (1985)
The Awakening Giant: Continuity and Change in ICI, Blackwell, Oxford

Pettigrew A M (1990)
Is Corporate Culture Managable - in Managing Organisations Eds Wilson D C & Rosenfeld R H - McGraw Hill Book Company

Popper K R (1968)
The Logic of Scientific Discovery, New York; Harper & Row

Radcliffe-Brown (1952)
Structure and Function in Primative Society - London: Dohen and West

Ray C A (1986)
Corporate Culture: The Last Frontier of Control - Journal of Management Studies 23.3 May, pp 287-297

Reynolds P D (1986)
Organisational Culture as Related to Industry, Position and Performance: A Preliminary Report - Journal of Management Studies 23:3 May pp333-345

Roethlisberger F J & Dickson W J (1939)
Management and the Worker: An Account of a Research Programme Conducted by a Western Electric Company, Hawthorne Works, Chicago, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Roy D (1952)
'Quota Restriction and Goldbricking in a Machine Shop' , American Journal of Sociology , Vol 57.

Rose R A (1988)
Organisations as Multiple Cultures: A Rules Theory Analysis - Human Relations, Volume 41 No. 2 pp139-170

Runkel P J & McGrath J E (1972)
Research on Human Behaviour: A Systematic Guide to Method, Holt Rinehart and Winston, New York

Sackmann S A (1991)
Cultural Knowledge in Organisations, Sage Publications

Sackmann S A (1992)

Cultures and Subcultures: An analysis of Organisational Knowledge - Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol 37, March pp140 -161

Saffold G S (1988)
Culture Traits, Strength, and Organisational Performance: Moving Beyond 'Strong' Culture - Acadamy of Management Review, Volume 13 No. 4 pp 546-557

Sanday P R (1979)
The Ethnographic Paradigm(s), Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol 24, Dec pp 527-538

Sathe V (1985)
How to Decipher and Change Corporate Culture in : Gaining Control of the Corporate Culture
Kilmann et al - pp 230-261 San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Schatzman L & Strauss A L (1973)
Field Research, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall

Schein E H (1983)
The Role of the Founder in Creating Organisational Culture - Organisational Dynamics, Summer pp 13-28

Schein E H (1984)
Coming to a New Awareness of Organisational Culture - Sloan Management Review, pp3-16

Schein E H (1985)
Organisational Culture and Leadership - Jossey Bass

Schneider B (1975)
Organisation Climates: 'An Essay' Personnel Psychology No 28: pp 447-479

Schwartz H & Davis S M (1981)
Matching Corporate Culture and Business Strategy - Organisation Dynamics, Summer pp30-48

Selznick P (1957)
Leadership in Administration - Evanston: Row Peterson

Selye H (1964)
From Dream to Discovery: On Being a Scientist, New York: McGraw-Hill

Shaw F (1984)
Lern Yerself Scouse - How to talk proper Liverpool, Scouse Press : Liverpool

Sieber S D (1976)
"A Synopsis and Critique of Guidelines for Qualitative Analysis Contained in Selected Text Books" New York Centre for Policy Research

Smith H W (1975)
Strategies of Social Research, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall

Smith P B and Peterson M E (1988)
Leadership, Organisations and Culture - Sage Publications

Soeters J L (1986)
Excellent Companies as Social Movements - Journal of Management Studies 23.3 May pp 299-312

Silverman D (1970)
The Theory of Organisations - London: Heinemann

Smircich L (1983)
Concepts of Culture and Organisational Analysis - Administrative Science Quarterly 28 pp339-358

Smircich L (1983)
Studying Organisations as Cultures - in:- Beyond Method, ed. Gareth Morgan, Sage Publications

Stanier R Y, Ingraham J L, Wheelis M L, Painter P R(1986)
General Microbiology - McMillan Prentice Hall

Steward J (1955)
Theory of Culture Change. Urbana: University of Illinois Press

Stinchcombe A (1965)
Social Structure and Organisation in Handbook of Organisations, J C March (ed) - Chicago: Rand McNally

Swartz M & Jordan D (1980)
Culture: An Anthropological Perspective - New York: Wiley

Tannenbaum R and Schmidt W H (1958)
How to Choose a Leadership Pattern - Harvard Business Review, March-April p96

Taylor F W (1972)
Scientific Management, Greenwood Press

Tichy N M (1983)
Managing Strategic Change - Wiley

Tichy N M & Ulrich D (1984)
The Leadership Challenge - A Call for theTransformational Leadership - Sloan Management Review Fall pp59-68

Thackeray J (1993)
Fads, Fixes, and fictions - Management Today June pp 40-42

Tunstall W B (1986)
The Breakup of the Bell System - A Case Study in Cultural Transformation - California Management Review, No 2 pp 110-124

Turner B A (1971)
Exploring the Industrial Sub-Culture, Macmillan

Turner B A (1983)
The Use of Grounded Theory for the Qualitative Analysis of Organisational Behaviour,
Journal of Management Studies 20, 3, 1983 pp 333-348

Turner S P (1977)
Complex Organisations as Savage Tribes - Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, No 7
(April): pp 99-125

Turner S P (1983)
Studying Organisation Through Levis-Strauss's Structuralism - In Gareth Morgan (ed),
Beyond Method: Social Research Strategies - Beverley Hills CA - Sage Publications

Tylor E B (1924)
Primitive Culture - (first published in 1871) Gloucester, MA: Smith

Van Maanan J (1979)
The Fact and Fiction in Organisational Ethnography - Administrative Science Quarterly 24
pp539-550

Van Maanen J & Barley S (1984)
Occupational Communities: Culture and Control in Organisations - in: B M Staw and L L
Cummings (eds), Research in Organisational Behaviour Volume 6 - Greenwich, C T : JAI
Press

Wallace AFC (1970)
Culture and Personality. New York : Random House.

White L A (1959)
The Concept of Culture. American Anthropologist, 61, pp 227 - 251

Wilkins A L (1983)
The Culture Audit: A Tool for Understanding Organisations - Organisational Dynamics,
Autumn pp24-38

Wilkins A L & Dyer W G (1988)
Toward Culturally Sensitive Theories of Culture Change - Academy of Management Review
Volume 13 No.4, pp522-533

Willmott H (1993)
Strength is Ignorance; Slavery is Freedom: Managing Culture in Modern Organisations -
Journal of Management Studies 30:4, pp515-552

Williams (1993)
Nuts and Bolts Man - Personnel Today, January, pp22-23

Whyte (1943)
Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum, Chicago: Chicago University
Press