Introducing total quality management : a change in management ideology

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INTRODUCING TOTAL QUALITY MANAGEMENT

A CHANGE IN MANAGEMENT IDEOLOGY

Graeme Mansel Ridgeway M.Sc.

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

JUNE 1997

Collaborating Organisation : ILFORD LIMITED
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ABSTRACT

Total Quality Management (TQM) is a phenomena of the eighties. According to Pascale (1990), it has received more publicity than any other management innovation. Its level of popularity seems only to be rivalled by the variety of ways it manifests itself to managers and academics.

This thesis is an explanatory case study (Hamel 1993; Yin 1994), based on research into one company's efforts to introduce Total Quality Management to their organisation. The research task was to explain the changes being brought about within the researcher's employing company, Ilford Limited, a photographic materials manufacturer, during six years of TQM adoption.

The exploration of different perspectives that would explain the organisational changes being studied were primarily driven by a search for 'useful knowledge' (Louis 1983). This work grew from TQM as a quality improvement programme to the use of an ideological perspective and critique, (Bendix 1956; Gramsci 1971; Seliger 1976; Giddens 1979; Anthony 1977; Habermas 1984; Mumby 1988), which could be seen as contextually relevant, (Pettigrew 1985).

Bendix defined management ideology as "those ideas which are espoused by or for those who exercise authority in economic enterprises". It will be argued that TQM renews the ideological appeal which is focused on securing managerial commitment to the aims of the organisation. The need for a renewed appeal in Ilford followed an 'array of cost cutting attacks' such as redundancy and reorganisation, in which managers have become as much the victims as the shop floor workers in the past.

The effect of this 'victimisation' on the management community in Ilford was significant and led to an increasing alienation of its managers, (Baxter 1982). This alienation was aggravated by a rising cynicism amongst managers and a loss of value previously inherent in their work as a central life interest.

The importance of committed managers to the success of the organisation is highlighted by Anthony, who comments that managers will replace the manual worker as the focus for ideological appeal, because they are now "the determinant of productivity". In Crosby's (1979) view, management commitment is 'Step One' in improving quality management and other writers on quality such as Deming (1986) and Juran (1992), would concur that managers are also the 'determinant of quality'.

TQM has therefore, two main roles, an overt role as a rational response to poor competitiveness and a covert role of renewing the legitimacy of a management ideology. Both of these roles are examined in this thesis.

TQM as ideology is also a critique of the rational management perspective, in Thompson's (1989) words, "ideology is the thought of the other". The derogatory use of the term to indicate a 'false consciousness' and as a hegemonic project that has infiltrated companies with "New Right" ideas of the "internalisation of market relations", has been developed by some Trades Unions and academics, (Hall, 1988; GMBU Paper 1991; Du Gay and Salaman 1992; Tuckman 1994). This perspective will be discussed in the context of the case study and the search for useful explanations of TQM induced changes at Ilford Limited.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my thanks to all my colleagues at Ilford Limited who supported me as a manager and as a researcher, during my employment and afterwards.

Thanks also to my supervisors, Stuart Smith and David Tranfield, for their patience, suggestions and their capacity to renew my enthusiasm and raise my spirits when my own energies flagged.

Graeme M. Ridgeway 1995
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

My purpose in this opening chapter is to acquaint the reader with a broad introduction to the research reported in this thesis. I shall briefly discuss how the research came to be carried out, its initial aims and why there was a subsequent turn in my research interests. I will also provide the reader with an insight into my personal orientations, which inevitably influenced my approach to the research task. This task was to investigate and explain, the organisational changes that took place in Ilford Limited between 1985 and 1990, as a consequence of introducing Total Quality Management or TQM to the company.

An orientation to the research and the researcher

Every so often, the management community is overwhelmed by an innovation or fad that seems to promise every thing from eternal life to cost reduction. This thesis is about one such innovation, called Total Quality Management, (TQM), which began to gain popularity in the 1980's. Based on my own experience as a manager, management innovations appear to have a life cycle, which starts with a small number of people 'experimenting', often with consultants, in using the ideas. Then, if it is to take off, it must have found a relevance to the prevailing or emerging business climate. Management consultants begin to advertise their expertise in the topic and there will be a plethora of conferences and seminars, magazine articles and books, exhorting its virtues and all claiming to know what the latest 'buzz words' mean and importantly, how to apply the ideas in 'n' easy steps. It is important that these ideas are seen to be 'easy', 'practical', 'hands-on', 'quick' and 'tested'. Such key words are often part of the lexicon used by consultants and conference organisers, to interest 'busy', 'practical' and 'thoughtful' managers in whatever is being offered. The responses to this growth part of the life cycle range from enthusiastic interest amongst true believers, who will truly believe in anything, to a "we've been doing that for years" kind of remark from the more seasoned managers.

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This thesis reports an empirical investigation into Total Quality Management, it is a case study based on the attempts of one company, Ilford Limited, a UK photographic materials manufacturer, to introduce TQM to its organisation. In my discussions, I hope to move beyond the popular 'hype', to argue that there is more to TQM than its popular image would suggest and that there are different levels of analysis, which together can provide a rich variety of insights into a 'total quality' approach to management.

I shall also argue that there is a contextual significance, (Pettigrew, 1985), for the emergence of TQM in Ilford during the 1980's. There is a potential richness for an analysis that adopts a contextual perspective of the social, economic and political conditions in which such management innovations emerge.

I became involved with TQM in 1985, when Ilford Limited began to 'experiment' with its implementation which, for the UK, was quite early in the life cycle of this particular management innovation. At the time, I worked for CIBA-Geigy, the Swiss multinational chemical company and owner of Ilford, since leaving ICL in 1984. I was the Group Management Training Adviser based in the UK CIBA-Geigy Headquarters which is located in Cheshire. This role required me to produce management training and development policies, that were consistent with the principles set down by CIBA-Geigy, for its world wide activities.

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My experience seemed useful to Ilford and in 1986 I transferred to work full time for the company, as the Human Resource Development Manager, with special responsibility for TQM. The quality programme seemed to be something I could get my teeth into after a couple of years doing what I considered minor and piecemeal projects in various parts of CIBA-Geigy.
Some four years earlier, whilst still working as an organisation development consultant in ICL, I had been a student on the M.Sc. in Organisation Development programme at Sheffield Polytechnic, paid for by an ICL Academic Award. This programme provided me with new skills and knowledge in organisational analysis and the use of different perspectives through which organisations may be understood. Of particular interest to me was the research methodology course. This course had considerable impact on me. I believed I had discovered the 'fountain head' of all organisational theory and the point at which the variety of theoretical views and approaches could be brought together through a meta-perspective. The philosophy and methodology of research appeared to be the basis of both understanding and criticism. One reason for its particular impact on me, was that my much earlier engineering training had contained so many unquestioned 'givens'. In electrical engineering, theories were considered as 'laws', which also seemed to confirm their apparent natural existence. These 'laws' were not seen as man-made but had been there all the time, just waiting to be discovered. Research and experimentation had to follow a positivist tradition that was beyond critique and there was no meta vantage point offered, from which to consider such approaches critically. The realisation that organisational theory and for that matter any other body of theory, could be seen as a 'social construction', was a surprising and interesting discovery for me.

At Sheffield, I had been taught to 'stand back', 'to make sense of' and analyse 'what is going on'. From this teaching, I had developed an interest in being able to explain what I was doing or what others were doing, by trying to get to the very source of that explanation. Knowing the aetiology of an idea was, for me, a way of being able to ground my understanding. I could no longer accept anything at its face value, I would want to know where an idea or an approach came from and why. There was no longer the comfort of a natural 'objective certainty'. Everything it seemed was up for 'interpretation'. This personal transformation that I had experienced through the M.Sc. programme was to have a great impact on my work. For some of my work colleagues I was too theoretical. The consequence of my experience at Sheffield had changed the way I approached to my work. I had developed a need to understand what I was seeing or experiencing and to be able to 'ground' that understanding in theoretical terms. I found a certain satisfaction in being able to offer at least some explanation for whatever I or my colleagues were involved with. It was, perhaps, my way of trying to stay in control and regain some certainty in a 'science' that could not naturally offer any certainty, only perspectives? Being able to explain whatever it was that I was doing or being involved with at work also provided me with a sense of making a personal contribution to my work situation.

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I had found myself, quite fortuitously, occupying a central role in the biggest organisational change programme I had ever encountered. I felt a strong compulsion to want to understand and explain the TQM phenomena in Ilford, from my position of involvement as a manager and from a distance as an interested observer. I hoped I would be able to 'make sense' of our experiences and our work during the introduction of TQM.

Research Aims

I needed to obtain the agreement of my boss in Ilford, John Brewer, a member of the Divisional Management Committee (DMC), who was the Director of Human Resources and Company Secretary, to the terms of reference for my research and my involvement in Ilford as a part time Ph.D. student. There clearly had to be a benefit for Ilford. It was agreed by John, that the company would benefit from a greater understanding of TQM in Ilford and that investigating TQM from a researcher vantage point would be useful to its continued progress in our organisation. I reasoned that the more we could learn about TQM in our particular context, the better chance we would have of appropriately directing our change efforts. The process would also be developmental for me as a manager.

I set out the aims, that were approved by John Brewer and Bill Hunt, the managing director, as follows:

- **To explain and make sense of the TQM process unfolding in Ilford and its links to the contexts in which the changes were initiated by the organisational leaders.**
- **To focus on the extent to which there are changing or re-learned managerial assumptions regarding the ways in which managers see their role in directing change.**
These quite broad and general aims would also form the basis for my Ph.D. research although, the second aim would suffer some modification as the research unfolded and my role as a researcher developed. My registration was formally confirmed with the Sheffield Business School at the end of 1988.

**Personal Considerations**

My approach to this research task was influenced by my researcher ‘personality’. Mitroff and Kilmann, (1978), developed a typology of scientists that was based on Jung’s psychological types. According to this typology I am located in the Conceptual Humanist quadrant. In the Myers-Briggs tests, which identify Jungian personality preference profiles, I am an N or intuitive and F or feeling type. I therefore prefer to take in information that is holistic and I am interested in what might be possible, in an idealistic sense. Even without the Myers Briggs indicator, I have been aware through my experience in work, that I prefer to operate at the conceptual or big picture level and would rather leave the details to someone else.

As an F type decision maker and as indicated by the feeling orientation in this scheme, I have a preference to work on the level of value judgements rather than impersonal reasoning that is independent of human needs. Whether or not this tendency has developed since I left engineering some 25 years ago, to work in training and later in organisation development work, I do not know.

Another facet of my work persona was a well developed scepticism about life in organisations and in management. This had grown over the years with advancing age and through experiences of redundancy both as a guilty survivor and later, a bitter victim. The politics of working life was another contributor to what I saw as the 'two - faced' and contradictory nature of managerial actions. This aspect of my personal outlook probably primed me for the opportunity, which came during this research, to criticise the motives and meanings that were present in my own organisation. My scepticism may have attracted me to a ‘critical theory perspective' and an interest to learn more about the radical and subsequently ideologically based approach to analysis that I offer in this thesis. Despite my scepticism I have to admit to being quite excited by the situation I found myself in, an opportunity to indulge myself in the things that really interested me; a theoretical stance towards organisations and a company wide change programme that was being driven from the very top. Alas, this excitement was to be short-lived. In 1990, following the sale of Ilford to an American company, I along with others, lost my job in Ilford. Fortunately I had completed much of the in-company research, and I had developed the use of a number of
analytical perspectives during my work as a manager. But the task of putting together what I had learned and to develop my arguments for interpreting what I had experienced, remained to be done.

The worst year of my life was yet to come. In October 1993, my wife Christine died after a protracted illness. It was extremely difficult to pick up the threads of my research work again, but with the support of my family and also my boss in Midland Bank, whom I had joined in 1990 after leaving Ilford, I was encouraged to start work again. These traumas focused me even more on the injustices of life and so reinforced an already heightened sensitivity to the 'wrongs' of the world. This probably reinforced my interest in the radical theoretical perspectives which appeared to address issues of emancipation and power in organisations.

Finally, it is perhaps ironic that as an emerging critic of the nastier aspects of capitalism at an organisational level, I should find myself working in the very heart of capitalism, for a major bank in the City of London. My job in the bank is Service Quality Manager and although I find it difficult to identify with the business of the bank, I have been lucky to find employment at my age, (I was 52 in 1990), and to do something which, at least on the face of it, is committed to improving the 'benevolent' relationships with customers, through using a quality approach.

The emerging orientations to the research task

In this thesis I will present my research in two main parts In Part I, I will describe and analyse TQM in Ilford from the position of my role as a manager in the company, which I have called a 'managerial perspective'. This perspective was of use to Ilford and to me, in helping to achieve the task of introducing TQM into the organisation. In my analysis of the changes that occurred during the implementation of TQM, I have drawn upon well known and orthodox theories of management and organisation. There was also a temporal dimension to the analysis, where different theoretical models were considered useful at different times and were related to the pace and direction of our progress.

I found that once I had reached the limitations inherent in each model, at least for their usefulness in Ilford, another level of analysis would be revealed to move me forward again. For example, when we began the introduction of TQM in Ilford we were concentrating on relatively straightforward behavioural changes. This was achieved through new training courses and new problem solving structures. As we became more confident with the effect of these changes, we began to think of what we needed to do next in order to keep the momentum going. This led us to a stage where we believed it would be necessary to introduce much broader and deeper social changes into the organisation. To achieve these, we introduced extensive education and socialisation programmes for all managers in the
company. From this I went on to deploy organisational and strategic change models as they became relevant and useful to the stages of our progress with TQM.

In Part II of this thesis, I move away from the managerial or orthodox approach and consider a more radical and critical analysis of TQM. From this orientation, I will discuss an alternative to the interpretation of TQM in Ilford as a rational management intervention. I will consider its meaning and purpose in Ilford as an ideological strategy that is intent on recovering managerial support for top management interests.

I had been aware of the idea of critical theory from the work of Burrell and Morgan (1979), on the use of radical sociological paradigms in organisational analysis. My interest in this approach had stemmed from thinking about the possibility of seeing TQM as a change in ideology as distinct from its more popular managerial conception as a cultural change in the organisation. An ideological analysis of the TQM process, would reveal a quite different side of what had taken place. It would present a more or less negative evaluation, depending on one's point of view, of its political and dominating nature, given its contextual location at the time. This was in relation to the way the company was managed in a rapidly changing economic, social and political climate.

The influences of context and the problems facing the top management group had focused their attention away from the traditional concern with shop floor workers productivity, to the importance of managers in the task of improving quality. There were difficulties in the relationships between the more powerful top managers and the less powerful middle and junior managers, because of the historical elements that had brought Ilford to its present state. If not carefully managed, these could present a serious barrier when one considers the significance of all managers in implementing a change such as TQM throughout the company organisation. This relationship between managers has been referred to in the critical theory literature as intra-elite conflicts, (Wright 1985; Deetz and Mumby 1985; Nord and Jermier 1992), and as political struggles by Pettigrew (1973). This theme is central to my argument that TQM may be seen as a change in management ideology.

Political considerations for a critical orientation

A critical and radical approach to my work would, I think, not have been politically viable as long as I was employed as a manager by Ilford Limited.

It is highly unlikely that if I had been able to articulate the form of a critical analysis and my thematic argument to support it, my research proposals would not have been supported. Now that I had left Ilford, my managerial role was no longer dominant in my research work and I
could explore more radical explanations of my own and others experiences. To begin with, the aims of my research coincided with the interests of my employers, and at the time of agreeing my research project with my boss, I had no idea that my work would lead me towards a decidedly unorthodox epistemological position, relative to that of my employers. However, it is difficult in hindsight to draw any hard and fast conclusions about how my bosses may have reacted at the time.

Fineman, (1981) has considered the position of researchers, who depend upon funding from their sponsors and the potential difficulties in having to specify a research project in terms that meets the expectations of the sponsor. He argues that the arrangements for funding research in universities and other centres for research are drawn into the paradigm of the established orthodoxy, making it difficult to break new ground. Fineman suggests the problem may be solved by undertaking research that does not require massive funding, such as that which may be done by an individual lecturer or by a change in the sourcing and system of university research funding.

I have been fortunate in not having to specify too closely my research aims for obtaining the support of my employer-sponsor. As events have turned out, my leaving the company has removed potential problems such as continued funding and worries I may have felt about the worthiness of the critical turn which my research was taking. Since leaving Ilford, I have also been fortunate in retaining continued contacts with members of the DMC, who have continued to help me with my ‘post-Ilford’ research.

Summary

In this introductory chapter, I have tried to provide some orientation for the reader for the approach which I bring to this thesis. Before I go on to describe the site of the research activity and the events that shaped the implementation of TQM in Ilford, I will need to broaden the discussion I have begun on the research strategy and methodology. In the following chapter I shall examine the philosophical and methodological assumptions upon which my interpretations and arguments are constructed.
CHAPTER 1
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Every so often, the management community is overwhelmed by an innovation or fad that seems to promise everything from eternal life to cost reduction. This thesis is about one such innovation, called Total Quality Management, (TQM), which began to gain popularity in the 1980's. Based on my own experience as a manager, management innovations appear to have a life cycle, which starts with a small number of people 'experimenting', often with consultants, in using the ideas. Then, if it is to take off, it must have found a relevance to the prevailing or emerging business climate. Management consultants begin to advertise their expertise in the topic and there will be a plethora of conferences and seminars, magazine articles and books, exhorting its virtues and all claiming to know what the latest 'buzz words' mean and importantly, how to apply the ideas in 'n' easy steps. It is important that these ideas are seen to be 'easy', 'practical', 'hands-on', 'quick' and 'tested'. Such key words are often part of the lexicon used by consultants and conference organisers, to interest 'busy', 'practical' and 'thoughtful' managers in whatever is being offered. The responses to this growth part of the life cycle range from enthusiastic interest amongst true believers, who will truly believe in anything, to a "we've been doing that for years" kind of remark from the more seasoned managers.

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I had found myself, quite fortuitously, occupying a central role in the biggest organisational change programme I had ever encountered. I felt a strong compulsion to want to understand and explain the TQM phenomena in Ilford, from my position of involvement as a manager and from a distance as an interested observer. I hoped I would be able to 'make sense' of our experiences and our work during the introduction of TQM.

Research Aims

I needed to obtain the agreement of my boss in Ilford, John Brewer, a member of the Divisional Management Committee (DMC), who was the Director of Human Resources and Company Secretary, to the terms of reference for my research and my involvement in Ilford as a part time Ph.D. student. There clearly had to be a benefit for Ilford. It was agreed by John, that the company would benefit from a greater understanding of TQM in Ilford and that investigating TQM from a researcher vantage point would be useful to its continued progress in our organisation. I reasoned that the more we could learn about TQM in our particular context, the better chance we would have of appropriately directing our change efforts. The process would also be developmental for me as a manager.

I set out the aims, that were approved by John Brewer and Bill Hunt, the managing director, as follows:

- To explain and make sense of the TQM process unfolding in Ilford and its links to the contexts in which the changes were initiated by the organisational leaders.
- To focus on the extent to which there are changing or re-learned managerial assumptions regarding the ways in which managers see their role in directing change.
These quite broad and general aims would also form the basis for my Ph.D. research although, the second aim would suffer some modification as the research unfolded and my role as a researcher developed. My registration was formally confirmed with the Sheffield Business School at the end of 1988.

Personal Considerations

My approach to this research task was influenced by my researcher 'personality'. Mitroff and Kilmann, (1978), developed a typology of scientists that was based on Jung's psychological types. According to this typology I am located in the Conceptual Humanist quadrant. In the Myers-Briggs tests, which identify Jungian personality preference profiles, I am an N or intuitive and F or feeling type. I therefore prefer to take in information that is holistic and I am interested in what might be possible, in an idealistic sense. Even without the Myers Briggs indicator, I have been aware through my experience in work, that I prefer to operate at the conceptual or big picture level and would rather leave the details to someone else.

As an F type decision maker and as indicated by the feeling orientation in this scheme, I have a preference to work on the level of value judgements rather than impersonal reasoning that is independent of human needs. Whether or not this tendency has developed since I left engineering some 25 years ago, to work in training and later in organisation development work, I do not know.

Another facet of my work persona was a well developed scepticism about life in organisations and in management. This had grown over the years with advancing age and through experiences of redundancy both as a guilty survivor and later, a bitter victim. The politics of working life was another contributor to what I saw as the 'two - faced' and contradictory nature of managerial actions. This aspect of my personal outlook probably primed me for the opportunity, which came during this research, to criticise the motives and meanings that were present in my own organisation. My scepticism may have attracted me to a 'critical theory perspective' and an interest to learn more about the radical and subsequently ideologically based approach to analysis that I offer in this thesis.

Despite my scepticism I have to admit to being quite excited by the situation I found myself in, an opportunity to indulge myself in the things that really interested me; a theoretical stance towards organisations and a company wide change programme that was being driven from the very top. Alas, this excitement was to be short-lived. In 1990, following the sale of Ilford to an American company, I along with others, lost my job in Ilford. Fortunately I had completed much of the in-company research, and I had developed the use of a number of
analytical perspectives during my work as a manager. But the task of putting together what I had learned and to develop my arguments for interpreting what I had experienced, remained to be done.

The worst year of my life was yet to come. In October 1993, my wife Christine died after a protracted illness. It was extremely difficult to pick up the threads of my research work again, but with the support of my family and also my boss in Midland Bank, whom I had joined in 1990 after leaving Ilford, I was encouraged to start work again. These traumas focused me even more on the injustices of life and so reinforced an already heightened sensitivity to the 'wrongs' of the world. This probably reinforced my interest in the radical theoretical perspectives which appeared to address issues of emancipation and power in organisations. Finally, it is perhaps ironic that as an emerging critic of the nastier aspects of capitalism at an organisational level, I should find myself working in the very heart of capitalism, for a major bank in the City of London. My job in the bank is Service Quality Manager and although I find it difficult to identify with the business of the bank, I have been lucky to find employment at my age, (I was 52 in 1990), and to do something which, at least on the face of it, is committed to improving the 'benevolent' relationships with customers, through using a quality approach.

The emerging orientations to the research task

In this thesis I will present my research in two main parts In Part I, I will describe and analyse TQM in Ilford from the position of my role as a manager in the company, which I have called a 'managerial perspective'. This perspective was of use to Ilford and to me, in helping to achieve the task of introducing TQM into the organisation. In my analysis of the changes that occurred during the implementation of TQM, I have drawn upon well known and orthodox theories of management and organisation. There was also a temporal dimension to the analysis, where different theoretical models were considered useful at different times and were related to the pace and direction of our progress.

I found that once I had reached the limitations inherent in each model, at least for their usefulness in Ilford, another level of analysis would be revealed to move me forward again. For example, when we began the introduction of TQM in Ilford we were concentrating on relatively straightforward 

behavioural changes. This was achieved through new training courses and new problem solving structures. As we became more confident with the effect of these changes, we began to think of what we needed to do next in order to keep the momentum going. This led us to a stage where we believed it would be necessary to introduce much broader and deeper social changes into the organisation. To achieve these, we introduced extensive education and socialisation programmes for all managers in the
company. From this I went on to deploy organisational and strategic change models as they became relevant and useful to the stages of our progress with TQM.

In Part II of this thesis, I move away from the managerial or orthodox approach and consider a more radical and critical analysis of TQM. From this orientation, I will discuss an alternative to the interpretation of TQM in Ilford as a rational management intervention. I will consider its meaning and purpose in Ilford as an ideological strategy that is intent on recovering managerial support for top management interests.

I had been aware of the idea of critical theory from the work of Burrell and Morgan (1979), on the use of radical sociological paradigms in organisational analysis. My interest in this approach had stemmed from thinking about the possibility of seeing TQM as a change in ideology as distinct from its more popular managerial conception as a cultural change in the organisation. An ideological analysis of the TQM process, would reveal a quite different side of what had taken place. It would present a more or less negative evaluation, depending on one's point of view, of its political and dominating nature, given its contextual location at the time. This was in relation to the way the company was managed in a rapidly changing economic, social and political climate.

The influences of context and the problems facing the top management group had focused their attention away from the traditional concern with shop floor workers productivity, to the importance of managers in the task of improving quality. There were difficulties in the relationships between the more powerful top managers and the less powerful middle and junior managers, because of the historical elements that had brought Ilford to its present state. If not carefully managed, these could present a serious barrier when one considers the significance of all managers in implementing a change such as TQM throughout the company organisation. This relationship between managers has been referred to in the critical theory literature as intra-elite conflicts, (Wright 1985; Deetz and Mumby 1985; Nord and Jermier 1992), and as political struggles by Pettigrew (1973). This theme is central to my argument that TQM may be seen as a change in management ideology.

Political considerations for a critical orientation

A critical and radical approach to my work would, I think, not have been politically viable as long as I was employed as a manager by Ilford Limited. It is highly unlikely that if I had been able to articulate the form of a critical analysis and my thematic argument to support it, my research proposals would not have been supported. Now that I had left Ilford, my managerial role was no longer dominant in my research work and I
could explore more radical explanations of my own and others experiences. To begin with, the aims of my research coincided with the interests of my employers, and at the time of agreeing my research project with my boss, I had no idea that my work would lead me towards a decidedly unorthodox epistemological position, relative to that of my employers. However, it is difficult in hindsight to draw any hard and fast conclusions about how my bosses may have reacted at the time.

Fineman, (1981) has considered the position of researchers, who depend upon funding from their sponsors and the potential difficulties in having to specify a research project in terms that meets the expectations of the sponsor. He argues that the arrangements for funding research in universities and other centres for research are drawn into the paradigm of the established orthodoxy, making it difficult to break new ground. Fineman suggests the problem may be solved by undertaking research that does not require massive funding, such as that which may be done by an individual lecturer or by a change in the sourcing and system of university research funding.

I have been fortunate in not having to specify too closely my research aims for obtaining the support of my employer-sponsor. As events have turned out, my leaving the company has removed potential problems such as continued funding and worries I may have felt about the worthiness of the critical turn which my research was taking. Since leaving Ilford, I have also been fortunate in retaining continued contacts with members of the DMC, who have continued to help me with my 'post-Ilford' research.

**Summary**

In this introductory chapter, I have tried to provide some orientation for the reader for the approach which I bring to this thesis. Before I go on to describe the site of the research activity and the events that shaped the implementation of TQM in Ilford, I will need to broaden the discussion I have begun on the research strategy and methodology. In the following chapter I shall examine the philosophical and methodological assumptions upon which my interpretations and arguments are constructed.
CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

Through this thesis I shall be presenting my experiences of managing changes in Ilford Limited as both a personal account of these events and as a written piece of research. The fact that this is a Ph.D. thesis creates particular expectations regarding the nature of my writing and will undoubtedly raise issues regarding its validity and relevance as a ‘knowledge producing research report’. The expectations which have influenced the way I have written this thesis originate from the roles that I have occupied during the process of research and from the ‘audiences’ whose needs I have seen as dominant during my work.

There are three main points which emanate from the research process at various times and which I must take into account in my discussion of research methodology.

The first point is that during the process of research within the collaborating organisation, I was aiming to produce knowledge which was ‘useful’ for myself and my colleagues who were working as managers on the task of introducing TQM to Ilford. The usefulness of this knowledge was judged by the extent to which it contributed towards practical action that represented progress against our expectations, which were to make demonstrable progress with the implementation of TQM. Such progress would be judged ‘effective’, as I shall describe later, by reference to our own perceptions of what the principles of TQM would look like in practice and measurable performance improvement in a variety of organisational activities. The second point is that after I had left Ilford later in the research process, I developed my interest in a critical theory approach to the analysis of events which I had experienced over the five to six years of working with TQM in the company. The knowledge produced as a result of this critical analysis is not ‘useful’ in the same practical sense for managers, but it is revealing as an ‘explanation’ of the TQM related changes which took place in the company for whom I had worked.

The third and final point is that in writing my account of these experiences and analyses, I must attempt to justify my work, my explanations and the arguments that I offer, as a piece of research required of a Ph.D. thesis. For instance, my approaches to this work raises the question of ‘relativism’, this is a term used to describe knowledge that is seen to emerge from a researchers particular frame of reference or vantage point. The issue of relativism and of what constitutes ‘truth’ in this research will therefore warrant particular attention in my discussions of research methodology.

During this research work I have occupied the roles of a manager, a part time researcher and a Ph.D. student. As a consequence of my diverse roles, this investigation is located in the...
margins of what may be termed 'mainstream research'. Therefore, my purpose in this chapter is to explore the diversity of the methodological character of my research activity and the nature of the knowledge claims I am making for my work. In doing so I shall argue for the justification of my methodological position. Such justification is also necessary because my research approach originates from my situation as an 'insider' (Adler & Adler 1987) located within the organisation I am investigating. As an insider therefore, I do not occupy the 'centre ground' that is more usually inhabited by full time researchers who must develop an 'external' relationship with the object of their study.

I have already indicated in my introductory chapter that a complicating factor to what may otherwise have been straightforward difference in approach, came from a shift in the nature of my relationship with Ilford during the period of research. When I left the company, this discontinuity changed my role as a researcher to an 'external' orientation, but with no further official contact with my collaborating organisation. This shift was to have a significant effect on how I continued with my work in order to complete the task of analysing and explaining TQM in Ilford. Whereas I had begun my research within a 'functionalist' perspective as a manager, my leaving the company led me to develop a new assumption set located in the 'radical humanism', (Burrell and Morgan 1979), perspective of a critical theorist. This multi-paradigmatic approach has been noted by Pondy and Boje (1981) as problematic:

"organisation theory is faced with a frontier problem...how to conduct inquiry based on several paradigms". (p.84)

As a consequence of these experiences, I have travelled on a 'methodological journey' which was to take me through different theoretical terrain, each affording a different perspective of my roles and my understanding of the events that surrounded the changes being introduced in Ilford through the adoption of TQM.

I propose to begin my discussion of research methodology by looking at the broad problem of roles and research strategy within the context of a need to cope with the demands which I saw facing me as a manager and a researcher. These roles were directly involved with achieving the practical ends of a managerial perspective within a power structure that conferred legitimacy on my activity, (Foucault 1980). I will then go on to examine further the epistemological issues that emerge from my role orientations and the task of producing knowledge in a context of practical interests and political preferences, (Hammersley 1983). Associated with these issues are the ontological assumptions regarding different forms of reality that are constitutive within each different frame of reference.

Finally, in the second part of this chapter, I shall introduce the ideas of critical theory and how I have seen their application through my own research analysis. It was the changes in my involvement with Ilford as a manager that gave me the impetus to explore further my interests in an ideological perspective. This enabled me to reflect upon and analyse the
power-knowledge relations tacit in my original perspective and of the very power structure of which I had been a part.

**ROLES AND RESEARCH**

As a manager in Ilford I shared the *weltanschauung* of the managerial group, but my educational experiences provided by the masters degree course at Sheffield had facilitated ties to the orientations of an academic community. For me these ties affected the extent of commitment by somewhat distorting a complete yielding to the managerial world view. It is this position which led me to exploit my membership of a management community by seeing the introduction of TQM as a timely opportunity to use it as an object of study. This 'opportunistc' (Reimer 1977) stance shaped my research strategy and the need to create a researcher role in addition to my managerial role. External researchers will have to develop their relationships and involvement with their objects of research, for me there was a reversal of the problem. I had to carve out the space for my researcher role to develop at a time of *immersion* in a managerial role.

It was the interplay and tensions between these roles which undoubtedly shaped process and outcome of my research.

**Role Immersion**

Giddens (1979) points out that the notion of role is a normative device and is part of the incumbent's socialisation. There are expectations and demands made upon a role, which restrict the apparent freedom an individual might enjoy in determining how a role should be performed. Whilst this aspect of role implies a unity with the values of the organisation during my employment as a manager, it also helps to explain the determinism which directed my approach to orthodox or managerially oriented research at that time. The change in my circumstances and subsequent change in my approach to a more radical and critical research orientation, highlights the fragility of this unity and determinism attributed to the idea of a role socialisation. Giddens explains this fragility by arguing that the notion of role ought not to be the 'point of articulation' (Parsons, 1967) between the individual and the social system of which they are a member. Giddens proposes that actors in a role draw upon practices, through rules and resources that connects them to systems of domination. These systems of domination are produced and reproduced over time through a *continuous flow of conduct* (Giddens 1979, p. 55). Whether these 'systems of domination' reside within the context of my being part of an organisation or as a researcher and a member of a 'scientific community', is an issue of continuity. Practices are produced and reproduced by actors reflexively and a discontinuity will cause a change in the social realities and meanings that are produced.
For Giddens, organisational structures as sets of rules and relationships are both produced and reproduced by its members. An individual draws upon structures as 'guides' to interaction and by using them they also reproduce them. Structures are therefore "enabling and restricting". Every member knows a "great deal about the conditions of reproduction of the society of which he or she is a member", (Giddens opcit p5). The members consciousness of their social structuring exists on two levels. First, a practical consciousness which is the stock of knowledge that a member possesses and draws upon to engage in meaningful behaviour. Second, a discursive consciousness which involves knowledge a member articulates about why and how the social structure operates in the way it does. Practical consciousness is the extent to which members of an organisation will be unaware that their behaviour is constrained by the dominant interests who frame the organisational reality.

The degree of discursive consciousness therefore will determine the extent to which members are aware that the structure of meaning they experience is not natural but 'man made' and produced by powerful and dominant interests.

In my role as a researcher, I was able to draw upon stocks of knowledge that would articulate my role during the contextual shifts which I was experiencing. In some respects the discontinuity in the research process made life more difficult for me, in that I found myself learning to use new knowledge and find new meanings in my work. On the other hand I was learning a great deal more than would have been possible if the research work had been an uninterrupted and straightforward project.

My role in Ilford was primarily that of a practising manager, immersed in the problems of helping to introduce TQM into the Ilford organisation. In this role I was mainly concerned with supporting changes in the knowledge and skills of managers and staff, and with the design of the systems and procedures for human resource development and performance management. A key issue in this work was to ensure that managerial practices in Ilford would be congruent with a TQM 'philosophy'. For example, all managers must share a responsibility for quality, not just the Quality Control manager. These sort of issues brought me into contact with managers at all levels in the organisation as well as shop floor staff, to discuss what the achievement of such congruencies might mean in practice. It was through this daily contact as HR Development Manager that I gained insights, knowledge and understandings of Ilford as a changing organisation. These experiences form the basis for my discussions in this thesis.

This research is therefore reflexive, in that my work was not 'independent' or 'neutral' from my research environment and of course my own biography is an influencing factor on the idiosyncratic interpretations of events. However, my awareness of my hermeneutic position
leads me to the need for a justification of my view of events and it is this 'ethnographic' problem which I shall now consider.

My work required me to attend many formal meetings, talk with all employees from the managing director to shop floor workers, and deal with the 'political sensitivities' that I have found to be inherent in all organisations. I shall be describing some of the relevant outcomes of this work in later chapters. Initially, my immersion in a managerial role and my contacts with other actors in the organisation may present the beginnings of an ethnographic project and although I was, in many respects, working at an ethnographic level, this research is not representative of a mainstream ethnographic project. There were tensions between my roles as manager and researcher which led to the adoption of a rather messy combination of neo-positivism (Cook and Campbell 1979) and elements of what Hammersley(1992) calls practitioner ethnography. This 'messiness' continued throughout my work in Ilford as a research setting and was delivered out of my role conflicts and, at times, their meshing together.

As a manager I was obliged and required to support my managerial colleagues, (who incidentally were mostly Ph.D's in the natural sciences - chemistry and physics), to design and implement changes in the organisation. As a researcher I was interested in trying to understand and make sense of my experiences. I would have preferred at times to have stepped back from the events in Ilford and simply observe and try to explain what was going on. This was not however a practical alternative.'

**Role influences on research**

During my managerial work in Ilford I tried to use various theoretical frameworks that I believed would be useful in understanding and solving the management problems of change which were facing the company. To support my efforts in this role, I found myself turning to the dominant body of 'orthodox' functionalist organisational theory, with which I was already familiar. I could select from this theoretical knowledge, the frameworks which I believed would be useful in my initial analyses and subsequently would help predict what we should do to solve immediate and longer term problems. This early work contained some implicit assumptions regarding a 'correspondence theory' of truth (Gill and Johnson 1991), despite a personal awareness of the impossibility of 'neutral objective' observation. There was, without doubt, a form of peer pressure which I felt to be present in my 'field role'. By this I mean that my managerial colleagues were anxious to see organisation theories 'work' for us, in much the same way as physical sciences theories appeared to work in the field of photography. I found that this apparent conflict actually presented minimal problems at the level of everyday practice, mainly because my own approach was largely a positivist one. However, my awareness of the value and utility of interpretive perspectives and desire to use anti-
positivist approaches in my organisational research, did cause difficulties. These were felt internally and at the level of my own reflections about the juxtaposition of the differing research backgrounds or paradigms between myself and my colleagues in a live research setting. A problem I felt as an internal researcher was in coping with the conflicting requirements of theoretical and research integrity and the pragmatic and political requirements of doing a job of work. Writers on social science research methodology argue for and discuss, the 'purity' and 'internal coherence' of different paradigmatic approaches and their associated epistemological and ontological assumptions. Whilst I find such discussions valuable and interesting, my readings in the subject area of social science research methodology coupled with my limited research experience, presented me with a number of internal conflicts. These were manifest in my desire to try to function as a manager and contribute what my colleagues would regard as useful, and also as a researcher in a multi-paradigm setting. I felt that somehow I must remain consistent with the images I had gathered from my learning and the literature on research philosophies, methods and on how researchers were supposed to behave. Such texts addressed the 'mainstream research community', but with some exceptions, such as Gill and Johnson (1991) and Hammersley's (1992) chapter on "practitioner ethnography". Later, Hassard (1993) and Johnson (1995) have, in different ways, usefully explored the issues facing multi-paradigm researchers and the restrictive nature of the Burrell and Morgan (1979) model. I found their work to be relevant to my own situation and I shall draw upon their views later in this chapter.

The changes that I and my colleagues were attempting to make in Ilford were couched in our definitions of effectiveness and usefulness and these were essentially neo-positivist. By this I mean that theoretical models are abstractions of a 'reality out there' and are validated by its own set of measures and empirical results. Neo-positivism departs from positivism by accepting that each theoretical model is subjected to a value laden and socially constructed observation methodology. There is therefore, a critical element present in neo-positivism but only within the accepted managerial framework of interests (Van de Ven 1989). In this instance, knowledge production is shaped by the managerial interests which it aims to serve. Frequently, the aim is to achieve levels of predictability and control over the organisation in order to secure an improvement of some kind. I was using theory to make sense of my observations and my experience and then using the knowledge I had gained to predict and control certain aspects of the change process.

Sayer (1992), whilst offering a different perspective of reality, argues that knowledge is contextual and therefore appropriate to different situations and functions. I found that there was a contextualist nature to my work, which could be directly attributable to the changes and 'progress' we made, or believed we had made, with TQM in Ilford. As our activities
continued, the problems we perceived also changed. In addition to this notion of progress, the DMC (Divisional Management Committee) would introduce new priorities which would shift my attention, sometimes prematurely, to a new and 'uncharted' region in terms of applying TQM to management practices.

It was my immersion which created the need to keep in balance my manager and researcher roles in a way which would not jeopardise the other. In doing so there was some role conflict between my desire to spend more time analysing and recording, and the time pressures on my job as a manager. As I have already mentioned, it was not particularly difficult to manage these bifurcations, but it did have consequences for the general nature and outcomes of my research. I could not sustain an orthodox ethnographer's stance to the work where according to Malinowski (1992), ethnography is a particular research method for "grasping the native's point of view" (p.25), whilst remaining dispassionate and avoiding becoming ethnocentric. Traditional or orthodox ethnography developed within cultural anthropology (Schwartzman 1993) and anthropologists played a significant role in the well known Hawthorne study of the 1920's. Since that time, organisational main stream researchers have advocated ethnography in the study of organisational cultures, (Van Maanen 1982; Gregory 1983; Schein 1987). Ethnography has been a significant methodology in the 'qualitative' tradition which regards social phenomena as different from physical phenomena. These difference lie in the philosophical argument that in the social world the discovery of 'law like' generalisations cannot be understood in terms of simple causal relationships, but instead human behaviour is continually a result of interpretations of meanings and their social construction (Berger and Luckmann 1979). The traditional ethnographer seeks to observe and to understand social phenomena by getting close to naturally occurring social phenomena, (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983). From this closeness, the researcher aims to 'faithfully reproduce' the true nature of the social reality under study. This implies an observer role which can be immersed in the cultural phenomenon without contaminating it in any way. It further implies that there is a social reality independent of the observer which can be described and that the researcher can put aside their own bias and interpretation. Such an approach is also not without its problems and I will discuss these issues when I examine the epistemological consequences of my roles and their impact on my methodological position.

RESEARCH STRATEGY

My manager role in Ilford that created the opportunity for research meant amongst other things that my choices in the approach to building a framework or strategy for research activity were somewhat limited. I had to fit my research strategy into the situation of being a manager in the collaborating organisation. The objective was to 'explain' the changes being
brought about in Ilford by the introduction of TQM presented Ilford as the site of a 'case study'.

Case studies are perhaps better known as method of teaching, particularly in management education, (Llewellyn, 1948), where a description is offered, which is sometimes only partial, of a particular set of events. This description is presented as a vehicle for discussion and for the identification of learning points. In this thesis, I use the case study as a strategy (Yin, 1994, p1.), through which to analyse and build detailed explanations, using Ilford as the case. An explanatory case study is an empirical inquiry through which events are investigated within their real life context and is particularly pertinent when it is believed that the contextual situation is highly relevant to the inquiry. This approach deals particularly with 'how' and 'why' questions, where I am concerned with explaining a sequence of events that occurred over time within a particular organisational community.

Yin argues that the case study has been neglected as a formal research strategy. He cites several reasons for this, including a view that case studies are a preliminary to some other research strategy and where they have been confused with methods such as participant observation. Platt (1992) argues the case study strategy is an appropriate design for certain types of research problem. Yin picks up this point and develops a definition of the case study as a research strategy:

A case study is an empirical enquiry that-

- investigates a contemporary phenomena within its real life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomena and context are not clearly evident.
- copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result,
- relies on the multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion, and as another result,
- benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis (Yin, 1994, p13).

Investigating the introduction of TQM in Ilford presented a problem of producing explanations of the TQM phenomena in the internal and external context of Ilford (Pettigrew, 1983). The scope of the problem provided a wide range of 'variables of interest' and my prior knowledge of a range of organisation perspectives provided a guide for the work I was about to undertake. I have used a variety of organisational theories to support explanations of phenomena within Ilford and have used societal level theorising in order to analyse the company's contextual location during a specific time period.

The Ilford organisational community lived through a period of change that given the history of the organisation and the then political and economic contexts, held a specific significance. This ideographic nature of my work perhaps raises an objection to the use of case study method in research and that is its lack of generalisation. This conflict is discussed by Burrell and Morgan (1979), where they contrast ideographic methods, which stress getting inside the
research subject to understand its particular knowledge of the world, with nomothetic methods which follow the positivist preferences for generalisable and 'law like' knowledge. What seems to be lost on this particular debate is that all social knowledge is comparative to some extent and this case study could not make sense without some prior knowledge of organisations and management. Furthermore, this case study is ideographic and explanatory in the context of one organisation. It is also comparative, in that I offer two different ways of explaining what has taken place. Ilford is not meant to be taken as a 'sample' of industry and many of the events experienced are not likely to be replicated elsewhere.

This leads me to clarify that my critical and ideological orientation towards events in Ilford is not by any means intended as an 'attack' or criticism of its management, this is not what I intend by a critical research approach. Managers are as much subjected to ideological influences as any others. Critical research begins with a recognition that ideas can be used to dominate as well as improve and liberate, and confronts the taken for granted ways of thinking through what a community may regard truth. It is also an application of a form of social analysis that is well known within the social sciences and not simply a product of my 'scepticism', although it is without doubt this aspect of my persona that attracts my interest in such an approach.

Throughout this investigation I have followed three basic steps within the case study strategy, these are, collecting data, analysing and finally, writing in a form that uses abstract language and natural language (Hamel, Dufor and Fortin 1993), to communicate the outcomes of the case study work. Within this general process, I have used a variety of theoretical perspectives to produce knowledge from the study. Although these theoretical perspectives imply different epistemological and methodological considerations, my general approach has been to produce a study that is primarily aimed at the management community rather than any particular social science sector or discipline.

The managerial and ideological perspectives which I describe in this case share the experiences which I gained whilst working for Ilford, the divergence occurs in the analytical step where different interpretations and explanations are applied to the same events at different times during the research work. The relativistic implications of this situation and how I propose to deal with them will be picked up later in this chapter.

**Contextualist Research**

In this study I make use of the contextualist approach to research, which has been described by Pettigrew (1983), as the understanding of an organism or process within the totality of its context. From studying events within their contexts, acceptable explanations and definitions will emerge that have holistic quality. Pettigrew further comments that most research is not just a rational, foresightful and goal directed activity, but is also a social process. As a social process, research may perhaps be more accurately described as a "muddling
through, incremental and political process". Pettigrew goes on to suggest that it is "naive and two faced" to recognise organisations as being political and irrational and still continue to think of our own research activities "as if they were an exercises in technical rationality". The work presented in this thesis is no exception, it was not a result of careful planning, it evolved as I have already indicated as a consequence of a variety of events and contexts, which affected my orientation to the job of researching TQM. This evolution has enabled me to produce perspectives that are contextually relevant and recognises the multiple nature of truth in the knowledge produced and used during the case. As a consequence the correspondence theory of truth favoured by positivists is rejected and replaced by a pragmatist (Sayer 1992) view of reality and truth.

This case is a study of change. Most studies of organisational change are 'snapshots' at a particular time and are "preoccupied with the intricacies of narrow changes rather than the holistic and dynamic analysis of changing" (Pettigrew 1988, p 25). Contextual analysis of change involves a 'vertical' and 'horizontal' analysis. Vertical analysis concerns the interdependencies between for example, the competitive business environment level through to the behavioural level of management and on to the shop floor in Ilford. Contextualist research is concerned with explaining meanings by reference to their contexts and how these meanings change and are interconnected as the context alters over time. Horizontal analysis involves the temporal contexts of history, and the future impacts upon meaning formations and their changes.

Pettigrew suggests three main variables for the dynamic analysis of change:

   - **Outer**, which relates to the business, economic, political and social influences on the company.
   - **Inner**, which relates to the culture, structure and the 'politics' through which changes must navigate.
2. Content, refers to what is being changed, such as the job responsibilities or organisational relationships.
3. Process, is how the changes are managed and the actions and interactions of the people involved during the changing process.

In terms of contextualist research there are four main steps:

i. A clearly identifiable set of levels for analysis which are connected theoretically and empirically.

ii. A clear description of the processes under investigation as a continuous sequence of activities and interactions that are emerging.
iii. The expectations, motivations and power of the interested parties to affect the changes and continuous processes being investigated.

iv. A recognition of the interconnectedness of contextual variables and duality of how contexts, as structures in Giddens (1979) terms, both constrain and enable organisational members to produce and reproduce their social reality. This is in contrast to viewing context as environments which are an "an eclectic list of antecedents that somehow shape the process" (Pettigrew 1983 p27).

Research perspectives

For descriptive purposes, I have labelled the two generic perspectives in this case study as managerial and ideological, and each of these perspectives may be traced back to ontological and epistemological world views, or paradigms, (Kuhn, 1962; Burrell and Morgan, 1979; Reason and Rowan, 1982; Morgan, 1990; Hassard, 1993). On the one hand I offer an orthodox and rational explanation of management instigated change, ostensibly introduced by involving employees, in order to achieve the aims of top management which is felt to be universally beneficial. On the other hand, I present an analysis which speaks of ideology, domination, manipulation and the pursuit of narrow sectional interests believed to be held by those in power. It is important therefore to consider the grounds upon which these perspectives make a claim for the 'truthfulness' inherent in each account. In discussing the epistemological assumptions that underlie each perspective, I do not wish to suggest that one view is correct and the other erroneous, but will argue that each approach contributes to a knowledge of the changes in Ilford that is contextually relevant and valid.

The question why these particular perspectives developed and not others, has I believe, to do with the complex interrelationships between the knowledge and experiences which I brought to my roles in this study and the effect of these roles on the production of knowledge. For me the different roles in which I found myself working on this study, are perhaps the most vivid and real facet of the research process. My roles clearly led me to reflect upon my methodological stance and the epistemological implications of what I was attempting to do within the contexts of producing a piece of research that would contribute to our understanding of TQM in Ilford.

EPISTEMOLOGICAL ISSUES AND THE MANAGERIAL PERSPECTIVE

Any discussion that I present around the epistemological and methodological justification of my own position must, I believe, be with reference to the purposes I saw for my research work and my own location within it. I have already stated the main objective for this work in my introductory chapter, which was to explain the introduction of TQM to Ilford Limited. This objective directly relates to my role as a part-time researcher, but of equal importance was
my role as a manager and the expectation that I should provide information for other managers and myself, which could be used to support our corporate aims for the introduction of TQM in the organisation.

In considering these purposes two questions arise, firstly on what grounds should my explanations be listened to and secondly with what degree of confidence can the information that I have produced in this thesis be regarded as a valid account of what occurred? My attempts to answer these two questions will provide the structure for my review of the epistemological issues raised by this thesis. In answering the first question I shall be presenting interpretations of a reality which I experienced. This reality was socially constructed in part by me and by my colleagues, so that my explanations will draw upon my immersion in Ilford, participating in actions which I attempt to rationalise and explain. In Sayer's (1984) terms I will be using a language of organisational theory which is 'intersubjectively intelligible' to my target audience of other managerial practitioners. I will also need to expose the relevant issues of realism and relativism that surround questions of a researcher's justification of their position.

The second question addresses the problem of useful knowledge or knowledge that was 'practically adequate' (Sayer ibid) in enabling me to work within the cultural environment of Ilford. The validity of such knowledge rests on its relevance in helping to solve the problems facing us as a management community in the context of Ilford Limited. In this respect it is clear that as a researcher, I do not occupy the 'centre ground' of the full-time and perhaps more orthodox research position. Hammersley (1992) presents an excellent contrast between the work of orthodox ethnographers and 'practitioner ethnographers' (p135), who are more concerned with useful or 'applied knowledge' than the 'pure' theoretical interests of traditional and orthodox ethnography. By virtue of my biography and the context of my research work, I occupy a position of greater alignment with that of the practitioner ethnographer, at least in the epistemological sense, since my work cannot be regarded as an example of a classic ethnographic account.

The interplay of my manager and researcher roles over the period of this study may be seen as producing two distinct forms of knowledge, empirical or useful knowledge (Gustavesen 1979; Louis 1983) and normative knowledge (Morrow 1994). The former relates to the practical interests of members in a social group who seek to achieve particular ends. Useful knowledge is a central justification for strategies such as 'action research' (Susman 1983; Gill 1986; Johnson and Gill 1991) and to Hammersley's notion of practitioner ethnography. The latter form of normative knowledge applies a value or personal orientation in contrast to the 'value free' aspirations of the traditional forms of scientific knowledge. Normative orientations are commonly associated with the traditions of critical theory and ideological critique. Again there is a departure in my own work from the orthodox assumptions of
'emancipation' which underpin approach of 'pure' critical theorists. My critical analysis of events in Ilford cannot be seen to be emancipatory, but perhaps more of experiences which were collusive with the dominant management group of which I was a member. Here the interpretation of emancipation could be stretched to its limits where the hegemonic forces changed in a way that could be shown to serve the interests of the broader management group as well as the 'top' managers in the company.

Associated with each form of knowledge there are to be found a number of philosophical debates that have relevance for my own discussions and it will be helpful to consider them in the examination of my methodological position. A position which as I have indicated, does not neatly fall into neither the orthodox 'camp' of ethnography nor that of traditional critical theory, yet as a practitioner I have been able to usefully draw upon the ideas and principles of both academic traditions.

Knowledge and the 'real' world

In research that is 'managerial' in its orientation, the question of usefulness warrants special attention. The early distinctions between 'episteme', that is theoretical knowledge for itself and 'doxa' which is practical knowledge that informs activity, still exists in the minds of many managers as if there is 'atheoretical' practical knowledge. This distinction gave way to the concerns of natural science for developing knowledge that could be used to predict and control events in the environment. However, many managers are, in my experience, acutely aware of the difference they perceive between organisational theory or academic interests and the 'real world' of practical conduct. An indication perhaps that the worlds of the organisational scientist and the manager are still some way off from integration; but more importantly, it is indicative of an ideology that places great significance on 'doing things' clashing with an ideology that places value on 'understanding things'. There is however more to this debate regarding the nature of knowledge and the reality of which it informs.

My own primary position and socialisation as a manager in what we sometimes curiously refer to as the 'real' world and my academic ties and allegiances bring these difference into greater relief. This particular manifestation of role conflict places demands upon me to try and deal with the 'imagined' dichotomy between theory and practice. I have to argue that my work has practical relevance in the world of management and credibility in the world of the academic. Is this possible within two apparently different belief systems? At the root of these issues is the question of what does constitute a 'real world' and why should my particular version of knowledge regarding its understanding and interpretation be listened to?
Useful knowledge

A number of writers (Kilmann, Slevin and Thomas 1983; Louis ibid; Gustavsen ibid) have examined the problems as they see them, of doing research that produces useful knowledge particularly in the field of organisationally based research work. I suggest this is with good reason, if it is the case that most research in organisations is sanctioned and funded on the grounds that there will be some practical application of knowledge that is produced. This situation whether we like it or not raises debates between 'academic' researchers such as ethnographers, who are seeking to produce knowledge through their work that is generalisable and practitioners who may also aim to contribute theoretical knowledge, but in a form that will be of more immediate practical value.

Louis (1983), has discussed the generally ambiguous use of the term, 'usefulness'. To help to clarify the concept of the usefulness of knowledge, she has developed two important distinctions. The first distinction is actual events and potential to produce events. So that knowledge use is a descriptive form and knowledge effectiveness an evaluative form that relate to actual occurrences and can be assessed after the fact. Usability and usefulness are judgements made about the capabilities of knowledge before the fact. The second distinction between descriptive and evaluative relate to the values against which knowledge will be judged. So whether a piece of knowledge is effective will depend on for whom or what the knowledge is to be used.

Using Louis' analysis we may be able to operationalise our research knowledge if we have a clear view of the likely acceptability of that knowledge in a particular situation. Knowledge that is operationally dependent for its usefulness on the values and purposes to which it refers will be easiest to manage in 'real time'. This is because in the longer term, values or situations may change and therefore modify the relevance and usefulness of a particular knowledge.

Louis' approach is largely positivist in its orientation. Positivism is a word used to describe a particular type of epistemology. In the social sciences it represents efforts to use the methodologies which have dominated the natural sciences. The positivist either implicitly or explicitly, assumes that it is possible for the observer or 'subject' to be separated from the reality observed or 'object' by rigorous scientific method. There is therefore seen to be a 'dualism' between subject and object. By adopting this approach it is believed that 'theory neutral' knowledge can be acquired and knowledge would be uncontaminated by the observer who adopts the positivist methodology. The application of this epistemology has dominated a large proportion of organisational theory, but has also been the target of a considerable amount of criticism. Not least this criticism is validated on the grounds that positivism is contradictory (Hindess 1977; Gill and Johnson 1991), in that it rejects the
metaphysical view of all subject-object relationships which form the basis of epistemologies, including the epistemology of positivism.

The reactions to the wide ranging critiques of positivism has led social scientists to explore alternative epistemologies for their work. The basis for these alternatives has been referred to by Giddens (1982) as the 'double hermeneutic'. Here, the social scientist studies a social world in which causal law like relationships are implausible because all human acts are imbued with meanings and interpretations, quite unlike inanimate objects in the natural science world. Also, the world of the social scientist is itself full of concepts and meanings through which it attempts to make sense of the broader social world. Thus two hermeneutic tasks appear, one to understand the social object of study and the other to be aware of how the understandings of the subject affect these studies. The notion of theory-laden observation has thus become a central tenet in the philosophies of science. For example Kuhn (1970) explored the idea of scientific paradigms or world views through which scientists project their prior beliefs and associated disciplines upon their work.

Emerging from these and other debates is the idea of relativism, where truth itself is a relative commodity. If knowledge and truth is relative and bound to be contaminated, how can these problems be resolved with respect to the need for 'useful' knowledge? To make some progress I shall need to examine more closely the nature of the 'reality' which I am attempting to observe and out of which I need to generate knowledge that has utility.

Sayer (1992) offers a interesting approach to knowledge that develops the theme of usefulness and he does so from the methodological perspective of a realist. Sayer is concerned to examine the context of knowledge and particularly to de-bunk as he calls it, the 'intellectualist fallacy' or 'prejudice'; that makes the relations of social science to society a problematic one. It may also reflect upon the 'manager-academic' split to which I referred previously.

There is an implication that science both social and natural, represents the pinnacles of knowledge, through its articulation in writing and language. It is propositional or referential knowledge of objects by subjects who in the positivist sense strive for rigor and uncontaminated observation. He claims that practical knowledge which ordinary people may possess that enables them to live does not count as valid knowledge. Scientists from whatever discipline reinforce the subject-object relationship, whenever they as subjects are observing and recording information about the object under study. The scientists project this propositional knowledge back onto society as if it is possible for 'users' to live on it. Sayer believes that they "underestimate the extent to which social behaviour is guided by vague and unexamined practical consciousness", (Sayer 1992, p15). There is a privileging of this intellectual form of speaking and writing or 'knowledge of' something above the 'knowledge-how' to do something or communicate with others successfully.
Sayer develops the notion of practical adequacy based on the assertion that we can never discover absolute truth nor foundational knowledge upon which absolute truth can be based. Practical adequacy is defined as knowledge which must:

"...generate expectations about the world and about the results of our actions which are actually realised". (Sayer 1992, p 69).

As managers in Ilford our efforts to introduce TQM moved us into very unfamiliar territory, without the direction or guidance of our management consultants we were on our own. We had no alternative that we could see other than to reflect upon our situation, decide on a plan of action and then see whether or not it worked. In this sense useful knowledge was that which enabled us to make a prediction about the nature of something and then apply what we thought we knew, through our decision making, to our activities. Knowledge that is practically adequate will therefore vary according to the context in which it is set and used. This suggests that 'useful' knowledge is variable and likely to be updated or revised as the contexts change or those engaging with the world differ over time. As we made progress in Ilford our knowledge grew and we adopted a variety of views which appeared to help with our work at various times.

Sayer's realist approach rejects the positivist dualisms between subject and object by asserting that 'knowing' is a theory laden endeavour based on a duality of an external reality which is separated as a real object from our thought objects (Sayer 1992 p.47). Our knowledge of reality is a social construction and through the notion of practical adequacy, it retains a linkage with the external reality. That is, we may regard knowledge as useful if it enables our expectations to be actually realised through our application of it to the 'real world'. This link with external reality is viewed by Johnson (1995) as an escape from the relativism into which the debates and alternatives brought about by a rejection of positivist subject - object dualisms and their severances, have propelled us.

The subjectivist - objectivist debate has presented researchers with 'either/or' choices. Whilst models such as the one proposed by Burrell and Morgan provided a useful heuristic, its two dimensional mutual exclusivity has caused some difficulty for those interested in multi-paradigm research. Hassard (1993) has considered ways of dealing with the 'frontier' problem discussed by Pondy and Boje (opcit), whereas Willmott (1990) has argued for ways of 'denying' the mutual exclusivity brought about by the subject - object dualism and its restrictiveness.

For Hassard, organisational theory contains a 'plurality' (p.88) of competing perspectives and that a methodology for research should be somehow compatible with this view. He argues that multiple paradigm perspectives of organisations provides a much greater potential for understanding organisational activity and problems than does a singular and monological
approach. He concludes that epistemological variety in studies of organisations would further contribute towards greater democracy in organisational research.

Although the multi-paradigmatic approach to research quite clearly raises issues of relativism, there is a potential benefit of such a 'multiple lens' through which to analyse organisational problems. Different facets of analysis present opportunities for practitioners and researchers to move way beyond the restrictions of single paradigms and to broaden their understanding of organisations.

Willmott (1990) argues for a way out of the subjective - objective dimensions that limit organisational theorising. The retreat by many organisational theorists into the subjective dimension and the associated discredit of positivist approaches in social science has tended to move thinking away from the need to understand reality as possessing both subjective and objective aspects. I have already indicated that the exclusively subjective orientation raises problems of relativism because of its divorce from an 'objective' reality. To mount an escape from this dilemma, Willmott cites three theorists who have provided insights into transcending these dualist traditions: Berger and Luckmann (1967) with their analyses of the social construction of reality, Giddens' (1979) theory of structuration and finally Freire (1972), who critically argues for the existence of a different and more practical problem for a subjective / objective dualism. Freire explores the dynamics of oppression, which he sees as being structured by the division of subjectivity and objectivity between oppressors and the oppressed. This division maintains and reconstructs these 'dysfunctional' relationships. These writers have presented arguments for the re-integration of the objective and subjective theorising and in doing so, they stand in contrast to the two dimensional paradigmatic model presented by Burrell and Morgan.

Returning to the perspective of usefulness, which is my main theme in the managerial perspective, I believe that Sayer does offer a more satisfactory approach to the epistemological problems that I have encountered than does either Habermas' ideal speech situation (1972;1974) or Rorty's pragmatism (1979). Both these philosophers argue for a 'consensus theory of truth' in which realism is confused with a correspondence theory of truth (Johnson 1995) and so presenting a different ontological basis for knowledge.

In discussing some of the key issues for me in producing useful knowledge, I hope that I have been able to go some way towards resolving the conflicts which I originally felt between my concerns for multi-paradigmatic work and the more positivist orientations initially present in the research setting of Ilford Limited. I believe that during my work as manager and researcher in Ilford, I was able to bridge some of the gaps I encountered between the research philosophies and methodologies and what I was actually doing in Ilford. Part of my role as a researcher incorporated not only trying to contribute towards the production of useful knowledge in the everyday sense of managing with TQM, but trying to understand and
interpret events. This hermeneutic task was supported through a form of practitioner ethnography (Hammersley 1992) and through this process, I was able to discern the themes of change that permeate this thesis. In the next section I shall briefly explore the practitioner orientation to the ethnographic elements in my research.

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC ELEMENT

In his examination of ethnography, Hammersley (1983; 1992) advocates a form of reality which he calls 'subtle reality'. This is an alternative form to naive reality traditionally implied through researchers work based on positivist views. The need for ethnographers to escape from positivism leads to the a position where charges of relativism can be made, the notion of subtle reality is an attempt to avoid such charges. As a consequence Hammersley ends up dealing with the problems of objectivism rather than reality by concerning himself with 'selective representation'. Through this concern he acknowledges that at best ethnography produces only one of many valid accounts and it is up to the researcher to "make explicit their particular relevance's on which the account is based" (Hammersley 1992, p 54).

Within the concept of subtle realism there is an acceptance that knowledge cannot be absolute, that there is a knowable external reality, but it is not possible to reproduce social phenomena only to represent it. All knowledge is subject to cultural assumptions and we can never know that something is true for certain, instead we must rely on different notions of validity. This is quite a different basis on which to 'evaluate' knowledge than that presented through practical adequacy. Sayer retains the link with external reality whereas Hammersley severs it in a critique of objectivism.

Hammersley has argued that traditionally, realists have engaged in a form of 'naive realism', by which he means:

"...not only that the phenomena we study are independent of us, but that we can have direct contact with them, contact which provides knowledge whose validity is certain", (Hammersley 1992 p 50).

Orthodox ethnography does in many respects accept this doctrine of realism, in that by entering into the world of those to be studied it will be possible to discover and reproduce an external social reality. Hammersley also points out that ethnographers believe social reality is a construction (Berger and Luckmann 1979), where people construct meanings, act on them and reify them. This creates a tension between the accepted notion of realism and the relativistic notions of its social construction. Ethnographers then, seek to construct their own version a reality based on their study of other peoples' reality. This paradox is bound to occur if ethnographers apply their own theory to themselves, who are just as much a part of a human social world as those they study.
In my researcher position, I am already a 'native' of the social reality to which I apply my analyses, so how does the paradox of realism and relativism apply to me?

Conventional ethnography has been associated with a pure form of research, where the concern is to contribute knowledge to social science and many of the debates have centred around this concern. Accepting Hammersley's critique of orthodox ethnography and its apparent link to a naive reality, there is an approach that draws upon mainstream ethnographic research methodology, this is called 'practitioner ethnography'.

Practitioner ethnography is a term used by Hammersley to describe a form of applied ethnography which has some particular practical purpose associated with it. In his descriptions he positions himself in the role of defender of orthodox ethnography by presenting a critique of its appropriation by practitioners. I am not interested in pursuing this argument, but agree with Hammersley that it is important to distinguish between research which draws upon ethnographic ideas and that which is ethnography.

To understand my orientation I need to return again to the question of the purpose to which knowledge and its validity. Using Hammersley's arguments will however return me to consensus version of truth and a subsequently a different interpretation of reality to that presented by Sayer.

VALIDITY AND A CONSENSUS THEORY OF TRUTH

The notion of practical adequacy could be seen in the every day application of knowledge to practices and the extent to which the results that they produced were in line with what was expected. This would 'test' the usefulness of a particular piece of knowledge. However there was a prior level of validation which was the degree to which I and my colleagues could agree that a certain view had some merit. There needed to be a consensus.

There appears to be two levels from which to consider the issue of the validity of knowledge in this thesis. Firstly as a practitioner, knowledge production has to be specific and relevant in so far as it is believed that it contributes something to the solution of problems. The knowledge produced and reported in this thesis has been created out of actions and it is through these actions that reality in Ilford was constructed and interpreted (Morgan 1983). If the knowledge and understanding that I developed in Ilford helped to make progress by a consensus definition of what this meant, then as managers, we would regard that knowledge as relevant and valid to us.

Our knowledge and understanding of TQM developed and grew as we experienced more of our activities, some knowledge became no longer relevant because we had moved on and the context in which problems were framed changed. Other interpretations were discarded as not helpful at all. In this thesis I report the journey through different stages and contexts of
our efforts over some five to six years of trying to introduce TQM. Such knowledge has no special claim over and above any other claims that might have been created by other research situations, but I can argue that my immersion in the social phenomena which I report is plausible and credible and that the knowledge generated was practically adequate for problems facing me as a manager.

This brings me to the second level of the issue of validity. That is convincing the academic community and managerial audience at whom this thesis is directed and who may have different needs for their persuasion. Hammersley identifies plausibility and credibility as two important criteria in the judgement of knowledge claims of researchers who accept the notion of subtle realism. This stresses the 'selective representation' of phenomena rather than any attempts to 'reproduce' reality. Knowledge claims rest on assumptions which may always be challenged and my work is no exception.

My work is primarily descriptive and explanatory and carries with it a pre-requisite that readers already have existing knowledge of organisations and management. Given this is satisfied, I have written of my experiences in such a way as to present an account of someone who took part in the phenomena which I describe and explain. I believe therefore that my account is plausible on the grounds of my experiences and my own part in them. I have presented descriptive evidence of events in which I played a central part and which I believe contributes a relevant and novel description and explanation of the introduction of TQM and the contexts within which these events took place.

The notion of relevance is as an important criterion for research output. Although my writing of my experiences with TQM in Ilford is sometime after the event, the importance of TQM and its legacy of 'continuous improvement' in organisations has not diminished. More significant perhaps is this account as an example of how a management innovation can have far reaching effect on its implementing organisation when there is a 'benign' if not supporting context within which it is framed. I would also argue that the contribution which this study makes to our understanding of how management innovations are introduced, is enhanced by the multiple perspectives described in this thesis. The ideological perspective provides a valuable insight into the use of critical orientations to our understanding of how changes are seen to be successful within an organisation and its contextual setting. This too has its epistemological claims which I shall discuss in the next section of this chapter.

To conclude this section of my discussion on the epistemological issues raised by my roles of a manager and a researcher, I have tried to present the reader with an insight on how I have understood my particular position as a 'producer' of knowledge. I have indicated the overall strategic positioning for this work and argued for the epistemological validity of my
particular researcher location as an insider with direct and intimate contact with the events in Ilford. These events will be described and explained in later chapters of this thesis from the position I have tried to articulate through my discussions of my research approaches here. However, before ending this chapter I must explore the particular aspects of the critical theory traditions, which have helped to inform my orientations towards the ideological perspective used during the 'post Ilford' period of this work.
RESEARCH APPROACHES AND THE IDEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

INTRODUCTION

In this section I wish to introduce the reader to my use of critical theory in this case. I have drawn upon a number of ideas and concepts from the field of critical theory to form what I have called the ideological perspective, through which I have been able to critically analyse the introduction of TQM in Ilford. The use of these ideas and concepts comprise a methodology with which I have attempted to recast TQM as a component of management ideology. In my analysis I have focused particular attention on the notion of ideological change as a retrospective explanation of the changes which I helped introduce to the company as a manager. Such an orientation raises methodological issues which I shall need to address in my discussions. In particular, it is important to recognise that in offering a critical analysis of the events in Ilford, I am exploring and reflecting on my own position as an epistemic subject within a power structure of which I was a part. I have already argued that knowledge is a social construction, but through Sayer’s (1984) realist approach to practical adequacy, there remained a contact with an independent reality. In this sense knowledge could be adjudicated as useful through reference to the realisation of expectations in the results of practical activity. However as a social construction, it is also open to critique from a different vantage point. In this case, my aim is to explore ways in which the expectations of managers, as epistemic subjects, were pursued through the introduction of TQM. It is also significant to consider in what ways other interests, which may not have been so well articulated, could have been suppressed in favour of the dominant managerial interest within the contextual framework of Ilford Limited.

Another issue that arises in the use of critical theory as a methodology is that it all too easy to forget the partiality of our own position as researchers / managers. Johnson (1995) has reminded us that since knowledge produced by critical analysis is itself a social construction, it too must be reflexively apprehended, including how interests might be articulated to eschew any notions of neutrality, independence, or some imagined superior meta-position. I was a manager in Ilford during the earlier part of this study and I am still employed as a manager, so my own views about my position need to be explored or stand accused of an unconscious relativism and perhaps even a lack of ethics:

"If knowledge is evaluated in terms of how successfully it may guide action towards the realisation of particular interest laden objectives, this will necessarily require those conducting such critique to reflect upon the partisan nature of their own constructs, and thereby make the implicit, or the unconscious, explicit and conscious." (Johnson ibid p.498).

It is with this caution in mind that I shall discuss the ideological perspective as an aspect of my research methodology. Following an introduction to critical theory and its location in managerial research work, I will review the epistemological assumptions which underpin
critical approaches to social science. Although my use of critical theory is at the level of a 'retrospective' analysis carried out after my work in Ilford had ended, I believe it is of value to reflect on how the methodological approaches associated with critical theory might apply. I will then conclude this section by examining the implications of a critical methodology for managers.

INTRODUCING CRITICAL THEORY

Critical theory is a particular social science perspective that owes its origins to the 'Frankfurt school', a group of German scholars who worked in the Institute of Social Research. The initial membership of this school included Horkeimer, Adorno, Marcuse, Lowenthal and Pollock, (Held 1980), and other theorists such as Habermas and Giddens who have more recently contributed to the development of critical theory. Critical theory cannot be considered as a coherent body of views but rather as a collection of different theories and ideas which share a set of fundamental assumptions. Critical theorists are concerned with the forces in society that could move its institutions towards ensuring freedom and justice for everyone. Their focus is on analysing and revealing the obstacles that prevent the radical changes that are necessary for achieving emancipation and enlightenment. These 'obstacles' are seen to come about because humans are able to construct a world which they then experience as restrictive or oppressive. Regaining control over their own constructions becomes a central aim of critical theory from the perspective of the radical humanist (Burrell and Morgan 1979; Morgan 1990). One such obstacle is viewed as the way in which knowledge claims could favour particular powerful interests and be used, through its legitimation, to further dominate and oppress people. Critical theorists believed that such knowledge can be criticised from a meta perspective and shown up for what it is - a construction of reality. To pursue the aims of emancipation, critical theorists are therefore concerned with the interpretations of existing ideologies and with their transformation. A first impression of critical theory from a managerial standpoint may be that its concern with oppression and its lack of apparent value to elite groups such as managers, would account for its seeming lack of popularity amongst researchers especially those working with organisations. Fay, (1987), has suggested that if people feel happy prior to any contact with critical approach to social science, they are not "fit subjects for a critical theory" (p.83). Although Fay captures the 'traditional' orientation of critical theory at a societal level, there is growing interest in the use of critical approaches in organisations. Alvesson and Willmott, (1992, p1) argue that the use of critical theory in the study of management is justified because:

"management is too potent in its effects upon the lives of employees, consumers and citizens to be guided by a narrow, instrumental form of rationality". (Alvesson and Willmott 1992, p.1)
Nord and Jermier (1992) argue that any field of knowledge could benefit almost everyone to some degree and that elite groups such as managers, may appropriate critical social science for their own use to improve the effectiveness of their domination and control. This could raise some serious issues about the initial idealistic and specific aims of critical theory for enlightenment and freedom. On the other hand, I suggest that elite groups such as managers have shown themselves capable, albeit unknowingly, of improving their use of ideological control without any formal knowledge of critical theory. Given that such perspectives are applied latterly by theorists to explain management action, this should not be altogether surprising.

It is the nature of ideological constructions that those who appear to be in 'control' are themselves subjected to ideological restraints. This implies that some form of *immanent critique* (Morrow et al 1994) is required for 'ideological dupes' to 'see' the internal contradictions of their ideological position, by pointing to its inadequacies in practice to live up to its universally proclaimed values. My use of a critical theory approach in this study is to reveal or 'prise open' the ways in which the introduction of Total Quality Management within Ilford, was aimed at coping with an apparent break down or crisis of ideological control and legitimation amongst managers. Such a project may be taken to suggest my own capability to transcend my role as a manager, by achieving some epistemological privilege that eludes everyone else but me (Hammersley 1995 p.30). Clearly this is not the case and my own epistemological position offers no absolute truth nor unassailable high ground, but serves to contribute a critical explanatory account of the events in which I had participated and helped to construct as a practising manager.

EPISTEMOLOGY AND THE IDEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

There is an ontological debate in social science, (Burrell and Morgan 1979), concerning the nature of the social world. This debate is about whether the social world should be seen as existing only in the minds of subjects as concepts and ideas or as an independent external material 'reality'. For Horkeimer (Held 1980), the debate has little meaning since in his view it is not possible to reduce either in terms of the other. Concepts cannot be understood in isolation to their historic and material context and what is real is the sense of experience. The social relations between people and their 'reality' are also in a state of change and cannot be regarded as 'fixed cornerstones' in the world. Horkeimer believed that every thought and idea is interwoven with the whole social process and although we may try to gain knowledge of this total interaction, because they are not constant, they can never fully be understood. Individual cognition's are dependent upon what people see and how they are to interpret it, and this is subject to change. There can be therefore, a breach between an idea and its historical context in the sense that any cognition about the relationship between concepts and material reality are 'claims' and as such may be criticised as representing a
particular contradiction between 'words and deeds'. For example, the idea of free market forces is claimed by a group in society to be the fairest way of ensuring freedom, equality and the satisfaction of individual wants. This attempt to postulate a 'universal cornerstone' has however a basic set of contradictions in practice from which the notion may be criticised as patently unfair and loaded in the interests of the 'strong' rather than the 'weak' in society. This then is the basis of ideological critique and hence, in my view, the particular value of Pettigrew's (ibid) contextualist research orientation in organisations to help paint the holistic picture.

In the ideological perspective, normative knowledge is a central epistemological principle. Producing normative knowledge is a form of ethical theorising where values and judgements are an integral part, in contrast to the 'value free' aspirations of the positivist's pursuit of empirical knowledge. Theories of ideology that focus on political systems and action oriented belief systems, make an empirical claim but are dominated by normative imperatives. Such theorising is itself ideological and can range from a re-presentation of explanatory schemes, to direct political activism.

The ideological perspective of organisations is part of a sociological and organisational view that specifically addresses the need for those in authority structures to continually appeal to the personal values of its subjects. Those in authority must do so in order to maintain legitimate authority over those they lead. Legitimacy is necessary for a leading group to attract support for its aims by defining its own desired ends as also capable of meeting the needs and desires of subordinated groups.

It is useful to consider that the traditional study of ideology may be seen to have taken place within the radical humanist and the radical structuralist paradigms, described in the Burrell & Morgan (1979), analytical scheme. Both paradigms are bridged because the ontological status of ideology spans the notion of reality both as a subjective meanings formation and as an objective structure of organisational rules and hierarchical relationships.

The radical humanism perspective is rooted in the subjective orientation of reality. In this case it explains how the role of education in managerial technique and administrative science is used to reproduce the ideology of work through a 'symbiotic relationship', (Clegg and Dunkerley 1980). Education also maintains the managerial hegemony which defines organisational 'common sense'. The problems of legitimacy and authority in organisation are interpreted and solved within the hegemonic framework of the organisation in a way that reproduces and reinforces the dominant managerial view. Managerial theories and techniques, such as TQM, are accorded a 'scientific' or 'rational' status within the culture of work, and are acceptable to organisational members either within the relatively narrow domain of the work organisation or within the beliefs and values of broader society.
The radical structuralist offers a realist explanation, although not in Sayer's sense, of the "patterns and regularities" that govern social life. Its focus is on the bureaucratic structures and a Marxian view of struggle and change. Marx criticised Hegel's dialectic (Larrain 1983) for his assignment of the priority of ideas over physical being. For Marx all ideas should be explained from material practice and therefore collections of ideas such as ideologies should be explained in the same way. To achieve change, it is necessary to force change in the material practices from which ideas are formed. In this sense, radical structuralism explains the role of organisational bureaucratic structures in alienating workers who have no choice but to participate in their own alienation through the mechanism of formal employment. This state of affairs cannot be changed by re-interpreting ideas but requires a change in the material practice of work organisation and relationships. For example, in an organisational setting structural change is known by managers to be one of the 'quickest' ways to change 'culture' or the way people think about their working situation. Ironically, this 'Marxist' approach is seen to work well in many 'capitalist' institutions in which I have worked.

The problem of 'knowing' or the epistemology of critical theory is brought about by the view that there are no scientifically produced universal laws. To help cope with this difficulty, Habermas (1972; 1984) has offered his theories of knowledge constitutive interests and communicative competence, in which knowledge is seen as serving interests and communication provides the link between knowledgeable actions and the structural or material setting. Habermas's theory of knowledge-constitutive interests, (Habermas, 1972) deals with the epistemological problems of validity. He claims knowledge is never pure for itself but always serves some interest of people. It is this interest that constitutes a particular form of knowledge. He identifies three interests, a Technical interest of control, manipulation and predictability, a Practical interest of communicating meanings with other people and an Emancipatory interest in freeing ourselves from the 'tyranny' of false ideas.

Habermas argues that the first two interests are developmental in that the need for control over the physical environment requires us to develop knowledge that is supplied by the positivist traditions of empirical-analytical science. The third emancipatory interest becomes necessary to free us from the oppression that the pursuit of technical and practical knowledge can create. Habermas refers to his 'ideal speech situation' in which social actors are free from the dominance of interests. A situation that is not likely to be realised in practice. Rorty (1982) criticises Habermas for laying yet another 'foundational' claim to truth in that the ideal speech situation is an attempt to offer a universal basis upon which truth is produced. But Habermas does draw attention to the nature of interest laden epistemologies.

I have already drawn the readers attention to the problematic nature of a 'consensus theory of truth' and its epistemology. This is particularly vivid if critical theory, drawn from the
radical humanist paradigm, is to have any substantive claims for knowledge irrespective of from which group of people they may originate. To recap briefly on the problem, the subjective orientation of this paradigm lays the researcher open to charges of relativism when the analyst presents an alternative view of a subjective reality. If objectivism is the only alternative, there is nowhere for the researcher to escape the problem. Johnson (1995) has raised this issue and proposed that critical researchers find respite in the notion of practical adequacy, which I have discussed in the early part of this chapter. This moves the debate beyond of the subjective/objective dimension by regarding knowledge as involving both a social construction and a transaction between the subject and object. In my use of the managerial perspective, practical adequacy could be applied at the organisational level in the sense that the actual expectations of managers were largely met by implementing TQM. This success was not however, seen as anything more than a technical 'triumph' for the management innovation of 'total quality'. But from the ideological perspective, the practical successes could have been viewed as a restoration, at least for the time being, of legitimation for the aims of the top team within the various contexts of Ilford Limited.

**PRAXIS**

For critical theory to be of any value beyond an intellectual critique we may move towards the notion of *praxis* (Freire 1970; Gadotti 1994). Praxis may be considered at the level of the 'research community', however that may be conceived, as an articulation of the political implications of their work (Johnson 1995) and at the organisational transformative level (Heydebrand 1983), of linking consciousness with practical action. I may speculate as a critical analyst about how the organisational transformation may have been differently understood and managed if I had used an ideological perspective at the time. But I can examine the political aspects of my analytical work and the factors which appeared to influence its development as a research perspective for me.

Creating a perspective for critique in which organisational members may be situated is to some extent afforded by Giddens (1979) theory of structuration, and Hall’s (1985) conception of participatory research. Both views portray social actors as knowledgeable about their own social conditions in which their day to day activity is carried out. Organisational members may create the conditions for critique from within their social structure, without having to transcend their ideologically sustained culture. It is this situation that offers the potential for immanent critique.

Any critical evaluation of the particular form of organisational reality in which social actors may want to engage will be enhanced by increasing their discursive consciousness. This is the basis of the critical approach and the development of knowledge which I experienced in relation to Ilford. A critical orientation such as the one that I have taken in this section, must have its origins in experiences other than the academic. During my introductory chapter I
described some of my 'personal considerations' in order to help the reader gain some insight into the 'personal baggage' that I have brought with me to this research task. In addition to my biography, long experience in organisations does, I have found, lead to an increasing scepticism about why new initiatives are introduced. There are frequently inherent contradictions in most management situations where one has to balance the interests of shareholders with the interests of employees. Therefore my academic interest in critical theory grew and found sustenance in my personal scepticism which as I have explained developed with age and experience in organisational life. Faced with my research task, my particular interest was to produce an explanatory account based on the ideas of critical theory, in a way that reflected my view that TQM was a fit subject for critical and ideological scrutiny. I must also accept the fallibility of my critique in this part of my thesis as a normative oriented project. Whilst I may discuss praxis at the political level insofar as I am able to be reflexive, I can only speculate on how it may have been manifest at the organisational transformative levels.

Heydebrand distinguishes praxis from organisational behaviour and action:

"Organisational behaviour refers to objective causal sequences in the movements and responses of organisations under the impact of external forces and determinants. Organisational action refers to the relatively more subjective, goal directed activity of an organisation vis à vis other organisations in its environment." (Heydebrand 1983, p.306)

Praxis goes beyond the technical solution of practical problems facing the organisation, it refers to the conscious and self transforming capability of people within the organisation. Heydebrand distinguishes between different forms of innovative responses that occur at the levels of behaviour, action and praxis. At the level of praxis, innovations involve the transformation of the organisation and the self transformation of people, thus changes occur in the object and the subject. For this to occur, Heydebrand suggests that there needs to be a coercive free environment within which people can critically examine their circumstances and conditions of existence and change them. Most organisational innovations such as TQM are introduced as a behavioural response to poor competitiveness and result in imposed changes directed by the dominant management group without challenge to the existing hegemony. A difficulty with Heydebrand as with Habermas, is how do we know that we are in a 'coercive free' environment?

At the level of the research community, Johnson (ibid) raises the question of political praxis where there may be considerable difficulty in accepting and recognising the political implications of their own work because of peer and professional pressures. As a consequence they may leave themselves open to the criticism of relativism and of internal contradictions. In his discussions he raises reasons why there may be difficulties in this area. In Ilford the research community would have comprised at least my peers in the senior
management group, if a participatory research methodology were utilised. If I had been using
critical theory method in my own work at Ilford, the questioning of epistemic privilege and an
approach to a political praxis by opening up for debate one's own interests and fallibility in
any practical actions, would as Johnson comments, have been somewhat problematical.
There was a peer pressure and a certain unspoken, uncritical acknowledgement of 'expert
knowledge' and its associated interests, therefore implicit power for the unchallenged
'knowing individual'. Organisational politics are riddled with such issues. Clearly on some
occasions, to lay open one's concerns and doubts may have required more questioning of
one's claim to epistemic authority. Such questioning might have presented a serious threats
to my role as a manager in a culture where some managerial claims to authority are couched
in 'expertise'. In many ways I and my colleagues were 'individualised' in such a way that
some things were never shared or brought out in to the open and examined critically. If we
were to overcome these barriers it then becomes incumbent on the actors involved to avoid
the traps of relativism by deferring to the "success or failure of our interest laden practices"
(Johnson 1992 p.496) or a form of practical adequacy, as the basis for truth.
It is a matter of conjecture as to how a conscious awareness of these matters may have
presented themselves in Ilford. The managing director was on many occasions quite open
about his own agenda and his self doubts regarding his 'knowledge' of how to progress TQM.
But clearly there was some safety or security in being the boss. Would such an orientation
indicate a serious potential for a form of political praxis and also enable practical action to be
critically examined for its commensurability with the interests of other stakeholders? This
will, I think, remain an unanswered question in the Ilford case. It is however worth
considering the various methodologies of critical theory that may be used with particular
reference to Ilford Limited.

METHODOLOGIES AND CRITICAL THEORY
Morrow and Brown (1994) suggest that whilst the theoretical and philosophical debates have
been intellectually stimulating and challenging, the methodology of critical theory has been
neglected. They go on to list four factors that have placed critical theory in a 'vulnerable'
position regarding its credibility as a social science perspective. Firstly, the dominance of
the natural science method has marginally positioned alternative approaches. Second,
critical theory has been so preoccupied with criticising other perspectives and methods that it
has not adequately developed its own research programme. Thirdly, as I mentioned in my
introductory chapter, the ideological context of research would isolate funding possibilities,
particularly I suggest, in an organisational setting. Finally, critical science does not appear to
offer what Morrow and Brown call 'psychological gratification' nor practical skills that could be
considered useful in a culture of 'tools and techniques' with which the market oriented society
seems to be obsessed.
What is clear from the foregoing discussion of the ontological and epistemological aspects of critical theory, is that the methodological approaches marry phenomenological approaches with structural approaches. This implies an interpretive-structuralist (Morrow and Brown 1994) methodology which attends to the meanings that people construe from their experiences of their social world, which is a construction of historical, political, economic and social contexts.

Forester (1983) claims that a critical analysis of organisations does not call for any radically different methods of research. What is required are interpretive tools such as those used in ethnography and analytical tools for making sense of contexts and structures. Thomas (1993) proposes the researcher role of a critical ethnographer which is different from the conventional ethnographer, where the latter observes a culture in order to describe it, the former adopts a normative and political position to raise social consciousness and create change.

Critical ethnographers use methods such as participatory action research (Hall 1981; Whyte 1991), which unlike action research, is not dependent on expert researchers, but on the participation of ‘social actors’ in the research setting.

Critical ethnography has been defined as:

"....the reflective process of choosing between conceptual alternatives and making value laden judgements of meaning and method to challenge research, policy and other forms of human activity." (Thomas, 1993, p. 4)

The critical ethnographer begins with a value laden approach their work, which would not be regarded as scientific from the positivist viewpoint. It would also cast doubt over whether the research process could be free from distortion and just reflect a ‘personal crusade’ on the part of the researcher.

However, we could argue, (as Habermas does), that all knowledge reflects a set of values about what is worth studying and why. In critical ethnography these values are surfaced and recognised and should involve a self reflective component, but in positivistic approaches they are suppressed. In my ideological analyses, I have used normative theories of ideology to penetrate the empirical claims brought about by TQM, but another aim of the critical ethnographer is to bring about change in a way that removes or reduces the oppressive regimes that use distorted knowledge for their own ends.

Hammersley (1992; 1995) casts some doubt over the viability of a critical ethnography and critical theory generally, particularly in respect of its central aim of emancipation. The lack of independent grounds for judging knowledge means that all critical theory can do is help to replace one form of domination for another rather than emancipate. Such a view is somewhat sceptical in that it fails to recognise that some forms of domination are better than others and could be taken to mean that a determinist view of society is unavoidable. Both
Gramsci (1971) and Freire (1970) countered the deterministic view of society by regarding fatalism as ideologically constructed. Gramsci focused on the notion of hegemony as a world view that moved hegemonic ideas to become part of common sense. There would be a hegemonic crisis when dominators failed to lead consensus and were left with no alternative but to coerce. As I will later argue there is an interesting parallel between Gramsci's views and the historical events that led to TQM being introduced to Ilford. Freire saw that the ways in which dominating structures were incorporated into a fatalistic passivity amongst the poor and oppressed would be the enemy, which must be fought and struggled against, significantly through education.

The question of whether one form of domination is better than another and for whom, is linked to the idea of interests which I shall be discussing in my later chapters on ideology. It also raises issues about the idea of a consensus theory of truth and the presence or absence of the notions of praxis.

An approach proposed by Freire (op.cit.) suggests that critical theory approaches could help to create a knowledge of poorly articulated interests that leads to the possibility of praxis. Freire outlines several stages in consciousness growth that leads to critical thought. The first stage is where people are most dominated by 'intransitive thought', that is they attribute events to fate, luck or perhaps to God. Events are largely seen as beyond their control and influence. The second level of thought is 'semi-transitive' where people have thoughts about actions for change. At this level problems of change are dealt with singularly and out of context. Such people can be led by strong leaders with suitable rhetoric towards changes that are believed to be in their interests.

'Critical transitivity' is how Freire saw the third and highest development of thought and action, a critical consciousness. Individuals will see themselves as making changes and will feel empowered to think and act on events within the context of power relations. Praxis can only occur when the consequences of action become the object of critical reflection.

This conscientization is developed by Freire as a theory of knowledge and as an educational philosophy that could dismantle the hegemony of minority interests. Applying Freire's ideas to Ilford, it is likely that as managers of the company we were mostly within the second level of semi-transitive consciousness, where as individuals we all had thoughts about change and went to some length to share them in order to bring about actions. The educational processes did not align with Freire's pedagogy, but his concept of the 'banking' principle of education, in which people are receptacles to be filled was probably more illustrative of the TQM educational process. Of course, this way of looking at education and knowledge development was not understood nor considered at the time. The pressures of the 'expert' syndrome of positivism focused attention on the content issues of TQM rather than the process of its 'de-reification'. The development of useful knowledge which I regarded as 'practically adequate', was actually construed within non-critical theory context, but this does
not alter the value of considering Freire's analysis in understanding the potential of his methodology in critical theory and praxis.

The idea of participatory research in Ilford.
Although this chapter is concerned with research methodology, I believe it is helpful to try to ground some of the ideas of participatory research by discussing them in the context of Ilford. This discussion offers by way of example, how such ideas may have been seen to work in the company by reinterpreting some of the events as participatory activities. The communications events in particular were situations in which managers, including myself, searched to produce knowledge that would guide us through the implementation of TQM. In this sense at least, all of us as managers were all in a 'researcher' role. These activities will be discussed at length in future chapters.

In the Ilford organisation, 'managers as researchers' were creating a communications environment in which organisational members could legitimately criticise the existing and past ways of managing. They could then go on to develop new ideas about how they should manage in the future. The communications activities were set up by the MD to provide a forum for debate and critique. The ground for these events had been prepared by an educational process which was designed and presented by the DMC on the philosophy of TQM. The withdrawal of PA consultants had left a feeling of dependency amongst the top and senior management and the MD decided that the only way out was to learn for ourselves. The education programmes were three day events covering the principles of TQM, but what was important about them in a change context was not the content of the programme but the way in which it was presented. For the first time, the DMC and Senior managers 'humbled' themselves by announcing that they did not really know what we should be doing, only that what we had been doing was not right and had not produced the outcomes we wanted. We suffered poor competitiveness high failure rate and scrap in products, poor inter-department and lateral communications, poor morale, poor cost management to list but a few of the perceived deficiencies. TQM was offered as a philosophy of management which seemed right and was certainly different, but more importantly providing the framework for an anti-hegemonic process to begin. Through these educational programmes the climate for critique and positive suggestion was created. It became 'ok' to criticise ourselves and be more inwardly reflective.

The communication events were in a 'Habermasian' sense, developing communicative skills in a structural setting were power and status were specifically addressed and at least partially suspended to create the nearest this organisation could progress to an 'ideal speech situation', relatively free of coercion and domination. This would also raise organisational members discursive consciousness. However it is important to note that insofar as
questioning the existing hegemony was concerned, a form of counter hegemony had already been put in place through the TQM 'educational events' which preceded the communications events in Ilford. The educational events were three day courses attended by all managers and covered the principles of Total Quality Management. It could be seen that guides for thinking and an implicit agenda had been already planted. The communications events would act as vehicles for the consolidation and further strengthening of a new management order.

The agenda was set by the participants already primed by the educational process and anyone could present their own views and experiences for discussion. The outcomes were an agreed consensus for actions and further experimentation with the introduction of TQM principles. For example in one event, two shop floor supervisors were discussing the benefits they had found in talking to each other in the work place. Such activity would previously incurred some disciplinary action against one or both supervisors. Communication was only permitted through the managerial hierarchy, a rule which flew in the face of the idea of customer - supplier relationships as being key to improvements.

There was a resemblance between the communication event process and the characteristics of participatory research outlined by Hall (1981, p7):

* The problem originates in the workplace.
* The ultimate goal of the research is fundamental structural transformation and improvement of the lives of those involved. The beneficiaries are the participants. (To be questioned later).
* Participatory research involves the people in the workplace in the control of the process.
* Focus of participatory research is on work with exploited and oppressed groups.
* Central to its role is the strengthening awareness of their own abilities and resources and its support to mobilising or organising.
* The term researcher can refer to the community or workplace persons as well as those with specialised training.

Hall's account of participatory research originates in the Third World where he sees positivist research traditions as contributing yet another form of cultural dependency, this time on Western scientific methods. The reaction of Third World countries has been to develop social science methods that attempts to produce knowledge that "works better in societies where interpretation of reality must take second place to the changing of that reality", (p8). The researcher role is that of a learner and in Ilford's case for the development of indigenous capability to direct change beyond the dependency created by external consultant expertise. Hall reports a similarity between the Gramscian notion of the 'organic intellectual' and the idea of empowerment of people through learning. In Gramsci, the process of hegemony is most successful when the views articulated by the ruling elite are actively taken up and
pursued by the subordinated groups. In the communications events, all managers were
responsible for the dissemination of the 'new management ideology' not just from the top
down, but upward from the bottom and outward from the centre of the organisation. Each
person is an 'intellectual' who:

"participates in a conception of the world, has a conscious line of moral
conduct and contributes to sustain a conception of the world or to modify it,
that is to bring into being new modes of thought", (Hall, 1981, p9).

Vio Grossi (1981) sees a task of participatory research as a process of 'dis-indoctrination', a
means for enabling people to breakout of their current ideology. This creates the 'popular
knowledge' which is the hitherto unexpressed knowledge of the ordinary person by
articulating it and reflecting on it, which in Borda's terms is a 'people's science', understood
by common people. The dis-indoctrination to break out of current ideology in this case leads
to the production of an ideological shift which in hegemonic terms was overdue. The
leadership was approaching a bankruptcy of ideas, and the historical contexts had badly
damaged the credibility of the notion of managerial loyalty and the organisation as a central
life interest. This state of affairs was brought about by the redundancies and the likelihood
that they become the unwitting targets for reorganisation, be transferred, be retrained or
dismissed. This is all in the interests of the 'owners' and their economic priorities. Anthony
(1977) points out that managers, not workers are the key to productivity and their
commitment and motivation to support the organisation are essential for survival.

A high incidence of professional redundancy has led to a greater sense of alienation
amongst managers in Ilford, because of the stronger attachments to their employers. The
traditional management ideology based on the Protestant work ethic and the idea that hard
work would lead to the security and rewards inherent in a managerial career appeared to be
in crisis. These consequences of corporate action were of course unintended, but are
extremely serious problems in an organisation dependent on its managers for recovery and
survival.

Managers participation in the development of a new ideology was an essential process for
the needed fundamental change that relies on their commitment and energies. TQM as an
ideology represented a set of ideas where the public purpose was to serve the needs of the
consumer or customer rather than just the remote shareholder economic demands. Of
course profitability was a fundamental component (Seliger 1976) of management ideology
which has not changed, but the hegemonic process is managed in a way that integrates the
changing social acceptability of the primacy of the customer with the aims of organisation.

I have indicated some of the factors that may be used in drawing together a critical view of
TQM in Ilford, but how could the methodological approaches to critical theory been of value
in the company? To consider this question in further detail, I will now go on to discuss the implications for a critical methodology in management.

CRITICAL SOCIAL SCIENCE FOR MANAGERS?

Nord and Jermier (1992) suggest that the ideas of a critical social science are possibly more attractive to managers who through their experience, are frustrated and likely to challenge received organisational wisdom. They are also more receptive towards radical or counter-ideological changes. A broad group of managers in Ilford would have been identifiable in this context and for them the broad moral stance of critical theory would not be contradicted. Such a view conjures up an image of disgruntled failures who have a grudge against the system. But what of the DMC, whose motivations and commitments to the 'system' are less in question? Nord and Jermier suggest that critical social science can appeal to managers' humanistic interests and its value is potentially beneficial to all human beings. It is also clear that there are justifiable grounds for criticising a system which has built in contradictions. On the other hand for managers wishing to achieve greater manipulative levels of ideological control, the act of identifying contradictions may be useful so that counter measures could be devised to deal with potential hegemonic weakness.

I shall endeavour to show that this case is an example where TQM has been beneficial to the less powerful and perhaps frustrated managers, but not emancipatory in the sense of leading to freedom, nor radical in that fundamental changes have occurred. Ilford as a company and organisation, still conforms to a 'capitalist' specification for economic enterprises. But it can be shown through an ideological perspective that the dominant interests have been served by the approach, because it has led to a more effective and I suggest, a more socially acceptable form of domination. This is despite Ilford top management's unconsciousness of the machinations of ideological manipulation, because they themselves are also subjected to such manipulations. Like Hammersley, Deetz and Mumby (1990) also make the point that critical methodology runs the risk of replacing one mode of domination with another. This of course is exactly what some managers may seek, the ethics of which are ideologically preserved and enshrined in the continuing 'right to manage'. A management group that meets the expectations of those it manages and its key stakeholders (Freeman 1984; Carlton & Kurland 1996) will be credible and acceptable. Critical theory may be seen to have a role in helping to explore the conditions of these expectations, however, any possible 'shanghai-ing' of critical theory would in my opinion be reprehensible, although not altogether surprising.

It is helpful to further understand the critical theory approach for managers in an organisational setting by contrasting it with what may be a better known and perhaps more conventional approach such as action research. There are significant factors that separate
the critical researcher's approach from those of the action researcher. In action research (Susman 1983; Gill and Johnson 1991) the production of useful knowledge is implicitly taken to mean 'useful' within the already specified context or frame of reference defined by management, and which bounds the research activity. In temporal terms, action research is most likely to contribute to immediate problems that require solutions, and in terms of change is probably associated with adaptive change (Hedburg, 1981) rather than radical change. Brown and Tandon (1983) report that action research methodology will be successful when

"distributions of resources and authority are accepted as legitimate, when relevant parties accept researchers as credible and when rewards are available for integrating problem solving and research." (Brown and Tandon, 1983, p. 290).

Calling into question the legitimacy of a management group is not usually the remit of action research. My use of ideology is as a means for analysing how dominant interests are articulated and presented in the language of those whose support is necessary for those interests to be realised. Such an articulation is an 'unquestioned given' for an action researcher. Mumby, (1988), suggests that:

"Action research is unable to cope with situations where this, (ideological critique), occurs insofar as it accepts the definition of the situation provided by the group representing the dominant interests in the organisation", (Mumby 1988, p. 150).

The limitations of action research which I have described, apply in the normal pursuit of social science inquiry. I have tried to indicate that managers in Ilford, myself included, could be seen to have taken part in a process which incorporated some of the ideas of 'participative research'. A process which aimed, in Deetz's (1982), terms for understanding, critique and education as a way of achieving 'radical' change. For Gidden's (1979) it amounts to a discursive consciousness where there is a greater awareness of the 'man-made' nature of their own ideologies and systems of ideas, that enable and constrain actions.

For Hall, the 'researchers' are the organisational participants as well as people with specialist training. The activity combines social investigation with educational work and action, the beneficiaries of the process would have been the participants themselves. But for me, in line with Rorty's (1979) appeal for edification, such theory building through critical analysis contributes to the flow of both interesting and useful things that may be said about the world we occupy, but in particular the TQM related events which unfolded within the contexts of Ilford Limited.
CONCLUSION

To conclude, I believe that Alvesson and Willmott together with Nord and Jermier present sound arguments why a critical theory approach is important for managers to develop and Johnson has helped to clear a path which supports this form of theorising as a useful and practical approach. Unfortunately, although my critical views were emerging during my work in Ilford, my own ideological perspective developed more fully after my field work was completed. I cannot therefore claim to have invoked any changes as a consequence of critical thinking, but nevertheless I argue for a radical explanation of the events I experienced. In doing so I have tried to consider how such an approach might have given voice to poorly articulated interests and to shed a new light on the events in Ilford by re-evaluating the empirical claims for TQM as a 'neutral' and simply 'technical' management innovation.

I shall now begin my description and discussions of the work I have done during this case study. In the first part of this thesis, I present an analysis of TQM in Ilford from the managerial perspective, starting with an overview of the company and then go on to provide a comprehensive account of the activities to introduce TQM in which I was engaged. In the second part of this thesis, I will discuss these activities through the use of my ideological perspective and in doing so I shall present a critically informed analysis of this period in the history of Ilford. Finally, in my concluding chapter I will be returning to some of the research issues that I have raised in my discussions here.
CHAPTER 3

ILFORD LIMITED AND THE QUALITY IMPROVEMENT PROGRAMME

INTRODUCTION

My aim in this Chapter is to describe the site of the case study and the events that shaped the implementation of Total Quality Management (TQM) in the collaborating company, Ilford Limited. My description emerged from my role as a participant observer in daily contact with my work colleagues and from material gained through two interviews with the managing director, Bill Hunt and Dai Jones, the chief engineer. They gave me their accounts of the background and the events that had led the company to its situation at the time.

Total Quality Management (TQM) had its origins in a Quality Improvement Programme (QIP), which was introduced to Ilford during 1985. The quality programmes were a managerial response to the problems the company experienced following a major site re-location from Essex to Cheshire. This had resulted in considerable wastage because of personnel and technical problems that were partly caused by the move to Mobberley and partly by the historical events that led up to the re-location.

The TQM process was perceived by Ilford top managers as a strategic redirection for the organisation, the significance of which needs to be appreciated through examining the company's historical background and the linkages to its changing economic and business contexts. I shall describe the circumstances and business imperatives as they developed in Ilford and indicate how these led to a context within which quality improvement was seen to be the right thing to do.

I will begin my review of Ilford with an historical and genealogical introduction and quickly bring the discussion up to date by describing the events immediately before the start of this research activity.

ILFORD LIMITED - AN HISTORICAL REVIEW

The formation of a small company by Alfred Harman to manufacture photographic dry plates in 1879 gave birth to the modern Ilford Limited. Harman sought a site for his business that was close to London and with a dust free, clean atmosphere. He settled in the then small village of Ilford in the county of Essex and set up his 'Britannia Works Company', the growth of which led to the formation of a limited company, to be re-named Ilford Limited. The company developed
its product range apace with the development of photography and other imaging technologies such as X-Rays.

Ilford survived various crises during the slump and the later war years and had developed a world wide reputation for the excellence of its photographic products and technological innovation. After the war, the company prospered in a seller's market, Ilford black and white, X-Ray and graphic arts products were of the highest quality. By 1957, the company had over 60% of British X-Ray business and about 80% of the graphic arts plate trade with newspapers and printing houses. But signs of difficulty were starting to appear, it could not produce enough products for its customers, new products were not being developed as quickly as during the war years; the attempts to enter the colour market were draining its capital and its scientific research effort was spread over a range of areas almost as big as its larger competitors, Kodak and Agfa, both of whom had greater resources.

Some of the company's attempts to spread its business such as selling cameras and colour photographic products, were not as successful as had been hoped. The price of Ilford's key raw material, silver, had escalated by 85% and did not contribute to the company's feeling of well being.

Despite record sales in 1956, profit was down and although it recovered somewhat in 1957, there was a view that profit would be difficult to increase or even maintain in the coming years and some overhead reduction was being considered by a new executive hired in 1955 who had worked for PA consultants and Kodak.

The Ilford Board believed that colour photography was the likely key to the future, but could not develop the market without massive injections of cash. Fortuitously, ICI who were attracted by colour photography as a new venture for their Dyestuffs Division, but were experiencing technical and economic problems, made overtures to purchase Ilford shares. ICI's offer in 1958 of £6.4 million for 32% share holding was accepted by the Ilford Board. In return it gave Ilford access to ICI's research and a licence to manufacture and sell colour materials based on ICI R&D effort. The future looked set fair for Ilford with the substantial resources of a large company behind it.

Two problems were yet to come, firstly Ilford was finding difficulty in turning enough profit to satisfy ICI and other share holders. Its massive research programme and expanding business costs were too great for a good dividend. In 1961 Kodak delivered another blow to Ilford by introducing Kodakchrome II, a product with characteristics that Ilford had been trying to develop for its own products.

In 1962, the Board agreed to a study of the effects of a 10% cut in overheads, which may have been the start of a long downward trend for the employees of the company.
A chart in shown in Appendix 1 illustrates Ilford's reducing work force from 1968 through to 1987. This depressing trend was not interpreted to mean that these actions were not satisfactorily getting at the root cause of the company's problems until 1986, when Bill Hunt was a recently appointed managing director.

It will be noted that the reductions began with the shop floor and in the early eighties the attention of cost cutting regimes began to affect managers and 'overhead' staff. As with most overhead reduction activity, it brings only short lived relief and fail to articulate or address the underlying problems of poor competitiveness, it also stored up resentment and disillusionment amongst key middle and junior managers, who were the 'new' victims of productivity improvements.

In 1963, CIBA AG of Basle, Switzerland, approached Ilford. Like ICI they were interested in colour photography as a diversification for their Dyestuffs business and wished to work with an established photographic manufacturer. Ilford again saw the opportunity to expand its research efforts through collaboration and to exploit the European market through joint selling companies set up with CIBA.

In 1966 a Monopolies Commission report held that Kodak's monopoly was not against the public interest. The Commission recommended a reduction in prices and the abolition of the practice whereby films are sold inclusive of processing costs. These changes adversely affected Ilford's competitive position as a colour film producer, it could not cope with the price reductions and carry out research programmes.

The company resorted to different methods of marketing which were to supply its colour films to other distributors for them to sell to users under their own label. This and the CIBA interest brought some respite from financial problems and the company built up quite a high volume of sales and savings on advertising and distribution costs. In 1966 ICI and CIBA made an offer for all outstanding shares which was accepted in 1967 by over 90% of the shareholders. Increases in raw material costs were conspiring to make Ilford's profitability drop yet again, despite increased sales. Silver prices reached a new high in 1968 and spelled more trouble ahead.

Both ICI and CIBA were concerned at Ilford's lack of profitability and brought in Coopers and Lybrand to make a thorough investigation of the company before any further investments were undertaken. Rationalisation was seen as an answer and Ilford sold its interest in Bexford a raw material supplier of acetate base to ICI, a decision to be heavily regretted later, since they were the only supplier of this particular product to Ilford. Several other interests were sold off at around the same time.
In 1969 ICI decided to sell its shares in Ilford to CIBA which then became sole owner of the company and in 1970 CIBA merged with J.R. Geigy to become CIBA-Geigy the third largest chemical company in the world.

CIBA-Geigy set up Ilford not just as another Division but as the Ilford Group with a unique characteristic of having its management outside Switzerland. In 1968 the group employed nearly 6000 people and was structured into five main profit centres, the majority in the UK. Its headquarters and main research and production activities were located in Essex.

By 1975 a further 900 employees had been lost as a result of efficiency improvements and the still rising price of silver, the company would be seeking further improvements in its manufacturing methods for its profit margins to increase. In addition to these problems, the group as a whole did not have what Bill Hunt, called a "believable business focus". The three main Ilford Group sites in the UK, France and Switzerland, concentrated on self-interest dominated by strong personalities who did not appear to have any desire to integrate the business to the benefit of the whole group. Each were suspicious of the other and feared they might be 'sacrificed' in a rationalisation programme. There developed quite hostile competition between the sites, each trying their best to out do the other in performance. On one occasion, when work was to be transferred from the UK site to Lyon for a process called 'finishing', there were cases of suspected sabotage of the product.

Bill Hunt was appointed managing director of Ilford in 1980 following 30 years service with the company. His views on Ilford were outspoken and very down to earth. He criticised the company for being more concerned with R&D and building big production facilities that had no business benefit. CIBA-Geigy had subsidised Ilford's poor financial performance for some 10 years and the business mission of Ilford seemed to be, by default, not to lose money! In Hunt's view it was not possible to run a business on this basis. Bill Hunt believed that there were three alternatives facing Ilford, to close it down, to sell it or to rationalise again. The decision taken was for one "final rationalisation" and this was to reduce the remaining product lines down to its core business of monochrome lines.

The top management organisation in Ilford mirrored other CIBA-Geigy companies and divisions. In Ilford, the managing director was the head of the Divisional Management Committee or DMC, which comprised the Head's of each function, such as production, r&d and marketing, collectively they were accountable to CIBA-Geigy for running the business. In common with his other UK counterparts, Bill Hunt had two direct reporting lines, one to the Chief Executive for CIBA-Geigy in the UK and another to the functional head of the photographic division, based in Basel, Switzerland, nevertheless, he enjoyed a high degree of
autonomy to run the business as he saw fit, provided he did not contravene CIBA-Geigy ethical principles and directives.

In 1981 Hunt masterminded the largest rationalisation project in Ilford's history resulting in the most dramatic drop in employee numbers. This was to withdraw from the X-Ray, Graphic Arts and Microfilm business and close down all its operations in Essex and re-locate the remaining business to Mobberley in Cheshire, where a small production facility for black and white paper products and plates already existed. This was an old works and the new siting of all Ilford's UK activity there meant a major expansion of acreage and new buildings to house those who were moving from Essex. The new site was to blend in with the Cheshire countryside and be an environmentally well designed layout.

This relocation produced a feeling in the MD and other managers of a 'last ditch attempt' to improve Ilford's declining fortunes and gradual contraction from a wide product portfolio into the niche market of monochrome film products. Employees were given the option of redundancy or relocation, many shop floor workers chose the former. Managers were selectively picked to move North with the company and this was a traumatic time for many. The move was largely completed by 1985.

After the move to Mobberley, new machines and newly recruited local staff conspired to create production problems that were seriously affecting Ilford UK efforts to show CIBA-Geigy that their investment in relocation was worthwhile. Hunt was determined that Ilford should not fall again and his belief that the way the Company had been managed in the past could not have been right was strengthened the more he thought about it. It was one thing to think this, but he was less sure what to do about it. During this period of 'incubation', (Doz & Prahalad 1987), Hunt became interested in the quality improvement activities that were being introduced in the United States, largely in response to Japanese competition. A colour film collaborative venture with Konishuroko of Japan, had further illustrated to Bill Hunt how differently the Japanese worked in comparison to Ilford. He decided to appoint one of his senior Project Manager's, Dr. Bernard Brown, to investigate and read up on the Crosby, Juran and Deming work, first encountered by CIBA-Geigy in the United States. Bill Hunt, Bernard Brown and the Engineering Director, Dai Jones, became increasingly convinced as they learned more about the idea of Quality Improvement, that there was something in it which Ilford could use to tackle its recurrent difficulties. Hunt decided to use consultants to get the 'ball rolling', using the site move consolidation as an opportunity to start the company afresh with a new approach to its management and business.
THE QUALITY IMPROVEMENT PROGRAMME

There was a belief amongst the top management of CIBA-Geigy and Ilford Group that closing sites would lead to profit. Despite the increasing evidence of experiences over the years to the contrary, it still persisted in the Ilford management ideology. For Bill Hunt such a position was no longer tenable. He and his closer colleagues were gradually taking on the role of 'deviants' in that they no longer believed what Hunt called the traditional wisdom. His desire to change this traditional wisdom was to be further developed by using outside consultants. He approached Philip Crosby Associates and PA consultants and asked if they would present to the Ilford Divisional Management Committee, (DMC) their proposed approach to working with Ilford on the introduction of a quality improvement programme. The DMC was in effect the 'board of directors' who ran Ilford.

I asked Bill Hunt what factors had influenced his choice of PA Consultants rather than the more experienced consultants in this field, Crosby Associates. He said that when Crosby consultants made their presentation they appeared less pragmatic and too "philosophical" in their approach. They emphasised the importance of 'understanding quality concepts' and the 'education' of managers and staff. In contrast, PA consultants came across as practical and action oriented. They would 'tell' managers what to do after a thorough diagnosis of the organisation's problems. The diagnosis would inform and guide their actions during their presence in the company. They insisted that skills training would be necessary and they would design and deliver the material required. PA's action approach would have appealed to most British and probably American managers' 'action man' self image. It also created the illusion of concrete leadership and fostered the comforting feeling of dependency on consultants who knew very clearly what they would do. In Hunt's words, PA "sounded like hands on people, whose thought and ideas were good common sense".

The decision to employ PA was confirmed and the diagnostic phase was to start the quality improvement programme, (QIP), which was described by Ilford top management as a "major project". It was expected to run throughout 1985 and 1986.

QIP was launched in the company during May 1985 after the diagnosis and its findings and recommendations were reported back to the DMC. The programme was to address all aspects of quality, not just product quality. It was to be a programme of work that aimed to prevent poor quality at all levels rather than letting things go wrong before they are put right. QIP was expected to touch all employees in a wide range of jobs and departments beyond the traditional quality control function in production.

Hunt wrote a personal letter to all employees telling them about the QIP and articles were published in the in-house magazine, 'Ilford Today' later to be called 'Focus'. There were also
steps to set up meetings with the trades unions to gain their support and blessing for the project. Such support was not going to be unreserved nor continuous, the unions saw a potential bargaining tool in management's enthusiasm for QIP.

The QIP Project and Diagnosis
The project comprised four phases:

Phase 1. Diagnosis and Feedback
PA consultants to carry out a survey in Ilford at Mobberley. Their findings and recommendations were to be presented to Ilford DMC for their consideration and acceptance.

Phase 2. Quality Training
The most senior 50 managers in the company to attend 'Quality Colleges' covering quality management and what needs to be done at Ilford. A further 80 managers and specialists attended presentations on Quality Improvement and the structure for implementing improvements in the company. This was to be followed by a company wide briefing of all employees.

Phase 3. Problem Solving
A specific prepared for problem solving to be managed throughout the organisation. This was to be facilitated by setting up a 'steering committee which will be the UK DMC. One of the PA consultants, Peter Hillman, is to be the quality co-ordinator during the initial period of the programme until an Ilford person can be identified and trained. The role of the steering committee was to prepare problem action plans; further analyse quality costs; provide co-ordination for multi-functional problems; communicate regularly and set up a quality framework to give the QIP project structure.

Phase 4. QIP Development
Finally, this phase of the project was to ensure the continuous development and reinforcement of the disciplines which will have been introduced during the earlier phases. QIP was most clearly defined as a project, this was because the skills and the perceptions of managers were project oriented and represented the managerial approach to change. The managing director was regarded by his colleagues in CIBA-Geigy as a first class 'project manager' and his latest achievement in moving and re-locating Ilford's main business premises to Mobberley, re-confirmed this view. However, QIP was to become something more than a 'project'.
OUTCOMES OF PA CONSULTANTS DIAGNOSIS

Ilford was in business to market high quality products to professional users. The rationalisation of Ilford organisation was itself very successful. The project timescales were met and in over a two year period there was a new site and new people. The down side to this move was the loss of some expertise in key areas, a new workforce that needed integrating and the production problems of bedding in new machines with older already established processes.

The Chief Engineer, Dai Jones, who was to become an almost evangelical supporter of TQM, recognised a major engineering challenge to sort out the production problems which were centred on poor quality product output. But during an interview with him on why we needed a QIP he highlighted the scope of the quality problems that were not limited to production. For example, customers were receiving multiple deliveries of materials they did not order and then being sent multiple invoices asking them to pay for products they did not ask for or want.

Wrong deliveries were also created because of incorrect packaging. Customers who purchased FP4 film in HP5 packing also had cause for complaint; one professional photographer's entire expedition was ruined because of incorrect packaging. On top of this customers were unable to get goods out of stock because the production planning was out of touch with marketing requirements. In production there were process problems such as spots on films that when used would spoil irreplaceable photographs.

Dai, who was also Bill Hunt's closest DMC colleague, listed five reasons for needing a quality improvement programme:

1. To satisfy and retain existing customers.
2. To attract new customers and increase market share.
3. To reduce the high level of waste in production.
4. To increase profitability.
5. To improve job security.

The traditional Ilford approach to these of problems were no longer viable in Dai's view. When in difficulties the company's 'formula' was to cost-cut but more site cuts were not the answer, if only because there was only one site left! Also there was the dawning recognition that the 'formula' had never really got to the bottom or real causes of Ilford's lack of competitiveness, only the symptoms of it. The company was beginning to run out of cost cutting ideas and
perhaps PA could help to show the company another way of dealing with its recurring
difficulties.

**PA Consultants Feedback.**

PA Consultants views on the problems of Ilford were fed back to the DMC and the centre piece
of their report was the cost of quality in Ilford. The cost of quality was based on a breakdown of
costs into three categories: Prevention, which is the amount spent on activities that would
prevent poor quality from arising in the first place such as planning, training and process
controls; appraisal, which referred to the cost of testing and inspection activity; and failure, or
the losses incurred during the process, disposal of scrap and re-work.

The consultants estimates of Quality Costs by each category were:

- Prevention..........£4.4 million pa.
- Appraisal............£4.1 million pa.
- Failure................£12.5 million pa.

The total cost of quality to Ilford therefore amounted to £21 million, a figure large enough to
attract the interest of most management's! An example of a more detailed breakdown of costs
was presented for the Film Finishing Department, where film was cut, formatted and packaged
into the various film sizes and speeds. The cost of failure in Film Finishing amounted to £3.3
million and illustrated how one single department was dependent on other departments for their
failure rates. The cost were broken down as below:

- Process plant failure.............£320,660
- Lost in process.......................£2,221,810
- Scrap removal........................£114,520
- Material supply failure.............£183,230
- Staffing problems....................£411,450

The figures that were presented by PA were sufficiently convincing for the DMC to accept
them, but perhaps more importantly the underlying message the figures conveyed about the
way Ilford was being managed and run by its employees. The significance of this diagnosis was
that it began by focusing on issues that were by tradition close to the hearts of the DMC and
CIBA-Geigy - the costs of running the business. It was this orientation of quality that ensured a
good start for the QIP. It was business rather than philosophical in its appeal and focused on
thing the DMC understood and worried about. If the diagnosis had focused on for example
organisation problems or people management, although important and relevant, these would
have lacked impact. Attaching figures to the problems was very powerful and insightful, given Ilford's propensity towards managing costs rather than the business.

The figures were accepted by the DMC as representing their own gut feelings of what might be the cause of their difficulties.

The feedback report went on to included a number of underlying causes for poor quality in the organisation and presented a range of issues which would have to be addressed by the QIP over time. The following bullet points were presented to the DMC by PA:

**Underlying Causes.**
- No clear definition of roles, very common at all levels.
- Problems not solved at source but referred upwards.
- Inadequate manufacturability, this meant inadequate resourcing of product manufacturing introduction.
- Procedures and information non-standardised. No change control of modifications or adjustments made to the manufacturing process.
- Ivory Tower management. Senior managers and DMC were remote to the workforce
- Lack of communication upwards. Management do not listen.
- There is a lack of feedback to individuals on how well they are doing a particular job.
- Lack of planning.
- Lack of training.
- People not treated well.
- Constant comparisons made between Essex people who moved up with the re-location, and local Mobberley people. Each emphasised the others faults and stereotyped each other in the popular idiom of their local upbringing, Cheshire people are "wooly backs" and Essex people were summed up derogatively as just "southerners".
- Technical problems were not being solved at source nor with any systematic approach.

In addition to these points, the shop stewards unanimously felt that to work in Ilford, you were expected to "leave your brains at the gate when you come in and pick them up again on the way home"!

This whole picture conjured up a depressing view for the DMC, but they felt assured that the QIP would begin to address these difficulties.

**THE ACTION PLAN**

It was the view of the DMC that the quality improvement programme would take some two to three years to complete. PA consultants advised a medium term plan that would address the issues identified during the diagnostic phase and an immediate problem solving procedure to deal with the production quality problems. The plan would be managed within what was to be called the Quality Framework.

The Quality Framework was a set of procedures to control the QIP at all levels in the organisation. The framework was essentially an organisational review to establish roles, terms
of reference and limits of authority. Its purpose was to clarify and gain control of what decisions were being taken and by whom.

The main elements of work to be done in the medium term through the quality framework was:

- complete organisation review.
- establish comprehensive training at all levels.
- review and improve information systems.
- review quality systems and audit.
- review and revise personnel policies.
- improve communications.
- organise approach to work to improve quality.
- develop the use of Action Teams.

These actions were the genesis of a 'Total' quality approach within Ilford.

Some actions such as the organisation review were ineffectual. This resulted in a set of written role definitions that resulted in no changes in actual behaviours beyond the paper exercise. Changes in work practices as envisaged by the role definitions of supervisors and managers were quite revolutionary relative to the existing practices and would require more fundamental changes in the philosophy of work which did not develop until after an educational programme that went beyond the skills training originally provided through the consulting contract with PA. The medium term plan was all very well, but the pressures were mounting, at least in the minds of the top management, to ensure that Ilford could overcome its production quality problems facing it after the move and to gain credibility with the parent company CIBA-Geigy, that Ilford could overcome its profitability problems. The history of financial difficulties and the formula for relief in cost cutting was presented with new impetus through the 'Cost of Quality' case to be presented by PA. There was indeed a large amount of money being lost unnecessarily in the manufacturing processes. The idea of COQ was extremely attractive to a management with Ilford's cost reduction fetish. It represented a new and systematic approach to the problems of high costs.

Not surprisingly the most effective short term actions were in the area of problem solving. Problems could be considered not simply as technical difficulties to be overcome but with money saving potential too. It was in this area that the initial training and organisational structuring was focused as part of the Quality Framework to be given immediate attention.

The problem solving structure set up in Ilford is illustrated in Appendix 2. The structure is not dissimilar to those used in companies where quality circles have been introduced. This is frequently, as in the case of Ilford, a 'bottom-up' problem solving mechanism, where problems are identified by those engaged in doing the work and experiencing the consequences are encouraged to participate in the decision making process.
that will lead to a solution. To achieve this in Ilford, action teams were set up throughout the manufacturing organisation which also includes some research and development areas. These teams were composed of an appointed team leader and team members who possessed some skill or expertise in the problem area. These teams were also cross-functional which enabled problems to be solved which spanned functional organisational boundaries, (see Appendix.3). The role of these problem teams was to identify solutions and potential savings to be achieved and if within the sanctioning authority of the departmental manager, the solution would be implemented and reported up to the steering committee. Solutions identified outside of the local management authority would be presented to the steering committee for approval and prioritising. The problem solving structure was hierarchical in that the level at which the problem was manifested would determine the level of the solution seeking group. The Central Quality Department would advise and report on the quality assurance impact of solutions as well as their detailed documentation. Trades unions were invited to participate for two main reasons, one to ensure their early contribution and hopefully, commitment to solutions that may impact on working practices and secondly, to politically curry their favour and co-operation in the QIP.

During the first twelve months of this problem solving activity, it was calculated that a little over a million pounds was saved. This was a long way off the total amount of potential savings reported by PA consultants following their diagnosis. But it was sufficiently encouraging to keep the QIP alive.

TRAINING AND THE QIP

During PA's diagnosis of Ilford, they highlighted the lack of training apparent in the company and their recommendation was that this deficiency be corrected as soon as possible. There was a very real concern that the lack of training expertise and administrative capability in Ilford would seriously impair the development of a quality improvement programme. No members of the Essex based training department moved to Mobberley. The already existing training department at Mobberley employed one training officer whose experience was primarily in shop floor training and safety. He also was qualified to run the TWI instructor courses that were introduced into the UK by the Ministry of Labour following the second world war. PA Consultants insisted that if QIP was about changing managerial attitudes to work and their role behaviour, this would demand a great deal of managerial training and a more professional approach to the skill and knowledge development of all Ilford employees. The training programme that PA were introducing to support the team based problem solving activity, organisational review of managerial and supervisory roles was itself a priority problem in an
organisation with no capability in this crucial area. To overcome the problem, at least in the short term, Stuart Quirk, a chemist working in a production area, was appointed as a training officer with a responsibility for co-ordinating the QIP training programme and also to deliver the training modules which were to be designed by PA. This was a daunting task, but one that was met by enthusiasm and ingenuity by Stuart who sought the help and support of the parent company headquarters staff. I was asked to recommend training for Stuart that would equip him for his role. Stuart came over to Macclesfield for a meeting with Derek Stables and myself early in 1985. He came to ask for more than just advice on which course he should take although that was the overt purpose of his visit. He wanted practical help to run the one day modules, the schedule that PA were implementing would require courses to be run every day, every week for some months in order to put every manager and supervisor through the training. Our own schedule at Macclesfield and on reflection our lack of interest in what seemed like a routine training grind, prohibited such direct help. Stuart left our offices with our sympathy and some training officer course brochures.

Stuart told me some years later after I had moved to Ilford that he was pretty angry at our refusal to help him, but it seemed to increase his resolve to do the job despite what appeared to him as a typical HQ response to avoid doing anything useful. He faced a gruelling six months of almost non-stop training, the schedule was demanding because of PA's timescales and their own preparedness or lack of it, to run the modules. PA were designing the modules only one week before they were first presented by Stuart to managers and supervisors. On some occasions Stuart told me that he would receive the script and slides on Friday to present on Monday! The effectiveness of the first few runs of the nine module programme was to be doubted, but as Stuart became more familiar with the material and the support he had from managers willing to provide examples for use in training, the more his own confidence and ability increased. This was reflected in the end of course 'happy sheets' which provided Stuart with feedback from his course delegates. Single handed, he had trained some 450 managers, supervisors and staff specialists in the nine PA modules which amounted to about 198 training days.

The content of the training modules was aimed to raise skill levels and enable participants to change their behaviour within their existing jobs. The module titles were:

- **Module One.** QIP - The Need and the Aim.
- **Module Two.** Problem Solving I
- **Module Three.** Problem Solving II
- **Module Four.** Teamwork
- **Module Five.** Quality Improvement Process
Module Six. Overcoming Resistance to Change
Module Seven. Setting Quality Standards
Module Eight. Barriers to improvement

At the end of each module, participants would be required to complete a personal action plan in which they outline what actions they will take as a result of the training. There would normally be about a month between the modules for the participants to implement their actions. Their managers would be involved in this process as a way of ensuring some commitment to it. However, Stuart's pessimism that many of these action plans would not be actioned, proved correct. Most of the improvements in the production area were due to the focus of attention on solving problems that was provided by the 'overlay' structure of local and multi-functional problem solving teams. The estimated savings of one million pounds during the first year of QIP proved to the DMC that this approach worked. Training provided, in the view of some participants, confidence in their problem solving activity and an impression that the Company was serious about QIP.

The training had other consequences besides the learning of new skills. The composition of the courses was cross-functional, this meant that staff from different departments in Ilford were sharing a common event. PA's criticism of the insular nature of the main functions was partly the reason for this joint training. This was the start of breaking down the functional barriers which seemed to PA unhelpful and one cause of the high cost of quality failures, through lack of awareness of anything outside of a department's own patch.

This training was primarily skill oriented and provided the sort of managerial supervisory tools and techniques that could be used by any organisation, irrespective of whether they were intending to become a 'quality' company. For example, problem solving and teamwork were the staple diet of most management training courses and although oriented to solving quality problems, the training did little to raise participants understanding of a quality management approach to their work. In Ilford the consultants were 'managing' the QIP.

PA's contract with Ilford was coming to an end during the Spring of 1986 when the module training was due to be completed. The consultants knowledge of quality management had raised the dependency of Ilford DMC on their advice and direction, now with the termination of this relationship in sight, there was a growing anxiety that they would soon be on their own and be expected to continue leading the 'programme'. Bill Hunt said that PA had started 'hares running' and 'it was up to us to keep them going'. There had been much valuable work done that should not be lost. The main problem was that in general, the management of Ilford still did not understand quality management, they had learned new skills but not the 'philosophy' that enabled them to see the bigger picture. The importance of the 'total' view of quality had been
emphasised earlier by Crosby Associates when they presented their tender for working with Ilford. Bill was aware that for progress to be made, this philosophy would have to be understood and applied to continue developing and progressing the QIP.

Another recommendation from PA was the need for Ilford to recruit a training manager to continue the training impetus, develop training to support the QIP and the continue with the development of Ilford employees in the knowledge and skills of improving quality.

At this time I was not involved with Ilford in my HQ role at Macclesfield, but the events of 1985 in Ilford set the scene that was to significantly shape my involvement with Ilford over the coming years.

During January 1986, John Brewer, the Company Secretary and Director of Human Resources at Ilford, approached my boss Derek Stables, for help in recruiting a training manager and for some immediate on line support from his department until a suitable person could be found. Politically this was a good thing, because Derek always had to fight the battle of credibility for our HQ unit. As in other companies I know, the headquarters departments are viewed with disdain and cynicism by the 'real' operating divisions.

John Brewer suggested that rather than waste time waiting for a person to be recruited, some training needs analysis could be done at Ilford that should enable a new person to have something concrete to start with. The suggestion was that I should do this work. Derek asked me if I would like to spend some six weeks working in Ilford to develop a training needs analysis for the site, particularly its management and supervision. This project eventually led to my transfer to Ilford as the Human Resources Development Manager in early 1996.

Summary

In this Chapter, I have described the historical and business situation that has led Ilford to introduce a quality improvement programme. Past periods of success for the company were short lived and its problems were thought to be a cost base that was too high. In addition, the company needed significant resources to maintain a research programme from which it hoped to develop competitive products.

The various elements of Ilford's competitive context, recent history of rationalisation and the major upheaval of the move to Mobberley, set the scene for a series of changes that were to take place over several years. The situation was also politically influenced by the "last chance" nature of the imperative for improvement demanded by its owners. The recently appointed managing director had to demonstrate the wisdom of his appointment, and the move had
"bought time" for him to consider how he was going to set about his task of improving Ilford's competitiveness.

The introduction of the QIP and its success producing cost savings had set the stage for the emergence of Total Quality Management. There was also reversal of cause and effect in Ilford's problem definition. Traditionally cost base issues were seen to result in a poor competitive stance and the focus of attention was on solving the problem of high costs. Now, through their gradual understanding and experience of quality management it was emerging in the minds of some Ilford top managers that their focus of attention should shift to the issues of competitiveness as a consequence of poor quality, rather than as a direct attribute of costs.

Before continuing with my account of the management of quality in Ilford and the development of TQM, I will need to provide a review of relevant literature on quality management. This will provide the necessary grounding in the topic for me to pick up the story again, in chapter 5, with a description of how total quality developed in Ilford, following the withdrawal of PA consultants.
CHAPTER 4

QUALITY MANAGEMENT - A REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

Given the massive amount of publicity and interest in TQM during the nineteen-eighties, its meaning and interpretation was not received in the same way by all managers. As Smith et al (1992) have said when commenting on managers' perceptions of TQM, "what you see, is what you get". Consequently, different perceptions of what TQM is and what it means, has in turn led to varying forms of implementation and variance in its reported success.

In this chapter I will discuss the key contributors to the development of modern quality management. The purpose of this review is not to critique the different quality approaches prescribed by the quality 'gurus' for management, but to show how collectively they have provided the necessary foundation of quality principles from which TQM has emerged during the early part of the last decade.

THE MANAGERIAL PERSPECTIVE OF QUALITY

Within the managerial perspective the development of quality as a discipline in organisations, which has given birth to Total Quality Management, can be traced over almost a century of industrialised development. Quality has endured throughout this period with apparent cycles of enthusiasm and indifference. For one company, in which I worked, quality was primarily a technical function, populated by engineers and statisticians whose prominence and importance varied in a sort of cyclical fashion, seemingly in direct proportion the problems of reliability experienced by customers in the field. In more recent times the quality has soared to unprecedented heights of popularity and interest amongst top managers.

TQM has been one of the most publicised and popular 'innovations' to have appeared in recent times. Pascale (1992), has tracked the number of times that different 'business fads' have been mentioned in all kinds of publications, (see Appendix 4). According to Pascale, the frequency and rate that a 'fad' is mentioned determines the 'influence index', from which its popularity amongst managers is determined and the likelihood that they will want to try to adopt it in their own organisations.

The pace at which TQM has grown in popularity has had two effects, firstly its practical application by managers has always been trailed by academics trying to catch up with
adequate theoretical explanations for this phenomena. This has led to the second effect of a variety of interpretations and definitions of TQM with consultants and other opinion formers leading the field according to their own speciality and interests. It will become apparent that there is no agreed upon definition of TQM, although this is not for the want of offerings.

PROBLEMS IN DEFINING TOTAL QUALITY MANAGEMENT

TQM appeals to many managers who see it as a solution to their particular problems or perhaps at a less rational level as a current fad or fashion not to missed, (Abrahamson 1991). The way TQM is 'seen' by managers will determine the methods they employ to implement it, which by definition, will for them, be 'doing' TQM.

Managers perceptions of TQM will be determined by what Welke (1981) calls 'perception schemas'. Schemas are filtering screens through which an individual identifies particular facets of interest in the object they are perceiving and at the same time rejecting other facets. Welke suggests that schemas are time dependent and derive from a particular underlying ethic. Schemas are information processing mediums that enable us to cope with tasks and decisions that face us. Lord and Foti (1986) distinguish between two forms of schema which they term controlled processing and automatic processing. Controlled processing is activated when we are faced with unfamiliar tasks and we have to think about how we should proceed. This makes demands on our thinking time which can easily become overloaded by other work and personal cognitions. Automatic processing occurs when faced with familiar tasks that enable us to work with little cognitive effort. In my experience, managers tend to pressed for time because of the pressures of work and consequently do not always have the 'luxury' of having time to think about what they are doing. This is not an indictment of managers, but all too often the nature of their work. It is easier for managers to see new concepts like TQM in terms that are familiar to them, so there is a tendency to interpret the concept in terms that are familiar and make it easier to understand. What is then understood as TQM will set out the agenda for what action is to be taken, hence the variety of approaches that can appear.

Some attempts have been made to order this variety of perceptions, Ciampa (1992) three ways of defining TQM, as a unifying principle that embraces strategy, planning and all its activities; as a description of its outcomes in terms of customers, speed of response, costs, climate and continuous improvement; as a set of tools and techniques. He suggests that the best definition is the one that serves the purpose that managers may have in mind.

Smith, Tranfield, Foster and Whittle (1992) propose three ways of seeing TQM or schemas through which managers set agendas for activity. These mindsets are: Planning which is
concerned with processes, measurements, value and cost; Learning which incorporates a human resource orientation to TQM where the issues are motivation and commitment; finally, Visionary, which is driven by top management and relates to a strategy that focuses on the external customers and stakeholders of the organisation.

Smith et al, go on to identify a fourth mindset which predicts that success with TQM depends upon the capability of the organisation to manage its mindsets from a 'meta-perspective' that will enable transformations or paradigm busting to occur between mindsets and to develop new ones as they lose their relevance to the current organisational context.

As TQM evolves in the organisation it will pass through different stages, each stage will have its unique interpretation and at that time that is what TQM will mean to those involves. It is difficult to define TQM in a sufficiently wide sense to encompass all its variations, but Rampey & Roberts, (1992), have suggested a general definition which describes many of its 'forms' in Ilford:

"TQM is.....a people focused management system that aims at continual increase in customer satisfaction, at continually lower real cost. It is a total system approach, (not a separate area or program), and an integral part of a high level strategy. It works horizontally across functions and departments, involving all employees, top to bottom and extends backwards and forwards to include the supply chain and the customer chain..." (Rampey and Roberts, 1992)

The component principles of this definition developed over time as managers and consultants carved their own particular route for TQM from the early use of techniques and the work of the leading experts in the field of quality, to the comprehensive philosophy management system described above.

THE EVOLUTION OF QUALITY MANAGEMENT

Quality management has been evolving since the 1800's, Garvin (1988) has identified four main 'eras of quality:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ERA</th>
<th>DATE OF INCEPTION</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. INSPECTION</td>
<td>1800's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. STATISTICAL QUALITY CONTROL</td>
<td>1930's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. QUALITY ASSURANCE</td>
<td>1950's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. STRATEGIC QUALITY MANAGEMENT</td>
<td>1980's</td>
</tr>
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During the *Inspection* era, skilled craftsmen made goods using hand skills and 'eye' checking each part as it was made. This inspection process was an integral part of their skilful behaviour.

When mass production introduced 'scientific' principles of management such as division of labour and specialisation, inspection became separated from the maker as a specialised function. Templates and gauges were used by 'inspectors' to simplify the inspection activity to a go-no go test because of the lack of the craftsman's 'eye'.

In the 1930's Shewhart of Bell Laboratories, advocated a statistical approach to quality control. He developed *statistical quality control* which was based on his three views of quality definition: product-based; manufacturing-based and user-based. In the product based view, quality is a precise and measurable set of characteristics that are variable in quantity. So a high quality product has more of a particular characteristic than a lesser quality product. This view is an engineering rather than a customer perspective.

Manufacturing based quality relates to use of specifications in the production process where upper and lower limits are set, within which a product will conform to its product-based characteristics. This view is also an engineering and production control perspective of quality and limits the attention of managers to internal processes. This approach is probably been used for many years in most manufacturing organisations until the more recent discovery of the 'customer'.

The user based view was a 'meta perspective' and described in Shewart's terms:

"the broader concept of economic control.....includes the problem of continually shifting the standards expressed in terms of measurable physical properties to meet best the shifting economic value of these particular physical characteristics depending on shifting human wants", (Shewhart 1931, p 54)

Here was the embryonic customer focus for quality, but it was not taken up by companies with such enthusiasm as the statistical control method, until more recently when 'total' approaches to quality would successfully integrate these perspectives.

The *Quality Assurance* era saw the growth of quality from its production focus to the need to co-ordinate the activities that surrounded production such as design, engineering, planning, marketing and customer services. Quality Assurance activity gave rise in many companies to policies and procedures that covered the quality of design through to the quality of service manuals. The concern was to build quality into the product and prevent defects arising in manufacture and beyond. Much of the work of Feigenbaum and Juran centred on this area and will be discussed later in this chapter.
The present Strategic Quality Management era sees quality rise to the attention of top management. It has become a competitive issue where the links between profitability and quality are better understood. The success of the Japanese, who could produce superior products at lower cost and higher reliability, was all too plain to see in the falling market shares of companies in America and Europe. This led to greater customer expectations, who wanted more from 'home' producers.

Strategic quality management builds on all the previous eras by bestowing on them a strategic level of importance of which TQM is perhaps the most obvious exemplar. In the next section I will trace the origins of TQM with a review of the main approaches to Quality developed by the Japanese and the world's leading quality experts, W. Edwards Deming, Joseph Juran and Philip Crosby.

The Japanese connection
Quality is an elusive concept for some managers. It may be frequently associated with the notion of 'goodness' and something that is instinctively recognised when it is seen. It conjures up images of very expensive and exclusive products and services, names like Rolex, Rolls Royce, Harrods and Mercedes-Benz come to mind. Such abstract notions of quality and associated expense are unhelpful and can be shown to be inaccurate. Some expensive restaurants may not provide quality service and companies like Marks and Spencer can provide quality products and services at prices that are not excessive. To establish what quality is and how it may be managed, it will be necessary to briefly review the history of quality and the evolution of a variety of definitions and managerial orientations, starting with the most widely recognised exponents of managing quality in business organisations - the Japanese.

In the post war years, the Japanese have led the world on what quality means to consumers. Japan started to build the organisational infrastructure for quality in the 1950's and their competitive success has been the envy of the Western business world where there are many efforts to emulate the Japanese phenomena which has been popularly attributed by Western managers to many things from hard work to a cultural revolution. It is interesting to consider the factual basis for the Japanese success in recent years which has not only successfully competed with the West, but along the way has 'wiped out' a number of traditional industries such as motorcycles and electronics. Ironically, this phenomenal success has been supported by the Western experts who were apparently not 'prophets in their own land'. These men, Deming, Juran and Crosby, are now attributed with 'quality guru' status and the management population who ignored them now hang on their every word.

The so-called 'quality revolution' in Japan is based on a switch of business strategy from a productivity focus to one of quality in products.
The seeds of the Japanese success can, according to consultant D. Hutchins (1985), be traced back to the end of the Second World War, after which the country was devastated by a decisive nuclear bomb attack. Following the surrender, General MacArthur was appointed to oversee the task of restoring order to the Japanese infrastructure and its economy. The underlying motives were not just altruistic or simply reparative. There was a concern in America that the country must develop a healthy capitalist based economy, so as to offset and neutralise any threats of Communism.

Japanese manufacturing industry was not in good condition during the early post war years. The country had developed a world wide reputation for producing shoddy goods that were frequently rather bad imitations of other producers superior products. To help address the problems that were hampering economic recovery, MacArthur engaged the services of an American consultant and academic by the name of Deming.

W. Edwards Deming was one of a number of experts in the West on quality and production processes and is credited by many has having led the Japanese quality revolution. Such was his contribution to the Japanese economy through the improvement of quality that he was decorated by the Emperor with the Second Order of the Sacred Treasure. Also the Japanese Union of Scientists and Engineers created the Deming Prize, to be awarded to academics for contributions to statistical theory and a medal for companies who were deemed to have advanced the dependability of its products. He has received numerous other honours and awards, a sound background for a statistician who was to become known throughout the world as a 'quality guru'.

DEMING

Deming's (1986) approach to quality is based on the statistical quality control used by Shewhart (1931). Shewhart developed the use of statistical techniques for measuring quality. He argued that productivity was not a trade off with quality, but that the former was a consequence of the latter.

Managers who want to manage or improve quality in their organisations need first to know what it is they are trying to manage. This implies that 'measurement and numbers' are at the core of Shewart's statistical approach to quality.

Deming believed that managers were responsible for poor quality. They needed to change the way they manage or suffer the consequences. As a consultant he was known to be hard on 'client' companies, it was not enough for him that they 'do their best', they must adopt wholeheartedly a programme for change:
"Everyone doing his best is not the answer. It is necessary that people know what to do. Drastic changes are required. The responsibility for change rests on management. The first step is to learn how to change" - (Deming 1986).

Deming was in many senses an implicit supporter of organisational effectiveness as indicated by a 'systems' perspective, (Campbell 1977). He argued that managers must shift away from their concern with short term goals and focus on survival in a highly competitive and hostile environment.

The approach to quality that Deming insisted upon is summarised by his 14-Points.

1. Consistency of purpose; management must be dedicated to the meeting and improving quality for customer needs not just in the short term but as a continuing aim.
2. Adopt the new philosophy; poor quality in any aspect of the organisation's work must be absolutely unacceptable.
3. Cease dependence on total inspection; an inspection regime is an acceptance that defects will occur. This is expensive and processes must be managed to ensure there are no defects.
4. Base decisions on quality as well as price; companies must develop long term relationships with suppliers and quality standards are agreed in a full knowledge of the 'cost of ownership' and customer use.
5. Constantly search to reduce waste; all systems and processes of production are continually improved.
6. Institute effective on the job training; training must be based on clear concepts of acceptable work. Proper methods must be use to determine when training is successfully completed.
7. Institute effective supervision; supervisors must be empowered to manage their own jobs and take action to instil a sense of pride amongst their workers.
8. Drive out fear; fear on the job is unnecessary and very costly, people should not be afraid to say what they think and openly discuss job problems.
9. Break down barriers; interdepartmental and functional barriers can create counter productive work practices. All departments must work as a team for the company as a whole not their own self interest.
10. Eliminate unachievable numerical goals; use of targets slogans and posters do not work. They cause resentment because the changes needed are out of workers control. Instead of numerical goals for workers, the company must have a goal of continuous improvement.

11. Eliminate work standards an numerical quotas.; these focus on quantity not quality. They make defects and errors a certainty, at best they are achieved but rarely exceeded. Paying workers piece rates is worse, it pays them for defects.

12. Build up pride of workmanship; anything that gets in the way of people feeling pride in their work must be eliminated.

13. Institute effective education and training; people must be continually trained and re-trained to cope with changes brought about by productivity changes. All training must include statistical techniques.

14. Create effective top managers; managers who will drive the above programme.

Deming's approach emphasised building quality into the organisation rather than leaving it to be a functional activity associated with production alone.

This approach is not intended simply to be a prescriptive list of things to for managers. Harry Neave, the Director of the British Deming Association says the Points are ...."vehicles for opening up the mind to new ways of thinking, to the possibility that there are radically different ways of organising our businesses and working with people. There is a great danger in just obeying the words without first studying and developing deep understanding of why he (Deming) is saying these things".

Deming's early approach to quality was primarily statistical, building on Shewart's work in statistical process control (SPC) at the Bell Laboratories in the 1930's. Deming refined and developed SPC in a paper called "On the Statistical Theory of Errors" which could be used to manage variation in production. Two causes of variation were identified and distinguished from each other as 'systemic' and 'special' causes, these could help analyse those variations that were acceptable from those that were indicative of problems which must be corrected. Systemic or common causes of variation were those shared by many of the workers and machines, raw materials, poor design and the conditions in which production occurred. The removal of these common causes were the responsibility of management, which later Deming estimated to account for about 85% of all quality problems. Management must take the lead in changing these systems which were making it impossible for employees to
produce a consistently good 'quality' product. This skew towards management responsibility shifted Deming's approach from a focus on statistics to include a whole management 'philosophy'. Managers had for too long been satisfied with inspection techniques and emphasis on quantity and cost instead of quality. Their organisations would never improve unless they became committed to quality and created the conditions for workers to produce quality work.

Special causes were located at the level of individuals or specific activity. They might include poor materials, a lack of skill or knowledge and disinterested workers. These were the responsibility of the individual worker and must be enabled to correct.

Statistical Process Control was the key tool that would allow management and workers to identify and focus on correcting the causes of variation. A common mistake in production was for people to act on an incorrect interpretation of the causes of error, for example treating common causes which were inherent in the process design as if they were special causes created from isolated events. In Ilford the emulsion coating process was always being 'tinkered' with because each time something fluctuated operators would try to compensate for the change by adjusting a variable such as the mix or temperature, in order to control the output. The basic problem was that the process was not in control and neither operators nor managers understood what variations should be expected because of the system of production or those caused by an individual event. It would also lead to more elaborate controls being instituted and adding to cost, when an incident was perhaps not likely to re-occur anyway.

The 'control chart' was the operational manifestation of SPC and is illustrated in Appendix 5. It is used to study variation in a process, maintain a record of results and trends to show the effects of changes and it may reveal information about causes of variation. The chart employs upper control limits and lower control limits located about a centre line. The limits are calculated statistically rather than represent specification or target values and are not changed without understanding the signals displayed by the chart over time. The chart can be used to indicate when variations are normal and require no intervention or require special investigation and then to monitor whether improvements have the intended effect on the process. Another aspect of this form of process control was that when corrective actions were indicated as necessary, they could be more economically applied early in the process rather than wait for inspection and a costly rejection of the product at that stage.

Because a process was 'in control' did not mean that it was as good as it could be. The SPC chart showed how the current process is actually performing, not what it should be or might be and even though it may be operating within limits there was no suggestion that it was. The product may not be meeting customers requirements and be in need of urgent improvement. However, to improve the system (common causes), would require concerted
management effort through research, engineering design or in Ilford's case, engineering science, production, purchasing and sales departments. Improvements according to Deming, should be a continuous concern for management and workers alike and built in to the processes, to do this he says that managers need to create a work climate of productive co-operation rather than the assignment of blame. Further, managers should train workers in the principles of SPC and allow them to take responsibility for controlling their work and taking actions that will correct and improve it. Artificially created barriers to improvement such as targets and specifications must be removed.

To be able to work in the way prescribed by Deming, workers needed more skills in addition to statistical control charts. To remove causes and improve processes they needed problem solving tools such as Pareto analysis, Ishikawa or fishbone diagrams and flow charting. These skills would be used in quality circle teams which are voluntary meetings between workers to identify and solve problems in their immediate work environment in real time. Such teams could also be set up by management to span different functions and bring together different expertise that is relevant to solving a problem.

Deming also proposed a systematic approach to problem solving known as the PDSA or Deming cycle. The four parts are to Plan - what data is available; what should the group accomplish; what changes are necessary? , To Do - carry out the change or test decided upon. To Study - study the results of the change or test; what has been learned; what may be predicted? Finally, to carry out Action - adopt the change or not depending on what has been learned from the test. Employees would continue to go around this cycle again and again as a means to continually improve the quality of activities. Typically shop floor workers would be trained to use these techniques that were previously the exclusive domain of managers.

The approach to management that Deming was advocating is a radical shift for most managers brought up in a traditional 'scientific' management climate that was very different to the one being recommended. Had the approach remained at the level of a just management technique it would have been less radical and perhaps more acceptable to western management, but not anything like as potent as his 'total' approach was to become for the Japanese who put into practice Deming's ideas. These ideas were further developed by Kaoru Ishikawa with as noted above, remarkable success.

It is reported that Deming remained pessimistic of western and particularly American managers to match the progress of the Japanese, he believed they would take 30 years to catch up if at all. But the Japanese were even more smug, in the view of some Japanese managers, the west will never catch up, because the Japanese will have moved on. Such an outlook is most certainly depressing and Deming concluded that we should be "pretty scared". because the inability of the West to compete effectively, will eventually lead to a lower standard of living for us all.
Dr Joseph Juran worked with Deming on Japanese quality and is regarded in a similar light as a quality 'guru'. His influence in the development of quality management is no less considerable than Deming's. Juran (1992) like Deming, emphasised management's responsibility for improvements in quality, which is defined as "fitness for use". This meant that the user of a product or service should be able to depend upon it for what they required to do with it.

There are five main dimensions to fitness for use:

1. Quality of design, this was the design specification that set the level and concept of the product as either a Ford or a Mercedes-Benz.

2. Quality of conformance, which is the degree to which the actual product reflected the design concept which in turn is affected by the production environment and workers skills.

3. Availability means the product's reliability and how easily it may be maintained.

4. Safety refers to the extent to which the product is safe to use.

5. Field use is the product's conformance with its design after it reaches the customer, following distribution and storage as well as any after sales service provision.

These dimensions covered the product life cycle from inception through to the customers hands and implies a 'cross functional' orientation to managing manufacturing processes. This orientation is very significant because of Juran's view that the customer was not only the 'end user' or consumer but that people inside the organisation were also customers of those colleagues who preceded them in the lateral process from design to customer use. To manage these lateral relationships Juran proposed his 'trilogy' of quality planning, quality control and quality improvement.

Quality planning comprises:

- Establish quality goals.
- Identify the customers - who are affected by the goals.
- Determine customers needs.
- Develop product features that respond to customers needs.
- Develop process to produce the product features.
- Establish process controls.

Quality Control:

- Evaluate actual performance.
- Compare actual performance with quality goals.
- Act on the difference.
Quality Improvement:
- Establish the infrastructure needed to secure quality improvement.
- Identify the specific needs for improvement.
- Establish a project team.
- Provide training and motivation for the team, to diagnose the causes; establish remedies; and establish controls to maintain improvements.

Juran's approach to quality included the use of a broad range of statistical methods of analysis to support quality improvement. One of the issues that concerned Juran was that the quality management approach he advocates is primarily a 'technical' solution to a problem that he regards as a 'management' problem. The quality control language of the 'reliability' engineer is not likely to interest or attract the undivided attention of top management. Their language is money.

To put this situation right, Juran proposed a cost of quality accounting system, (COQ). The costs of quality were analysed in four categories:
- Internal failure costs that were brought about by defects that occurred in production;
- External failure costs that were created by defects that were found after production and shipment;
- Appraisal costs such as inspection and checking the product during manufacture and raw materials; and
- Prevention costs that were associated with the effort and work needed to prevent defects from occurring in the first place.

The detailed breakdown of these cost categories were:

**Internal failure costs**
- scrap: net losses in labour and material resulting from defective products that cannot economically be repaired.
- rework: costs of correcting defective products.
- retest: costs of re-inspection of products that have been reworked.
- downtime costs of idle machines, labour or facilities because of defective products.
- yield losses: costs of low yielding processes that have not been improved.
- disposition: the costs of the time involved for decisions to be made about what to do with products that are non-conforming.

**External failure costs**
- complaints: the costs associated in dealing with customer complaints arising from any cause.
- returned goods: the costs of replacing defective products.
• warranty charges: costs of service and repair under warranty.
• allowances: income losses through making concessions to customers who purchase 'seconds' of sub-standard products.

Appraisal costs
• raw materials inspection: the cost of checking the quality of vendors products.
• inspection and test: costs of checking product conformance during the manufacturing process from design to a customer's premises.
• test facilities: the costs of using and maintaining test equipment.
• consumption of materials and services: costs of destructive testing and energy costs.
• stock evaluation: cost of testing products in stores.

Prevention costs
• quality planning: the costs of creating plans for quality systems and their communication.
• new products: the costs of new designs and launch for new products.
• training: cost of developing and running training programmes for employees to improve their skills and performance.
• process control: the cost of controlling processes to produce products that are 'fit for use'.
• quality data: costs of continually monitoring quality performance.
• quality reporting: collating and presenting quality data to top management.
• improvement projects: the costs of implementing new projects for improved quality to customers.

These costs could be quite staggering when viewed as a percentage of sales. Typically the cost of quality could be as high as 40% or more, according to PA consultants. Which is a figure most likely to attract the attention of the most senior managers in the organisation. As already stated in chapter 3, these costs in Ilford were reckoned to be around £14 million per annum. For a company who would regard a profit of £10 million as healthy, this figure is indeed significant. It will be recalled that this figure did, as anticipated by Juran, grab the attention of top management.

Juran's idea of the cost of quality was also a means for developing the aim of quality improvement within the organisation. This is illustrated in Appendix 6.

The object is to reduce the costs of failure by increasing the costs of prevention and appraisal and there will be a point where further expenditure on prevention costs will not bring any further economic benefit. At this point the optimum quality level is reached and spending more on prevention is not justified because of the small savings in failure costs.
The goal of quality management was therefore to achieve optimum conformance and as long as prevention costs were cheaper than failure costs, it made sense to place resources into prevention and appraisal activities. When the prevention costs start to increase the COQ that was the time to stop trying to reduce COQ and maintain the level that has been reached.

It further implied that the idea of 'zero-defects' was not feasible, a view later questioned by Crosby, whose approach to quality management will be discussed later.

For organisation managers to reach the quality goal of optimum conformance, Juran suggested a three part approach, called 'breakthrough', the 'control sequence' and 'annual quality planning'.

During the early stages of a quality improvement approach, there will be a great deal of opportunity for breakthrough projects to bring about dramatic improvements by using the Pareto rule for identifying the significant chronic problems and showing management the potential for major improvements.

The breakthrough process involved seven steps:

1. Use COQ to convince top managers of the need to improve.
2. Identify the vital few projects from those that are relatively trivial and will not offer major gains.
3. Establish a structure for breakthrough by creating a 'steering committee' and a 'diagnostic group'. The steering group defines the problem and gives the authority for experimentation, overcoming resistance to change and implementing the solution. The diagnostic group analyses the problem.
4. Conduct the analysis by studying the problem and using problem solving tools to develop solutions.
5. Overcome resistance to change by participation and establishing the need for change in the minds of key people.
6. Institute the changes by convincing those who must make the changes that they are necessary and train those affected in the new methods.
7. Institute controls to ensure that the solution is implemented and working as expected and that no unexpected consequences occur.

Once the improvements have been achieved and the optimum quality level reached, the control sequence will ensure its continuance at this optimum level.

Annual quality planning was a high level vehicle through which top management could plan their quality objectives at a tactical and strategic level. The continued involvement of top
management would ensure the quality approach would become a 'habit' and cut the risk of lapsing back into their 'old' ways.

CROSBY

The quality approach advocated by Crosby (1979), is the basis for the approach used by Ilford following the withdrawal of PA consultants' after they introduced the Quality Improvement Programme, (QIP).

Crosby was the vice-president of quality in ITT when he left in 1979 to form Philip Crosby Associates Inc. and the Crosby Quality College, (of which I am a 'graduate'). It may seem an inevitable development that Crosby integrated some aspects of both Deming and Juran in his quality message that was again directed the top management. He believed it was necessary to change the attitudes and perceptions of senior managers towards quality, they needed to change their thinking. To help achieve this Crosby developed a 'philosophy' of quality management.

Crosby's definition of quality challenged managers to stop seeing quality as an intangible or a facet of expensive products. Quality is 'conformance to requirements' where the requirements were those of the customer. A Ford is as much a quality product for its owner as a Mercedes might be, if the car met the specifications laid down for a Ford. A product was not a quality product if it did not meet the requirements specifications for which it was designed.

Quality for Crosby was also a competitive issue. If a company improved quality, its costs would fall allowing it to become more profitability. "Quality is free" said Crosby (1979 p 1), as Juran indicated, it is the costs associated with producing 'inequality' work that costs money. This could add 5 to 10 percent of sales onto the bottom line profit.

However, unlike Juran who believed there was a limit to how much quality could be realistically achieved through his COQ approach, Crosby advocated the concept of 'zero-defects'. This standard was not meant to imply unattainable perfection, but that a level could be attained through preventative practices where a product consistently met its specifications - "making quality certain". The idea of zero-defects came from the Martin Company where Crosby worked in the 1960's. Managers in Martin believed it was possible to produce the 'perfect' missile, that is one which met its agreed specification. They set about developing a philosophy and set of practices to achieve this aim, importantly it would be clear to everyone in the organisation that managers expect zero-defects.

Crosby's concern to change managerial thinking was founded on his experience that if top management expected reject and sub standard work, then that is what they would get. Management's attitudes that allowed for defects would of course influence the worker's
attitudes towards their jobs. Crosby emphasised that the idea of zero-defects was not just an employee motivational programme, but a very clear management standard.

The basis for the philosophy are the 'four absolutes' and a more recently added fifth absolute of quality management. The four absolutes may be framed as answers to questions:

- What is quality? ......................................Conformance to requirements.
- What system is needed to achieve quality? ......................Prevention.
- What is the standard? ..............................................Zero-defects.
- What is the measure? ..................................................Cost of quality.

Conformance to requirements refers to the identification of what the customer requires from the product or output. In the case of internal customers, this must usually be prefaced by asking who is the customer? For example a foreman in the emulsion making department will only be vaguely aware of who this main customer in the coating department might be. The organisational arrangements were not designed to take account of knowing your customer as an important design feature.

Once identified the customer and the supplier can communicate directly to discuss their relationship and what can be realistically agreed as a conformance standard. The achievement of this standard would be 'zero-defect'.

To ensure the achievement of the standard, a system of prevention needs to be installed. The wisdom of prevention is clear, the early in the product process defects can be prevented the less costly they will be to correct.

In developing prevention, measures are essential to maintain control over the product cycle. Another aspect of prevention is a problem solving approach that aims to solve the problem for good so that it will not recur.

The measure of quality in Crosby's view was the cost of quality. This divided into two main components, the price of conformance, (POC) and the price of non-conformance, (PONC). In similar fashion to Juran's COQ ideas, Crosby's price of conformance should rise bringing down the price of non-conformance. In Ilford the PONC figure was around £14million.

The fifth absolute declared that there is no such thing as a quality problem. What Crosby meant was that the problem is poor management, quality problems are management problems.

The first stage in the Crosby approach to quality management was diagnosis. How much is quality costing and where are you now? Costing quality meant analysing activity using POC and PONC tools, which usually showed up as between 15% and 20% of sales according to PA consultants. Crosby used to refer in this context to his 'elevator speech' when he was at ITT. In the mornings on his way to his office he would sometimes share the elevator with the
CEO and other top executives. Crosby knew he would only be with them for a minute or two and needed to perfect a way of getting his quality message across in this time. He decided that the shortest and most powerful way was through numbers, preferably large numbers. Fifteen to twenty percent of ITT sales was a big number!

The cost of quality diagnosis was followed by a form of self-assessment, called the Quality Management Maturity Grid. The Grid matrix identified five stages of quality awareness and six measurement categories and could be used to compare divisions or companies. Managers position themselves on the grid and assign points to each stage, one point for an uncertainty mark and five points for a certainty mark. The maximum points score is thirty. Crosby says that if somebody comes up with thirty points then, "have an awards dinner and forget the whole thing" (ibid p37).

Once the diagnosis is complete and there is an awareness of the quality issues, Crosby offers his own fourteen point programme for quality improvement. This emphasises cultural change rather than reliance on statistical tools alone, it focused attention on prevention rather than detection and clarified the roles of top management as leaders, quality experts as facilitators and workers to be trained and educated to manage their own quality.

Crosby's Fourteen Point Programme is summarised below:

1. Management commitment.
   - Top management must become convinced of the need for quality improvement and must make its commitment clear to the entire company.

2. The Quality Improvement Team.
   - Management must form a team of 'department heads' or representatives to oversee quality improvement.

3. Quality measurement.
   - Quality measures that are appropriate to every activity must be established to identify areas needing improvement.

4. The Cost of Quality.
   - Estimates of quality costs must be made to target improvements.

5. Quality Awareness.
   - Quality awareness must be raised amongst all employees.

   - Opportunities for correction are generated by steps 3 & 4 as well as by discussions among employees.

   - An ad-hoc zero defects committee should be formed from members of
the quality improvement team, to start planning a zero defects programme.

8. Supervisor Training.
- All levels of management must be trained to implement their part of the quality improvement programme.

- A Zero Defects day should be scheduled to signal to employees that the company has a new performance standard.

- To turn commitment into action employees must set improvement goals for themselves and their groups.

11. Error Cause Removal.
- Employees should be encouraged to inform management of any problems that prevent them from performing error free work.

12. Recognition.
- Public, non-financial rewards must be given to employees who meet their quality goals.

- Quality professionals and team leaders must meet regularly to share experiences, problems and ideas.

14. Do It All Over Again.
- The process of quality improvement is never ending and steps 1 to 13 must be repeated to renew commitment and bring new employees into the process.

The contribution of Deming, Juran and Crosby

The approaches by Deming, Juran and Crosby are highly prescriptive and steer towards the statistical control process as the underlying method of managing quality. They have each contributed to the present Total Quality Management approach which tends to be a 'collage' of their recommendations. Whilst it can be seen that they each presented their views in a different way, they were all agreed on one thing. That was the central role of management in directing quality rather than leaving it to the quality engineers and statisticians in the quality control department. Deming emphasised management's responsibility for quality, Juran highlighted the importance of planning and Crosby raised the issue of attitudes of workers and managers towards quality. Together their work has placed quality on the agenda of top management as a strategic rather than a tactical competitive issue.
THE 'TOTAL' IN TOTAL QUALITY MANAGEMENT

The brief review above of the quality management thinking of the three most popular and often quoted writers on the subject, prepared the ground for the onslaught of the management innovation known as Total Quality Management. TQM has been proclaimed by writers as a "a hot topic in business and academic circles", (Prahlad & Hamel 1990); and is "sweeping the industrialised world", (Flood, 1993). Why should the phenomena of TQM be so widespread in the business world today? According to Flood, "TQM is helping to remove unnecessary and costly waste, locate and eradicate sources of error and provide the consumer with reliable products that they actually want". As if this were not enough, he suggests that TQM makes peoples' jobs more meaningful and above all makes "common sense". Such claims would make it hard for managers to ignore TQM, and perhaps to some extent, accounts for Pascale's findings.

It is of interest to make the conjecture that managers of industrial organisations have been working to achieve these aims for many years, so why should they now be so apparently popular? What is perhaps different now is that these well known individual components of managerial activity are being considered not as separate strategies that tend to originate within specialist organisational functions, but as an integrated or 'total' approach to the problems of management at its highest level. It is a total approach that has found its 'time' in the context of the issues facing managers in the 1980's and 1990's, who tend to share goal orientations and experience similar performance gaps, created by environmental changes, (Grandori 1987).

The changes in the competitive environment are largely attributed to the success of the Japanese in the world market place, which will be discussed later. A 'total' approach, by definition, can only be so instituted if it is generated at the very top of the organisation, by those whose roles offer such a 'total' and integrating perspective of the organisation. TQM is by its nature, management led.

The origins of the phrase 'Total Quality Management' is not clear, but according to Mary Walton (1990), it was first coined by Nancy Warren who was working as a behavioural scientist in the United States Navy. The term Total Quality was previously used by Armand Feigenbaum in 1956 when he advocated a 'whole' approach to quality management by co-ordinating and controlling all management and operational functions in the organisation:

"The underlying principle of this total quality view...is that to provide genuine effectiveness, control must start with the design of the product and end only when the product has been placed in the hands of a customer who remains satisfied.....quality is everybody's job" (Feigenbaum 1956, pp 94, 98).
The phrase Total Quality Management appears to have been popularised by American managers following the Japanese use of Feigenbaum's term total quality control (TQC). The word 'total' implies that all employees are involved in quality, where quality as we have seen, is defined either by specification or customer requirement. 'Management' suggests that total quality is led by a management process in pursuit of quality outcomes throughout the organisation. TQM is based on a quality management process, but has a much broader basis than just the approaches to quality so far reviewed.

From the perspective of organisational behaviour, the quality 'gurus' have had a catalytic effect in fusing existing theories into a macro level philosophy that is right for its time. Lodge & Vogel (1987) argue that the intensification of global competition in the 1980's created an environment that has "enforced changes" in government, business and labour. The emphasis on quality as a competitive strategy which, in many managers eyes, had gone beyond 'theory' by their witnessing, sometimes first hand, the consequences of a country that practices it.

SUMMARY

This review has given some indication of the nature of quality management and its development according to the dominant 'gurus' in the field. I have suggested that practising managers when faced with these developments are likely to be selective in what they 'see' in it for them which in turn will be dictated by their particular schema in use. However they are 'seen', each of the prescriptive offerings reviewed above makes a key contribution to the phenomena of TQM. Its philosophy has grown out of the mix of techniques from Shewhart's statistical control and its radical development by Deming's 14 Points to encompass more than just the technical focus on the product and involve management in the quality frame. Juran's cost of quality prepared the ground for Crosby's success in developing his own philosophy that has given consultants a considerable amount to persuade managers to examine quality as a strategic issue.

What is not implicit in these developments until they are examined further, is their impact on what I would term a 'revival' of existing management theories such as leadership, teamwork and organisation systems design, by integrating them in such a way as to produce one of the most influential management innovations of our time. In the next chapter I will consider how we tried to achieve a revival of management practice in Ilford through the implementation of TQM.
CHAPTER 5

TQM IN ILFORD

INTRODUCTION

In the minds of most Ilford managers, TQM began after PA consultants had withdrew. At this time there were a number of factors that would determine what would happen next. Two basic choices seemed to present themselves. Either the QIP, which PA had successfully led and introduced, would continue to develop or the initiative not develop further and would eventually fizzle out through loss of interest and by becoming 'dated'. PA were in the process of developing their approach to TQM which they were to use at other CIBA-Geigy sites, this approach was embryonic during the QIP work, but its influence was quite clear. It was based on a mixture of PA's own experience, Crosby, Juran and the Deming principles.

Whilst PA consultants were honing their TQM approach during their work at Ilford, the managing director, Bill Hunt and his close colleague, Dai Jones the Chief Engineer, were also becoming extremely interested in the 'total' approach to quality management and were beginning to formulate their own views as to how TQM would grow out of the QIP initiative. They had read Crosby's book 'Quality without Tears' and were familiar with Deming's work, coupled with what they were learning from Peter Hillman, the PA consultant, led to a keenness to apply these ideas to their own company.

There are a number of clear phases through which the changes introduced by TQM passed during the period of this case study research, the transition from QIP to TQM was a discontinuity, a point in time where one particular activity was seen to have run its course and something new was needed to maintain the momentum and continue progress. My aim in this chapter is to describe the managerial activities and progress made with the introduction of TQM. This account is based on my own participation as manager and an action researcher helping to manage change in the company at the time. To aid the flow and clarity of my description of events, I will concentrate in this chapter on management activities in Ilford during this period without a full referral to the relevant theory. I will consider the detail of theoretical underpinnings which were used during this work in the next chapter.

Following my initial 'consultancy' role in Ilford to conduct a training needs analysis, I was offered a appointment in the senior management group as the Human Resources Development manager reporting to the Director of Personnel, John Brewer a lawyer by training, who was also the Company Secretary. I will pick up the story from the time of
PA consultants withdrawal and chart the progress of TQM in Ilford up to the time I left the company in 1990. This was at the time of the purchase of Ilford from CIBA - Geigy by an American company called International Paper Corporation (IPC), who are the current owners of Ilford Limited.

TQM - THE QUALITY EDUCATION PROGRAMME.

The TQM process began with an period of education. This led to a realisation that the traditional managerial practices in Ilford were no longer compatible with the TQM philosophy, as we understood it. If the changes we wished to introduce were to be successful, it was essential that the managerial behaviour and institutionalised practices reflected the new approach. This was to mean that changes in the procedural and structural components of organisation would be borne out of a new mind set amongst top managers and other managers about how they should approach their work. These change efforts were to be rewarded by an improving picture of the competitiveness and profitability of the company, but were tempered with a recognition that TQM was a 'long haul' - "a forever thing" as described by Bill Hunt and there was to be no let up. Ironically, due to its success in using TQM as a vehicle for improvement, CIBA - Geigy would find it a lot easier to sell the company in reasonable shape than not paying its way. This was to be the ultimate reward for the efforts of all its employees and despite the sadness that this created for some, for many it was the start of a another era in the chequered history of the company and a realisation that perhaps nothing is "forever"!

My responsibility in Ilford for the company's training strategy and plans began to take some shape before I formally joined the company's senior management group in June 1986. I had previously been involved with Ilford whilst still based at the CIBA - Geigy headquarters in Macclesfield, in carrying out an analysis of the organisational training requirements in the Ilford UK Division. This was based on a study of the company's training arrangements at the time of PA withdrawal. PA had strongly recommended that Ilford should strengthen its training activities and align them with the quality initiatives that had been started. There was no strategy for training or development and the role of a senior manager responsible for this activity had not been clarified. Two issues were raised in my report, one was on my role in developing a strategy and the other dealt with specific training requirements for managers supervisors, operators and other staff. I had already decided that the key aspects of a TQM philosophy such as its systems or
holistic orientation to the organisation and the customer-supplier relationship should figure significantly in any training designs.

At a meeting with the DMC on 17th April 1986, I fed back my conclusions. Arising from this meeting were three summary actions recorded in the minutes. These were that I should clarify a training strategy, develop particular plans for management, supervisory and operator training and to be involved in the development of the Total Quality Management educational programme.

The DMC had agreed to the development of a TQM educational programme which was to be aimed at raising the level of understanding amongst managers and supervisors of the philosophy and principles of total quality management. The responsibility for this work had been given to Bernard Brown, a senior project manager who had been involved with QIP from its inception. So that I could support this work my boss, the Director of Personnel and Company Secretary, also a DMC member and myself, were to attend the Crosby Quality College held in Brussels. This was what Crosby Associates called their three day course covering the philosophy and principles of TQM. The managing director and several other DMC members including Dai Jones had already attended the Quality College.

The knowledge we had gained from the course and our existing experience of quality management enabled Bernard Brown, Dai Jones, Peter Hillman and myself to design an 'in house' programme, also of three days in duration. The new course was to be presented first to the DMC on 13 - 15 October 1986 and they would act as 'guinea pigs' to enable us to incorporate modifications prior to its formal launch.

One of the DMC concerns was how to ensure that the launch of a TQM course following on from the QIP training that had been done over the previous year, did not give the impression that QIP was dead and another flavour of the month called TQM had appeared. There were various answers to this problem, one was not to call it anything, but just carry on under the heading of QIP other DMC members felt it was appropriate to use TQM but to explain its relationship to QIP. The question was resolved by introducing the TQM course as a Quality Education Programme, QEP this was to improve current management competence in using QIP to become a TQM company. It sounds confusing but it made sense to the DMC at the time. One of the introductory slides summarised this as follows:

1 Our management competence and total operation must improve to internationally competitive standards. i.e. a TQM company.
2. The improvement process is QIP.
3. The purpose of this course is to enable you to devise and lead the full implementation of QIP in your areas of responsibility.

The aim was to continue improving management competence and to further illustrate the approach, a health metaphor was used by Bill Hunt to explain the belief that "if you are seeking a healthy life style, consultants can advise but they can't make you healthy, you have to do this by picking a programme, (QIP, TQM), adapting it to your own circumstances, get on with it and stay with it, eventually it will become your life style". Implicit in this belief was that change will come about by sticking with what had been started and not by switching from one thing to another. Continuity was important to the DMC, they did not want to be seen as if they were thrashing about in some panic looking for a panacea to solve Ilford's problems.

The TQM programme was given a dry run for the DMC, a 'pilot' event which aimed to ensure all DMC members were equally familiar with the principles of TQM and to decide on adjustments and improvements to the content and conduct of the three day course.

The 'master stroke' came at the end of the DMC pilot course when it was decided that the programme should be delivered, not by training personnel, but by members of the DMC and senior management. This was to be a significant decision in raising the level of personal 'ownership' of TQM and publicly declaring managers' commitment to it. It was not another consultant's programme nor a training department invention, but a management initiative run by managers for managers. This ploy was also key in reducing resistance to the principles of TQM from the more sceptical managers in Ilford, of which there were many.

The programme was to be delivered in 'tranches' through the hierarchy. The first tranche would be the senior management group of 40 managers followed by a second tranche, the management group of some 150 managers including technologists of managerial grade but without staff to manage. The programme would conclude with the final tranche of supervisory and technical staff. There were no plans at this stage for continuing the course with all other non supervisory employees. The initial task was to convince the whole management of the company that TQM was the right thing to do.

Each course faculty comprised the MD, DMC members and senior managers and as the course continued, more managerial presenters would be recruited to the faculty. Each course comprised a chairman and presenters, the chairman's role was to provide
the introduction and ensure continuity throughout the three days of discussion, presentations and practical work. The chairman was also responsible for producing a feedback report for the DMC, which contained information about the event itself and ideas and actions that were raised during the programme. The feedback report was regarded by the DMC as essential to link education to practice and as a means for monitoring the effectiveness of the event.

Schedules were prepared in advance, showing the faculty commitment to the programme and these were considered priority engagements with which nothing was permitted to interfere. Each management presenter who was invited to participate was encouraged to brush up their presentation skills and become familiar with the material. However, the general feeling was that no one should worry too much about their level of knowledge at the present time. Everyone was on a learning curve and the style to be adopted during the course by the presenters and chairmen reflected this by admitting to the course delegates that they did not have all the answers. This stimulated discussion during the events and individuals felt able to contribute their own ideas to the forum, the MD had said that the way things were done in the past are no longer successful in today's climate, and everyone was invited to engage in a search for new and better ways of working.

The atmosphere that was created by this style was invigorating for many managers more used to a distant and to some extent 'unknown' top management as some secret group who met regularly and issued instructions and directions to those below. In addition to the 'legitimisation' of participation during the course, there was a similar freeing up of experimentation in the work place. Managers were encouraged to try out their ideas in work and share what they had learned with their colleagues.

TQM WORKSHOPS AND COMMUNICATIONS EVENTS

One of the key structural changes to the organisation in Ilford introduced by PA was the steering committee. Known as QIPSC, Quality Improvement Programme Steering Committee, it retained its role as the means through which the DMC could meet specifically to receive feedback, agree actions and priorities and make future TQM strategy. This decision making body was functional in helping to drive and steer the TQM effort throughout the company, in a participative style. Papers, suggestions and results of action could be put to them for discussion and decisions. One of their decisions was to set up TQM workshops and communications events.
The TQM course was the core educational activity that formed the foundation on which progress could be made and the momentum of the quality improvement initiative maintained. There was however a real danger that the educational event might just be that, with no visible practical improvements in evidence. To support continued learning in a practical environment and as a natural follow on to the atmosphere of participation created on the courses, new forums were established within in which TQM issues could be discussed and practical experiences shared. These were called TQM workshops and communications events.

The workshops were of one day duration and would cover the whole management population. The mechanism for their operation initially was that the DMC would agree a theme for the workshop. If this fell clearly within a functional responsibility of a senior manager, they would prepare papers on the issues and prepare syndicate questions for discussion during the day. The aim was to air an issue so that a decision could be made on a suitable course of action. Everyone could feel that they have had the opportunity to contribute to the decision or at least increase their own understanding of particular problems in the application or progress of TQM.

The first workshop fell squarely in my area of responsibility. After the senior management group had completed the TQM course and the management group had started their courses, we needed to plan ahead what the next phase of TQM would look like.

I produced a paper entitled, "Training and Development Strategies for TQM", in which I outlined two alternatives as I saw them, for distribution to the DMC and senior management group. It was now two years since the start of QIP and over this time there were two main phases in the process. In phase one the QIP included the setting up of a steering committee, problem solving teams and new skills training all of which had led to a saving of around £1 million in cost of quality. The estimated target figure suggested by PA was around £14 million, so there was a lot more to be done, although there was a growing scepticism after developing a better understanding of TQM, that this figure was anything more than a 'guesstimate'.

This initial 'change' period supported behavioural changes by introducing new procedures and techniques for solving quality problems. These behaviour changes were primarily guided by consultant intervention which was the main source of knowledge in quality management. The second phase which comprised the TQM education for managers restored the balance of knowledge in the principles of TQM which would hopefully lead to progressing the QIP by self direction. How the third phase would follow on from TQM education was to be the subject of this workshop.
In the paper I presented, the two alternatives were: 1) to continue with a 'saturation' strategy by continuing with the TQM education to all levels of employee in the organisation. This would be complemented by the TWI instructor force to help communicate TQM principles on the shop floor.

The second alternative was to regard the last two years as a period of change and before continuing with more wider educational programmes about TQM, it would seem timely to enter a period of consolidation. There needed to be a shift in emphasis from 'change' to 'persistence' and how to ensure that the new knowledge and skills developed so far can be 'institutionalised' as an approach to work.

Alternative two was labelled a 'performance' strategy, and was based on the principle that different people have different learning styles, (Honey and Mumford 1982). Some learn better through theory and concepts others learn best through experience and practice. But essentially this strategy was aimed at providing a period of experimentation and implementation of TQM principles.

It was proposed that each DMC member would identify specific TQM related objectives for their functions. They should identify these by discussions with their managers on areas of improvement that are likely to be fruitful and cascade priorities down through their departments. This would need a lot of attention by the managers and a continuing support of an 'experimentation' climate to encourage people to try new ways of doing things based on the principles of TQM. The progress of implementation should be monitored and the outcomes evaluated against the original aims.

This second alternative was chosen by the managers on the TQM workshops as a suitable way to proceed. The TQM course schedule would continue as planned and as people emerged from the courses, they could take a more active part in the 'performance' strategy.

An approach to managing the actions of departments in experimenting with TQM was the Strategic Priorities Management System. This would identify individual departmental managers and DMC members with the responsibility for projects and their progress. Each manager would be involved in deciding what projects were appropriate and how they would act as 'test beds' for applying TQM principles. A reporting system was set up and regular feedback received by the QIPSC.

Departmental projects would be used as vehicles to apply TQM principles and used to illustrate TQM in action, such as prevention or cost of quality. It was also agreed that a one day course on TQM would be run for all staff including the shop floor. These one
day programmes would be conducted by the departmental management to cover the four absolutes and the Deming 14 points. There were some objections to this route, because one of the benefits perceived by many managers attending the TQM course, was the mixing of different functions, but generally it was felt that this would be offset by departments 'owning' their own TQM development. It could be argued that for a person working on the shop floor, 'cross-functional' could be taken to mean someone else in the department working on a different part of the process or refer to different sections in the same department.

As part of the implementation of customer-supplier relations, all functions were required to review their roles and responsibilities, with their customers and suppliers in mind. This was to be reinforced by the agreement of 'customer-supplier contracts', which began to grow throughout the company as a key manifestation of the customer-supplier principle.

During the workshop, there was also some discussion about 'sceptics' or 'non-believers' and what to do about them. The managing director was at one stage all for 'firing' anyone who did not believe in TQM! He realised that this could have 'killed' TQM in its tracks. People would just say the right things to keep their jobs. There was some value in having sceptics amongst 'true believers' because they can help retain a sense of reality and can always put up a counter argument that will reveal flaws otherwise overlooked by sheer enthusiasm.

Ralph Kilmann (1985), proposed an approach to managing problems that relates to this 'sceptic' or deviant position. He contrasts two 'inquiring systems': the Lockean inquiring system which tend to create debate that converges by ignoring or downplaying differences in opinion or viewpoint and the Hegelian inquiring system which encourages debates that diverge from an initial position.

The sceptic 'syndrome' also brought to mind the notion of groupthink, a phenomena described by Irving Janis (1971) as a collective striving for unanimity, that tends to override the motivation of members in a group to realistically appraise alternative courses of action.

Both the approach and the psychology of decision making in Ilford could have been affected in a detrimental way if the cynics were actively suppressed. The decision by the MD not to threaten non-believers, was partly influenced by one manager who, as an ex-naval petty officer, ran the internal site transport department with a 'rod of iron'. He was regarded as an autocrat who was very successful as a manager of his department. His subordinates liked him and respected him, yet in so many ways he was not a TQM type of manager. His department provided excellent service and could not
be faulted by the 'customers' of his department. Who was to say he must change the way he manages? Certainly the MD did not feel disposed to tell him he was not doing his job in the right way. In management discussions and workshops, this manager was an excellent devil's advocate, he could offer up objections and difficulties which had not thought of by other managers.

The tolerance level in Ilford contributed to the success of TQM. Today's heretic is tomorrow's guru, was a philosophy that seemed to work, the MD's ideas about TQM were somewhat radical to a traditional organisation and he could be described as a sceptic or deviant in that context. It was the different views and positions which people were able to take that helped the company progress.

The image of a TQM manager was epitomised in Ilford as the 'situational leader' a model of leadership offered by Hersey and Blanchard (1977), whose leadership model was used as a basis for management training in the company. This leadership approach was contingent upon the 'maturity' or competence and motivations of individual workers, depending on where the worker appeared to be on a scale of high or low maturity. This perception would elicit a different style of management to reflect the subordinate needs for direction or freedom. This model was taught on a CIBA-Geigy internal management course, and was seen by Ilford managers to contain the range of management styles which seemed to match Ilford's 'plural' approach towards TQM.

The communications events were similar in their format to the workshops, and superseded them as the main forum for discussing progress with TQM in the company. These events combined business information communications followed by syndicate discussions on selected themes. The communications events were arranged for the whole management population. These were followed by individual departmental communications events run by the departmental managers for all their staff. They were typically of 1 day duration and in some cases a half day, but the general format was the same as the original events. The were forums to discuss progress, critique activities, share experiences and decide how to take the process of TQM forward.

These events were significant for learning and coupled with the TQM courses were very useful in raising the general awareness of TQM and how it might work in practice in the company.

**MANAGEMENT PRACTICE AND TQM**

The performance strategy had highlighted some discrepancies between the traditional management approach to managing and rewarding people and what we believed was
called for by the principles of TQM. One of the key factors that should reinforce TQM in Ilford was to ensure that managerial practice was in some alignment with the 'theory' that was being talked about on the courses, workshops and communications events. The need for a match could be illustrated quite clearly by the importance that traditional management assigns to hierarchical or vertical relationships and the dissonance this creates with the TQM theme of customer-supplier or lateral relationships. Both co-exist, but there is a different degree of emphasis on each relationship. The gap in Ilford between traditional management practice and the new understanding of TQM that was emerging, needed to be addressed.

The rise in understanding of TQM principles had opened up a gap between the existing managerial behaviour and the ideas propagated by the TQM education. For example, supervisory training was traditionally based on the job description and the acquisition of job knowledge and skills and although still necessary, did not reflect how they should behave in a TQM work environment.

Supervisory training was going to be a key vehicle for transmitting new work behaviours to the shop floor. In view of this a new supervisors' course was designed to incorporate the principles of TQM. The design principle was based on the notion of a role as distinct from a job, where the former is concerned with a network of role expectations with an external focus whereas the former tends to be concerned with skills techniques and procedures. What we were aiming to do was encourage supervisors to 'look over the parapet' of the jobs and identify their role relationships with all those they interact with whether internal to their section or department, or external in other departments. The supervisors were taught how to conduct a role analysis and to identify expectations that were held of them by those individuals with whom they interact. They were also shown how to prioritise and evaluate how well they performed in each of their significant role relationships. These ideas fitted well with the TQM focus on the customer supplier relationships.

This was to be something of a breakthrough on the shop floor because historically, shop-floor supervisors were not permitted to leave their place of work without managerial permission nor speak to other supervisors except through their managers. Now they were being asked to identify all their important customers and set up a dialogue with them about how well they are meeting expectations.

These dialogue loops between customers and suppliers in a role relationship were conceptualised as 'learning loops', rather than 'control loops'. The difference was again in emphasis, a dialogue between a manager and supervisor or two supervisors were intended to be learning opportunities to do with how to improve the services and products at the hand over points in a product process. The more each role holder
became aware of the 'real' needs of their customers or suppliers, the belief was that the more opportunity for improvement would present itself. 

The supervisory training programmes were of one week in duration and were attended by all supervisors wherever they worked, so that this would include clerical and administrative areas as well as production. The courses were reported to be extremely successful and reinforced the TQM message in a practical way at lower levels in the organisation.

Two supervisors from different departments who were at the hand over boundary of a particular process, used the role approach with each other. They found that because they had never spoken directly to each other about the products and services that linked them in a production process, they had never really appreciated what problems they created for each other by not knowing what they each expected or needed. As a consequence they were able to agree improvements with each other that were so successful that they were asked to make a presentation at one of the senior managers communications events.

PERFORMANCE MANAGEMENT AND TQM

Another gap that was perceived between management practice and TQM was in the way that performance appraisal was conducted. One of the recommendations proposed by PA Consultants was the reintroduction of performance appraisal in Ilford. The process had been dormant since the re-location from Essex to Mobberley and the DMC wished that it should now be re-instated as a management discipline. I was asked by John Brewer, my boss, to examine the appraisal process and prepare a report on a suitable design and necessary training for managers.

My first task was to examine the old performance appraisal scheme and consider its suitability in a emerging TQM context.

To bring about a change in Ilford from a traditionally managed organisation to a TQM organisation requires attention in a number of related and reinforcing aspects of management. The general model which I used to ensure we did not loose sight of the breadth of change that we were trying to accomplish was originally offered by Stuart Smith, my supervisor at the Sheffield Business School. The model suggests that to achieve change in an organisation requires a balanced and cohesive effort in three main streams. New organisational strategies and objectives must be supported by education and training and also by the control systems that govern rewards. These three streams of change activity must be mutually supportive for change to be
effectively introduced. The desired strategy must be backed up by suitable education and training on the one hand and relevant control systems on the other. Typically companies in my experience tend to put a lot of resource into the training 'leg' as shown on the model, in the belief that if it is explained how people should behave, then they will do so. But in practice if the controls that reinforced earlier behaviours are not suitably adjusted, then the old behaviours are likely to persist.

The analogy I used to convey the contingency idea was that if we did not take a systems view of what we were doing, it would be like building a new car and finding that the parts did not fit!

Many managers in the organisation were guided by traditional management concepts and the performance appraisal system had evolved around the classical boss-subordinate relationship which matched very well with the way the organisation was expected to operate. The performance appraisal system exemplified the importance of the vertical employee relationships in a hierarchical structure and was based on the assumption that the boss is the only person with legitimate expectations of an individual and therefore the evaluator of performance. Allied to this assumption was the view that 'wisdom' is directly correlated to hierarchical position, i.e. the higher up the structure a person is situated the greater the understanding and knowledge of what needs to be done and how best to go about doing it.

In our TQM education we were extolling the virtue of customers, whether internal or external, as key assessors of how well we are performing, yet they play no part in the formal process of performance management.

This raises questions about how effective performance should be evaluated, the nature of controls in a job and the roles of managers, job holders and 'customers' in deciding what constitutes effective performance.

TQM with its orientation towards a customer environment and jobs as having 'inputs' and 'outputs', leads quite naturally to thinking about the organisation from a systems perspective (Katz & Kahn 1966; Miller & Rice 1967), and some rethinking about the methods of work co-ordination.

Performance appraisal in Ilford engaged people in a form of traditional bureaucratic behaviour, which caused them to attempt to satisfy the expectations implied by their objectives, to gain rewards and whether or not they were relevant to effective performance. The concern for us was not so much the idea of objectives, but more to do with from where they originated. The boss usually sets and agrees objectives against which performance will be measured, traditionally, the division of labour has meant that
the boss has some concept of the 'whole' and arranges for each subordinate's objectives to contribute a part to this whole. Effectiveness is measured by the extent to which the expectations of the boss are met in this model, who effectively defines effective performance.

In TQM the question who should define effective performance becomes more complex. We have to move beyond the relatively simple boss-subordinate relationship within which effective performance is determined, to a more complex network of role relationships between customers and suppliers, where many others have legitimate expectations of someone in a focal role. They expect their expectations to be met and will judge performance on the extent to which their individual requirements are satisfied. In this reading of the work situation, the boss now shares the process of performance evaluation with others in the subordinate's role set. How does the boss handle this situation? Firstly in TQM there is a shift towards greater individual responsibility for the outputs of work, this suggests that individuals should be able to work 'unsupervised' with their 'customers' and 'suppliers' or 'stakeholders' (Freeman 1984). Such capability will mean a sufficient knowledge, skills and motivation to operate in this way and greater self or internal control (Ouchi 1979) over the work processes.

If we consider performance appraisal as a control mechanism, feedback against objectives provide a loop back to the boss for control purposes. In this scenario the individual has little freedom to change objectives and the psychology of the control process is based on rewards and punishments. In TQM, objectives or 'customer' requirements, would be actively negotiated by the individual and their stakeholders to reflect conditions and within available resources. The control loop in this case becomes a learning loop where the psychology of the process is one of learning new ways to continually improve through dialogue.

Realistically, the maturity and personal orientations of individuals will determine the extent to which they can actually work in this way. managers have a responsibility to manage each person according to their maturity, which in this context has been defined by Hershey and Blanchard (1986) as the motivation, and competence an individual possesses. Their model of 'situational leadership' illustrates the ways in which a management style should reflect the maturity of those being managed. Part of this maturity would need to incorporate a 'strategic' understanding of the direction in which a particular department or function is attempting to move. This is necessary for the individual to negotiate effectively with stakeholders, for example, if a personnel strategy is to devolve more decisions making to line managers on industrial relations issues, this would enable a personnel officer to guide the level and amount of service they offer to their 'customers'.

To summarise, the purpose of a new performance appraisal system must:

1. Be relevant to the new emphasis on lateral organisational relationships and the definition of effectiveness that rests with customers.
2. Develop the maturity of subordinates to enable them to manage their own performance relationships and work in a context of self controls.
3. Provide counselling and coaching support when needed.
4. Provide input to the pay review process.

The re-designed system of performance appraisal was presented to the DMC for their approval and sign off, following this a schedule of training was arranged for the senior management group. The training would cover the principles and thinking behind the new system and give some practice in leadership approaches and counselling skills. The whole emphasis on performance management was to ensure its alignment with the principles of TQM and the practice of management in Ilford. Other management courses such as delegation and job design were also prepared as part of the Core Training programme. This core programme was aimed primarily at closing the gap we now perceived to exist between the traditional ways of managing the company at a human resource level and how we believed TQM to require a different approach. It was a question of 'words and music' matching up, or more accurately, the principles of TQM that were being exhorted on the TQM courses and the way in which management was being practised in the workplace.

**VENDOR QUALITY PROGRAMME**

During 1988, another innovation within TQM at Ilford was the introduction of the Vendor Quality Programme. The QIP had focused on management issues such as problem solving and improved process controls. This had introduced a discipline of tracing problems back to their root causes, which revealed severe difficulties in specifications and control over the raw material inputs to the processes and were some of the major causes of failure.

The traditional relationship with external suppliers meant that the extent of managerial awareness of suppliers was limited to Christmas parties and supporting the Purchasing staff when they needed decisions on price or quality issues. Ilford typically inspected and tested materials sent by suppliers on arrival, it was an accepted part of our responsibility and to make sub standard materials suitable for use in our production processes. Yet it was revealed that some of Ilford’s suppliers were very advanced with
quality techniques such as SPC, but did not practise it on Ilford materials because it was known that we would inspect it for them.

As Ilford became more experienced in its quality improvement and process control, the Vendor Quality Programme was established to change the basis of the supplier relationship from an 'adversarial' style to more of a partnership with supplier companies. The programme was devised by a Vendor Quality steering team through working with a key supplier on a pilot project.

The programme begins with an invitation to the top team from the supplier, usually including the managing director, to come to Ilford for a one and a half day introductory programme. The aim of the event is to be totally open with them about what TQM means to us, that we really believe in operating this way and wish to encourage them to start their own TQM process so that we both see things the same way and can gain maximum mutual benefit from our partnership. It was not the intention to ram TQM down their throats nor insist that they should start their own process, but it was clear that we were expecting a minimum level of quality.

The programme for vendors included an overview of Ilford business strategy, Ilford's experience with QIP and the diagnosis and the principles of TQM and its application in the company so far.

From this introduction and agreement from the supplier and joint action planning process would be set up to define objectives and methods of working. By 1990 over 90% of Ilford's suppliers had agreed to participate and to extend process control to the vendor's plant. The vendor programme has improved the manufactureability of products by reducing quality problems in raw materials. It has also reduced the inventory of stocks that are held and eliminated testing at inspection at the input end of production. The programme has extended understanding of TQM to the realisation that everyone is someone's supplier and frequently their customer as well. TQM is working in Ilford at both ends of the business, suppliers as well as customers and appears to be a significant step forward in this aspect of Ilford's business activity.

THE TQM AUDIT

One of the continuing worries of the DMC during the TQM process in Ilford was to gain a clearer picture of what a TQM company should look like. I had spent much of my time thinking about the quite significant organisational implications for a traditionally organised company that wishes to adopt the philosophy of TQM. However whilst this work aided the conceptual approach to the consideration of changes to the education and training processes, re-designing organisational performance management systems
and modifying job designs that reflected a systems perspective, none of this was much help to the DMC in their need to 'measure' how far they had travelled along the road of TQM adoption.

To address this issue, which was discussed in one of the TQM workshops held in October 1987, an audit team was set up to examine the question of how best we could measure where we were with TQM, what our weaknesses were and from this foundation decide where to push the next stages.

The early attempts to develop a questionnaire were based on Deming's 14 Points of what a company should do to become a quality managed organisation. This resulted in a 250 question document which was too long and very unfriendly to the user. A new approach was developed that produced a profile of a "Total Quality Managed Department" This reduced the number of factors to 17, which were:

- **1 Local Action Team** - The department maintains the disciplines necessary to eliminate problems affecting the work of the Department, to monitor, audit and record problems solved and improvements made, and to ensure that the benefits are built into the way of working.

- **2. Performance Management** - Performance appraisal is a regular event operating to a plan which will ensure that the process is maintained. This regular opportunity is taken to review the needs of individual staff. Every member of staff is provided with the appropriate forum for reviewing personal progress and for developing improvement plans.

- **3. Education and Training.** - TQM education has extended to all members of the Department. Training needs are identified by performance appraisal and regular reviews. Training plans for the Department are regularly updated and communicated. Training plans cover both general and individual needs. A formal training record exists for every member of staff.

- **4. Communication.** - Occasions for briefing all members on Company progress are a regular planned feature of the Departmental diary. As well as quarterly "how are we doing, what's important and where are we going" information, the opportunity is taken on each occasion to communicate progress in the quality programme and useful and interesting information about the work of the Department and adjacent areas. Every member of staff is provided with an appropriate forum which encourages free two way communication.

- **5. Cost of Quality** - Everyone in the Department has chosen and agreed appropriate measure of outputs which can be used to measure progress. These are converted
into monetary terms and subdivided into prevention costs, appraisal costs and failure costs. This analysis is used to measure progress in reducing the cost of quality and to rank possible areas for improvement in priority order.

- 6. Procedures and Specifications - The work of the Department is fully understood and defined in formal procedures and specifications, which have been prepared to the standard company format.

- 7. Roles and Responsibilities - All members of the Department understand the role of the Department and their own role and responsibilities within it. Everyone is clearly aware of their personal responsibilities and freedom to act. Roles and responsibilities are regularly reviewed.

- 8. Customer - Supplier Relationships - The Department has considered its relationships with its customers and its suppliers. The requirements in each direction are fully understood for each customer/supplier relationship identified. Where it is appropriate, formal contracts have been agreed and signed off.

- 9. Planning - The work of the Department proceeds against a carefully thought out plan which takes into account the priorities of the Department and its resources. Projects are fully planned and managed to maintain the time-scale. The implications of delay on cost and personal accountability are understood by all. Members of the Department are competent in planning and control techniques. A strategic plan for the Department which fits with company plans has been defined, agreed with DMC and the Department's customers and suppliers. It has been communicated to all members of the Department.

- 10 Statistical Process Control - Statistical Process Control has been introduced and is the means whereby the processes and activities in that Department are controlled.

- 11. Getting it into the Woodwork - Audits - Any problem solved or improvements made are systematically recorded and introduced into the Department's way of working. The Department regularly audits itself to ensure that the benefits are not lost.

- 12. Change Management - the Department has a process for controlling changes to plant, procedures, working methods and responsibilities which ensures that those affected (internal and external to the Department), understand and accept the change proposed. Changes which could affect end users are accepted by an agreed authority in the company.

- 13 Prevention. - Everyone in the Department is aware of the significance of and their responsibility for, prevention management and works continuously to enhance the level of prevention and to rely less and less on appraisal. Specifically, all
processes and activities are designed and maintained using systematic prevention methods. The financial impact of prevention measures is fully understood. Decisions are based on quality, not solely on cost.

- 14. Personal Responsibility - All Department members understand and accept their responsibility for continuous quality improvement and are provided with support to achieve the required results.

- 15. Management Visibility - The manager is known to all members of the Department, is frequently seen "walking the job" and has a comprehensive understanding of the working of the Department, achieved by this frequent contact. The manner of "walking the job" is conducive to a good working relationship and is not regarded as "policing".

- 16. Personal Attitude - Everyone in the Department demonstrates a willingness to help and solve each others problems. Team spirit both within the Department and outside it is a shared objective. TQM is associated with a positive attitude and nobody allows themselves or others to hide behind it or use it as an excuse to avoid work or pressure. Members want to innovate and make changes leading to improvement. They recognise that "consistency of purpose" does not mean staying put.

- 17. Personal Relationships - All leaders of others are competent in their counselling and coaching skills.

This profile was developed by ten functional representatives who attended a mini-workshop and the above profile is meant to represent the target level of achievement that Ilford should have introduced over a three year period since the QIP began in 1985. Using a scale of 0 to 5, managers were asked to evaluate their level of progress against the description of each factor.

It was admitted that such an approach has a number of 'warts' and that there might be some disagreement over the profile descriptions, but the DMC were anxious to get on with it in the knowledge that the outcome would only be a rough guide, but better than none at all.

The views of all departments were gathered and compiled on a chart to show the cumulative totals for the company. The DMC members, who were also function heads, completed the audit from their point of view and added to the chart.

It will be seen that the DMC were much more sceptical in their assessments and the reasons for the differences were put down to the fact that the DMC had always felt they were not making progress at the right pace. Their managers who were witnessing
changes on the 'ground' were more optimistic and felt progress was being made at a good pace, but still with much more to be done.

The results of the audit were fed back to each function for internal discussion prior to a communications event during which time fifteen syndicates would examine the results and consider the barriers and proposed actions that should be taken.
A report was produced on what the topics that were felt by the syndicate groups to warrant particular attention. From each syndicate feedback, the number of times a topic was mentioned and discussed provided a rough guide the felt importance attached to each item using the audit as only a guide. These were as follows:

- Cost of Quality 5
- Customer Supplier Relationship 5
- Prevention 4
- Planning 3
- Personal Responsibility 2.5
- Personal Attitudes 2.5
- Education and Training 2
- Getting it into the Woodwork 2
- Communication 2
- Roles and Responsibilities 1
- Performance management 1

Whilst each function would be responsible for drawing up its own plans for action, there was also a need to determine what 'corporate' action should be taken by the company as a whole. Corporate action was defined for the functions as "anything you cannot do for yourself".

The next step was to organise three TQM workshops so that the senior management group could agree with the DMC what actions should be taken. The syndicates' objective was to agree a list if critical topics for corporate action and to identify specific corporate actions.
It was decided that each workshop would restrict itself to selected items from the above 'league table', with the first workshop discussing, cost of quality, customer-supplier relationships and prevention. The remaining topics would be shared by the other two workshops.
The process of using communications events and TQM workshops was quite significant in progressing TQM in Ilford. Information and views were shared, there was a learning process and democratic decision making about what to do next. This was in stark contrast to my experience of the adoption of quality management in other companies where directives and exhortations come from the top management and poster campaigns or the quality control department see the ownership and direction of quality in their company as a life's mission. The communications events and TQM workshops, gave all the managers an opportunity to put in their 'three pennyworth' and created some commitment to the outcomes.

This series of events following up the audit were important, not only because they identified further TQM actions to address, but it gave another burst of energy to the whole TQM programme. In addition to specific actions relating to each topic identified by the audit, there were a number of common items which all the syndicates raised. These were:

1. To publicise success more widely in Ilford through its internal newspaper, 'Focus', through briefing groups and through a paper called 'Quality News'
2. More cross-function contact and tapping in to others experience.
3. Use small teams of enthusiasts for devising specific 'teach-in's' on subjects such as prevention.
4. Issue TQM relevant company directives and guidelines.
5. Identify special topics for education and training.
6. The nomination of a 'broker' in each department to bring people together.

In October 1988, the QIPSC considered the output from the TQM Workshops and determined the priorities and available resources and what should be the next steps towards TQM. The QIPSC issued a strategy document that describes the way forward for the foreseeable future.

The significance of this document was its articulation of a strategic direction on TQM, published for the first time by the DMC/QIPSC. It gave managers a clear mandate to continue to develop their TQM activities and adds strength to the central thrust of TQM and its alignment to objectives and plans.
THE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

An action arising for me from the TQM strategy document was to participate in a working party that would consider the future of management development and training in Ilford. I had already completed an initial analysis of the effects of TQM on the organisation and the development of managers that was based on our experience of TQM in Ilford.

A number of factors were realised when we reflected on the events over the past three years. There was still a concern for costs in the company, but now from a perspective of savings that could be derived from continual improvements in the cost of quality and efficiency. There were still savings to be made in the organisation and the first assumption was that the focus on costs would continue throughout the use of TQM.

Secondly, Ilford was a 'mature' organisation which tends to increase its vulnerability to a loss of environmental support, such as market shrinkage and competitive innovations. It is, according to Johnson and Scholes (1988), quite common for organisations to defend their position by increased emphasis on quality of the product or service. Because of Ilford's traditionally set ways it would tend to suffer from an organisational unresponsiveness and find it difficult to cope with new and unique situations. The organisation had come to the brink of existence and to survive, it needed to come to terms with new ways of working that were, for many, quite different from their routine. If the company could develop a capability to be more responsive to its external and internal contexts, it might be able to avoid the dramatic 'step' changes that cause so much upheaval in the past. The environment of the business was not consciously monitored so any relevant events would not be picked up, such as what was happening to the black and white film market! Finally, there was an assumption that there would be a need for wider innovation and creativity. This should include the management of the organisation and not be restricted only to the research and development focus on the products.

The early changes introduced in Ilford under the banner of QIP, had focused on skills training programmes, but the more significant and widespread changes to the organisation and the way it is managed, only started to occur after the realisation that the 'philosophy' of TQM needed to be understood.

The level of thinking introduced by TQM, was to do with the way people work as distinct from what they do. This in turn led to a conceptualisation of Ilford as an open system in organisational terms, which reinforced the principle of the customer and supplier relationship. The training policy in the company reflected this conceptualisation by using
the notion of role in the training designs. This also gave further impetus to the need for old functional and departmental barriers, which sealed in activity, to be broken down and a fresh look at the importance of teamwork, not just at the work group level, but at an organisational level.

A series of 'foundation programmes' for supervisors and managers was already established. The TQM courses were still to be resourced by DMC members and managers, so providing further reinforcement of their commitment to TQM. The supervisors programme that was designed around the principle of 'role' and role set analysis, enabled the supervisors to interpret their work situation and their performance in the work environment by understanding the expectations of those in their role set. The performance appraisal course and the process of performance management together with courses on delegation had been completely re-designed to align management practice with the principles of TQM.

The progress with TQM and its influence on the development of both managers and their organisation in Ilford, could be interpreted as leading towards the company becoming a 'learning organisation'. Organisational learning has been defined by Fiol and Lyles (1985) as meaning:

"....the process of improving actions through better knowledge and understanding." (Fiol and Lyles 1985, p.803).

The distinction in the literature between organisational learning and organisational adaptation derived from Simon's (1969), definition as a mix of developing insights and knowledge on the one hand and action outcomes on the other. In Ilford, it could be argued that the initial QIP actions that originated out of the PA consultants period, was an adaptation through structural and behavioural changes, rather than the acquisition of new knowledge and understanding. Hence we saw the creation of a 'gap' developing in the company between action outcomes and understanding of what they meant and how they could develop. It was this perceived separation that triggered off the TQM education programmes.

It was the view of the working party that Ilford should take this opportunity to develop organisational learning to enable an innate capability to manage change more effectively in the future. Consultants were needed to show Ilford what to do, not how to know what to do. If the organisation could learn how to acquire insights of its contexts and how to interpret them, it might be able to steer its own path in the future, by being better equipped to cope with the requirements of a changing business environment.
The vision we had at that time was of Ilford being in control of its destiny and being able to shake off its dependency on consultants or other external direction. The reality of this possibility was, on reflection, too altruistic, but it served to create a stimulus for a different approach to management and organisational development.

TEAM WORK IN A TQM ENVIRONMENT

Traditionally, teamwork is one of those 'good things' to which many managers have a great level of attachment. The idea of everyone pulling together, united by the logic of their purpose, for the common good of the company and its stakeholders, seems very appealing, especially to top management. For others, teamwork is a rational response and perhaps more 'humanistic' response to the problems of co-ordination, where the more traditional principles of management have failed to inspire or produce satisfactory results.

In Ilford, our perspective of teamwork considered three levels of required team activity - company, functional, departmental and role set.

At company level, through the principle of a customer supplier relationships, the whole organisation can be seen as acting in a concerted fashion, self regulated by the 'legitimate' and super-ordinate needs of the customer as the focal stakeholder. The functional focus brings into view the notion of a 'functional home' where role holders' strategic directions and guidelines, understanding of role responsibilities and professional advancement originate.

The departmental level is usually the target for team development activities which are aimed at building a cohesive team. Whilst this has some merit in the workplace, a consequence is often the strengthening of departmental boundaries, (Schein, 1980), which would be a contradiction to the need in Ilford to break down barriers in horizontal relationships. Strong team unit affiliations can strengthen internal identity, focus team members attention to internal functioning and escalate inter-team conflicts.

For example in Ilford, the departmental manager of No.14 coating machine operated three shifts, two during the day and one at night. Relationships between two of the adjoining shifts had become so bad that the outgoing shift team were deliberately ensuring that the incoming shift would have to deal with a lot of problems. There were suspicions of sabotage, which in some cases were probably correct.

The manager had contrived for shift teams to compete and develop their own sense of identity and this had gone out of control. To recover the situation I was asked to help with 'inter-team' workshops, which I based on Schein's (1980) work on intergroup
relations. These workshops used the 'Prisoner's Dilemma' exercises as a basis for examining inter-team conflict, together with more focus by the manager on what the three shifts had in common, rather than what made them different, helped to alleviate the worst problems. This meant finding a different way of expressing objectives and feeding back performance and information.

In TQM a new focus for teamworking becomes evident, that of the role-set. This is where the work patterns between individuals in the set become a target for improvement efforts. The role set is a more or less stable pattern of relationships between the role holder and stakeholders who receive of provide products and services. This level of 'teamworking' becomes critical in TQM organisations, because of the greater emphasis on personal autonomy and greater delegated control over total work flows.

The TQM organisation requires individuals to experience multiple team membership. They are part of the total company, their function, their department and their role set. This requires, a knowledge of the 'strategic' objectives at each level, or at least a shared view of what they are trying to aim for, and a high degree of interpersonal skills such as teamworking and negotiating. All organisations must work with the reality of self interest (Schein 1980) and the existence of politically motivated conflict must be acknowledged. Although interpersonal skills will help, additional skills are needed to enable conflicts to be managed and realistic customer requirements agreed between interdependent role holders who will experience conflicting demands. In summary, TQM requires a different interpretation of the idea of teamworking from the usually internally focused team building efforts because of the 'open systems' emphasis on interfaces and boundaries between functions, departments and role holders.

COMMUNICATIONS

Briefing groups in Ilford were localised and separate from the communications events referred to earlier. They were aimed at communicating company progress against strategic direction to all employees. This briefing task was often shared between managers, who would be given a company brief prepared mainly by accountants and was usually restricted to facts and figures. Most people did not understand what the figures meant, so for most it was a boring chore to have to listen every month to the same 'figure dominated' brief. More importantly, this format did nothing to enhance language or vocabulary development, nor consequently understanding of employees at any level below DMC.
The need, in my view, was for the development of a richer vocabulary in Ilford. This could enhance the communication of understanding between people who, traditionally, have different ways of looking at things. Employees hang on every word that Bill Hunt spoke, because of his location in the hierarchy and the context in which he speaks. Listeners with a limited range of interpretations cannot share his perspective, let alone experiences, and meanings intended can easily become lost. If a richness of language is developed, the range of understanding can increase with subsequent accuracy in the interpretation. Also, rich communications can lead to greater organisational responsiveness through a stimulation of more creative thinking and novel problem solving. Talking about DCAS, (divisional contribution after services) and order queues will not help, but talking about the underlying issues that are affected, will support language and metaphor development. The briefing groups were re-designed to take some of these observations into account and to make them less formal. The revised format was generally better received.

NEW ORGANISATIONAL DESIGN SKILLS

Working with TQM during the previous three to four years had caused some of the production managers, particularly the manager of the Coating Department, John Davies, to think about the way their work structures were designed. The principles of TQM and their implications for managing were being more closely considered. This led to a consideration of the job and work design literature such as Davis, (1966); Hackman et al (1975), which I shall briefly review in chapter 7.

We decided to design a four day course for all senior managers. This was to provide the knowledge and skills for them to gather data about their present work structures, analyse it, and consider how re-designs and different views of rewards in work would reinforce the principles of TQM. Generally, Hackman's Yale Job Design model, which I shall describe in more detail in the following chapter, was the basis for managers to understand how the design of work impacts on the performance and motivations of employees. Considerable interest developed in job design from the organisational development perspective which was, for most managers, a novel departure from the traditional industrial engineering and work study approach to work structuring. To add weight to this approach was the apparent willingness on the part of the unions and the majority of the employees, to consider new ways of working. At one meeting
that I attended with the shop stewards, the question of interesting and challenging work came up. Their general attitude to the level of interesting work on the shop floor of Ilford was summarised by one shop steward, who said, "when you come into work in the morning, you leave your brains at the gate and pick them up again on the way out". Comments like this perhaps revealed a desire of people to do interesting work and from this we inferred that looking seriously at job - redesign would be fruitful.

This four day programme was to be a key building block in the management development suite of programmes that was produced in Ilford. The programme included members of the DMC as well as other senior managers in the company.

The first job redesign project was started in the Coating Department. Here, the traditional supervisory and management structure was changed to accommodate horizontally enlarged and vertically enriched jobs. The supervisory role was integrated into the work group under the job title of team leader. The production manager's job was located 'off line', to a technical support role, thus removing one layer from the management hierarchy. After the changes quality improved and the employees reported greater feelings of satisfaction and morale with their work.

The results were encouraging for John Davis, who pioneered the work structure changes, but the personnel changes in job evaluation and payment systems were slower in their implementation. Nevertheless there was a major overhaul of the grading and pay systems in the production areas. The new pay arrangements recognised the increases in skill and responsibilities brought about by the changes in job designs and these set the foundations for further changes in the design of jobs to made.

THE ILFORD BUSINESS SITUATION

To briefly re-cap, the period of post restructuring had seen a slow recovery with small profits achieved. Ilford's turnover never exceeded more than 4% of CIBA-Geigy's total turnover. In 1984/85 CIBA-Geigy was concerned at Ilford's growth rates and quality problems and asked Bill Hunt to consider ways of breaking through the slow growth problems.

The QIP and TQM activities introduced in 1985/86 were, in the context of the company's situation, appropriate strategies for supporting a business recovery. The managing director was able to secure sufficient commitment and motivation from a relatively depressed management, to support the TQM programme. This resulted in cost savings of some £2 million. As a consequence, annual growth did rise and rates of
25% and 30% were achieved during 1986 and 1987, but these rates could not be sustained because of adverse exchange rates with the Swiss Franc and US Dollar. Nevertheless, traditional indicators used to track productivity (Appendix 7), showed gradual improvement as did other key measures, such as customer complaints and materials wastage, (Appendices, 8 and 9). Even the most sceptical manager in Ilford could not deny the beneficial impact of TQM, which seemed to show that the infrastructure of Ilford was becoming more robust.

During early 1988, whilst the TQM programme was getting underway in the working arrangement in Ilford, CIBA-Geigy made it clear that the Ilford business would no longer form part of the Strategic Plan.

CIBA-Geigy explained that despite excellent improvements in the quality and technology of the company, it was not going to grow sufficiently to become a major division in the multi-national organisation.

This news provoked keen interest from a number of photographic companies regarding a possible sale. All approaches were analysed by CIBA-Geigy and the only offer that met the Swiss company's strict criteria for the protection and development of the Ilford business, came from International Paper Corporation (IPC), an American based company. IPC also owned ANITEC Image Corporation, a photographic company specialising in graphic arts.

The financial progress of ANITEC since 1982 had been remarkable and a link with Ilford who specialised in black and white photographic products could be of a major benefit. The sale to IPC would relieve CIBA-Geigy of what it must have considered a liability despite the improvements made in recent years. For IPC it would provide increased European production facilities and open up American markets for Ilford. The Ilford brand name would be preserved, but the management structure for the company under IPC had not been determined.

This was announced publicly to the employees in December 1988 and for me was the first indication that I might be out of a job, but although this did not happen until the end of 1989, the impetus of the TQM programme slowed down, not just for me but for many other managers. The uncertainty spectre raised its head once again threatening to undo all the work that had been achieved. Questions such as would IPC or ANITEC be supportive of TQM? Did they have something similar already in their organisations? How much would the new owners want to change Ilford?

The unions also were concerned to know how their members rights would be preserved and would the pension scheme be safe?
The whole company was beside itself with new concerns, despite the managing
director's assurances that it was all for the better, neither he nor some of his closer
colleagues including myself, were going to be in Ilford to see these promised benefits.

TQM had flourished in Ilford during a period of its history that was perhaps one of the
most innovative and exciting periods for its management and organisation, but perhaps
it was all too late. As well as the improvements to the processes, quality of the
products, and customer complaints that had reduced from 236 to 139 between 1985
and 1986, the most significant, improvement was in the management itself. The
company had in the past emphasised its scientific and technical strengths, which were
considerable, but without the commensurate managerial strength, these were not
sufficient to enable the company to succeed in a highly competitive business market
place.

SUMMARY

In this Chapter I have described the key aspects of the TQM programme in Ilford with
which I was directly involved. There were of course many different facets of TQM
including the technical applications of SPC and Taguchi Methodology.
My predominant concern has been not for TQM as 'tools and techniques' but as
'management' of the organisation and the changes in managerial practice that were
brought about. I have shown that the QIP, introduced by PA Consultants, created a
need for understanding TQM as an approach to managing the business, a need that
was created rather than satisfied by the use of consultants, whose association with the
company was transient. Their stimulation and subsequent withdrawal from Ilford
triggered the TQM educational courses, which in turn led to the experience of
incongruence between the 'philosophy' of TQM and the traditional practices of
management. This state of not really knowing what to do next reinforced the search for
approaches and consistency in our work of management.

The descriptions I have presented in this chapter have focused on the actions we took
to manage the introduction of TQM. Up until now in this thesis, I have focused more on
the practice of TQM in Ilford, with only scant reference to the organisational theory that
helps to explain the nature of these changes. In the next two chapters, I propose to
redress the balance by discussing the main theoretical approaches which I have
deployed as an action researcher in Ilford. This will show the way in which orthodox
organisational theory has been useful in making sense of the management activities
and enabled us to pull together the various strands of total quality as an organisational change.
CHAPTER 6

TQM AND ORGANISATIONAL THEORY

INTRODUCTION

In the previous I discussed in some detail the activities in Ilford during the introduction of TQM. My contribution to these activities as clinician and an ethnographer, was supported by a body of theory drawn from the orthodox managerial perspective of organisations. The process of knowledge production that arose from the application of theory was useful in identifying the stages of change as the TQM process made progress, and in making sense of the situations in which I found myself. My purpose in this chapter is to review in more detail, the main theoretical models which underpinned the work which I have described so far in this thesis. These theoretical models provided the frameworks which I have used in the action research approach to my managerial work in Ilford.

THE THEORETICAL ROOTS OF TOTAL QUALITY MANAGEMENT

Schmidt and Finnigan (1992) have analysed the origins of TQM in terms of existing theories of management and organisation:

- **Scientific Management** - 'one best way' to do a job.
- **Group Dynamics** - harnessing the group phenomena.
- **Training and Development** - investing in human resources.
- **Achievement Motivation** - accomplishment leads to satisfaction.
- **Employee Involvement** - the participation of workers in decision making.
- **Socio-Technical Systems** - joint optimisation of social and technical systems in an 'open' systems context.
- **Organisation Development** - helping organisations to learn and change.
- **Corporate Culture** - beliefs, myths and values that direct behaviour.
- **New Leadership Theory** - empowering employees in their jobs.
- **The Linking-Pin Concept** - cross functional working.
- **Strategic Planning** - the long term direction of the organisation.

Schmidt & Finnigan are concerned to emphasise the American origin of
TQM and seemingly reassert that the credit for its creation is rightly with American management, as if to 'wrench' its invention away from the country who appeared to have made something very much resembling American TQM, work very successfully in practice - Japan.

They also point out that in American management there also exists practices that are the antithesis to TQM, such as:

- **Bureaucratic management** - direction from the boss and compliance from the employee.
- **Caveat Emptor** - let the buyer beware.
- **Management by Objectives** - predetermined outputs prescribed by the boss.
- **Internal competition** - encouraging competition between internal departments or divisions.
- **Organisational stability** - concern for the status quo.
- **Unions are the enemy** - antagonistic policies in dealing with trades unions.
- **Bottom line** - all decisions are judged by their impact on profit.

Bureaucracy is still considered to be the most efficient form of organisation ever invented (Beetham 1987) and also the most widely used. Why then, should it now be considered in antithesis to TQM? Weber (1948) likened bureaucracy to a machine, he writes:

"The decisive reason for the advance of bureaucratic organisation has always been its purely technical superiority over any other form of organisation. The fully developed bureaucratic mechanism compares with other organisations exactly as does the machine with the non-mechanical modes of production. Precision, speed, unambiguity, knowledge of the files, continuity, discretion, unity, strict subordination, reduction of friction, and of material and personal costs - these are raised to the optimum point in the strictly bureaucratic organisation..."

(Gerth & Mills translation, 1948, p214)

Bureaucratic design makes an assumption that all the problems or deviations which organisations must face are foreseen and programmed solutions are available. This denies the idea of improvement and the appearance of unexpected problems which flaws the implication of an 'all seeing' and 'all knowing' management. Workers in modern environments need the skills and discretion to act in ways that may be unforeseen and the solutions not known until the problem is worked through. This is
similar to the ideas of 'prescribed work' and 'discretionary work' described by Rowbottom and Willis (1978). They differentiated between types of work between hierarchical levels. With prescribed work the solutions to problems were pre-programmed, whereas in discretionary work the problem and solution would be defined at the time of occurrence and be influenced by the situation at the time. TQM oriented workers would take a greater share of discretionary work than the bureaucratic worker.

TQM is a strategic management approach (Bounds, et al, 1994) which has successfully combined a number of already existing management theories and practices into a coherent whole. The 'whole' perspective is indicative of a 'systems orientation' (Angyal 1941; Parsons 1951; von Bertlanaffy 1956; Katz & Kahn 1966) out of which the Tavistock researchers developed the Socio-Technical systems approach to organisations, (Miller & Rice 1967; Trist & Bamforth 1951). This thinking draws attention to organisations as not purely social systems but also as technical system. The social and technological elements of work relate to each other, and are interdependent. Socio-technical systems are also 'open' to their environment from which influential forces operate on the organisation.

In TQM, the 'technical' components developed through the work of Shewhart, Deming, Juran and combined with Feigenbaum's 'total' orientation to the management of quality. The two other significant components of TQM are the integration of the 'social' dimension of work with the 'technical' dimension, and its strategic positioning towards the external customer as a key strategic constituent (Miles 1980) in the competitive environment.

**TQM PRINCIPLES AND ORGANISATIONAL PRACTICE**

Change in Ilford was seen as a process of moving from the existing persistent state of traditional management to another new state of persistence, where the content of the changes were prescribed by Total Quality Management.

There are consequences for management in their adopting this approach to change. In Ilford, it was the use of Crosby's Four Absolutes that provided the starting point for the change activity. In Ilford, it provided a framework for understanding and developing what needs to be done if we were to ensure congruence, between the principles of TQM and the actual practice of
management in the company. It also indicated the processes of how such changes should progress.

The first absolute, Customer Requirements most clearly demonstrates the open systems perspective of managing the environment. The implications for this perspective on internal organisational relationships impacts directly on the traditional hierarchical and vertical boss-subordinate relations. TQM requires greater emphasis on the horizontal 'internal customer - supplier relations, which in a bureaucracy, are 'managed' by structural rather than more dynamic and organic (Burns & Stalker 1961), arrangements.

The second absolute, Prevention will imply new designs for work that ensure a focus on internal customer - supplier relations is enabled. These work designs, such as teamwork amongst work groups and a 'role' instead of a job orientation where the former is about dynamic relationships of expectations and the latter is articulated by a traditional static job description, are not new, but in TQM they acquire a renewed significance. Prevention also implies greater worker control to ensure they do not pass on work that is in error or defective and are able to take actions to prevent defects arising .

The third and fourth absolutes of Zero Defects and Measure, will imply new systems for control and feedback in work. In practice this means a re-examination of the traditional performance appraisal systems, developed in bureaucracies and which reinforce and confirm the dominant vertical manager - subordinate relationship. Performance appraisal can be a form of both output and behavioural control (Ouchi 1979), although the control aspect is usually denied by Human Resource managers, who would prefer to emphasise its career and reward benefits to employees.

These interpretations of what the four absolutes meant for the management of change in Ilford led to a review of how well known principles of organisation are applied. I shall now discuss the main aspects of this review, insofar as they relate to TQM.

Hierarchy and lateral relationships
Quality is defined in Crosby as continually satisfying customer requirements. A customer is a role with a particular set of expectations and needs to be satisfied by a supplier. This role has always been popularly associated with members of the public or members of other organisations to whom the service or product is sold, or in other words the end user. In TQM, the concept of a customer role is also applied to people
who work inside the organisation. For Oakland (ibid), the concept of *internal* and *external* customers is the core of total quality.

The relationships of internal and external customers and suppliers in Ilford is illustrated in Figure 6.2. This represents a more or less lateral chain that involves all the component roles and departments in the process necessary to supply the external customer in one direction and back to the external supplier in other direction. There is nothing particularly new about this relationship chain, it has always existed in business organisations, but in the past the importance of the lateral relationship was diminished by the much more significant vertical or *hierarchical* relationship established as a fundamental component of traditional and bureaucratic organisation. This is perhaps one of the oldest organisational relationships and one that has also received the greatest amount of attention and discussion amongst management writers and practitioners. The culture of management and organisation are significantly influenced by the way in which hierarchical authority and responsibility manifests itself. Even our religious beliefs mirror the idea that power and good exists upwards in Heaven whereas evil resides below us in Hell! It would be difficult for us to conceive of a culture or society where there is no concept of hierarchy.

Hierarchy refers to the number of levels or jobs in a vertical organisational relationship, it is closely coupled with the notion of span of control, which is the number of subordinates reporting to a single manager or supervisor. According to classical theory, a supervisor or manager should have no more than five or six people reporting to them in a span of control (Lussato 1972, p.46). This figure is not quoted now as a 'rule' of organisation, but one company, Lockheed went so far as to develop a technique for establishing the number of subordinates a manager could cope with, depending on the geographic spread and degree of different specialism being managed, along with other characteristics that would impact on the difficulty of managing more people in a span of control.

Hierarchy is one of Weber's (1947) principles of bureaucracy and aims to align levels of authority and responsibility in the organisation, usually according to the position that a role in occupies in the hierarchy; the higher up the hierarchy a role appears the greater the authority and responsibility held by that position.

In recent years hierarchy and particularly bureaucracy has come in for some severe criticism. It is claimed to suppress initiative and crush creativity and make the responses of an organisation to its environment too sluggish. However the answer to this problem was seen by many as simply 'flattening' the hierarchy on the grounds that if it is causing
RELATIONSHIP OF INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL CUSTOMERS AND SUPPLIERS

EXTERNAL SUPPLIERS

CUSTOMER

DEPT A. DEPT B. DEPT C. DEPT D.

EXTERNAL CUSTOMERS

SUPPLIER

ILFORD

T Q M
problems then just have less of it. Elliott Jaques (1990) responded to the recent attacks on hierarchy, by claiming that organisations do not need 'flat' organisations, but they do need layers of accountability and skill. There were other solutions used by companies, such as matrix forms of organisation (Davis and Lawrence 1977) that could help overcome the problems of hierarchy and differentiation.

Hierarchy and span of control is necessary to cope with another principle of organisation, namely the division of labour or specialisation of work which was advocated by Taylor (1947) and Gulick (1933). Through the division of labour it becomes essential to co-ordinate the activities of specialised jobs and ensure the work of different people meshed to produce the desired output. Hierarchy supports this task by reducing complexity and creating manageable sized sections and departments.

With the emergence of the concept of customer - supplier relationships as central to the TQM approach, it is to be expected that there will be a need to re-orient managers thinking about the comparative importance of hierarchical relationships. For example, in Ilford the performance appraisal system was designed, quite traditionally, around the need for managers to control the vertical relations with subordinates. Rewards as well as punishments were derived from this process. One of the difficulties TQM adopters have to face is the complex weave of sub-system layers which are built upon a fundamental but less relevant concept. Systems of co-ordination and control derive from the basic premise that position in a hierarchy correlates directly with the wisdom to know what should be done. The dichotomy between thinking and doing is institutionalised in the complex of sub-systems in the organisation.

In TQM the wisdom for action is seen not to emanate from position in hierarchy but from position and related expertise in the customer-supplier chain. The normal or traditional problem solving process is hierarchical, where the worker discovers a problem and is expected to tell their supervisor, with whom the hierarchically bestowed authority for solving the problem resides. The TQM approach would be to 'empower' the worker with the knowledge, skills and role responsibility for solving certain problems themselves.

In Ilford, two supervisors in production, one in a 'supplying' department and the other in a 'customer' department, had never spoken to each other except through their manager. Apart from the bureaucratic structure not requiring them to converse, it was a disciplinary offence for a supervisor to leave their place of work without the express approval of their manager - yet another obstacle to discourage the development of a lateral relationship. When they did start to communicate directly, they were able to spot and put right, a great number of small but irritating problems, which were preventing them from producing better quality work. They were used to co-ordinating systems
based on the principles of scientific management - the principles of total quality management requires congruent co-ordinating systems and reward systems that are built upon reconfigured work and job designs that align with the principles of TQM.

Co-ordination
Co-ordination and the division of labour are opposing principles of organisational structure. Mintzberg (1983) identifies five basic co-ordinating mechanisms:

1. Direct Supervision - co-ordination is achieved by one person directing the work of others and monitoring their action. This relies on the position, knowledge and experience of the supervisor.

2. Mutual Adjustment - the control and co-ordination of work is in the hands of those doing it. It relies on communication, it is a form of discretionary work where the knowledge of what is to be done develops as the work progresses.

Standardisation - there are three types of standardisation:

3. Work processes can be standardised in the form of instructions or procedures and the design of the work process. The workers are co-ordinated by pre-programming.

4. The work output can be standardised where a department output is prescribed in objectives or specifications but the way it is to be achieved may be at the discretion of the departmental staff and managers.

5. Co-ordination may also be achieved by ensuring that each worker has the same knowledge and skills, for example cashiers in a bank work at individual till positions yet the transactions they carry out with customers are standardised because they share the same knowledge of that part of the bank's business.

In 1989 Mintzberg added a sixth type of co-ordination called the standardisation of ideology. By this he meant the ways in which commonly held beliefs can guide individuals actions as if they were being directed by some external means.

In the traditional management approach at Ilford all forms of co-ordination could be found in use throughout the organisation, in the production departments direct supervision and work standardisation were common forms that managers used to ensure the integration of differentiated activities. These co-ordinating mechanisms are found in scientific management approaches that retains work control within the managerial positions in the hierarchy. It assumes the power base is congruent with the wisdom required for efficient and effective action. Consequently the integrity of the hierarchy and the importance of vertical relationships in the structure are preserved. In research project teams within the R&D departments, where neither the specific route nor the precise form of output can be accurately prescribed beforehand, there tended to be more use of 'mutual adjustment' for co-ordinating work. This form of co-ordination is
similar is some respects to the notion of 'teamwork' and both are demanding on time and communications skills to be effective. Because of its demands on people in the work situation, mutual adjustment is usually the most costly and least efficient form of work co-ordination. But where effectiveness is paramount, such as the satisfaction of customer need, more 'organic and responsive structures allow workers to respond better to what each other is doing as well as their customers.

A difficulty from which managers in Ilford suffered was the uncritical acceptance of scientific management principles irrespective of their context. Traditional management is preoccupied with finding the "one best way" to manage and design organisations, exemplified by Weber's 'ideal bureaucracy', Taylor's scientific management and Fayol's principles of administration. The work of these theorists undoubtedly influences modern managers probably more through their 'historical traditions' than from educated and well informed decision making to adopt these principles.

Organisational and management theorists such as Burns and Stalker (1961), Woodward (1965) and Lupton (1971) developed a contingency theory of organisations which recognises that some organisational forms work better in certain contexts than others. For example, Taylor's 'scientific management' is concerned only with the internal efficiencies of the organisation and ignores the environmental influences on its effectiveness and the nature of its technology (Scott 1981). These two main influences on the structure of organised work are evident during a transition from traditional management to TQM. Firstly the 'technology' employed and the 'tasks' that have to be performed, to produce quality products and services, will need to be taken into account when deciding on structural and co-ordinating requirements. Secondly the organisational environment with which the organisation transacts will need to be understood. These concepts have received a great deal of attention from theorists in management, (see for instance: Woodward 1965; Perrow 1967; Hickson, Pugh and Pheysey 1969). For the purposes of this discussion it will be necessary to clarify the implications of this work for managers wishing to change their managerial and organisational arrangements during the adoption of TQM to ensure congruence between the principles of TQM and the organisational practice.

The experience of TQM adoption in Ilford which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter, showed the usefulness of contingent and technological theoretical frameworks.

**TQM and organisational control**

The debate on organisational control in the context of TQM is a central issue. In my review of quality management in chapter 4, control of quality was seen to be a major
concern for Shewhart, Deming and Juran. These writers emphasised the importance of 'technical' measures to enable products and processes to be controlled within specifications, their approach was based on a statistical foundation. Philip Crosby also picked up the notion of measurement as key to improving quality but his emphasis on 'prevention' and that workers should be encouraged by managers to take their share of the responsibility for identifying and correcting defects. To work in this way, workers needed information and feedback as well as new skills and this in turn implied changes in the traditional 'organisational' controls. This shift to greater worker control was a clear move away from Taylor's schism between managers who 'think' and 'give instructions' to workers whose clear role is to 'do as they are told', and towards a more participative style of management.

The influence of the post-Hawthorne studies that emphasised the social factor in working life and the emergence of 'social man' from 'economic man' seemed to have a new found lease of life with the emergence of TQM, albeit for different reasons.

An underlying assumption of the organisational control debate are whether the interests of labour and the interests of managers coincide. In scientific management terms they clearly do not and hence the reliance on external control which can take a variety of forms including commands from superiors, rules and written procedures as well as the design of work and the training for individual jobs. By contrast, TQM re-emphasises the need for internal control in ensuring quality work is produced. This may be based on an assumption that there is in fact some alignment between the worker's motivation at a social and psychological level, with the aims of managers and their organisation.

The control debate raised by TQM creates issues of power, which in its simplest form has revolved around the way one person or group of persons can 'affect' the actions of another person or group of persons towards some aim or objective. With the potential power re-distribution between managers and workers, managers at least in Ilford were cautious because they saw power to exercise control as a zero-sum commodity, if workers had more of it, managers must have less. Tannenbaum (1968) would have disagreed with this view however, he says that traditional management control methods lead to only partial involvement of the worker. He argues that the 'total' amount of control can be increased by giving workers more control and therefore involvement, which gives managers greater control because of the increased commitment resulting from greater involvement. Tannenbaum suggests that:

"There are limitations to the range of activities that are subject to influence, excluded from influence is that large segment of the person that does not belong to the organisation... Anything that enhances members personal commitment to or identification with the organisation is implicitly including them more fully within the
organisation and hence is increasing the possibility of an expanded total amount of control. Human relations approaches that are designed to increase the identification of members that may therefore result in greater inclusion and greater control" (Tannenbaum 1968 : p16).

According to Tannenbaum then, the total amount of control in an organisation can grow so that the total amount of power in the system increases to enhance both workers and managers. Through greater sharing of control, managers can gain a greater commitment from workers to the aims of the organisation. A rather neat argument that should appeal to everyone who believes that more of anything is a good thing. However there are some concerns to be considered over Tannenbaum's seductive argument. Trades Unions for example who argue that such a control strategy is calculated to weaken workers resistance to changes that management may wish to make and reduce the union's own influence in the collective bargaining arena. One could also argue for the ethics of such an obvious attempt to control and influence organisations, is even more sinister than the control by supervision, rules, procedures and disciplinary measures.

But a more practical and immediate issue for managers is that the idea of sharing power assumes, in Fox's (1966) terms, a 'unitary' perspective, where the aims of the organisation are shared and subscribed to by all employees. For TQM a unitarian approach is implicit, but the danger lies in the more likely reality of a 'pluralist' or multiple interests set amongst different organisational sub-groups. In Ilford a particular manifestation of this phenomena was, it will be recalled, identified by PA consultants, where the functional organisation of the company encouraged the emergence of different competing 'camps' such as Production and Research & Development. Each camp were pursuing their own sectional interests which were regarded as more important to them than the interests of the company as a whole. Providing for higher levels of discretion to a greater number of people could have the effect of aggravating this situation and the accompanying feelings of the managing director that he needs greater control and the functions should have less control.

If appropriately directed, commitment is also an important ingredient for managers enthusiasm and possibly their effectiveness in achieving the aims of the organisation. Greater manager involvement and commitment may bring greater drive and zeal than monetary rewards and status alone may be capable of providing. Managers must believe in what they are doing and its implicit moral correctness in order that they are energised in the continuous search for legitimacy in their superordinate roles.
Etzioni (1961) offers an analytic framework (below) for compliance in organisations which sets out three main forms of control based on the aims of the organisation, type of employee involvement and the power base to be used for control.

### EXAMPLES OF TYPES OF ORGANISATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRISON</th>
<th>UTILITARIAN</th>
<th>RELIGIOUS</th>
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### SOURCE OF POWER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PHYSICAL</th>
<th>MATERIAL</th>
<th>PERSUASIVE</th>
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### TYPE OF INVOLVEMENT

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<tr>
<th>COERCIVE</th>
<th>CALCULATIVE</th>
<th>MORAL</th>
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Etzioni suggests that organisation will use or move towards congruent forms of compliance structures, largely because they will be more effective if they are congruent. The business organisation is a form of 'utilitarian' structure in the above scheme, but if managers perceive that their involvement is of a moral form they may believe that others involvement should be the same and strive to use persuasive types of power base to bring about a move from a straightforward 'in it for the money' calculative type the more committed moral type.

It is important to clarify the different meanings that shifts in power base may have for managers as distinct from other employees or unions.

Participation (Likert 1961) is a means of re-distributing the power to make and be involved in decision making. It is advocated by managers when they wish to legitimate their own position. Workers may believe that they are better able to influence managers decisions, but managers may see participation as a means for getting workers to more readily accept their decisions, which in practice are frequently already taken.

French (1964) identifies the distinction between "psychological participation" which is the extent to which an employee *thinks* they influence a decision and "objective participation" is the degree of participation the employee *actually* has in a decision making process. From a management perspective it would be better to maximise the former and minimise the latter this will achieve efficiencies by reducing waste in time and resistance to management aims. Managers can control participation by ensuring...
that 'ends' are given but the 'means' are jointly determined with workers. This will also
preserve the cherished management 'prerogative' to manage because they alone
possess the skills and knowledge to run the organisation.

**TQM and bureaucracy**

Traditional and bureaucratic management places heavy reliance on controls that are
external to the worker, probably best known as the principles of 'scientific management'
or 'Taylorism' set out by F.W. Taylor in his book *Principles of Scientific Management*
(1911). These principles were based on the assumption that people are inherently lazy
and will try to get away with doing the absolute minimum of work. Taylor's prescription
still influences management today and represents a tradition that makes a transition to
full adoption of TQM more difficult. TQM is also concerned with control but in a
different and perhaps a more subtle form. It is based on assumptions more in line with
McGregor's (1960) 'theory y' management style, where people are managed as if they
are open to motivation and democratic involvement strategies rather than the
authoritarian 'theory x' approach. This distinction between coercion and co-operation is
fundamental in management theory and will be a recurring theme throughout the TQM
debate.

Taylor's ideas, very briefly summarised and followed with a TQM comment, are listed
below:

- The division of labour between management and worker as well as between
  workers. Managers should restrict themselves to the planning for future work and
  workers should be organised to perform minute tasks. This distinction applied to
  management functions as well as workers tasks and it led to a clear dichotomy
  between 'thinking' and 'doing'. TQM must break down this split in the organisation of
  work and recombine thinking and doing and enlarge tasks, if the worker can see a
  relatively whole task from 'end to end' they can more effectively control what they
do and take responsibility. This would be essential if the notion of prevention is to
work in practice.

- Work measurement and task prescriptions were aimed at identifying the optimum
  efficiency through which tasks are to be completed so that the worker would not slip
  into inefficient ways of working. In TQM the role holder must be given support to
  manage their own tasks and relationships in the most effective manner. The
  distinction between efficiency and effectiveness is also a recurring theme in TQM.
The former implies an internal focus and the latter an external focus.

- Incentive schemes were aimed at quantity rather than quality. TQM would advocate
  rewards that are intrinsic and quality dependant.
Work as an individual activity meant that in Taylor’s view, people were distracted by their membership of a group and should be kept as individual workers so that their full attention is given to performing their prescribed job. TQM values a sense of teamwork to break down functional, task and psychological barriers created by the work experience.

Motivation of workers according to Taylor was strictly driven by economic reward. His individualistic view of people extended to believing that they were motivated by self interest alone and the greater the economic reward, the greater the productivity. By contrast TQM would regard motivation being derived from intrinsic as well as extrinsic sources, for example pride in doing a good job and a feeling of meaningful responsibility at work.

Individual differences between the abilities of workers and managers which were that only managers would be interested in future rewards because this requires a degree of commitment that it is not possible to find in workers. Controls must reflect this distinction. TQM requires commitment form everyone in the enterprise and that greater discretion and self value will lead to identification with and commitment to, the organisation’s goals.

Manager’s roles were primarily authoritarian and forward looking. They knew what was best for the workers and must supervise their work very closely. TQM would not deny an authoritarian role for managers but would advocate a participative and delegating style that is consistent with greater degrees of worker accountability, discretion and control to produce quality work for customers, both internal and external.

Trades Unions were unnecessary in Taylor’s view. Through scientific management, the managers were on the side of the workers and could meet their needs for economic reward. The unions would have no role in an organisation which was ‘fair’ and through rational management principles could unite both worker and manager for the aims of the organisation and consequently remove the causes of conflict. TQM is not regarded without suspicion by Trades Unions, but the approach accepts that conflict is inevitable and must be catered for rather than denied. TQM argues that managers and workers should, through teamwork, unite for the good of the customer as well as the shareholders.

TQM extends the use of ‘internal’ controls in both managers and workers and often a greater emphasis on output as distinct to behavioural controls. The importance of commitment and identification with customer need has led to a popular conception that TQM is reliant upon cultural change (Oakland 1989; Atkinson 1990) and the harnessing
of 'hearts and minds' to achieve the levels of commitment required by the organisation in pursuit of total quality.

The design of roles which provides for autonomy and feedback (Hackman 1977), need to be developed. Role occupants will need to know what standards are expected of them, what procedures apply to them, the requisite knowledge and skill to 'manage' the work inputs, processes and work outputs and the right equipment and facilities to perform their roles effectively, as shown in Appendix 10.

Delegation will also take on a new importance where instead of the traditional 'dynamic' and variable delegation of authority and tasks handed down by the boss, such work dimensions will need to be designed in as 'static' features of the role.

The impact of TQM on the traditional management 'paradigm' (Bounds et al 1994) is not to be underestimated. In Ilford Limited, the implications of what it means to adopt TQM and its effect on the well used model of management in the company, was not immediately realised. The sheer 'totality' of TQM was not envisaged at the inception. It was only as the understanding developed amongst managers was its full impact on the organisation and management traditions gradually realised.

**SUMMARY**

I have reviewed the main elements of organisational theory through which I have sought to understand the introduction of TQM. Working in my role as a clinician, I have built upon this theoretical foundation through the deployment of four models of change. These models were useful to us in Ilford because they provided some order to our perceptions of what aspect of the organisation we were changing and how best to proceed. I also found that in action research, one timely intervention very soon led to new questions and issues out of which further interventions were created. I shall now examine the four models of change, each of which captures different levels of analysis within the managerial perspective. They also indicate the 'trajectory' of my progress in supporting the introduction of TQM in Ilford.
FOUR MODELS OF CHANGE IN ILFORD

INTRODUCTION

It was my contention that for Ilford to become a TQM company there needed to be changes from the 'scientific management' approach to a form of management which more appropriately reflected the TQM philosophy. It was with this aim in mind that most of the practical change effort was directed. By 'practical change', I mean those changes that were implemented during the period of my employment as a manager. These changes are explained in terms of already established organisational theory which sees management as a rational and technocratic function. This view has emerged from the needs of early industrialists to control and co-ordinate the work of many workers to produce efficient results. In TQM, there is a logic that points the manager towards those parts of organisational theory that offer the most satisfactory fit with the aims of TQM as distinct from the scientific approach to management.

In this chapter, I shall review the theoretical approach to the management of change which I have found useful in Ilford. I will then go on to discuss the deployment of four theoretical change models, which I have labelled, behavioural, social, organisational and strategic (Figure 7.1). These models not only provided a focus for my activity and a theoretical explanation of the events that I have described in chapter 5, but also marked the stages of progress through which we navigated the introduction of TQM in Ilford.

THE MANAGEMENT OF CHANGE

The key issue for members of the DMC who ran Ilford, was how to bring about a change in the Company from a traditionally product driven company, to a renewed, quality driven organisation, which has customer priorities institutionalised within its operations. It will be seen that a change of this kind manifests itself over time on a number of different, yet related fronts. It can be considered as a change in the technical operations of the organisation as well as a change in the way people 'think' about the way they do in their jobs.

The breadth of the change task was considered by many managers in Ilford as a 'cultural' change, which was a word they used in describing the magnitude of the change required. For them, it implied a fundamental shift in the way work was done, particularly the work of management and of people's attitudes towards their individual
work role. The issue of what it means to change culture will be considered in this chapter in the context of TQM in Ilford.

In the managerial perspective of change, much of the theoretical underpinning can be drawn from well known writers on the management of change, whether it be at the level of micro-organisational behaviour, focusing attention on the individual and small group, or at the macro-organisational level of structures, strategies and culture (eg. Miles, 1980). Explanations drawn from this academic resource bank have a degree of acceptability amongst managers who are familiar or at least comfortable, with an academic orientation that is aligned to their own concerns for predictability and control in an organisational setting. It also reflected the appropriateness of such a knowledge resource to my role as a manager and 'clinician' (Schein 1988), with the responsibility for devising change strategies that contained a strong organisation development flavour.

Ways of thinking about change

During my research field work in Ilford, there were three main concepts that continually informed my ways of thinking about change and consequently the research activity itself.

Firstly, the concept of persistence which is concerned with change in the context of stability and accords with the notions of the regulatory and order oriented paradigms referred to earlier. Watzlawick, Weakland and Fisch (1974) raise the point that most theories in Western culture are either theories of change or theories of persistence. Yet as they point out, the concept of change can have no meaning without a concept of persistence and they suggest that there are two questions that must be asked together: How does this undesirable situation exist and what must be done to change it? The implication here is that if change is to be a project for human intervention, it must mean that the present state of affairs is somehow unsatisfactory. If this is so, then we are led to the view that change is a 'good' thing and that a future different state will be an improvement. There is a construct of effectiveness (Campbell 1977) running through the whole idea of change which intervenes between different states of stability, and from this view it might appear as process to be planned or controlled.

The second concept relates to the process of change. Quinn (1980), would argue that formal planning approaches to change are constrained by cognitive limits. Change is therefore, an 'incremental' process and a mixture of building supports and political legitimacy for new ideas. He believes that the change process will unfold and emerge
within broad rather than specific directions and develop through experimentation and learning.

Pettigrew (1985; 1988), regards the process of strategic change as an 'untidy' affair of:

"...a long term conditioning, educating, and influencing process designed to establish the dominating legitimacy of a different pattern of relations between strategic context and content"...(Pettigrew, 1988, p.2)

rather than a rational linear process of planned change.

In the world of organisations, the issue of interests is never too far away from any consideration of human activity and it remains a particular issue in the management of change. Resistance towards unsettling the status-quo because of a fear of something being lost or on the other hand, enthusiasm for a change because of some perceived benefits to be gained, all add to the complexity of trying to understand the change/persistence process. How one attempts to make sense of change or persistence draws attention to both the ontological and epistemological nature of whatever it is we are trying to change and what sense we are able to make of it.

The third framework relates to the content of change and is focused on the level and nature of change itself, this has been conceptualised by the distinction between change and meta-change. The theme occurs in the work of a number of writers such as Watzlawick et al (opcit) who propose first order and second order changes; Smith (1979), refers to metaphor and metonymy and changes that are morphostatic or morphogenic; Argyris and Schon (1978) distinguish between single loop learning and double loop learning; and Baruntek and Louis (1988) explore the differences between organisational development and organisational transformation.

First and second order change

Watzlawick et al (1974) argue for a theory of change that considers two different types of change, a change that occurs within a given system where the system itself is not affected and one where the change takes place in the system itself. They offer the example of dreaming as a way of illustrating the distinction between the two types of change: if one is having a nightmare, it is possible that the dreamer may do a number of different things, run, hide or scream, but changing from one of these behaviours to the other will not stop the nightmare. The way out of the nightmare is for the person to change from being asleep to being awake, where waking is no longer part of the nightmare and involves a change to a completely different state.
They refer to these different levels of change as a *first order change* and a *second order change* respectively. Second order changes are therefore discontinuities and involves 'stepping outside the square' of changing a subject's behaviour, and altering the governing framework at the meta level from which a subject's behaviour derives its meaning.

In organisational terms, first order changes were engaged by Ilford over a period of some 20 years by cut backs in numbers of employees, plant closures and the discontinuing of product lines. The aim was to improve profitability, yet they were removing the means through which 'surplus' is created and the material conditions needed to maintain 'presence' and competitiveness.

The use of 'more of the same' policies each time there was a crisis, was a little like giving more water to a drowning man! In the context of Ilford's business market, the 'solutions' were ineffective and would not change the organisational system within which Ilford conducted its business.

When the problem was 'reframed' by the MD, from being a costs issue to a competitive issue, quite different solutions were presented. Yet this reframing was not the outcome of theorising or research into the difficulties of the company, it came from a new managing director who decided that the previous 'solutions' obviously had not worked and it was time to try something new.

Throughout all this work there is a common thread of those 'first order'- changes that occur within a given and unchanging framework, such as the introduction of a new skill or procedure within an organisational structure that remains stable and unaffected and second order changes of the framework itself that gives meaning to whatever it encloses.

It is a way of looking at the relative magnitude of change, which for Pettigrew (1985) is what distinguishes strategic changes from non-strategic changes. The 'significance' of a change to the competitive ability of the firm, such as TQM, could be labelled a strategic change whereas a change in the car park layout would not.

1. **BEHAVIOURAL CHANGE.**

The Quality Improvement Programme that began in 1985 at Ilford was a change project agreed between the PA consultants assigned to Ilford and the managing director. This project would revolve around the results of the diagnosis that the consultants would carry out, which would be fed back to the MD and the Divisional Management.
Committee. These have already been described in chapter 3, but what is of interest here is the model of change that was being employed at this time.

The project approach to the management of change is most often advocated by consultants who each have their own particular version of the process, in order to implement their recommendations following a study or diagnosis of the company in which they are invited to work. With most companies as with Ilford, the general thrust of what needs to be done is already in the minds of the client management. Ilford had been experiencing quality problems and this gave PA the theme for their work.

A project has been defined as:

"...a unique venture with a beginning and an end, conducted by people to meet established goals within the parameters of cost, schedule and quality." (Dinsmore 1990, p.17).

The success criteria for the project approach to change management rely on unambiguous statements of objectives, responsibilities and budgets to ensure the proper control over the life cycle of the project.

Buchanan and Boddy (1992), have identified two common features in the project management approach, firstly it is a 'planned change' approach that asks where are we now and where do we want to be?. These represent the stages of persistence before and after the change and a 'rational linear' model of the logic's by which the change process will unfold. In the Ilford case this model was the Quality Improvement Programme. Secondly, there is an assumption that the participation of people involved in the change is only one of a number of important features of the process. The involvement of people in Ilford in so far as their 'participation' is concerned, was an important facet of the initial TQM educational programme, to be discussed later in this chapter.

PA consultants use an approach to managing projects which is to:

1. Conduct diagnosis.
2. Feedback findings and recommendations.
3. Agree implementation plan and timescales with the client and confirm their support.
4. Implement pre-planned programme for quality improvement by:
   - identifying tasks
   - assign responsibilities
5. Withdraw.

The Quality Improvement Programme had already been devised by PA based on their own knowledge of quality management and the approach advocated by Crosby Associates. According to one consultant, Ilford were so primitive in their organisational ‘modus operandi’ and the organisational problems so predictable and basic, that it was not difficult to achieve a fit between what PA had ‘on the shelf’ and what Ilford needed. The QIP training programme formed a core of this move to change the way Ilford managers and supervisors worked on problem solving, but in addition the steering committee and problem solving structure that was overlaid on the organisational structure provided the framework within which these new behaviours could be practised and be made legitimate.

The effect was quite effective, over one million pounds was saved in the cost of quality through this approach in the first year of operating. This was encouraging to management and supervisors who mostly quite enjoyed the new skills they were learning. More significant was the effects of this period of change as a ‘pre-change conditioner’ for what was to follow. Basically PA consultants had introduced a sophisticated form of ‘quality circles’, although strictly speaking the membership of the problem solving teams was not voluntary as in true quality circle style. In other respects they were the same. The effects of this project was to create what I called ‘behavioural expansion’ in which the skills repertoire of the individual is expanded in a way that gives them the experience of greater control over their environment and learning to try out new ways of doing things which will not attract some form of sanction from above. On the contrary, people were encouraged to experiment and to be more creative within the limitations of their bureaucracy.

This experience had the effect of raising the possibility of a) some critique of the ways in which things had been done in the past; b) increasing personal feelings of capability; and c) gaining some control over their environment.

These were the first steps in a strategy to change the infrastructure of the company. Most often than not in my experience, especially at ICL, projects such as quality circles are doomed to fail because they are not part of an overall strategy, they are one off techniques that usually run out of steam.

The problem solving structure in Ilford did run out of steam, but only to be picked up again by other events that led naturally from the initial behavioural intervention. The
notion of persistence is significant here, not in the persistence of a project structure, but in the lasting effects amongst the people of the experiences they have undergone as a direct result of the project. It was these feelings of experimentation, some successes and the managing director's enthusiasm to continue with the quality programme that were the keys to Ilford continuing forward, despite the consultants withdrawal.

2. SOCIAL CHANGE
This perspective refers to the education, socialisation and commitment of managers that would support new behaviours and values that are required by TQM. It was the first activity in which I was directly involved at Ilford and provided the first theoretical basis for considering change in the company. It was also significant in our consideration of achieving a different state of persistence that would 'ratchet up' changes without regression to the old management position. The social change perspective in Ilford grew out of this need to maintain the momentum of QIP induced changes as described in the previous chapter. PA consultants recognised the problem of new behaviours lapsing and had developed their own approach comprising eight steps to ensure that gains are "consolidated and made permanent". They prescribe constant vigilance to look out for slippage, the momentum must be kept up by "keeping up the pressure for improvement and providing a climate in which change is seen as the natural way of staying ahead".
PA prescribed eight steps to make quality improvement permanent:

1. Give every improvement, large and small, the status of a permanent change.
2. Follow up every change.
3. Understand that change in one area may mean changes elsewhere.
4. Communicate changes to everyone.
5. Fix changes in every person's mind - ensure commitment through involvement.
6. Remember people are creatures of habit.
7. Control the processes of consolidating improvement.
8. Start looking for potential as well as existing problems.

This prescription is clearly focused on instituting controls to maintain the problem solving regime that is the core of QIP. There were a number of problems with this approach for Ilford, firstly QIP was felt to be only a beginning for the company. The managing director wanted to progress on towards Total Quality Management and the
QIP experience had started 'the hares running' and was not in the MD's mind the end of the project. It was also recognised that the stock of knowledge in the company about TQM was extremely limited and it was the view of some DMC members that this was the first priority to put right.

Up to this time the changes in Ilford, as I have already described, had been mostly at the level of skills and new behaviours, this created a gap between the knowledge people possessed about quality management and their actual activity. We believed that if any further progress is to be made in the absence of directions from consultants, we were going to need to know more about quality management and TQM so that we could make some informed decisions about what we should do. This called for the education and theoretical orientation recommended to Ilford by Crosby Associates when they competed with PA for the Ilford contract. The top management in Ilford had now come to that conclusion for themselves at a time when they are ready for it. If they had started a quality programme with an emphasis prescribed by Crosby on understanding the philosophy, they would have later come to the conclusion that they needed action. Starting with PA just meant that the 'action' came first and the understanding of the 'why' and 'how' was to follow.

In chapter 5, I described the design and implementation of the TQM education programme and the decision that managers from senior positions in the Company, including the managing director, would present the courses and act as 'trainers'. This was significant in terms of changing individual managers' attitudes towards the idea of Total Quality management and its supporting principles.

There is a large amount of theoretical support for the power of this approach, starting with the idea of involvement. Coch and French (1948) had shown experimentally that participation of people affected by a change overcomes resistance and wins commitment. Of more interest to managers was the increase in efficiency amongst participating groups who were allowed to take part in the design and implementation of changes in the pyjama factory where Coch and French were working, against those groups not allowed to participate in changes that affected them. More recently, Kotter and Schlesinger (1979), offer a list of specific steps to introduce change with the minimum of resistance. The first two steps involve sharing of knowledge and perceptions an involvement of people in the planning and implementing of changes, and were used in the TQM educational programme.

Of direct relevance to the TQM programme at this stage in Ilford was the work of Janis and King (1956) who showed how 'role playing' affects changes in beliefs. Their improvisation hypothesis was that a person's beliefs will be changed if he is stimulated
to think of new arguments and appeals in order to convince others to adopt a point of view. This is precisely what DMC and senior managers in Ilford would experience when they were running the TQM courses. Presenters became champions of TQM, some even claiming that it had changed their personal lives by adopting some of the principles of total quality.

The TQM educational programme also provided a forum in which senior managers 'humbled' themselves by sharing with course members that they were no more expert at knowing what should be done next and on a number of occasions the MD and other DMC members would admit that the way they had been running Ilford obviously was not the right way. This created feelings amongst people that they could try things out in their own areas to experiment with TQM, it also created an atmosphere in which it was ok to criticise the ways things were done in the past and that there are better ways of operating.

The educational programme which was to take some 18 months to complete, became an initial step in the institutionalisation of TQM within Ilford.

During the early phase in Ilford of the transition from the QIP to TQM, I was involved as a manager in helping to create a strategy for change that initially focused on the education and socialisation of managers in a new way of working. The resource for this work was drawn mainly from my OD training and experiences of major changes in my previous company, (ICL). This provided a good managerially oriented perspective of the problems in bringing about large scale change.

In Ilford, the issues of persistence were of significant value in helping to steer the management of change. The diagram in figure 7.2. illustrates an effort to position our management change efforts in the context of a desire to make them 'stick'. The diagram attempts to show the company making a transition from one position of stability, to a different position of stability. The factors that would ensure persistence of new behaviours such as TQM education and on the job reinforcement of learning, gave us some indication that the problem with which we were dealing was not simply 'how to change', but also how to re-establish stability.

Goodman and Dean (1981), have conceptualised a model of 'institutionalisation' that builds upon Lewin's (1951) classic model of change. Lewin describes change in terms of three processes, unfreezing or de-stabilising the status quo, this would relate in Ilford's case to the contextual conditions that led to the need for TQM being established. Then moving which is the actual change activities that introduce new ways of behaving
such as new skills, new procedures and new knowledge, which then must be refreezed to ensure the new behaviours persist over time.

Goodman and Dean are specifically concerned with refreezing as a process of institutionalisation. They define an institutionalised act as:

"a behaviour that is performed by two or more individuals, persists over time and exists as a social fact". (Goodman and Dean, pp.229 1981)

An act is not all or nothing, there are degrees of institutionalisation which are determined by varying persistence and different numbers of people who perform the required behaviours. The extent to which institutionalisation may be considered effective will also vary and, according to Goodman and Dean, be linked to the ability managers have to manage the degree to which it can be introduced. It will also require a clear specification of the desired behaviours that are to persist if the degrees of institutionalisation is to be measured. The latter issue is quite familiar to managers who prescribe behavioural or 'core' standards for the guidance of employees in the organisation. In Ilford the TQM Audit procedure described in the last chapter, was developed with a prescription of behaviours believed to reflect what people would be doing if they were working in a TQM way.

To conceptualise the degree of institutionalisation, Goodman and Dean specify, five facets that indicate the 'depth' of institutionalisation.

The first facet, knowledge, refers to knowledge of the behaviour insofar as an individual knows how to perform it. For example, the training of Ilford managers and supervisors should provide this knowledge.

The second facet is performance and refers to the number of people who are actually performing the new behaviours over time. An issue in Ilford was what management do or not do to encourage experimentation in try out new techniques. There also needs to be a 'legitimacy' for the new behaviours to be tested. Legitimacy in the 'eyes' of employees would, to some extent, depend upon the degree to which managerial practice actually reflected the theory which managers were espousing. Often, managers could be accused of saying one thing but doing another.

The third facet of preference is the extent to which people, 'like' the new ways of working. If they are positively disposed towards it because of something they gain out of it, or it is in some way appropriate for them, they are likely to prefer the new behaviour.

The degree of liking leads to the fourth facet of consensus, where there is a broader awareness, agreement and acceptance that the new behaviours being performed are
better and more appropriate than the old behaviours or ways of doing the job. Certainly during the eighteen months of the TQM programme, there was a degree of personal attachment to its principles and their impact on work. For example some supervisors were enthusing over the fact they had been talking to each other across departmental boundaries and as a consequence had improved the 'handovers' of partly completed products because they had a better understanding of what their 'customers' needed. This led to feelings of satisfaction for the supervisors and a recognition from senior managers, who asked two of them to make a short presentation on what they had achieved.

Finally, the fifth facet is values, at which point there is a social consensus of what is desirable and inform what ought to be done in behavioural terms, that confirms the new behaviours as the 'right' ones. They conform to a general set of values that relate to the work environment, for example greater democracy and autonomy, and constitute beliefs about people should behave in congruence with these values.

This level of institutionalisation was not total, because some managers were tolerated as 'non-believers' by a deliberate policy not to enforce its principles, but rather for them to be 'willingly' accepted. This in itself created change dynamics that were significant to the overall success of the programme. But there was widespread acceptance that TQM did constitute a better way of working in Ilford. This was in evidence at meetings, where obvious managerial enthusiasm showed through with a what appeared to be a genuine determination to make it succeed.

The Goodman and Dean model was a very useful framework in helping us to manage the TQM change process in Ilford at its various stages of implementation and offered some insights into planning what should be done and when, and whether we were making progress or not.

The above facets enabled a view to be taken about the degrees of persistence that might be achieved by the change efforts in Ilford and the effectiveness with which they were being established as the 'TQM way'.

The general framework for achieving persistence incorporates five processes which are:

1. **Socialisation**, which is the transmission of information learning processes, about beliefs and values and the meanings that are used to interpret behaviours.
2. **Commitment**, refers to the conditions in which announced behavioural intentions are irrevocable or difficult to change, and there is a motivational force to achieve some particular outcome.
3. **Reward allocation**, is the process of how specific performances are rewarded and the forms of external controls are employed that are relevant and supportive of the new behaviours.

4. **Diffusion**, means the ways in which the new behaviours are spreading throughout the organisation. In Ilford some parts of the organisational community such as Finance and Purchasing felt that TQM was for production and little to do with them. This did change as an understanding of TQM developed.

5. **Sensing**, refers to the means managers have for measuring and gaining feedback on how well the change efforts are progressing.

Applying the Goodman and Dean model to Ilford, the TQM programme would achieve the degree of socialisation necessary. This programme challenged the existing wisdom on work relationships and offered new emphases that aligned with broader social values of customer sovereignty. Managerial commitment had been declared publicly in discussions and on the educational programme. In some respects, as pointed out by Staw (1979), commitment can become a barrier to change, strong commitment inherently values the unswerving, non-turning, eye on the ball type of leader. When managers who have developed some strong attachments to ways of working they will find it all the more difficult to change. But the history of Ilford cutbacks and cost cutting had created a disconfirmation already in peoples minds and a form of instability. As a result, they might be more receptive to a different way of running the company.

3. **ORGANISATIONAL CHANGE**

The progress that we felt we were making with the success of the TQM educational programme and the degree of energy and interest that had grown around TQM, led us to realise the gap between management practice and TQM principles. The importance of prevention and the customer-supplier relationship in TQM directed attention to the organisational arrangements for management in the TQM environment. I will be recalled from the previous chapter that the jobs as roles, the performance management system job re-design and teamworking, were all considered in the light of an open systems orientation.

The pace with which the socialisation of managers in TQM was progressing, led to a concern that the organisational infrastructure would soon be outdated and no longer reflect the way we now wanted to manage the business. Hence the 'credibility' gap referred to above.
In developing the organisational change perspective I recognised a common concern with the problems of a 'boundary' that separates two entities that have needs to be satisfied, in both TQM and Open Systems theory. Both are interested in the management of boundaries, inputs, transformations and outputs. The articulation by Crosby of a job that has input and output, and relies on importing skills and resources to satisfy the demands of the worker, is a manifestation of an open system.

Katz and Kahn (1978) assert that:

"Open systems theory emphasises the close relationship between a structure and its supporting environment. It begins with the concept of entropy, the assumption that without continued inputs any system soon runs down". (Katz and Kahn 1978, p.3).

In TQM the dependence of the organisation on its customers is reasserted as the dominant concern of management. These current concerns reflect the views of earlier researchers such as Kast and Rosenzweig (1973), who viewed organisations as comprising sets of independent subsystems through which inputs negotiate and outputs are generated and quite accurately reflects the internal operation of TQM. In such a conceptualisation of organisation, management's task is in the contingency sense, mainly concerned with achieving a good fit between the interacting sub-systems, whether they be technological or social. With this particular view in mind, much of the work of changing some of the key management systems began.

The basic unit of analysis in Ilford was the individual role. Each member of the Ilford organisation occupied a role or office, which in Katz and Kahn's terms is a relational concept. This defines each position in terms of its relationship with other roles and with the organisational system as a whole. Associated with each role is a set of activities or expected behaviours, which any person occupying that role is expected to perform. This way of defining jobs is a departure from the traditional job description which focuses on internal skills and knowledge to carry out work. A role holder, within the organisation will experience certain expectations within a role-set, (Merton 1957)

On the internal supervisors courses, delegates were encouraged to analyse their role sets in terms of customers and suppliers, by defining others expectations, their own expectations and possible areas of conflict. This was to enable them to review what they actually do in relation to what they should be doing, the extent to which their roles are changing and the needs they may identify for further training and development.

Emery (1972) reminds us that knowledge of the role set and role expectations does not in itself lead to performance. Role knowledge can be interpreted by the personal preferences of the individual and have little to do with what the system as a whole
requires as effective performance. Effective performance from the organisational point of view must consider another level of working relationships, the task itself and the task interdependencies.

The socio-technical approach to the design of work was to some extent practised in Ilford. Rice (1958) regarded the problem of grouping tasks that have 'whole task' characteristics, as central to the issue of a balanced performance between individual and their work. A whole task was one which was could incorporate a boundary location that encompassed a number of individual tasks in a group. In this way individuals' experience the satisfactions of group membership:

"A group consisting of the smallest number that can perform a whole task and can satisfy the social and psychological needs of its members is, alike from the point of view of task performance and of those performing it, the most satisfactory and efficient group". (Rice 1958, p.36)

Job design

In chapter 5, I indicated that we adopted a practical approach for the design of jobs. This would incorporate the notions of role and task in the context of TQM with Hackman's (1977) Yale Job Design Model. This model was taught as part of the course on group behaviour that was developed for senior managers and the DMC. This was to provide them with insights and to stimulate thinking about how the organisational relationships in the company could be changed to better reflect the principles of TQM.

In Hackman's model there are five core job dimensions defined as:

1. Skill Variety - the extent to which a job uses a variety of skills in completing a task.
2. Task Identity - the degree to which the job requires a whole and identifiable piece of work to be done.
3. Task Significance - the extent to which the job impacts on others or is perceived as important.
4. Autonomy - the amount of freedom an job provides to decide how to schedule and carry out the work.
5. Feedback - the extent of information that the job provides about the performance of the individual.

These core dimensions could be seen to have immediate relevance to TQM and the notions of personal accountability and responsibility. Managing one's own work quality requires the interaction with internal customers and suppliers regarding expectations
and performance. A way of achieving this was to provide for more self control and better feedback mechanisms in the way jobs were designed. These ideas were put into practice using the tactics suggested by Hackman in determining the readiness of employees to want their work structures changed. There was little resistance to the approach and as I indicated in the previous chapter, the shop stewards were being very positive about any changes that gave their members more interesting work and carried the prospect of more money, which these changes did include. However there is a need for care in any restructuring of work. Not everyone would see value in more discretion nor see additional responsibilities as rendering a job more interesting. We worked with this in mind as a counterbalance to the general view expressed by shop stewards.

Performance appraisal

I have described the business need to redesign our performance appraisal process in chapter 5. Whilst the design of jobs aimed to provide feedback to the role holder on their performance, management still required a process of performance appraisal to manage the performance of their staff that would align with TQM. The theoretical basis for this was to move our performance management strategy from what Walton and Hackman (1984), called a 'control strategy' to a 'commitment strategy'. These strategies contrast traditional management with a team or group centred approach:

Control Strategy
- Work is designed by dividing tasks into smaller well defined sub tasks that minimise skill and judgement.
- Performance is managed by reference to specific standards that define minimum performance requirements.
- Pay is based on individual performance or job type.
- Organisation is run so that the least skilled or motivated employee will work satisfactorily.
- Power is positional and hierarchical.

Commitment Strategy
- Work is designed to be provide a broad range of responsibilities and planning.
- Performance is managed individually to a large extent, making adjustments as and when the consider necessary. Objectives
derive from the boss and customers, where continuous improvement is expected to match changes in their immediate work environment.

- Pay is based on skills acquisition and group achievements.
- Power and authority is based on competence and experience.

These principles guided the changes we made to the performance management system. We defined performance in terms of two criteria, effectiveness, which meant getting the job done according to each roles set members requirements, and efficiency which implied completing the tasks with little wasted effort and the use of minimum resources.

The performance management process used Scott's (1981) distinction between 'directive objectives', to direct effort towards some particular aim and 'evaluative objectives', which may be used to judge performance. Typically the boss and team would agree directive objectives for everyone and the individual role holder would agree evaluative objectives with their internal customers. Data collected by the individual and the boss would be used in the performance appraisal discussion or 'counselling sessions' as they were called in Ilford.

This approach to performance management was an attempt to change the way employees were managed in line with what we believed would be congruent with the principles of TQM. If we were serious about changing the emphasis on managing relationships between internal customers and suppliers, then any process that influences or controls behaviour, such as the performance appraisal system, must capture the principles embodied in the change.

The new process was launched with a presentation and overview of the system to the DMC. This was then followed by two day training sessions to familiarise senior managers initially, then all other managers with the process.

4. STRATEGIC CHANGE

The changes that we had experienced at the behavioural, social and organisational level were the core working perspectives through which most of the changes in Ilford were understood and managed.

These changes were largely tactical and operational and were aimed at putting into place management knowledge and practices that would ensure a greater degree of institutionalisation of TQM in the company.

These were events that could be regarded as part of a strategy which Ilford was pursuing to become a TQM company. The phrase 'a TQM company' was a rather vague term that was used in Ilford, mainly I believe to suggest that we were not one yet and to
convey an equally vague vision of what we were trying to aiming to be as an organisation.

From literature on strategic change it is, according to Pennings, (1985,p2), possible to conceptualise three meanings:

1. A statement of intent that constrains or directs activities - an 'explicit' strategy.
2. An action of major impact that constrains or directs activities - an 'implicit' strategy.
3. A rationalisation or social construction (Berger and Luckmann 1966) where strategy has existence in the minds of people as a meaningful representation. a 'rationalised' strategy.

In the case of explicit strategy, the text book view of planning and linear sequences of activities. It presents an image of managerial planning involving a mission statement, the setting of objectives and the allocation of resources to ensure the plan comes to fruition (Miles and Snow 1978).

CIBA-Geigy central planning department espoused the value of the Boston Consulting Group model of the product portfolio matrix. This model was known in Ilford but not used at this level of aggregation.

Ilford was seen by its Swiss owners to variously occupy different quadrants at different times, but the business of supplying to the consumer market was never a traditional activity for CIBA-Geigy who tended to sell speciality chemicals to other manufacturers. So the Ilford activity was seen as an odd one out and we will not know what was really in the minds of the Swiss decision makers regarding its longer term future within the CIBA-Geigy strategic portfolio at the time of its initial investment.

In Ilford such strategic planning formalisation was difficult to observe, much of the high level activity was reactive rather than proactive and might be better explained as an implicit strategy.

An implicit view of strategy may account for the situation where it is possible to observe a trend in a company's activities as if they were triggered by a prior plan. Yet the process is 'messy' and hardly sequential in any rational-planned sense. If this rather disjointed activity were to lead to a discernible trend, this could be described as the organisation's implicit strategy, (Mintzberg 1978, Quinn 1978, Pettigrew, 1973).

Certainly the rationalisation and trends in Ilford of withdrawal from certain markets towards a niche market, were reactions to underlying problems of high overheads, competitive pressures and the parent company's need to contain its costs. One could look back on Ilford's recent past and suggest that the strategy was one of containment and planned reduction of its business activity, into a specialist market within which it
possessed superior skills. Yet as these events were unfolding, such a carefully planned strategy certainly did not exist. Whether or not it is in the minds of its executives or not I cannot tell. They never admitted to it nor expressed what they had done in these terms. It seemed it could only be rationalised by describing what actually happened and then making it sound logical and sensible.

The problem facing managers is the cognitively limiting nature of what Herbert Simon (1957) called 'bounded rationality'. Simon described this phenomena as the human limitations in processing information. The complexities of the organisational task facing managers is so great that it cannot be rationally analysed. This means that to make organisational life manageable, managers will find and develop 'rules of thumb' to inform their decision making together with whatever information seems to them salient at the time. Such a process has been explained by writers using a number of different perspectives. It could for example involve a form of organisational learning, (Argyris & Schon 1981; Jelinek 1979; Duncan & Weiss 1979).

Normann (1985), argues that strategic change implies organisational learning and is the basis for 'strategic action capability' which is closely linked to the organisation's ability to synthesise and innovate.

Other writers such as Hedburg & Jonsson (1977), Bartunek (1984) and Johnson (1987) argue that managers hold a set of core beliefs, they have an 'ideational culture' or 'paradigms', that are peculiar to the organisation in which the managers work. In this respect the third meaning of strategy as residing within the heads of the decision makers becomes ideational. The organisational strategy as an external and objective reality is socially constructed, (Berger & Luckmann 1966).

**Strategic decision making,**

In their popular book "In Search of Excellence", Peters and Waterman (1982) suggested that the rational model of strategic planning had become inconsistent with the ability of some companies to achieve excellence in their chosen field. The popularisation of the cultural or ideational factor which excellent companies all appeared to share, was pointing to the importance of company values and beliefs as variables which are keys to success.

The converse must also be true where core beliefs that are no longer appropriate, will eventually lead to the decay and even end of the organisation. It appeared in Ilford that the values and beliefs which informed the managerial decision making was somehow based on a view that the causes of poor competitiveness was the internal inefficiencies that were created by high overhead costs.
The impact of values and beliefs on strategic decision making have been explored by Beyer (1977). Her critique of the rational decision making model reaffirms the views of other writers that the traditional models do not describe actual decision making processes. Her review concludes that differences in ideology between different organisational groupings will generate conflicts and disagreements that will make decision making more difficult. Whereas consensus not only facilitates decision making but implementation more likely.

It will be recalled that progress with TQM was largely attributable to the TQM workshops and the communications events. These vehicles were the sites of sharing knowledge and experiences that were not directed by a 'grand plan' but an iterative series of inductive and thinking or learning.

Normann (1985) regards strategic change as an inductive and open ended process and that there is a close relationship between creativity and strategic action. Managers strategic capability is determined by their ability to learn and be creative. Normann argues that the quality of a strategic action and of a series of actions over time is a function of how well the organisation has learned to identify and respond to new situations and to proactively manage their environment. From this viewpoint, Normann regards strategic change as directly relation to organisational learning. He uses Argyris and Schon's (1981), formulation of single loop learning and double loop learning on which to base his own conception of strategic change.

Single loop learning is a form of first order change, which in Ilford for example, could have referred to the cost cutting changes to the structure and operation to improve profitability, without any change to the frame of reference that governs what would be an effective outcome.

Double loop learning was characterised by a change in the way the problems of Ilford were defined, from a company whose costs are too high to a company that cannot compete effectively in a world market for high quality film products. This conceptual change altered the way people looked at how the company would be effective, leading to the quite different logic of TQM.

Lorsch (1985) also comments that fundamental strategic change depends upon managers learning to convert ideas into actions that will work. This view has implications for effectiveness, which are captured in Duncan and Weiss (1979) as the:

"...degree to which firm or organisational actions lead to the outcomes intended" (Duncan and Weiss, 1979, p.81).

For actions to lead to intended outcomes, means that there must be some knowledge about action - outcome relationships, this knowledge is located at a meta-level with
respect to the action that is associated with double loop learning and second order change. Duncan and Weiss (ibid) argue that Argyris and Schon (ibid) and other theorists such as March and Olson (1976), have developed theories about the individual processes of learning from which personal knowledge emerges. Organisational knowledge refers to the 'communicable, consensual and integrated statements of action - outcome relationships. Organisational knowledge must be more than the sum of individual learning. There needs to be a process for sharing, evaluating and integrating knowledge in the organisation. For example, in Ilford the communications events and TQM workshops provided forums for the conversion of individual knowledge to organisational knowledge. The individual knowledge contribution must be acceptable to other people in the organisation as relevant to their specific issues at the time. Knowledge that is not acceptable will not become organisational knowledge. This is another reason to ensure that a wide range or spectrum of views are aired and discussed and people are not forced through fear of retribution to consider only narrow and 'official viewpoints'. I mentioned previously the Bill Hunt decided against the idea of creating a 'force - fit' between peoples' beliefs and TQM by firing the 'non-believers'. Acceptance of knowledge is affected by individuals willingness to use it as a basis for organisational action and that doing so will lead to an improvement at some level in the organisation. The criteria for this willingness was the desire to successfully adopt TQM and because new ground was being broken no one had proven knowledge of what to do. This created a climate in which ideas and personal discoveries of something that had worked for them were eagerly shared and tried out. The performance stage in the institutionalisation process, where experimentation was encouraged and the outcomes reported back, was an instance of the process by which the organisational stock of knowledge increased. Further, the learning loops that existed between customers and suppliers in various role sets provided for the generation of individual action - outcome relationships to be learned and shared through a communication and a refining process. The credibility gap or 'performance gap' (Downs 1966), that was perceived between the principles of TQM and managerial practice, encouraged a search for actions that would narrow this gap and gave impetus to the learning process in Ilford.

SUMMARY

My aim in this chapter was to explain the four models of change through which attempts to manage TQM in Ilford progressed over a period of some four years. I have interpreted events in Ilford through the analytical frame of the managerial perspective.
However, the different ways of making sense of the changes at various stages in the TQM programme are largely uncritical and makes the assumption that there exists a:

"...neutrality or virtue of management as self evident and unproblematical". (Alvesson and Willmott 1992, p 1).

I have presented the management of change in Ilford as a rational and technocratic function, which could be traced to a need of the early industrialists to find ways of controlling and co-ordinating work in the most efficient way. However, if one stands back from the assumption that management is a rational activity to adopt a more critical stance, quite a different picture of what is changing emerges. Such a radical perspective produces a different explanation of the events in Ilford, which stands out in stark contrast to the traditional managerial explanations I have so far offered. It is to this critical and ideological perspective of TQM in Ilford that I now turn attention.
CHAPTER 8

IDEOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides the groundwork for my assertion that TQM can function ideologically within organisations. It should already be clear that there are implications for leadership and management for the use of TQM in the context of business competitiveness, but there are equal if not more significant roles for TQM which points to the very heart of the subjectification of all employees, not only to their organisational leadership, but as citizens living through the growth of 'New Right' ideas in the development of society at large in the UK.

We have examined the overt role of TQM as a response to poor competitiveness in the business marketplace. I now turn my attention to the more covert role of TQM as ideology and its functionality in the construction of appeals to managers as subjects in a discourse with their organisational culture. This is covert in the sense that it is not articulated within the rational philosophy of TQM, in other words it is what TQM does not say that is of interest here.

WHAT IS IDEOLOGY?

Ideology is a notoriously difficult concept to pin down, most certainly aggravated by the ambiguous use of the term and the variety of definitions that writers have offered. Eagleton (1991) summed up the problem with trying to define the concept of ideology. Simply, it is because there are so many different useful definitions of the concept, many of which are incompatible with each other, but each offering a different perspective on the nature of ideology and its ideological function, that no single definition can capture such variety of use.

He suggests that the word 'ideology' is a 'text', which has been woven from different conceptual strands with divergent histories.

The origins of Ideology are perhaps more straightforward, the term goes back to Bacon but was used by Destutt de Tracy during the French Revolution to mean the science of ideas. It was a naive attempt to rid mankind of the self imposed prisons of bigotry, religion and absolute monarchy; it was also an extremely ambitious emancipatory project. Napoleon started to use the term in a pejorative sense to argue that the 'ideologues', such as de Tracy, were blasphemous and a force against God as well as
probably a threat to himself. The original intentions to develop a science of ideas backfired in the sense that its proponents were themselves seen by as dogmatic and 'ideological'.

Nowadays, ideologists are people who are deluded and speaking through some rigid framework of preconceived ideas or dogma which is the opposite to what de Tracy intended. But also, ideology is more than just commenting that a person has biased and untrue beliefs.

Eagleton has identified sixteen varieties of meaning for the term ideology, which are listed below:

- The process of production of meanings, signs and values in social life.
- A body of ideas characteristic of a particular social group or class.
- Ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power.
- False ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power.
- Systematically distorted communication.
- That which offers a position for a subject.
- Forms of thought motivated by social interests.
- Identity thinking.
- Socially necessary illusion.
- The conjuncture of illusion and power.
- The medium in which conscious social actors make sense of their world.
- Action oriented sets of beliefs.
- The confusion of linguistic and phenomenal reality.
- Semiotic enclosure.
- The indispensable medium in which individuals live out their relations in a social structure.

From this list it can be noted that there are contradicting forms, in the analytical scheme proposed by Geuss (1981) some of the forms above are neutral or descriptive, while others are distinctly pejorative, yet others are ambiguous.

Some definitions make a claim that ideology is to do with specific interests whereas as others imply it refers to all ideas irrespective of interests.

The diversity of definitions is unhelpful in some respects, not least it hinders those who are trying for the first time to study ideology! It appeared to me at first that ideology is what a writer wanted it to mean in support of their argument, almost as if it could be made up to suit the occasion. At first sight this seems to devalue the whole 'idea' of
ideology, if it has such diversity of meaning, what use could it be as an analytical tool? Apparently anything could be ideological.

In my own ignorance of the meaning of ideology I would use the term to refer to someone else's ideas with which I disagreed, or did not like, in J.B. Thompson's terms, "it is the thought of the other". Thompson also writes that

"To study ideology is to study the ways in which meaning serves to sustain relations of domination." (Thompson 1984, p 4).

If I am at all representative of other people then it would be safe to say that the word ideology is, at least in popular usage, a pejorative term. Yet the use of the term to describe TQM can be used positively, as a set of action oriented beliefs; descriptively as a set of symbols; or pejoratively as a means for domination. It may be that to determine usage we have to go beyond the merely definitive to consider ideology in action and in context.

Take for example a statement made by a company representative who speaks of the importance of customers to the organisation, such a statement is empirically true in its surface meaning, but used in discourse with employees, it has a powerful force to legitimise anything that may be shown to be in the interests of the customers whilst masking the underlying motive of profit. In this sense we may observe the 'power' of such a statement when made by some one in authority over us because we know they do not make idle conversation. There is a directiveness about their language. For us, the statement is rhetorical bound up with the legitimacy of certain interests. It is not, in context, just a piece of language, it has power, through which the complex web of hierarchy and bureaucratic relations are transmitted. Such a statement also communicates a 'knowledge' about the world and the correct way to view relations between customers and organisations. Its power has to do with the infusion of already held social norms that customers should be treated courteously and efficiently, it would be difficult for anyone to disagree and not be regarded as a total deviant.

The service of customers became the new legitimating force of the 1980's corporations. The process of legitimisation according to Eagleton has at least six forms it might take and a dominant power may legitimise itself by:

- Promote beliefs and values that are congenial to it.
• Universalising or naturalising beliefs about itself to make them self evident or inevitable.
• Denigrating the ideas which might challenge it.
• Excluding rival forms of thought.
• Obscuring social reality in a way that is convenient.

For the purposes of legitimisation the dominant group's statements must appear attractive to the people it wishes to influence. If everything that is uttered from our leaders has a coercive, false or darker side, how are they to motivate and gain commitment to their ends, let alone legitimate their power to do so? One response to this question is provided by Elster, (1982), who comments that ruling ideologies must also engage the wants and desires that people already have, hooking hopes and needs and reflecting them in a language that can be understood. Their truthfulness must be seen as attractive in spite of any 'false consciousness' that may be implied because of what is not said.

For employees, particularly managers suffering anxieties about their jobs and future careers, even a falsehood known to be such can reduce these anxieties (Alford 1989). If there is also something to believe in that is attractive they have something to work for, it is a dose of 'hope'.

The omnipotent and perhaps idealised organisation, with all its resources focused to serve the a society of deserving customers may be an illusion, but it can make us feel better about what we do and why we do it. TQM as an ideology can provide us with palatable meaning in an unpalatable world of business reality. It provides us with an imaginary solution to our worst fears.

The 'affective' dimension of ideology is echoed in Althusser, whose broader view of ideology is less to do with its truth or falsity, and more the way relations to society are 'lived' through the way we are 'constituted' as human beings through signifying practices. For Althusser, ideology is affective, our unconscious relations with the world and our relations with reality, reflect in our attitudes and beliefs.

This again does not mean that everything we assert is ideological. I do not like celery, is not an ideological statement it is a personal quirk. But saying that I don't like Banks could be related to the systems of domination employed by capital through the medium of money, that exemplifies the domination of the ruling class of owners who maintain their favourable position and therefore, the asymmetry of relations in the world. This is clearly an ideological statement in the subjective sense, but also involves beliefs and assumptions that may be true or false, but this aside it may just be that the affective element sometimes outweighs the cognitive element.

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My use of the term ideology in this thesis must be partial and I am aware of the need to settle upon a particular meaning which is useful in this case study. The too generalised meanings are of little practical value as too are the merely descriptive accounts. In the context of organisations, meaning formations are concerned with control and the power to dominate organisational subjects. The processes of structure and signification are communicated in a context of the promotion of the interests of a particular group in society. Interests of the ruling group are legitimated, but at the same time are used to 'unify' interests in a way that will secure the complicity of subordinates.

This orientation towards ideology is significantly skewed towards Geuss' view of ideology in its pejorative meaning and it is this orientation upon which I shall base this discussion. I recognise in organisations that other orientations are possible, but in general I shall stick with my position that on the whole organisations, by their very nature, are instruments of domination. They involve the construction of meanings and the use of power towards specific ends, mainly in the interests of a dominant group.

Towards a working definition of ideology for my purposes in this study, I find that Seliger (1976) offers an account that encompasses two very useful features of ideology. First, he recognises that for a set of ideas or beliefs to be of practical value to a group, there must be a level of application or operation associated with any abstract and theoretical beliefs. This 'bifurcation' of ideologies in practice between what Seliger calls fundamental ideology and operative ideology, also has implications for the notion of ideological change. The fundamental ideology is the pure form of an idea or belief set, whereas the operative ideology is manifest in practical application. Ideologies are 'action-oriented belief systems' and contain a number of components including what Seliger terms moral and practical prescriptions. Moral prescriptions develop from a description and analysis of particular social events which gives rise to ideas about their nature and what is right and good. From this analysis there will emerge the technical prescription which presents a guide to what should be done to achieve the moral aim. At the fundamental level of ideology, the moral prescriptions are the priority and at the operative level it is the technical prescription which assumes dominance. Where contradictions do appear through the interaction of daily life and ideas, tensions will appear between the fundamental and operative ideologies. This will create the potential for change to occur in either of the ideological dimensions in order to maintain credibility and support. The alternative at least in the short term, would be to shift the basis for social control from reliance on ideology to coercive control. This issue is a key element of Gramsci's (1971) work on hegemony.
Ideology is thus defined by Seliger as:

"...sets of ideas by which men posit, explain and justify ends and means of organised action........irrespective of whether such action aims to preserve, amend, uproot or rebuild a given order", (Seliger 1976, p.14).

Seliger's arguments and Gramsci's views are particularly relevant to my own investigations of ideological change in Ilford and I shall return to their work in my discussions of ideological change in chapter 10.

WHERE DOES IDEOLOGY COME FROM?

The consideration of ideology in the organisational sense as well as in a more general way, is concerned with the means by which social reality is constructed and reproduced. The individual consciousness is inextricably linked to this process. The truthfulness or falsity of these constructions and whether they originate in the material existence of social life or as ideas born in the minds of those who would dominate, have occupied the study of ideology. In the meta-theoretical scheme of Burrell and Morgan (1979), ideology is studied from two paradigms. The radical humanist paradigm from which ideology arises in the consciousness to alienate individuals from their conditions of life. Ideology functions through symbolic meaning systems that moulds the consciousness of reality. Radical structuralism adopts the position that ideas arise directly from the material conditions of existence which produced and reproduced. For Marx, the material conditions of production are reproduced in the capitalist ideology of work through which individual consciousness is formed. From this perspective to change ideology would require a change in the material conditions of existence, and the structures that reproduce it, whereas to change ideology from the perspective of radical humanism would require a change in the 'ideas' that comprise an ideological formation. Both paradigms offer useful insights into ideology within an organisational context. Ideology, consciousness and structure are intertwined. Power and authority are symbolically structured meaning systems that reside in the consciousness of employees and the institutional practices are structurally constrained by tangible and intangible differences in the physical manifestation of work.

There are two main stream arguments regarding the nature of ideology and the ways in which it dominates the consciousness of people. In one sense it is regarded as an epistemological issue and ideology is concerned with ideas that are true or false or with their capacity to be illusive, distortive and mystifying. This is in the Marxist tradition
which has occupied itself with the study of ideology as false consciousness. On the other hand, the study of ideology has been less concerned with truth or falsity and has focused on the role or purpose of ideology in a social setting. Ideology can function to support the interests of a dominant group and suppress those of subordinate groups by reification which makes meanings appear natural and not the construction of human beings.

To explore these arguments in more depth I will briefly review the theoretical underpinnings of Althusser, Therborn, and Giddens, to provide a conceptual basis for the investigation of the ideological construction of human interests and power as well as its manipulation.


Louis Althusser (1918 - 1990) was a French Marxist philosopher who was more concerned with the material existence of ideology than with beliefs. Ideology, he argued arises in the material, not individual. It exists in the apparatuses and practices that structure society. Ideology is embodied in the structures and institutions of society, for example the BBC and the Family are ideological structures. Our sense of our selves and our roles in society are ideological constructions maintained by the material practices and structure in which we are immersed.

Althusser proposed that social structures consisted of Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA) and Repressive State Apparatuses, (RSA). The RSA are the means the state has at its disposal to bring coercive force over its subjects, for example the Police, the Military, and the Prison system. The RSA's are used only in the last resort when the state feels threatened by non-conforming individuals or groups. In organisations the equivalent of the RSA would be its system of disciplinary procedures and sanctions. The ISA on the other hand, aims to produce and reproduce willing workers and participants in the economic system. The educational system, religion, the parliamentary system, family institutions and the mass media addresses individuals consciousness and creates a social reality for them. For example the mass media addresses people in their role as consumers in society who have needs and wants to be gratified. Ideology provides individuals with a consciousness of the world in which they exist and an imaginary social reality derived from their material surroundings.

In Althusser's sense ideology cannot be 'false consciousness', because it is the only consciousness. There can be no subjectivity outside their material existence and therefore must always exist in an imaginary relationship with the real world. This would appear to offer no hope for the idea of emancipation from the dominating nature of ideology, since our domination exists in a world that we know and we can know no
other. However, for Althusser as with Marx, science come to the rescue, with its positivist epistemology and dedication to the search for truth. The problem with this view is well known, and all that we are likely to receive from science is the exchange of one form of domination for another.

Therborn (1980)

Goran Therborn picks up Althusser's discussion with a critique of his position that ideology is beyond critique. Relationships between ideology and subject are dialectical. Ideology as material practice constitutes the subjectivity of the individual, but for Therborn, the individual or subject can act upon ideology to reproduce it or transform it. Therborn used the term 'subjection - qualification' to explain that we are 'qualified' to adopt our roles and the practices we can engage in are limited by the range of our consciousness. But as we assimilate our roles we can participate more fully and potentially, change the meanings structure of our world.

There are three modes of ideological 'interpellation' or ways in which we as subjects are addressed and through which we interact with the material world. This both constrains and offers opportunity for transforming meaning:

1. What exists and does not exist. What we and others are like. What the world is and its nature.
2. What is good right beautiful and enjoyable and what is not.
3. What is possible and what is impossible, which shapes our hopes and ambitions as well as fears.

Through these modes we are not just deluded by falsity, but we are engaged in a continual process of varied involvement, rather than the rather more restrictive picture painted by Althusser.

In Althusser we are subjected to ideology, from which there seem little hope of change or transformation, because of the ways in which our sense of reality is constituted by material structures. In Therborn there is a greater sense of creativity for the individuals role in interpreting and acting to reproduce the meaning formations or in some way modify them.

Ideology is a medium which acts reflexive way through which consciousness operates. In both theoretical positions ideology is rooted in the economic structure of society, but Therborn is more descriptive of ideology as the means through which the conscious individual lives their life and makes sense to varying degrees, of the world.
Individual consciousness of conditions of existence and the extent to which they are in
their own interests or the interests of others, is taken forward by Anthony Giddens. He
pursues the pejorative sense of ideology that enables a critical vantage point to be
taken from which ideological systems can be re-framed - but only from the point of view
of another ideological standpoint. All consciousness exists within an ideologically
framed meaning system. What is of concern now is the use of ideology to promote
particular interests at the expense of others. Organisational culture can operate
ideologically when they legitimate and reproduce hegemonic meaning structures,
involving not only meaning formations but deformations. This sets the basis for the
possibility of ideological change from within organisations when the received meanings
in reflexive human subjectivity questions the interpretation of organisational reality.
Ideology is a mode of rationality that mediates between organisational practice and
political interests.

Anthony Giddens (1979) has reformulated the relations between action and structure in
his theory of structuration. His orientation towards ideology remains pejorative, but
instead of seeing structure as being imposed on actors in society, it is the actors who
draw upon the rules it provides that enables them to interact in a meaningful way. The
process of their interaction reproduces and reconstitutes the structure from which the
rules of their interaction were drawn. This gives rise to the view that action and
structure are complementary rather than counteracting elements. Giddens refers to this
as the *duality of structure*, by which he means that social structures are both constituted
by human action and are at the same time the medium of this constitution. Structure is
enabling and constraining.
In organisations, ideology will be reproduced or reconstituted through the action of its
members, the meaning structures are legitimated by securing recognition and approval
for the use of power differentially.
Giddens sees that power is gained through the use of structural rules and resources in
such a way as to secure specific outcomes.
Individuals exercise power by just being, "we carve out spaces of control", (1982 p.
197). Other more powerful individuals change their behaviour to recognise us in the
'dialectic of control'
Ideology is the means through which structures are legitimated and the medium for the
exercise of power. It provides a meaning context that favours the few and disguises the
hegemonic nature of the meaning system. Dominant groups are more able to use,
through the dual nature of structure, symbolic structures and systems of signification such as meetings and ritual, and ensure that they operate in their favour.

If ideology and power are produced and reproduced through systems of signification, then the structuring of an organisational member's consciousness or subjectivity will be dependent on their level of discursive socialisation, or in other words, their induction into knowing what the symbols in a particular cultural setting mean.

Giddens speaks of practical and discursive consciousness, where social actors are knowledgeable, not cultural dopes, about the conditions of social reproduction. Practical consciousness is the taken for granted knowledge used during the routine engagement of organisational behaviour. In organisational culture terms, practical consciousness represents human subjectivity in which actors are unaware of the ways in which the culture is structured ideologically. Discursive consciousness is the actor's ability to account for particular kinds of interaction and to articulate why social systems operate in the way they do. Discursive consciousness reflects a level of awareness of the degree to which organisational meaning systems are not natural, but are structured by vested interests which favour reality in ways that reproduce these interests. A particular definition of organisational reality can be brought into question by a subject who is able to reflect on what is taken for granted and the particular mode of rationality in use. Ideological control of meaning is based on the ability to 'manufacture' a fit between human subjectivity and the particular discourse that addresses them. This fit is not perfect and may cause social groups or individuals to redefine the fit they see between themselves and a meaning system. This becomes a site of 'struggle' in the dialectic of control to shift or modify their relations. This ability to 'stand back' in reflective or a 'meta' mode is a significant perspective in the process of change to which I will address in Chapter 10.

Giddens is less accepting of the passivity of the human subject in ideological discourse, than either Althusser or Therborn. The theory of structuration shows ideology to be more malleable and precarious in its otherwise unassailable position in human affairs. Given his orientation towards the nature and source of ideology, it is useful to consider how Giddens presents the functions of an ideology and how these might be seen in action within an organisational setting.

There are three main functions, which are:

1. To represent sectional interests as if they are universally held.
2. To deny or incorporate contradictory meanings.
3. Through reification, to 'naturalise' the current relations.

The first function is best explored through Gramsci and his concept of hegemony which I will pick up in chapter 9. The second function is particularly relevant to organisations where the participation of members in decision making is defended on the grounds of their lack of technical expertise. This is made legitimate by the ideological representations of the organisation as primarily technical, and to see it from a human perspective would be to contradict the preoccupation with efficiency and control. The technical perspective allows the relegation of human concerns in ways that are convenient for the leaders of the organisation. People can be more easily controlled if they are expendable and not central to the success of the enterprise. By contrast, it is curious to note that many a 'company report' places its 'human resource' as its most valuable asset. A statement that has clear ideological purpose, by suggesting that the interests of the employees are kept very much to the fore in the minds of the dominant group and that there is indeed a coincidence of purpose. In linguistics, this is called 'performative contradiction'. The difference between what people say they are doing and what they are actually doing.

Workers do not have the same representation in work as they do outside work, where as voters they can elect democratically, those whom they wish to govern them. The separation of political and economic institutions, works well to reduce contradictions in the way men are governed at work and their government by the state, where there is an apparently greater degree of democracy. Braverman (1974) comments on this dichotomy of the notion of organisations as technical entities and society at large has led to alienation and the de-skilling of workers in the labour process. It also brings back to mind the dominance of 'technical interests' described by Habermas (1972) manifested in the scientific approach to management.

The third function of ideology in Giddens list, is also prevalent in the organisational setting. A good example is the reification of organisational hierarchy, it appears to most people as a natural state of affairs, which is reinforced by the increasing number of the 'trappings of office' the further up the hierarchy one climbs. The fact that the decision making hierarchy equates to the structural hierarchy signifies the 'naturalness' of such a state of affairs. This belief is further reinforced by individuals practical experience of working in groups, where 'natural' leaders emerge, to take charge and reproduce the notion of hierarchy in what appears to be a universal phenomenon.

Pfeiffer (1981) regards the task of management as explaining, rationalising and legitimating activities in organisations. This is embodied in the construction and
maintenance of the systems of shared meanings. Interestingly, Pettigrew, (1979) has further shown that whilst the entrepreneurial founder may put a stamp on the organisational culture and political manoeuvring to gain support for beliefs, it may also come from professional groups within the organisation.

One way or another then, management is a source and a target of ideological systems. Organisations are task structures and the degree to which employees are socialised into them will be characterised by the extent to which its practices are taken for granted and seen as routine. Power and ideology acts as the organising principle and are produced and reproduced through a set of rules and signifiers that are used in interaction. From the interpretative and hermeneutic perspective, language used in interaction does not represent something that naturally exists in a positivist sense, but is the main medium of social reality. Evered (1983) suggests that the organisation has no objective reality, it is created daily by the linguistic enactment's of its members, in the course of their everyday communications with each other. Through their language they talk, meet and share meanings. Organisational groups will draw on the language of the wider culture in different ways to articulate a different sense of social reality. In doing so they create their own possibilities and boundaries. Organisational discourse operates ideologically by selecting appropriate natural language to support organisational reality that best serves the interests of its leaders. Take for example, customer sovereignty, or sports language such as teams, goals, race, winners and losers. Such political use of terms excludes the need for validity testing, they are rhetorical and serve to signify or symbolise the meanings of events and actions. Dominant power interests are catered for when a structured, coherent and acceptable vision of organisational reality is presented, masking or excluding oppositional views. The latter may be articulated, but the process of structuration, which is under management control, produces the reality and meanings that will stick.

Such an account of the power of managerial control over ideology would imply that the management of meaning in organisations is relatively straightforward. If a dominant management wanted to change something in the organisation they just say so. However, in practice, it is not quite so simple, if the object is to win hearts and minds of employees. Anthony (opcit) claims that members are not taken in any longer by managerial appeals. They will not take such a serious view of work beyond its instrumentality; its role as a central life interest is unrealistic, they have been so
deceived by the system from which they cannot escape that they are "unwilling victims". Anthony goes on to say:

"Workers know better. They know that it may be farcical to be asked to take seriously the circus tricks which they are asked to perform, for longer and more assiduously than a performing animal would tolerate". (Anthony, 1977, p.290).

On the other hand managers, whose jobs are more 'enjoyable' and intrinsically more rewarding, still idealise their work as a central life interest, that is, until they too see their own delusion from a new vantage point:

"...managers are still pathetically trying to get the subordinates to share their concern, (for the enterprise), perhaps in order to reinforce the realism of the managers delusions". Anthony 1977, p.290.

Anthony argues that even when managers are faced with the evidence of a contradiction between their view of work and its reality, they conclude that it is the content of work that must be changed rather than their view of it.

HUMAN INTERESTS AND IDEOLOGY

The concept of ideology can be summarised as a system of beliefs that are characteristic of a particular class or group, where these ideas may or may not be 'false' and lead to a 'false consciousness', but they can be explained through the interests or position of a social group. Interests are therefore intrinsically connected to ideologies. Given the centrality of interests to the concept of ideology in the pejorative sense, it is important to clarify and understand what it means to have 'real' interests. Interests need to be qualified, Eagleton suggests, by distinguishing between individual interests and social or group interests and that ideology would be concerned with the latter, so "my insatiable need for haddock" is not an ideologically oriented interest, unless of course we could somehow link a diet of haddock with the health of the country as part of a national effort to prevent us being taken over by a fitter and healthier nation, and so preserving our British way of life.

Geuss, (ibid), relates interests to individual desires, that may be integrated with an image of what is a good life. However it may be that individuals or groups are unaware of their real interests, because they lack the knowledge of alternatives and their real conditions of existence. They may not know what is good for them or what their 'real' interests should be. Even if they did know, it does not necessarily follow that they would want their interests met or desires satisfied. At the individual level smoking is a good
example of contradictory interests, it may be good for my image to smoke and feel that it relaxes me, but I may also know that it could kill me, yet I may not want to give it up. Geuss calls these two levels of interest, a first order desire, in this case to smoke, and a second order desire not to give it up, even though I 'know' it would be in my 'real' interests to do so. He proposes two approaches to knowing what the real or true interests of a group might be; the 'perfect knowledge' approach which would include all empirical knowledge about my situation, but what if I lack the 'self knowledge' to use it properly in my situation to realise my 'true' interests? It is here that psychoanalysis may enter the discussion, which is at least for Habermas (1972), an exemplar of the only scientific basis for 'self- reflection' without which no amount of 'external knowledge' will be able to compensate.

However, there is a difficulty with this parallel. In psychoanalysis, both the analyst and the analysand enter into the dialogue willingly and they share a mutual interest in the outcome. But at an ideological level, not only is there unlikely to be just a 'one to one' relationship, but there may be a lack of 'mutual interest', and an intention to deceive, or distort.

The 'optimal' conditions' approach to knowledge is based on the likelihood that the conditions of existence in which human subjects live will, to a large extent, determine the sort of interests they will have. The Marxist view that our consciousness is derived from our material conditions of existence would confirm this view. In contemporary society our wants and desires are shaped by the structures, symbols and images of the 'good life' and in the absence of a capability for reflection, such images are what we know. Since we do not know what we do not know, the image will represent truth for us. This brings us back to Habermas, for whom the concept of knowledge does not exist as an independent entity, but derives from knowledge constituting interests that arise from man as a toolmaking, producing creature, who strives to control the environment and man as a communicating social animal, who creates social institutions based on systems of rules.

Man has an interest then, in two forms of knowledge, a 'technical knowledge' that will further the aims of controlling objectified processes and a 'practical knowledge' to communicate and share meanings with others. Habermas argues that there is a third interest which he labelled the 'emancipatory' interest based on man's capacity for self reflection and self determination. Emancipatory knowledge is generated to further autonomy and responsibility, which is the basis for his critical theory which enables people to escape from the constraining nature of social institutions.
Organisations that function exclusively on the 'technical' interests can therefore be shown to be ideological, because of the way in which it excludes the possibility of other interests, thereby distorting reality. The status of quality 'gurus' in the popular management press goes some way to indicate just how far the 'technical' or 'expert' has gained a dominance over other forms of knowledge. The freedom of the marketplace has placed new priorities on the demands for knowledge to control and manipulate an environment that is seen as technological problem of cause and effect. At the same time it assures the reproduction of dominant power structures and the general legitimisation of a managerial ideology.

To achieve 'truth' in Habermasian terms, there would need to exist a consensus amongst people who are free to arrive at their consensus in the absence of coercion, and where communicative competence is achieved through a discursive self reflection. For their speech 'acts' to be free from distortion, there are implicit claims for the truthfulness embodied in each 'statement' and which can be validated by reference to four criteria:

1. A statement makes a claim about the ontological status of the world as a logical claim to truth.
2. There is a claim to the correctness or legitimacy in the relationship between the persons interacting.
3. The person making the statement is 'sincere', that is being honest and truthful
4. That the speech act is comprehensible, language is used that can be understood and not intended to mislead.

This represents Habermas's conditions for rationality and the emergence of truth that is not necessarily correspondent with empirical reality, but is a truth that has been produced through consensus in a constraint free and tested discursive situation. Thus, claims to truth based on the particular interests of a technical view of the world, in the absence of validity testing and any discursive practice, are likely to be distorted. This is not to say that technical knowledge interests are intrinsically ideological. They only become so when they are used in the production and reproduction of a particular powerful group to the possible detriment other social groups. So it is the ways in which sectional interests and knowledge are used in context of representing universal interests that they could be regarded as ideological or a distortion of a social reality, (Giddens, 1979).
If the technical interests of the organisation are accepted as the interests of those who are subjected to it, or are confirmed in their subordinated position because of a lack of technical expertise, then these interests are being ideologically articulated.

The practical interests of actors are not totally excluded from the organisation, but are dominated by technical interests. The interaction and communication of meanings in companies is largely instrumental. Although this does vary, for example in ICL, it was quite well recognised that informal meetings or chats, where one person would just drop in to say hello, were instrumentally useful and socially valuable. In Midland Bank, my current employer, an employee would not dream of just dropping in without an appointment and some organisationally valid purpose for the meeting. Most interaction between people as people, rather than as employees, occurs outside the organisational boundary and the degree of participation and democracy, as I have mentioned previously, is greater in the role of a citizen than it would be in the role of an employee.

The question of emancipation in the work place has received attention from Alvesson and Willmott (1992) and others, particularly Nord and Jermier (1992). The use of critical theory or critical social science, as it has been termed when appropriated by social scientists, is aimed at resisting the domination of by exposing

"...the indissoluble connection between politics, values and knowledge and, thereby, stimulates deeper reflection upon politics and values which underpin and legitimise the authority of 'scientific' knowledge." (Alvesson & Willmott 1988 p.2.)

The chances that this might be considered useful by all but the most enlightened of managers is doubtful, despite the obvious value such an approach may have in the managerial quest to bring about fundamental changes in their organisations. There is too the danger that managers who become familiar with the skills and knowledge of critical social science could well enlist this in the pursuit of more effective domination. The managers who are more likely to be receptive to the idea of ideological critique are according to Nord and Jermier:

"Those who hold more or less radical counter-ideological beliefs and/or are frustrated with their current organisation and their position in it and seem to be challenging the received views about organisational life". (Nord and Jermier, 1992, p. 210).

Managers in Ilford including myself would recognise ourselves in the above quotation. However, the whole of organisational life in Ilford was being challenged from the
technical interest perspective by the managing director, and to achieve the sort of changes he needed would bring him into closer proximity with the practical and emancipatory interests of his employees. This will be discussed and developed in chapter 10 when I analyse the issues of ideological change.

POWER AND IDEOLOGY.

I have examined the subjectifying nature of ideology and the part that each actor or subject plays in the production and reproduction of an ideology, I now turn my attention to the question of power in ideological formations and its hegemonic function in preserving specific interests.

The discussion on ideology has tended to focus, quite deliberately, on ideology as domination, but I have yet to explore the nature of this domination. Goran Therborn (1980) presents six types of ideological domination that operates in society and can been seen to function in social sub-sets such as organisations. They are:

1. *Accommodation* - where dominant individuals or groups are obeyed because the subjects regard other aspects of their lives as more significant. People will accommodate the less salient features of their lives.

2. A sense of *inevitability* creates obedience because no viable alternative to the dominating power. People feel they have no choice but to accept the present conditions, with some cynicism. There may also be a degree of apathy and no desire to participate in any democratic process.

3. *Representation* is in one sense the opposite to inevitability, where the ruled believe that their rulers act on their behalf an in their interests. Therborn still regards this state of affairs as ideological, because the 'representivity' is contested by other ideologies. The rulers may represent a likeness or a belonging to the same world as the ruled, for example Labour Party leaders with Welsh accents, or Union leaders with distinctive 'ambience' of being one of the workers. Also representation may, says Therborn, take the form of a charismatic quality where the leader is seen to really defend the interests of those they lead.

4. *Deference* is also a 'good' facet of rulers, where they are seen to possess qualifications that suit them for their role. It can descend from family lineage or 'breeding' and is seen as particularly strong in Britain.

5. *Fear* is an extremely powerful form of domination, but will function when people are not prepared to accept the alternative. Fear of losing a job is probably the most obvious example in a work setting, obedience is assured especially if the general economic
climate is such that jobs are difficult to come by, and a mode of domination much favoured by the so called ‘macho’ management.

6. Resignation is a form of obedience that is more deep seated than fear, where there may for example be some hope that the job market will pick up and reduce the fear of job loss, thus limiting fear as a form of domination. Resignation is a pessimistic outlook that there is not likely to be improvement in the situation and obedience is brought about by the absence of an alternative no matter who is in power and that the forces of change are too limited.

Closely linked to the nature of domination is the process of legitimisation. An important function of ideology is to legitimate its claim to be the correct set of ideas. Legitimacy is the process through which a ruling power is able to secure from the ruled, at least tacit consent to its authority. This is not quite the same as ideology ‘serving’ the interests of the dominant group since for a management to demand the obedience of the workforce through a threat of losing their jobs, may be in the interests of management but it could hardly be contrived as legitimate to those threatened in this way. Legitimacy is, as pointed out by Berger & Luckman (1979), the process of explaining and justifying, which implies a knowledge of what is right and wrong in the social context of the day as well as a normative appeal to individual values.

Max Weber (1947) noted that authority may be legitimated through the concept of legal-rationality, that is, an authority that is just and worthy of support by being vested in a role or position in a structure, rather than a person, thus de-personalising authority which can then be seen as impartial and fair. Weber's treatment of legitimisation in bureaucracy as a rational process does not consider the use of power by the individual to dominate which would be not seen as a legitimate process.

This functionalist view of legitimisation is re-appraised by Giddens theory of structuration. According to Giddens all processes of structuration, that is the production and re-production of social relationships, involve three elements: the communication of meaning; the exercise of power; and the evaluation and judgement of conduct. These elements are illustrated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STRUCTURE</th>
<th>SIGNIFICATION</th>
<th>DOMINATION</th>
<th>LEGITIMISATION</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(MODALITY)</td>
<td>INTERPRETATIVE</td>
<td>FACILITY</td>
<td>NORM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCHEME</td>
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Structure as meant by Giddens, is a system of rules and resources which may be drawn upon by 'knowledgeable' actors, who interact through three 'modalities' such that when actors communicate meaning, they draw upon interpretative schemes or 'rules' which are the property of the social group not the individual. When actors invoke morality in their interaction, they draw upon norms which at the level of structure are can be analysed through the process of legitimisation. Different actors will have varying capabilities to draw upon these 'modalities' and so re-produce the asymmetrical relations which exist in their social constellation.

Unlike Weber, power cannot be conceived as just a property of structure but is instead co-opted by dominant interests who draw upon organisational symbols of signification in their own interests. To quote Giddens:

"To analyse the ideological aspects of symbolic orders is to examine how structures of signification are mobilised to legitimate the sectional interests of hegemonic groups" (Giddens 1979 p188)

Domination can be seen as a relationship in which there exists asymmetrical relations of power. The domination of others in the pursuit of particular interests and at the same time preserve the asymmetrical power relationships as legitimate, is a complex function of ideology. The link between power, interests and ideology can be developed through a more detailed examination of the concept of power.

Attempts to understand the nature of power has occupied social scientists over many years, but there are three main theorists, Dahl, Bachrach & Baratz and Lukes, whose work progresses to a greater degree of sophistication in explaining the concept of power and in particular, its links with interests and ideology.

The perspective of power developed by Robert Dahl, (1957), is primarily behavioural and in which he claims that power is not something an individual possesses, but is a relationship between people. He developed his theory around a rigorous methodology of cause and effect, that directly criticises the views of power as a property of a ruling elite (Hunter 1953). It focuses on the 'source' of power which cannot be empirically observed. Dahl contended that actual power is more widely distributed and which he defines as:
"A" has power over "B" to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do", (Dahl 1957 pp 202-203).

Dahl's research perspective of power is essentially positivist and limited to that which can be observed between two 'isolated' individuals or groups. As such it avoids the issue of whether or not a particular exercise of power was intended or not. This focus on behaviour where decision making occurs around issues of observable conflict creates no distinction between social action and non-social action

The investigative focus on acts of decision making was criticised by Bachrach and Baratz, (1962), who contrasted Dahl's 'one face' of power with their own conception of power which also examines situations where power is used not to make a decision, or in other words to ensure that an act is not carried out. This 'second face' of power centres on understanding 'intention' and the 'mobilisation of bias' which meant that any act of power was, in an organised setting, structured and predisposes it, thus placing power back into the fabric of structure. Bachrach and Baratz expanded their investigative scheme to include non-decision making and potential issues of conflict as distinct from Dahl's pre-occupation with the actual and the observable. Theirs was a move away from the measurement of observable behaviour towards a more 'interpretative and meanings oriented perspective of power. Bachrach and Baratz critique of Dahl's one face of power extends the investigation into the ways in which decisions are prevented and where there is no observable conflict over potential issues.

Lukes, (1974) builds on the models of power developed by Dahl and Bachrach and Baratz, but criticises the respective single and two dimensional focus as limited in their conceptions. Lukes introduces a third dimension which centres on interests and individual responsibility.

For Lukes it is the responsible individuals who are the agency for the exercise of power and who are responsible for the outcomes of their action, whether promoting or hindering interests. They are able to choose whether to act in their own interests or the interests of society as a whole. The extent to which they might be seen to achieve both will be dependent on their use of hegemonic leadership.

Lukes argues that his focus on moral responsibility is fundamental for the exercise of power; if power was solely a property of structural determination, then there would be no place for power. Choice entails responsibility and although Lukes third dimension of power focuses on meaningful agency rather than behaviour alone, the question again
arises under what conditions may it be judged that individuals are acting in the real interests of the social community or a specific section within it? If the subjects of the exercise of power are considered, how can their real interests be known? The answer provided by Habermas brings us back to the idea of the ideal speech situation, but there is a paradox here which has been termed the 'paradox of emancipation' by Benton (1981). The paradox arises over the problem of self-emancipation. If for example in my role as a researcher, my meta-perspective might lead me to perceive the interests of my subject are the result of falsification or distorted consciousness. If I intervene with the suggestion of what their 'real' interests should be, their emancipation will be 'other' directed, which denies the possibility of self-emancipation, by replacing one distortion for another. This may also preclude the possibility of a critical theory, unless the way out of the paradox could be a knowledge of the means by which they might acquire awareness of their true interests for themselves. For example, in the manner proposed by Habermas' concept of true consensus in a situation free of coercion.

Epistemological issues are also raised regarding the theoretical consideration of usefulness and effectiveness as conceived in an organisational setting. The arbiters of 'usefulness' and 'effectiveness' judge their situation against their conscious interests, if these are erroneous, then so will their conceptions of what is useful or effective. The constituted self from which the evaluations are made are subjectified by the articulation of ideology and so their articulation of the concepts of what is useful and what is effective will be similarly ideological constructions. The subjectification of individuals interests seems as problematic as Marx's view that the objectification of interests are determined by the location of the self in the class structure, which by offering a structural determination of interests, has some credence in the world of corporate organisations.

In organisational terms, the interests of 'B' are judged by 'A' who exercises power on the basis of that judgement. B's interests are prescribed by the 'responsible' other and are objective only in the sense that they are brought to bear on B's subjectivity. The concept of self-emancipation may well be organisationally anachronistic until we can gain a clearer idea of how such a society might work. We are left with a reliance on the socially sanctioned morality of A as the manager. Such moral responsibility must be transparent if subordinates are to see their manager's authority as legitimate. In recent years it was just this issue that emerged in Ilford, where the transparency, had become somewhat opaque.
Back at the theoretical level, Lukes illustrates the different conceptions of interests in Dahl's and Bachrach and Baratz models of power and offers his third dimension as a 'radical' approach to the issue.

In Dahl's model, interests are taken as what people actually want or prefer as manifested in their political participation. The second dimension of Bachrach and Baratz treats interests as related to peoples' wants and preferences, but see that the political system does not give equal weight to everyone. Their interests may be deflected, or concealed and revealed only indirectly. Both the first and second dimensions hold interests to be subjective, Lukes radical conception of interests reflects Giddens theory of structuration and Habermas' 'ideal speech situation' in which individuals have unconstrained participation in discourse, regarding their own conditions of existence. Interests are seen as a product of the social system, which may work against their real interests, and which are related to the wants and preferences that they would have if they were free to choose.

Lukes view of power goes beyond the simple behavioural relationship in the exercise of power and provides a useful link between power, interests and ideology. He argues that 'latent' conflict underlies Bachrach and Baratz notion of potential conflict, when it is unrealised because the contradiction of interests is masked by the social structure and its ideology. Ideology provides the 'rules' which actors draw upon to legitimate and maintain their dominant position and so realise their own interests, possibly at the expense of the interests of those they dominate. At the same time, ideology, through the structuration process, can reproduce or transform organisational meaning systems. Groups with the ability to integrate their interests into the structure of the organisation, through the structuration process will mediate and reproduce those interests as the social reality and so their power is perpetuated. Also, the dynamic nature of competing interests, wants and values and the contexts within which they emerge will create the potential for changes in the ideology, to articulate new meanings and legitimate different managerial interests.

SUMMARY

In this chapter I have attempted to lay down the foundation upon which to argue that Total Quality Management can be seen as a particular reformation of managerial ideology. This was an ideological change, where changes to the meaning structures and organisational relationships gave managers a new sense of purpose. These changes also provided management authority with a renewed legitimacy in the context of the
time. It is to a discussion of this relevant context that I now turn, before going on in chapter 10 to examine the nature and mechanisms of ideological changes and their application in Ilford.
CHAPTER 9

THE RELEVANT CONTEXT OF THE 1980's

INTRODUCTION

The growth of TQM as a management phenomena during the business climate of the 1980's, was taking place at a time of significant political, economic and social change. Managers who were aware of their environment and working within the changing business context, would have experienced dramatic shifts in their organisationally relevant domains. For each organisation there are combining historical forces which influence what its managers do and how they should best conduct its affairs. Companies have also seen ever widening boundaries to their 'relevant environments' in terms of competition, consumer demands and technological development. These have shifted beyond the boundary of the organisational structure and the national borders of its host country, to include a global market-place.

The 1980's saw an intensification of these changes, part of which, according to Wilkinson and Willmott (1992), took the form of:

"...a broader shift in political philosophy across the Western world that promoted the sovereignty of the individual as a consumer and championed the market as a means of securing and protecting this freedom.", (Wilkinson and Willmott 1992 p. 6).

Undoubtedly these shifts were inextricably linked to the rise in importance of quality management.

The pace of these changes moved with such speed that the dominant beliefs and attitudes amongst some managers about how their organisation should respond to its relevant environment were out of alignment with the emerging business reality. Such incongruence can set up stresses that create great pressures on organisational management to act quickly in order to find a solution that works for them. Yet another possible reason for the high number of management innovations proliferated during the 80's with, according to Pascale (1992), TQM as the front runner. As managers try to find meaning in the complexity of their environment and are showered by the various 'n' Point plans for improvement demanded by the 'gurus' and exhortations from government, academics and consultants, they become increasingly confused and frustrated.

There is little empirical evidence for the success of TQM in calming these frustrations, even now after some ten or more years of activity in the field, management commentators are proclaiming the decline of TQM and are only too ready to offer a suitable heir. The question
must arise about why should an apparently rational innovation such as TQM fail to succeed on a wider scale? One reason for the disappointing results may be that the beliefs and attitudes of managers which are brought to life by their current management ideology presents too great a gap between the reality of their relevant context and how to realise their business aims. Changes in habits and beliefs of managers are slower and more difficult to control than changes in the technical sphere of work, although even technological changes are influenced by managerial choices and not as often thought, an unavoidable consequence.

My purpose in this chapter is to develop an analysis of the contexts within which the managers at Ilford undertook the task of adopting TQM. Pettigrew (1985) has warned that contexts should not be seen as a descriptive account, nor as a simple determinant of managerial action. Over time contexts not only constrain action but in Giddens (1979) terms, are central to its production and reproduction. Context has two aspects, an outer context, which refers to the broader nationalistic and global formations within which the organisation must operate and an inner context which is the organisation's political, structural and cultural framework through which ideas for change or a new ideology must negotiate. In my terminology, these contexts are the 'relevant context' for an organisational entity. An analysis of context provides a basis for understanding organisational events and in what ways decisions and explanations or rationales make particular sense concerning the adoption and nature of TQM as well as the actions of individual managers. In this chapter I will describe the outer context of Ilford, particularly its competitive component and then go on to consider the inner contextual nature of the management ideology which guided managerial actions.

THE OUTER CONTEXT

I have already begun a review of some of the key facets of the business context within which Ilford operated, in previous chapters. It will be recalled that the outer context for Ilford included a wide range of business factors that were peculiar to the company as well as the broader socio-economic and political arenas. In business terms, Ilford management needed to understand the demands of its parent company, CIBA-Geigy, in addition to managing its immediate competitive position amongst much larger players in the photographic industry. The Ilford Group had been making annual losses which by 1979 had reached such a level that major restructuring was necessary. This incorporated the move to Cheshire of all the main business functions and a narrowing of the market to a niche black and white segment.
The market conditions were difficult, not least because in some parts of the company it was thought that the big companies such as Kodak and Fuji, might pull out of the monochrome photographic business and leave the niche to Ilford. This did not occur, and Kodak were as vigorous as ever in launching new products for the black and white film user. Ilford were all the more determined to fight back and in the professional photographic market, quality as well as technical innovation would be the battleground.

To appreciate the scale of Ilford's business the chart in Figure 9.1 shows a turnover comparison of the major competitors in the photographic market. The research and development spend in Kodak exceeded the total turnover of Ilford. It was clear to Bill Hunt that quality was the key and the only affordable differentiator.

The competitive conditions for Ilford were harsh and the managing director was under considerable pressures from both the poor performance of Ilford in market place and his CIBA-Geigy masters, to turn around the business by achieving efficiency gains and internationally competitive costs in order to raise the company's contribution to Swiss profits. The irony of the situation was that if Ilford could be returned to self funding and no longer be a drain on CIBA-Geigy resources, the Group would probably be sold off. This, apparently was not probable, it was a certainty, although not widely known, that the Ilford Group was no longer of any strategic importance. The original "dream" that the Group would grow significantly, would never be realised and in CIBA - Geigy terms the business was insignificant.

This business scenario was unfolding in a rapidly changing UK environment. The changes that were to take place appeared at just about all levels of analysis for Ilford. The social, economic and political landscape in the UK was undergoing radical changes and the whole company was about to be restructured and relocated. In the next section I will sketch these radical changes from a perspective of national ideology which was shifting under the Conservative government towards a more individualist orientation and laissez-faire in their view of the marketplace. These shifting ideological contexts within which Ilford management had to work on their recovery plans and determine their strategy, to some degree offered a fit and some reinforcement for the choice of TQM as the basis of their new management philosophy.

This view is further borne out by direct government appeal to chief executives launched in a briefing by the Department of Trade and Industry:

"The time is right for a new approach. Companies are undergoing a fundamental review of their methods and objectives. Competitiveness is the key. Our products must have demonstrable value for money, comparable with or better than those offered by our competitors, Aggressive marketing has to be backed by efficient design, manufacture and after sales service,
MAJOR COMPETITORS – TURNOVER

£ BILLION

KODAK  FUJI  AGFA  KONI  POLAROID  ILFORD

ILFORD
and the cost effective management of product quality at each of these stages is crucial to the success of individual companies and of the nation."

The competitive context and ideology
At a national level, however government exhortation was not enough. What does it mean to speak of improving competitiveness? How does the current political ideology that regards the market as sovereign and individual rights to choose as sacrosanct, present a consensus of what must be done and how? At a rational level improving competitiveness is undeniably worthwhile objective for any industrial nation to pursue within a capitalist system. However, ideologies have arisen out of this rationality that are socio-economic and politico-economic in their emphasis and have given rise to sets of beliefs about improving competitiveness. These are more or less congruent with the global conditions in the marketplace. Insofar as they are more or less congruent so will they be more or less effective. Ideologies that are formed out of different political and material views, in the industrialised countries of the world, may explain why some countries are better able to compete successfully than others.

Several researchers have located the sources of particular ideologies arising from the more general culture and values of a country's social and political systems. Bendix (1956), identified the emergence of managerial ideologies in the U.S. and Russia. These ideologies were characterised by the historical, cultural, political and economic beliefs in each country. Bendix showed that in the U.S. entrepreneurial ideologies were more prevalent as distinct from the more bureaucratic ideologies in Russia. This was consonant with the societal conditions at the time. Chatov (1973) has also shown a linking between corporate ideologies with greater societal culture. He argued that American management ideologies had developed a defensive function against the inherent contradictions between the business beliefs and other systems of belief. Their function was to reconcile and explain these contradiction within business society rather than to the public at large, who were not particularly critical of management anyway. Their research along with others, for example Sutton (1956), Crozier, (1964) and Hofstede, (1978) demonstrated the origins and connectedness of particular ideologies with the societal setting within which they are created. Values and beliefs are imported into the organisation from its environment and this characterises the way in which particular managers will run their organisations and try to compete with other companies in different countries.

More recently work brought together by Lodge and Vogel (1987), offers an interesting framework for the analysis of competitiveness at a national level, by comparing the efficacy
of a nation's ideology in 'connecting' basic social values with the reality of the competitive context in which the country's institutions are trading.

They propose that each country has an ideology which they define as:

"... a set of beliefs and assumptions about values that the nation holds to justify and make legitimate the actions and purpose of its institutions" (Lodge and Vogel 1987, p.2).

Beliefs and ideology are held in this definition to be somewhat synonymous with each other, but they are beliefs of a particular kind that refer to what is true or false, but if they justify and legitimate action, why should there be a concern for their truthfulness or falsity? Values are a sort of judgement of fact, in the sense that if something has no influence on the satisfaction or discomfort of anyone in the past present or future, then it has no value. According to Kluckhohn (1951) value refers to what is good or bad and right or wrong, and most countries in the industrialised world share the same or very similar values.

Lodge and Vogel go on to suggest that a country will be successful when:

"... its ideology is coherent and adaptable, enabling it to define and attain its goals and where there is the least distance between the prevailing ideology and the actual practice of the country's institutions". (Lodge and Vogel, 1987 p.2).

It is pointed out that their analyses are not based on a 'Marxist' view of ideology as used by a dominant class to obscure reality and maintain domination - but more in Mannheim's sense of using the concept of ideology as a research method for analysing economic performance. Ideology is seen as the connection between values and relevant context, which "gives values institutional vitality; it makes them live in a particular place at a particular time", (Lodge and Vogel, p.3).

They do admit that ideology can be used as a 'weapon of propaganda' and serve to legitimise governments and businesses, but their prime use of the term is in the 'descriptive' and 'positive' sense suggested by Raymond Geuss (op.cit.), where the latter is a motivating force that enables a community to serve its best interests, although questions may be raised about exactly whose interests are being served?

In Japan, the national ideology may be seen at one level as positive, because the set of beliefs in force are better matched to the management of the global; competitive environment than is say, the current national ideology of the UK In Britain there are more contradictions and tensions.
Geuss identified three senses in which the word ideology is frequently used. A descriptive sense which is a neutral concept of ideology that is non-judgmental where neither praise nor blame is attributed by saying that a group has an ideology. A pejorative sense where ideology is used as a programme of criticism to demonstrate that the subjects of an ideology are deluded and the aim of the programme would be to show them that they are deluded. Finally, the use of the word ideology in the 'positive sense' described in Geuss, could be interpreted as of a set of ideas that are functional to the rational achievement of managerial values in the context of a competitive business environment. Positive ideologies will persist if they are able to meet the needs of a group by providing valid beliefs, models and guidance on how to proceed in a relevant context. But Geuss outlines further characteristics:

"...there must be some restrictions on the kinds of wants, desires and interests a positive ideology is to satisfy - we will want to exclude overtly sadistic desires, desires to enslave, exploit or dominate others......we will probably want to disallow conscious or empirical falsehoods or patently inconsistent beliefs, inculcation of attitudes of hysteria or paranoia....". (Geuss:1981 p24).

Senior managers in Ilford working towards the adoption of TQM were not, to my knowledge, consciously aware of any underhandedness or propaganda elements to what they were trying to do. On the contrary, many of them really believed that they were improving everyone's lot, including those of the workers and staff. If this is the case, we might argue that the use of ideology in Lodge and Vogel at the level of their analysis is 'descriptive' but internal to the country's institutions. An ideology may be positive to those whose interests are served and pejorative for those who are in conflict with those interests. Geuss further argues that positive ideology is not something 'out there' waiting to be uncovered as in the descriptive or pejorative senses, but is an ideology that must be created or invented.

According to Geuss, Habermas (1973) used the concept of ideology not in the critical tradition of the Frankfurt School, but as a way of referring to the beliefs of that a group or society hold. His reading of Habermas suggests a distinction between two ways of viewing or analysing all the beliefs held by people in a social group. On the one hand one could examine the differences in what the beliefs are beliefs about; he cites a 'religious ideology' as one in which beliefs are about supernatural beings or entities who influence and guide human behaviour or concepts for talking about economic transactions as an 'economic ideology'. In a similar sense, it is possible to think about ideologies from the 'functional properties' they may possess, irrespective of their content, but where the beliefs significantly influence action. So again, a set of beliefs and attitudes that directs managerial behaviour is a 'management ideology'.
Lodge & Vogel exemplify the unproblematic use of the term 'ideology' in their analysis of the fit between what they call a national ideology and competitiveness, where ideological shifts over time can either produce a better or worse fit between the 'values' of an industrialised country and their realisation, in a contextually changing competitive marketplace. Values are taken to be relatively stable and "universal, non-controversial notions that virtually every community everywhere has always cherished: survival for example, or justice, economy, self-fulfilment or self respect", (p3). By context Lodge and Vogel mean:

"the collection of phenomena, facts, events, insights, institutions and forces that affect the community from within and from without", (Lodge and Vogel 1987 p3).

Within these shifts of ideology and context over time, management techniques and philosophies will rise and fall in their significance as their contextual relevance emerges and declines. These 'ideological' shifts could explain why Pascale's findings on the ascendance and decline of managerial 'fads' are themselves attempts to keep pace with an increasingly turbulent business context and the politico-economic influences at work in the country at the time.

Their treatment of context in this way appears largely historical and descriptive, almost to the point of reification. The main emphasis of the analysis seems processual, by describing the means-ends relationships prescribed by the model. Nevertheless the description around the model does provide some useful insights into the global macro-economic environment of the 1980's.

There are two 'ideal type' ideologies called "individualism" and "communitarianism" seen by Lodge and Vogel to exist in the world at present. The notion of an ideal type is based on Max Weber's (1947) concept which is described as, "a mental construct derived from observable reality although not conforming to it in detail because of deliberate simplification and exaggeration". The utility of these two types is in their use as an analytical framework for identifying a country's prevailing ideology and its apparently suitability to compete in today's business context. The relationship between values, type of ideology and context is illustrated in Appendix 11.

Individualism refers to a society where the individual is the prime source of value and meaning. Interests are defined and realised through self-interested competition amongst, mainly small, companies and their owners. Individual rights are paramount and the reference point for evaluating interests. At an ideological level, individual interests and the extent to
which they are satisfied, can become an effectiveness indicator of an ideological belief system insofar as it supports the realisation of valued ends for the individuals or groups involved.

Communitarianism implies an organic and wholistic rather than atomistic view of the community, where the needs and interests of the community as a whole go beyond and are superordinate to, the needs of individual members or sub groups.

In practice, communitarianism co-exists with individualism in a country's ideology. The differentiating factor is the degree of symbiosis that is better able to match competitive conditions in today's business context with the desired values.

These ideologies see the competitive world in different ways and respond to it according to their respective beliefs. Individualism sees the free market as a place where companies within a nation compete with each other to export products to other countries. Its resources are 'natural' whether beneficial or not and cannot be interfered with. Government must ensure a free market-place in which the 'invisible hand' ensures benefits for everyone, through a 'survival of the fittest' orientation. This creates a confrontational environment where the aim of different interests groups is to gain a larger share of the wealth and resources for themselves and to ensure continued survival. Clearly the present UK Government espouses the benefits of these beliefs for everyone, but the tensions are evident.

Krieger's, (1987), analysis of the UK concludes that historically Great Britain has enjoyed a symbiotic relationship between individualism and communitarianism. This started to change significantly in favour of a neo-individualism when Thatcher came to power with her insistence that free market mechanisms would restore the country to a new prosperity. But the effect of this shift in the ideological direction of the country has according to Krieger, reinforced a view of the community as a set of self interested competitive actors and the 'right to manage' in Britain's institutions overshadowing the 'right to work'. The phrase 'right to work' shifted in its meaning from the commitment to full employment, which was a previously public political aim, to the right of everyone to sell their labour as an individual in the marketplace. This placed the communitarian stance of the trades unions clearly at odds with the ideas of the government.

Recession and unemployment further weakened communitarian and welfare state ideas that people should be cared for by the state when the need exists and that they should enjoy a 'job for life'. In industries such as the Fire Service where jobs for life where an accepted part of the work relationship, certain private sector beliefs were embraced. A Chief Fire Officer told me that a deliberately induced fear amongst employees of losing a job was regarded as a good thing in a meritocracy.
Despite its belief in free market forces the government has a record of high levels of intervention, which clouds the true nature of the ideological shift which has placed individual interest above national interests. At the same time, the legitimacy gap has increased between the ideological posture of 'laissez-faire' and an acceptance that intervention is necessary to steer the nation forward. The government dilemma is that they cannot, at least ideologically, accept responsibility for 'managing' the economy of the country and believe in the integrity of free market forces.

In contrast to the UK, Japan has fostered a greater balance between individualism and personal freedom with communitarianism and the duties of citizenship. They believe that competitive advantage is not 'God given' or an 'invisible hand' but can be managed and nurtured at national level. Japan's competitiveness, which is their ability to produce goods and services in an international economy to increase the standard of living in the country, must be managed. Whereas the concern for individuals in the UK is to gain a bigger share of the national cake at the expense of fellow UK competitors, in Japan the aim is to increase the size of the cake.

The Japanese outer context has created a business climate within which the inherent contradictions between individualism and communitarianism cause less confusion amongst its managers and provide a fertile ground within which managerial innovations can grow.

To return to the issues of quality management, it may well be that adoption of management innovations at organisational level may not help greatly if the stresses and strains set up by ideological contradictions that are not supportive on the world competitive stage, are beyond the coping skills of managers and counter any efforts to change. Yet, the influences of the 'market relations' economy and individualist ideology is further reinforced by the actions of managers who try to adopt strategies such as quality management, to reduce the incongruence between organisational ideologies and the market place.

TQM, as we have seen is a management approach that highlights the importance of the consumer in a way that is consistent with an individualist ideology. Tuckman (1995), for instance, suggests that the internal customer - supplier relationship that is central to TQM is

"...the very penetration of 'New Right' ideology (individualism) into production - of an idealised market". (Tuckman 1987, p. 59).

The inference is that the customer-supplier relationship is a confrontational one within the 'market', that is the company's internal environment and where bureaucratic relations are substituted for "psuedo-market" relations. Part of this internalisation requires that workers
and managers have more empowered jobs in which their discretionary 'freedom' to decide grows in order to manage these internal relationships better for the greater good of the consumer, which if it is not to conflict with 'the right to manage', must in fact be a means for employers to achieve greater control over employees.

The capacity of all employees to manage their jobs within a 're-created marketplace' is a role for which their life in society has been preparing them in a way not immediately obvious to them, such is the efficacy of the market ideology.

The market as ideology is not an arguable point, but for the leader, the managing director of Ilford, at least, the market is also a reality and presents a set of very practical problems.

Jameson (1991), following Marx suggests that:

"...the ideological dimension of the market is intrinsically embedded within reality, which secretes it as a necessary feature of its own structure." (Jameson, 1991, p262)

The ideology of the market as 'natural' to human nature provides the grounds for its legitimisation for political interests. It goes further than this. Outside the confines of the organisation, all employees, at whatever level, are shaped as individuals whose sense of self is given meaning by living in a consumer society. In the terminology of Rose (1990), their 'souls are governed':

"It is through the promotion of 'lifestyle' by the mass media, by advertising and by experts, through the obligation to shape a life through the choices in a world of self referenced objects and images, that the modern subject is governed." (Rose 1990, p 257)

The adoption of a managerial extension of the ideology of the market seems therefore to be a likely strategy, especially for a company wishing to improve its competitiveness and rejuvenate its flagging management with a new meaning for their 'organisational selves'.

It is at this level of the individual that the clearest connections emerge between the outer context and the inner context of Ilford Limited.

The management in Ilford have perhaps coped better than most in their adoption of TQM and were able to manage the ideological implications, albeit by more good fortune than judgement, and the organisational implications of adopting a new approach to managing their business. To shed more light on the managerial outlook in Ilford I shall now go on to consider its inner context.

THE INNER CONTEXT

It will be recalled that using Pettigrew's (1985) terminology, 'inner context' refers to the organisational setting that is created through managerial actions and includes the nature of
leadership, structure, political and cultural formations that provide a context for the
management of people within which actions are interpreted and decisions are taken. I have
already begun an analysis of the inner context at Ilford, initially in chapter 3, where I outlined
the antecedent factors that influenced the decision to adopt a quality programme in Ilford.
Now, I will focus specifically on the management ideology component of the inner context.
If the principles of TQM are thought through in their implications for managerial practice, the
outcome would raise some interesting contradictions between the accepted traditional
approaches to the management of the organisation and the requirements of a new and non-
traditional management philosophy.
Ilford was a traditional company in organisational terms and its structure and orientation to
management reflected this.
Central to my analysis of the inner context through which Ilford managers evolved their
approaches to adopting TQM, is the significance of managerial ideology. This may be seen,
for the purposes of this analysis, as a part of the overall culture in the organisation. The key
difference between my use of the term management ideology and culture is that the former
is concerned with 'why' certain meaning formations emerge at the expense of others and
examines the role of ideology in the legitimisation of the authority those in power. Cultural
explanations are usually descriptive and it would be difficult to distinguish between a
description of culture and Geuss' descriptive use of the term ideology. The pejorative sense
of ideology is more appropriate here insofar as I wish to examine the organisational and
management traditions of Ilford in a critical way.

MANAGEMENT IDEOLOGY

Management ideology has two main components, a sense of service and a professional
expertise (Thompson 1986). These components derived from the traditional professions of
medicine and law which, in Britain, drew its values from the aristocracy. It would seem that in
management, the service element has given some ground to the technical expertise
element, but a sense of moral duty and service is still a strong aspect of British management
ideology. In a study of British management, Nichols (1979) found that 'character' and
leadership qualities were seen to a more important attribute than technical skills. American
writers on quality management such as Deming, Juran and Crosby whose work I discussed
in chapter 4, have all emphasised the technical and scientific aspects of quality, which has
been their main focus. We might expect such an orientation is in line with the value of
pragmatism in American corporate culture. Interestingly these writers also exhort managers
to acknowledge their personal responsibilities for the quality of their organisation and of what
they produce for consumers, whether it be a product or a service. Such an exhortation
reminds managers of their duties and obligations. In Britain the service traditions in management ideology enables managers to relate quite readily to a reminder of their professional obligations and sense of duty. In quality management, this concern is directed at providing the right contribution to consumers as well as demonstrating the technical expertise through which such a service is delivered.

Total Quality Management has the potential to offer a contribution to the re-affirmation of both ideological components in management. It can emphasise the service dimension in which the customer is the recipient of managers’ efforts. It also emphasises the technically efficient dimension in the production of goods and their delivery processes. Both of these dimensions were significant in reproducing the power of management ideology in Ilford, which I shall discuss in more detail in the next chapter.

The need for a management ideology arose out of the separation of ownership and control. Darendorf (1959) examines the view that the owner of the enterprise derived legitimate authority through property rights, but the manager has to find

"...a second and often more important basis of legitimacy for his authority, namely some kind of consensus among those who are bound to obey his commands....." (Darendorf 1959, p.45).

Managers do not carry the prejudices that may exist against owners. They were employed by owners to run companies because of their expertise out of which evolved the identification with the professional values. In adopting these values they would run the business with an even hand in the best interests of everyone. They found in this expertise, the legitimacy for their authority and their appeals. But, a company in trouble can cast doubts on the expertise of its management and 'sail', over time, dangerously close to losing the respect of their subordinates, especially when they are the ones 'thrown overboard'. It is in the nature of these situations that in times of trouble, greater consensus and commitment is required of everyone.

In Ilford, this process of declining legitimacy was underway in the levels of managerial commitment to the job of managing. The need for a renewed basis of legitimacy was clearly needed even if it had not been recognised as anything other than a 'motivational problem'.

The perspective of TQM as a 'management ideology' has a dual purpose in this case. On the one hand, it implies its availability for criticism and as a critique of other ideologies. On the other hand it enables a discussion of the ways in which it promotes managerial interests through its functional attributes for change.
TQM is an innovation but it is one that, in my view, quite accurately reflects the larger and more complex idea of the 'market' which can be imported by the organisation. In very many respects it also reflects the 'lifestyle' of the organisation's employees as consumers. This should offer managements' with considerable incentives to try to introduce TQM in their organisations.

In Ilford, the functionality of TQM as ideology served two main purposes, it helps to renew the legitimate authority of management and offered a meaningful image to remind a demoralised management of their obligations. Such functionality is contextually relevant through its ability to re-articulate ideas that are central to management ideology, at a time when such articulations have become inappropriate and lost their relevance at the level practice. Deming's criticism of American management, in which he required managers to re-examine their management roles and their responsibility for poor quality, came at a time of flagging U.S. competitiveness against Japan.

Anthony (1977) argued that as the role of managers has come to the forefront in industrial society because of increasing automation. He suggests that traditional use of ideologies of work, which were aimed at influencing the workers to perform, was now less important than the use of an ideology of management. Managers were now:

"the focus of attention for ideological appeal; in many respects he is likely to replace the manual worker as the determinant of productivity", (Anthony,1977,p.309).

The appeal for hard work and greater commitment in the name of the company or its shareholders are received with healthy degrees of cynicism. In the modern organisation such appeals are so transparent as to be almost laughable. There is now more reliance on the apparatus of organisational control and through such means the legitimacy of managerial authority. These controls are not just directed at workers but mainly towards managers, greater attention is given to performance management systems and reward packages for managers, by senior management. This approach has to be limited in its effects because of its emphasis on remunerative control and not normative control. The latter had been readily the case with managers who could look forward to careers, in previous and better times. Managerial commitment was not a product of such control systems in Ilford, there was no lack of the usual performance appraisal and performance pay mechanisms. But this was not enough.

If the function of a managerial ideology is examined, it will be seen that remunerative systems for managers are only part of the effort to secure their commitment to the
organisational aims. Management ideology has three main components. Firstly, there is the creation of an environment which will be rewarding for managers. Secondly, there is a direct appeal to work hard supported by the personnel paraphernalia of performance management and the monitoring of work. Thirdly, there is the need to maintain and seek out forms of legitimacy for the authority of such appeals to the manager.

In Ilford the first and third functions were no longer working and it was against this backcloth that the managing director was to begin his 'quality journey' to introduce a new management philosophy to the company. Ordinarily such an effort must be doomed to failure, given as we have seen the importance of managers to a quality improvement programme. TQM is 'top down' driven and for top management to succeed, subordinate managers must at least be seen to believe in what they are trying to achieve.

Managers conditioned by their life as 'consumers' and threatened with a loss of their sense of self, would accept an authority that was legitimated by an appeal to customer sovereignty. Such a call would restore meaning to their roles and does it really matter whether they truly believe it or not? It satisfies needs that exist and in doing so offers value as well as hope, to battle weary employees and to an organisational leadership with a major task of improving Ilford's position in the marketplace.

**Traditional management ideology in Ilford**

TQM is essentially a critique of what passes for traditional management in much the same manner as Deming's criticism of American management, where he requires managers to re-examine their management roles and accept their full responsibility for poor quality. The inner context at Ilford is dominated by 'traditional management' which is based on a management perspective significantly influenced by Weber's theory of bureaucracy and the classical management theorists such as Fayol (1916), Urwick (1933), Mary Parker Follet (1926) and the 'scientific management' of F.W. Taylor (1947). Traditional management also incorporates the 'human relations school' of Mayo and Roethlisberger & Dickson (1964), whose work began the development of the 'psychology' and 'social psychology' of management. Such knowledge has provided the vehicle for the production of what managers in Ilford took for granted in setting their objectives, formulating their strategies and evaluating their performance. Their actions created a culture of work for all employees in the organisation that was rational and 'scientific.'

The management in Ilford Limited prior to the introduction of the Quality Improvement Programme, could be described as 'traditional' in both its structure and the management -
worker relationships. It is an old company with some of its skills and work practices spanning some 100 or more years.

The management practices were unquestioned and largely taken for granted and primarily based on the notions of scientific and classical management of the early management theorists.

There were no formal internal educational or training programmes for managers except the corporate courses that were run by CIBA - Geigy, the Swiss parent company. Most of Ilford senior managers were either chemists or engineers and their orientation to management was unproblematic and rational, using their scientific and logical skills to cope with managerial problems. Their scientific and technical predisposition led to a "hands on" managerial approach which equated position in the hierarchy with the 'wisdom' of what needed to be done. Ilford was a 'technocracy' where the career path for new graduates was through Research and Development or Engineering functions and then into management positions in other parts of the company.

The general scarcity of formal management education was in some respects a positive aspect, in that if Clegg and Dunkerley (1980) are correct, and management ideology as rationality is reproduced through the business schools, then the minds of Ilford managers were ambivalent about management. One manager said to me that management was a "pseudo-science" anyway. Their management rationality was reinforced through scientific discipline rather than through management training. Management is, as some managers told me, nothing but "common sense".

The technical expertise dimension of management ideology in Ilford was very strong and so to was its value of 'hard work'. The 'work ethic' in Ilford was very much in evidence, there was as Baxter (1982) comments "admiration for the worker and contempt for the idle" (p.44). Starting early and finishing late was considered a virtue. The existence of a 'flexitime' programme for all managers was meant to provide the flexible use of 'free' time once the manager had worked his requisite number of hours during a week. Contrary to its intention, flexitime appeared to be another means of 'displaying' one's personal contempt for idleness, by accumulating free hours and not taking them off but continuing to work and accumulate even more, until they were cancelled out at the end of a month.

I have already reported that over a period of some 20 years Ilford had experienced a cocktail of business failure and success. The responses to failure were, as previously mentioned, the introduction of cost cutting measures. The consequences of these cut backs originally affected the shopfloor workers who were the most expendable resource. In more recent times the cancellation of product lines such as X Ray film and Aerial film as well a failure in new projects such as colour photo copiers and holography, had meant cuts in the managerial and scientific staff associated with these products.
The consequences of almost regular cutbacks and redundancies were significant for the business in two main ways, the cost cutting process would relieve in the short term, an acute financial difficulty and further dent the notion of consensus amongst the employees who were left behind. Appeals for committed work on behalf of CIBA-Geigy who owned the company were bordering on the ridiculous, the response to appeals to work harder and that we are all one team were met with increasing scepticism by workers and managers alike. This was dangerous ground, because in a science based company such as Ilford, managerial commitment was fundamental. The specialised knowledge and skills of its managers were the main ingredient for the company's continued success.

During the early 80's CIBA-Geigy committed a large sum of money to rationalise Ilford. Bill Hunt, who was to become the managing director was put in charge of the project to re-locate the company from Essex to Mobberley in Cheshire. This was a last ditch attempt by CIBA-Geigy to put the company on a profitable basis, it had to succeed.

The re-location was, as a feat of engineering, a major success, but the festering morale of the managers, many wondering when their turn would come to lose their jobs, was still a problem. Managers spoke to each other privately about what they would like to do to get out of the 'rat race', such as run a post office or a shop. They seemed to have come to the realisation that there was life outside Ilford and their central life interest of work was not paying off in terms of a secure future. Both workers and managers felt this insecurity. For the workers it was less of a surprise, they had suffered this syndrome for years, but for managers it was a more recent experience. The gradual realisation that their loyalty to the organisation was a one way relationship had eroded the level of identification that managers had with the aims of the company, when the chips were down the interests of the 'shareholders' was paramount. The ideology based on appeals for hard work and technical expertise seemed fine so long as managers felt reasonably secure. A company that was at least symbolically getting rid of expertise and people who had worked hard, was eroding at the level of practice, the ideals of management ideology. Psychologically, managers whose self image revolved largely around their occupation, losing their job could mean losing themselves. For people impoverished of meaning and suffering from a confusion of loyalties, they need something to believe in that will restore previously taken for granted security.

It is interesting to relate the situation with Boulding's (1956) writings on the disintegration of a social image. He identified three stages in the life of an image, which could apply to managers perceptions of their employment relationship. In the first stage there is an unquestioned belief in their value to their employer, the era of gold watches and celebrations of long service all reinforced their belief that a job for life was certain. There was nothing in their experience to contradict this belief.
In the second stage, where in my example the managers in Ilford may have to acknowledge that other managers elsewhere are being made redundant and indeed sooner or later it may happen to them. The realisation of this alternative belief, that jobs for life are no longer likely and be brought home when someone in authority make a confirming statement or managers in the company lost their jobs. Until then, the original belief was still held, but with the recognition that there are contradicting beliefs, which will assign their imagined security to the status of a myth.

Once this has occurred, the third stage is entered, where once strong and unquestioned belief becomes scepticism. The scepticism that attends any attempts to restore belief or explain why it is now necessary to participate in the 'game of chance' with which the market is played, has now come to involve them as players. This culminates with the complete loss of the original belief and 'death' of the image.

Langer (1953) and Fox et al (1973) point to the possibility of a fourth stage, which is the re-birth of an image facilitated by our human need to believe in something more than say, the cold rationality of the market. This new symbol or image may be illusory, but it enables people to find hope and if it makes them feel good or better about their lot, they will be eager to accept it. Such a re-birth of belief will satisfy a need to express feelings of value and find meaning once again in a disillusioned world. The belief in the symbol of serving customers was ever present and actually reinforced by the objectivity of the 'market' in stage three, but this facet was not emphasised by efficiency drives and cost cutting exercises, which were seen to benefit the shareholders rather than customers.

Management orientations at Ilford

Before concluding this discussion of the main aspects of the inner context that existed in Ilford, it is worth examining the management orientation to their work. Management orientation is about the style, assumptions and experiences that a manager brings to their job. Given the magnitude of change in the business environment, the question will be to what extent will managers' orientation have to change? TQM is seen by many to exemplify the ways in which companies may set about the task of reconfiguring their organisations. This implies changes in work relations for managers as well as workers. According to Oakland,(1989),

"TQM is concerned with moving the focus of control from outside the individual to within; the objective being to make everyone accountable for their own performance and get them committed to attaining quality in a highly motivated fashion. The assumptions a director or a manager must make in order to move in this direction are simply that people do not need to

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be coerced to perform well, and that people want to achieve, accomplish, influence activity and challenge their abilities". (Oakland 1989, p. 26).

To make these assumptions, there must be some sense of commitment amongst those who will need to experience and manage the shifts from external to internal controls. How would this obstacle in Ilford be overcome?

The managing director's orientation to his work derived from his professional training as an engineer. In terms of character the 'Engineer' archetype described by Carroll (1978), appears to fit Bill Hunt's compulsion to make things work. This archetype is a version of Jung's sensing thinking type. His main concern is to make things work better. He is not concerned with revealing the mysteries that lay beneath what he does. He is not too interested in concepts, ideas, philosophies nor politics. He is concerned with measures and things that can be measured and his narrow insistence on judging everything by the strict code of whether or not it 'works'.

This orientation was no doubt to the fore when P.A. consultants were chosen over Crosby Associates, because the former were perceived as action men who would achieve results and the latter were too wrapped up in their 'philosophies' of TQM for the MD's liking.

The success of TQM in Ilford was largely due to Bill Hunt's single mindedness that it must be made to work, other people, myself included, could worry about 'what it all means' and try to make sense of what we were doing. The fact that this concession was made at all, is not unconnected to the 'bad' experience of the consultants withdrawal from the company at the end of one year into the quality improvement programme. It was realised that to move forward it will be necessary to produce some ideas and 'understanding' to direct further actions, independent of external direction.

In 1986 at Ilford, each member of the Divisional Management Committee, (DMC), held views about what management style would be appropriate for TQM. Although the company was organised in a traditionally bureaucratic way, and the management style was itself a reflection of this, there had been little self-examination or introspection. The 'diagnosis' carried out by PA at the start of the QIP had highlighted weaknesses in the management of the business organisation. Too remote, too many barriers and not enough involvement were all criticisms of the traditional way in which the company had been run.

To articulate their individual views and produce a collective account of what the DMC as a whole now believed constituted effective managerial behaviour, it was agreed that I should conduct an analysis that would enable 'effective' management in Ilford to be defined. Such a definition would serve two purposes, firstly it would provide feedback to the DMC on their orientations and whether or not they agreed that this represented what they believed was appropriate for them to progress TQM. Secondly such a definition would be a useful basis for
the design of management training within the broader company programme for TQM education and training

To carry out the analysis I used the Repertory Grid technique which had been developed by George Kelly (1955) and adapted for use in an organisational setting. This at least gave the impression that it could 'measure' something and had a ring of a 'scientific technique'. In this case the grid was set up to elicit from each DMC member, a set of constructs which that person uses in their mind to predict how effective other people will be in their role as managers. The methodology uses paired comparison statements and a simple 'eyeballing' statistical analysis of the behavioural statements that appear significantly correlated to the members ratings of effectiveness for a chosen sample of nine managers.

Each DMC member including the managing director was interviewed and the results are shown in Appendix 12.

The table offers a profile of the items that are considered to contribute to effective management in Ilford. The list was fed back to the DMC and was accepted as a basis for developing management within a TQM framework. The list is one which probably could be found in any company in the UK It presents a picture of the upright, ambitious and action oriented manager.

A similar analysis was conducted to identify the managers' perceptions of a 'good' supervisor in production and administration. Here the only surprise was that discipline was low in incidence, this being the more traditional view of the shop floor supervisor and one which was held by the supervisors themselves about their role in Ilford. The gap in perceptions between managers and supervisors is predictable. The supervisor feels an acute lack of authority and their managers believe they have given them the authority they need but do not use it correctly.

The dominant issue for managers and supervisors was how to develop their perceptions of effectiveness within the new framework of Total Quality Management . What would this new framework mean for the way they managed and most importantly, what do you actually do? This was a priority task for management education and training in Ilford, where re-interpreting roles and responsibilities, breaking down barriers between hierarchical levels and between functions and securing greater involvement, were all regarded as key areas for attention.

SUMMARY

I have described the contextual frameworks within which the changes in Ilford took place. I have indicated the complexity of the outer context in which political and economic changes
were combining with the competitive business context within which Ilford had to perform. The performance of Ilford insofar as its management actions were concerned, were guided by the ways in which the inner context filtered the interpretations of managers. I have focused specifically on the management ideology as a key facet of the inner context and its form within the company at the time. It is now possible to locate an analysis of ideological change within this description of the contextual framework in order to complete the ideological perspective of the introduction of TQM. In the next chapter I shall pick up the issues that surrounds the process of ideological change and relate them to the introduction of TQM to Ilford.
TQM AS A CHANGE IN MANAGEMENT IDEOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

The central argument to my ideological perspective is that the introduction of TQM to Ilford could be seen as a change in the company’s management ideology. In the previous chapter I highlighted the importance of management ideology in its role of supporting managers who are seen as the ‘determinants’ of success (Anthony 1977) for the organisation. It is also the basis for the social control and unification of the management community as a whole in any enterprise (Clegg and Dunkerley 1980; Thompson 1986). An element so fundamental to organisational life is the target for continued attention of top management through appeals and articulations of basic values. Such attention is not usually conscious, in that managers do not deliberately maintain their ideology. This is done through their actions which are often ‘unknowingly’ directed by their ideologically constructed consciousness. Through my analysis I will argue that a key role of TQM is its covert contribution to the re-articulation of ideological values of management. The ideological purpose of TQM is not openly stated, but through an ideological perspective it can be seen to express management ideology through a new language of customers and the free market as a rational and all embracing standard for managers.

I am conscious that the more popular conception of TQM presented in some managerial texts, (Oakland 1989; Dale 1990; Atkinson 1990; Flood 1993 and Bounds et al 1994), is that a key weapon in the battle for hearts and minds is cultural change, (Schein 1985; Frost et al 1985; Martin 1992; and Bate 1994). In deference to this view, I will begin this chapter with a brief discussion of cultural change and show how this view may developed with an ideological slant, (Anthony, 1994). I shall then go on to develop
a fuller account of the conceptual basis for an ideological perspective by considering the notion of ideological change and its three component levels of consent, ideological control, and legitimacy. These discussions are focused around the issues of inter-elite conflicts between management groups in Ilford. It is at the sites of these three elements that TQM has proved its worth to the dominant management group who hold the power to control the production and reproduction of meaning structures. This power has been used to link dominant interests with organisational practice through a renewal of management subjectivity. As a consequence there was a recovery of consensus amongst the Ilford management group as a whole. These changes were adaptations to the existing management ideology and as such do not constitute second order change, (Watzlawick, Weakland and Fisch 1974). This adaptation was a first order change in that it created the believable appearance of integration and unity, through the re-articulation of already existing managerial beliefs and values. It was this ability of TQM to rationalise and legitimise managerial action that was sufficient to justify it as a success.

Cultural change

There has been an academic debate over the issue of cultural change management in organisations. Is culture a resource to be managed, or is it beyond management both practically and ethically? (Martin 1985). The study of culture in its anthropological sense is a ethnomethodological task. As such there is not an intention to change culture, but to rather to explain it with some scientific rigour. From an organisational perspective, management interest in culture is usually associated with its manipulation or change. The roles articulated by Schein (1988), which illustrate the distinction between the 'clinician' and the 'ethnographer', makes clear the divide in this debate at the methodological level.

Schein commends an 'external researcher' perspective for cultural analysis in organisations because of the difficulties he sees for the internal researcher in recognising the 'taken for granted' assumptions. My internal location to the organisation would mitigate against a successful analysis of its culture, if what is meant by culture is the description presented by Schein (1988a). He argues that culture has three levels: the taken for granted assumptions that are mostly unconscious; values that are conscious and in some cases explicitly articulated to guide organisational members actions; and finally, artifacts and creations that are largely visible and includes behaviours and language of insiders to the culture. This account of culture is comprehensive and regarded by many as the 'benchmark' of definitions of culture. It is
a description that according to Bate (1994), refers to all aspects of organisational phenomenon and processes and as a result Schein has, "left us with no way of discriminating between culture and organisation". (p.13). His argument reinforces a view advanced by Weick (1985) and Hennestad (1991) that the conceptual distinction between organisation and culture is unhelpful. Organisations are cultures rather than organisations have cultures as separate entity. When changing strategy for example, we are also changing our cultural form. It is a way of thinking about organisations as socially constructed worlds that are produced whenever people come together to solve problems which they mutually perceive. When these ways of interacting and the assignation of meanings are changed, so too is the culture.

The behavioural, social, organisational and strategic change orientations of TQM that were discussed in chapter 7 could, when taken together, be seen as different ways of contributing towards a cultural change from a managerial perspective. Although it should be clarified that the word 'organisational', in this sense refers specifically to the structural relationships that were conceptualised to exist between people, rather than the more comprehensive and all embracing use of the term by Bate (1994). This way of looking at culture incorporates an unproblematic managerial perspective of change that I wish to challenge. Writers such as Schein (1988a), Martin (1992) and to some extent Bate (1994), share a common managerial orientation that is critical only at the level of competing explanations within the managerial paradigms. I believe the work of Anthony (1994) is one of the few recent texts on organisational culture that casts a critical orientation over the subject. When viewing these phenomenon from a radical orientation, the ideological perspective reveals a more problematic view of cultural management and a more sceptical reasoning for managers recently acquired and seemingly intense interest in the topic.

Anthony (1994) asserts that the attraction of culture change to managers is based on a need for 'total' control. For managers, the cultural perspective is a new way of looking at their organisation and if, as Bate suggests, culture is organisation, what they now have is a new metaphor for understanding what they have been dealing with from a primarily technical vantage point.

For most managers however, culture is presented to them as a newly discovered part of their organisations, the manipulation of which can help them manage or rather to 'control' their subordinate groups more effectively:
"It is the reliability of the evidence that appears to attract the attention of management, (to cultural change), evidence of a new source of power available for the exercise of more effective control. The evidence seems even to offer the prospect of total control, not merely of behaviour but of meaning itself; culture is seen as a latent source of power, available to meet the constant demand for managerial control over subordinates - and 'managers'. (Anthony, 1994, p. 97)

Culture functions ideologically when meaning structures are legitimated and reproduced in ways that favour the dominant groups. Ideological explanations of change can demonstrate 'why' certain meanings evolve at the expense of others, whereas cultural explanations adopt a more neutral and objectivist orientation to its formation. However, Bate (1994) has developed a 'realistic' analysis of overt strategic cultural change in which he identifies the power oriented, coercive and political features of management approaches to change as well as the more 'human relations' oriented, consensual and indoctrinative strategies. We could tentatively suggest that Bate's approaches to cultural change and the particular interpretations used in my own approaches described as a managerial perspective, contributes to an ideological strategy. Ideology is transmitted through symbolic meaning structures in the organisation and if these are changed then we might conclude that so too is the ideology. However to see how such initiatives can be regarded as ideological, it will be necessary to develop further what is meant by an ideological change

**Ideology and change**

I will clarify more precisely what I mean by a change in management ideology in Ilford, before going on to discuss the concept more generally. It will be recalled that in the previous chapter I discussed the two dimensions of management ideology in Britain, which were its sense of service and moral obligation and its value of professional expertise. Applying Seliger's (1976) terminology to this view, I was in fact discussing the fundamental or abstract set of ideas that constituted an ideology of management in this country. Its practical application occurs at what Seliger would call the level of operative ideology within which abstract ideals are juxtaposed with what is actually taking place in practice. In Ilford, this application had led to increasing difficulties where the ideals were having to confront the reality of a destabilisation in management employment. A need emerged for compromise at the operative level of management ideology to bring the ideas more into line with how managers saw the reality of their situation. This compromise was achieved through the use of TQM as a re-articulation, at the level of
operative ideology, of quite fundamental ideas in a language that was right, in the contexts of Ilford for the time.

What is the mechanism for such changes or *adaptations* and how do they come about? I use the word 'adaptations' advisedly because the Marxist oriented discussions of ideological change focus on the problems of fundamental or second order change, (Watzlawick, Weakland and Fisch 1974). The change of management ideology in Ilford was a first order level of change that left the fundamental ideology and its basic beliefs in place. However, there is value in studying the mechanisms for change described in Marxist writings, so long as it is borne in mind that there is the question of magnitude of change to be considered as well as the practical realities of organisational life.

A central question in the study of ideological change is whether it should focus on changing material practice or changing consciousness. Marx (1971) argues that since ideological consciousness derives from material practice, then practices must change if ideology is to be changed. Later studies by Gramsci (1971; 1992) and Seliger (1976) suggest that both consciousness and material practice are the focus of attention for successful ideological changes to occur.

To understand the problem of ideological change it is useful to briefly review the way in which Marx saw the issues and then go on to examine how Seliger and Gramsci have suggested that the problem should be tackled. Their theoretical contributions help to provide a framework for my analysis of TQM as a change in management ideology.

Marx (1971) argued that the capitalist division of labour creates a contradictory reality. This is where individuals are faced with accepting formal employment on unequal terms in order to earn money to satisfy their needs in a consumer society. The contradiction lies in the fact that their very participation in the capitalist process re-creates the reality that dominates them. Ideas and ideologies come from material practice of production and not from mental processes. Therefore a false consciousness is a direct consequence of the actual conditions of existence in the real world. Further, reality is a subjective process arising out of activity and experience in the world and not objective observation. Change cannot come about by an intellectual re-interpretation of ideas, but requires a 'revolutionary' practice. According to Marx this will happen when it becomes evident that the felt contradiction of living in a world of wealth and a culture in which capitalism has rendered the great mass of humanity 'propertyless'.

In this way of thinking, ideology is a solution in the minds of people to deal with the contradiction that cannot be solved in practice. Where legitimation and rationalisation are tools by which people can be pacified in an unequal world.
Revolution has not come in Britain and Marx's predictions of the collapse of capitalism as yet have proved untrue. The resilience and creativity of capitalism to defend itself against threats has been quite remarkable. However, insofar as the material practices in organisation influence thinking and meaning, changing these practices appears to be an option. Generally these first order level changes do little to significantly alter the fact of domination, but they do introduce new rationalisation and legitimation with which the leaders of the organisation are able to work.

Marx emphasises that ideology cannot in itself change anything and it is not ideology that dominates but the practices from which ideologies are derived. But Lukacs (1968) argued that change must be accompanied by an adequate way of dealing with the false consciousness, the strength of which exists from the experiences and immersion of living in a capitalist society. This consciousness is deeply embedded by capitalist ideology and cannot be expected to change by itself. Although Marx did focus much of his attention on the capability of the working classes to revolt, his thinking that exploitation at work equalled alienation which equalled revolution was a gross simplification. There was a materialistic emphasis in Marx which underestimated the power of ideologies to influence consciousness and in resisting or producing change.

To understand the dynamics of ideological change, it will be helpful to refer back to the way I have defined ideology in chapter 8. I have said that ideology is a set of action oriented beliefs which promote and legitimate the interests of a dominant group. It also serves to unify subordinate groups by articulating their own interests as being the same as those of the dominant group. Ideology must therefore translate abstract ideas or theoretical constructs into practical guides for action. On the face of it, changing ideology might then be seen as a process of changing beliefs, but the issue is more complex. Not only is it difficult to provide people with new beliefs, but such beliefs must blend with the reality of their personal experiences. Further, if an ideology is to live, it must relate to reality or else become a set of ideas than can no longer be of practical use and so lose their functionality.

An ideology must be translatable from theoretical or abstract ideas into practice, or as Eagleton has so aptly put it, "it must extend from a scholarly treatise to a shout in the street", (1991, p.48). The continuous production and reproduction of ideologies through everyday life imposes a dynamic side on an otherwise static belief system. The practice of an ideology will reveal tensions and contradictions with its core belief system. Its reproduction or transformation will in turn be related to the way it copes with these tensions and contradictions. If the gap becomes too great the ideology may lose its power to continue to legitimise and unite social groups. This is the basis of Seliger's
(1976) view of ideological change. It will be recalled that Seliger has argued that when ideology is applied in action it will bifurcate into two dimensions: the fundamental ideology which are the 'pure' principles and grand vistas in which they will be realised. It is at this level that the moral component of the ideology will have priority. These exist at a higher level of abstraction than the second dimension, which is the operative ideology. At the operative level, the principles which are actually in use to justify action will call upon the technical component of the effectiveness and efficiency of the principles. Thus in Ilford we might say that the fundamental management ideology exhorted the right of managers to lead and direct the business by virtue of their expertise and the moral 'rightness' and 'goodness' of the pursuit of profit in a professional way. These ideas are endangered when in practice these fundamental principles of the ideology become harder to justify. What if, through empirical evidence, it becomes clear that the 'expertise' of management seems absent because the company is failing? Or the 'goodness and rightness' of profit is brought into doubt when peoples' livelihoods and way of life is threatened? It is then that the operative ideology has to find compromise between the theoretical idea and its implementation in practice. To remain believable, the operative ideology or the fundamental ideology must change. In organisations, such a crisis of belief must lead to the immediate search for a practical solution. A change at the fundamental level of management ideology would imply some form of second order or revolutionary change. The line of least resistance in Ilford was to find a new way to articulate the fundamental ideology at the level of its operative or practical use. Total Quality Management provided two much needed elements of relief. It unified all management in Ilford by recasting them as learners, who admitted the need to re-arm their skills and knowledge and so reaffirm their expertise. It also provided a way of justifying the goals of the company beyond the simple profit motive, by re-articulating its purpose in the language and values of service to the customer. Everyone was a customer, and in the context of a consumerist boom in the 1980's, such an aim was both 'right' and 'realistic'.

The process of ideological change centres around the significance of ideas and their origins, growth and transmission, in ways that will become materialised in practice. To understand more clearly how this process works I shall now consider the work of Gramsci (1971), who described how hegemony both creates the conditions for change and subsequently protects changes from challenge.

**THE ORGANISATION OF CONSENT AND TQM**

The introduction of TQM in Ilford was a consequence of the times and the managerial enactment of contextual forces that were impinging on the company. There was an
infiltration of an emerging market and consumer oriented values that were being strengthened by political actions in the U.K. during the 1980's. Additionally, Tory policies boosted the ideas of reducing waste and improving the efficiency of industry and this has placed management in a central strategic position. Management has become the model upon which public utilities, the Health Service and Government must base its activities. The strength of managerialism has grown but it has had to change its approach in order to maintain support for its authority and TQM is one such approach. Tuckman's (1995) claims that TQM is the culmination of the degradation of work and of Taylorism in the twentieth century. It is I believe, a culmination of the sophistication of management ideology. As a hegemonic project it has created an international appeal. CIBA-Geigy is one multi-national company in which a TQM approach is being implemented in many of its foreign operations. What Tuckman has correctly argued is that TQM has provided a timely vehicle for carrying the hegemony of New Right ideas into the very heart of the workplace.

Hegemony is a term used by Gramsci, (1971) to describe the ways in which a governing power wins consent to its rule from those it subjugates. It is a broader category than ideology which includes ideologies but cannot be reduced to them, (Eagleton, 1991). Barrett, (1994), has suggested that hegemony is best understood as the 'organisation of consent':

"....through which subordinated forms of consciousness are constructed without recourse to violence or coercion". (Barrett, 1994, p. 238).

Whilst legitimacy can win support or at least a tacit consent for an action, hegemony involves the creation of an active consensus that results in the genuine adoption of the interests of the subjected groups by the hegemonic group. This means that some sacrifices have to be made by the ruling group but without jeopardising its basic interests. Hegemony is more than an instrumental alliance, it is the intellectual and moral leadership of all elements in a community. This is achieved through ideology which must be able to incorporate the interests of those to be allied to the hegemonic group. Gramsci argues that a group is dominant in two ways:

"...the supremacy of a social group manifests itself in two ways, as 'domination' and as 'intellectual and moral leadership'..." (Gramsci 1971 p. 57.)

He goes on to suggest that there are periods of time when hegemony can come apart and a ruling group is no longer 'leading', but has to resort to coercive force in order to
remain dominant. Gramsci defines this situation as a 'crisis of authority' and it means that the mass of those being led have become detached from the traditional ideologies and find it increasingly difficult to believe what they used to believe.

In many ways, Gramsci is defining what took place in Ilford. The loss of consensus regarding the way the company was being run and led, created a loss of hegemony. This situation must be recovered by restoring the moral and intellectual leadership which has been lost. This means that if a change is to be successful as a hegemonic project, then the consent to be led must be re-organised. This re-organisation requires the hegemonic group to re-articulate values and beliefs, before intellectual and moral leadership can be restored.

In Ilford and in so far as TQM was concerned, there was a loss of traditional management values and at the same time there was in society at large, a resurgence of 'consumer power' and the sovereignty of the customer. TQM was already attached to this 'ready made consensus' that customer values are fundamentally important. If the company could import this 'value' as a component of their moral and intellectual leadership, they could achieve a consensus and restore hegemony.

If a group is dominant through coercive means it is unlikely to be retrospectively able to create a popular consensus for its aims. Such an arrangement is likely to be fragile and unstable, because it lacks hegemonic and social legitimation. The efforts that I have encountered in other companies, particularly privatised utilities, where the Chief Executive threatens to fire any manager who does not 'believe' in TQM as a way of reaching 'consensus' is bound to fail. To change a social order, a group must lead by reference to the aspirations of those it seeks to dominate and create a universal perspective that integrates the self interests of the other groups, with those of its own.

Gramsci regarded ideology as not just consciousness or directly linked to material production but as a *material social practice*. Ideology is the term used by Gramsci to refer to the ways in which certain sets of ideas and assumptions become dominant material forces and whether they are to be considered in the perjorative sense or in a positive sense is determined by the magnitude of interests served by an ideology. If it serves a minority then it would be considered pejorative. Hegemony is achieved therefore when a group creates an ideological consensus on the majority of popular beliefs that are not imposed but volutarily accepted.
Creating a new hegemony

The creation of a new hegemony is constituted through the transformation of the previous ideological terrain. This involves the construction of a new 'world view' that will serve as a unifying force for the "collective will", through intellectual and moral reform. The 'collective will' refers to the fusion of the ideas of the dominant group with those groups subject to leadership.

In Gramsci's view the potential for change is created by seeing every individual as a 'philosopher', by this he meant that each individual thinks to varying degrees about their conditions of existence and view of the world:

"Each man, outside his professional activity, carries on some form of intellectual activity, that is, he is a philosopher, an artist, a man of taste, he participates in a particular conception of the world, has a conscious line of moral conduct and therefore contributes to sustain a conception of the world or to modify it, that is, to bring in new modes of thought". (Gramsci 1971. p.9.)

This consciousness can be considered at two levels. First, the level of traditional thought which has been learned through a socialisation of being a person in a particular group. At this level there is an ideological unity that organises and gives a sense of proper relation between the way the world is conceived and the conduct of people within it. The second level of consciousness is one of awareness of self and criticism. Therefore it can be seen that each group of individuals preserves a sense of individuality and the basis for unity, as well as the potential for change.

The process of ideological reform is how Gramsci regards the intellectual and moral leadership that aims to create out of this individuality and unity, a higher synthesis of a collective consciousness. This does not entail 'starting from scratch' by throwing out the old world view and replacing it with a new one, rather it means the re-articulation of existing ideological elements. This would involve breaking down various conceptions of how things are, examining them and using them to express a new situation. Then all elements are brought together as an articulation of the new ideology. This new articulation is called the hegemonic principle.

Relating this theory to TQM one could observe that there were two conflicting hegemonic principles. First, that of the traditional aspects of management ideology, with its security, career consciousness and loyalty to the company's aims to improve efficiency and the dominance of the shareholder, in whose name most things were legitimated. The other principle articulated the 'popular' view of the customer as the true and legitimate beneficiary of work. The hegemonic task for top management, was how to fuse the inescapable need for profit with the 'popular' consciousness of the mass of
managers. This would mean 'pulling back' from the increasing narrow ideological conception of management that served minority interests to make it appear representative of the broader interests of people as employees and as citizens in a consumer society. In other words, it needed to appear as 'common sense'. Which incidentally is the way in which I have heard some managers describe TQM.

An important means for transformation and maintenance of a hegemonic principle described by Gramsci is the role of 'intellectuals', who generally speaking are those who are creative in communicating ideas and theoretical constructs in a particular aspect of society that link an ideology with social practice. These are meant to bridge the gap between the 'official' declarations of the ruling group and the actual experience of the subjected groups, they are managing the operative ideology.

The process of hegemony cannot proceed without suitably educated and conscious individuals who are able to form an alternative hegemony. Clegg and Dunkerley, (1980), have based their argument that management education is the means of ideological reproduction, on the writings of Gramsci:

"...we are inclined to believe that the most important aspect of the business schools and of management education generally, is not so much their relative success as channels of elite reproduction,...but their role in re-producing ideology as well as middle class careers. This ideology is what people do at these institutions, which is to learn the rational science and techniques of modern management...". (Clegg and Dunkerley, 1980, p. 538)

To develop an alternative hegemony requires a new education and awareness of the weaknesses of the current hegemony.

Clegg and Dunkerley also review the variety of forms that hegemonic control has taken starting with Mayo's (1971) approach to work that gave birth to the human relations movement and the more recent efforts of socio-technical theorists to humanise work through participation schemes. All of these 'schools' presented a modification of an existing hegemony that was to some extent developed within a context of economic growth and relative full employment. The downturn in the economic fortunes of particularly some western countries such as the UK and the USA have presented the need for yet another revision in the hegemonic process of control, that for many is captured in essence by TQM. Each revision tends to build of what has gone before and never completely rejects the Taylorist vision of efficient organisation, but tends to revise its interpretation of the traditional organisational structuring arrangements, by flattening hierarchies or modifying the location of controls. Managers have had to learn new perspectives to try to take advantage of these innovations. TQM is no exception,
but its contextual location has meant that unlike some hegemonic revision attempts, it appears absolutely right for the times.

The role of intellectual does not just appear, it is created and formed by the ideology to ensure its continued development, defence against other contrary ideas, and for its supremacy. The production of an intellectual class through education is only part of the process of hegemonic renewal. For example, a capitalist society also needs entrepreneurs and successful people who are a category of intellectual that possesses creative and technical skills which shows others how beneficial the capitalist ideology can be for those who work hard within the system. These people are 'living examples' of the efficacy of capitalist ideology.

Although Gramsci saw all men as intellectuals, in that they possess a minimum level of creative intellectual activity that can reaffirm the ideology to which they are subjected, not all have the function of being an intellectual. He envisaged two forms of intellectual role, an organic intellectual and a traditional intellectual. The latter role of traditional intellectual are seen to be removed and independent from current reality, they are 'hangovers' from a previous time and can represent an embarrassment to a current or emerging ideology. They have lost their credibility to some extent and are no longer able to persuade people, but provide a sense of continuity with the past. Religious ideologies are an example where the changes and developments in society have displaced professional religious leaders who were quite influential as organic intellectuals on morals, education and good works for the community, but have now become traditional intellectuals with much less influence. The organic intellectual is a product of an emergent group whose goal is to homogenise and give shape to the individuals' philosophy of the world, resulting in a coherent link between their consciousness and the new ideology. The intellectuals forge a link between the popular experiences and the new conception of the world as seen through a new ideology.

Relating these ideas to Ilford, the 'intellectuals' were the top managers who began to see a different way of articulating their traditional interest. Their first task was to communicate the principles of TQM as a new way of seeing the business world which fitted in with the everyday experience of people as customers and their beliefs that there was something inherently fair about working to make quality products for other customers, who like themselves expect quality when they are paying for it. The TQM courses and wherever managers met, were in a sense the ideological battleground where new ideas would fight it out with the old. This process raised the level of consciousness of existing relationships in the organisation and recast them in a
different light. The educational process created intellectuals who could develop specialist activities in ways that aligned with the new ideology, such as human resource experts who develop new performance management systems that bridge the gap between TQM as a philosophy and a reconstituted management practice. All these activities could be brought together at a higher level of synthesis, to produce the hegemonic principle. Managers through their role as organic intellectuals became 'permanent persuaders', (Eagleton ibid, p. 119)

**Ideological control**

A successful operative management ideology will accommodate both the organisational interests of those who dominate and the subordinate interests of less powerful managers. Management ideology is also a form of control, (Bendix,1966; Clegg & Dunkerley, 1980; Mumby, 1988; Stacey,1993) which legitimises authoritative action in the minds of those to be controlled. In this section, I will discuss the theoretical underpinning for understanding and explaining how the introduction of TQM in Ilford could be seen as a restoration of ideological control over its managers.

Social and political control combines physical force or coercion with consent or moral and cultural persuasion. According to Ransome (1992), there is a dialectic strategy for control. This strategy is available to managers in organisations who may use a combination of disciplinary and material measures to ensure compliance alongside attempts to secure consensual support for their aims. As long as people can be persuaded to accept managerial values, the coercive means for control will not need to be used. But when such persuasion fails, managers will resort to disciplinary measures in order to ensure a continued acceptance of their requirements. The preference has to be for the consensual form of control, because although a coercive strategy may achieve the desired result, to sustain it will consume large amounts of resource. It will be fragile and unstable, and in managerial terms, it is also not very cost-effective. This instability is a consequence of the lack of hegemonic legitimation (Gramsci 1971). To achieve or recreate consensual relations of control through hegemony requires a leadership that will produce normative or ideological persuasion through its ability to represent the interests of all groups.

Normative control is typically established through an educative process. For example Anthony (1977) regards management education as an ideological activity.

"Management education is truly ideological in this sense, that it aims to influence behaviour by inculcating beliefs and expectations." (Anthony 1977, p.261)
He argues that the dissemination of ideology through management training has two functions. Firstly, managers are given a sense of unity in their purpose by promoting the values of contemporary capitalism and providing a common language through which a conceptual system may be transmitted. Secondly, through positioning managers as technically proficient, their authority to lead and control subordinates is legitimised. Anthony goes on to suggest that this process of ideological reproduction, (Clegg and Dunkerley 1980), confers a dignity on what would otherwise be seen as a money making and materialistic pursuit. The dignifying of management also helps to shift the control of managers from a material reward to a normative basis. This process of ideological reproduction has been quite successful in helping to develop an elite group of employees who do not normally own their organisational resources.

I have already indicated the contextual and the ideological aspects of the managerial situation in Ilford, but it is worth briefly reiterating here the reasons why TQM is significant in representing a change in the management ideology of the company. Williams and Guest (1973) asked if the middle classes were workshy? They partially confirmed the answer that managers wishing to 'drop out' are becoming increasingly familiar. Pahl and Pahl (1971) have said that a firm commitment to achieve success is not typical of managers, they report a 'Mr Newington' who is reputed to have said, "My career in terms of commerce is really at and end. I'd like to mentally turn my back on the job and get on with something worthwhile". A long way from the notion that a manager's work is a central life interest. In my experience at Ilford there were a number of 'Mr. Newington's'.

The traditional image of managerial commitment to the job seems increasingly to be a sham. Why should this state of affairs have come about? Fundamentally the problem may be seen as a shift in what Giddens (1979) calls the dialectic of control, which I briefly discussed in chapter 7. In this case it is the shift in power relations that has proved unfavourable for the dominant management group. The potential threat was a loss of ideological control and a possible regression to a coercive strategy. The background to this shift can be explained conceptually by reference to Marxist views and empirically through observation of managers in Ilford.

Conceptually, Marx and Engels (1971) consider ideology in the pejorative sense by claiming two main characteristics which have transformed ideas into ideology. First was the division of labour, between mental and manual labour which implied an unequal distribution of labour and its products. This division of labour has extended to differences that are qualitative and quantitative within the division of mental labour that
is predominantly management. Secondly, the ownership of private property in society had meant that the interests of the individual were different to those of the community. Recent political strategies have attempted to deal directly with this issue through the elevation of the individual right to own property and thus defuse or neutralise the problem of interests. During times of economic growth and with some inflation, the differences could be disguised, there would be sufficient slack in the organisation and surplus wealth to maintain the illusion that managers were valued and important members of the company and the community. When times get harder with the globalisation of markets and greater intensity of competition, the illusion can no longer be sustained. Managers begin to lose their jobs and the mutual relationship that was enjoyed between the managerial classes in the company becomes a one sided affair. TQM presented the vehicle through which this balance could be restored. However, whilst managers consider the value of TQM, the Trades Unions took quite a different view. In 1993, a paper produced at the Biennial Delegate Conference run by the GMBTU, reported:

"All Trade Groups and all Regions are confronted with companies introducing major changes in working practices, all of which have a dramatic effect and embrace a new ideology. As companies attempt to win the hearts and minds of our members, in many cases resulting in the marginalisation of the Trade Union organisation, we cannot maintain a simple oppositionist stance to TQM. We must seek to develop a strategy of positive engagement with the employers, whilst at the same time retaining the trust and support of the membership." (Fisher 1993 p.1. Change at Work/ New Management Techniques, GMBTU).

To deal with this situation the Union recommends its officials to find a positive way forward to ensure that management involves them in the changes. They wanted to work towards the retention of the human element in work during the introduction of quality programmes so that quality is focused on good products and services, rather than cost-cutting. But they warn that under TQM workers, including managers, will experience 'a pound of responsibility for an ounce of involvement'.

The different interests and the imbalances that capitalism brings are clearly no strangers to the Union. For managers in Ilford, it is a relatively recent and unpleasant realisation.

**TQM as ideological control**

TQM in Ilford was accompanied by an increasing number of customer driven performance standards. The performance appraisal process was completely re-designed to align managerial controls with the customer-supplier principle. Job re-
designs were also introduced to internalise worker controls under the guise of 'empowerment' and 'problem ownership'.

From an ideological perspective, whilst TQM provided a technical response to the everyday organisational routines re-articulated in the name of the customer, it also exhorted a strategy of control that was ideologically mediated. TQM appealed to the logic and values of everyone's experience of being a consumer or customer. The interests being served by instituting new 'enlightened' forms of organisational control, were those held by top management and owners.

Delbridge and Turnbull (1992) argue that TQM is the basis for the 'management of blame' where employees are encouraged to participate for their own good in a process of mutual surveillance, or spying on each other. This mode of ideological control penetrates to the very 'soul' (Rose, 1990), of the employee, through the systems of self-controls and autonomy that are introduced, which translates the ideology of the marketplace to the technology of the organisation.

Ideological control or political control has been identified as one of six main forms of managerial control by Hofstede (1981). He argues that this form of control applies in circumstances where objectives may be ambiguous and not easy to resolve, and where there are likely to be conflicts of interest and culturally inspired viewpoints. Such control depends upon the use of power and persuasion through the manipulation of symbolic images. In Ilford, there was considerable ambiguity over what actions should be taken to progress TQM during its early stages. There was also the low level of managerial commitment that would make it difficult for the top management to pursue their aims.

The TQM educational process has, as we have seen, created a central and very strong symbolic image of the 'customer' in the forefront of peoples' minds.

Stacey (1993) has built Hofstede's notion of political control into a conception of the way in which technical rational decision making and monitoring is itself influenced by ideological control. In Stacey's model, each form of control is expressed as interacting feedback loops, (see page 285 in Stacey 1993). The rational control loop which guides what managers regard as relevant decisions and actions in their organisational context, is itself determined by the 'culture and cognition loop'. This loop influences the choices managers make in selecting their options for action. By strengthening the shared mental model they each hold, the level of contradiction and conflict can be reduced so as to ensure the 'right' choices are made to coincide with the vested interests.

The mental image of the 'customer' is one of the few symbols about which there is little disagreement, so that if this widely agreed upon 'good' image is presented as the main source of reference for their decision making judgements, it will guide subsequent
actions. Applying Stacey's model to Ilford, it could be seen how the TQM education and the action dialogue derived from the customer - supplier 'learning loops' which I mentioned in chapter 5, were brought under ideological control. The educative dimension in the restoration of ideological control is a part of the persuasive process. Along with the articulation of an alignment of customer and organisational values is the question of legitimisation and how the rights of leadership and control are perceived as rightfully managerial.

**Ideology as a source of legitimisation**

It will be re-called that ideologies can be used to rationalise and legitimise a set if ideas to those people for whom the ideology is expressed and directed. Laplanche and Pontalis (1980) define rationalisation as

> "a procedure whereby the subject attempts to present an explanation that is either logically consistent or ethically acceptable for attitudes, ideas, feelings, whose true motives are not perceived". (Laplanche and Pontalis 1980, p345).

This definition implies that there is something 'suspect' about an ideology that rationalises and in so doing attempts to defend the set of ideas that are being rationalised from criticism. Although not all ideological rationalisation may be necessarily disreputable. Ruling management groups really believe that their self interests are those of others, such is the power of rationalisation that it may conceal truth from those who espouse an ideology.

Rationalisation is also a process that those being dominated would engage as a way of coping with their situation. Employees of a company or citizens in a society, might not like everything about their conditions of life, but rationalise that it could be worse. This self deception can lead to the point where if they really believe that they will be happier in their situation, there would not be much energy to change the conditions that create their terms of existence, in the belief that they could not realistically be any better than they are, but might be less so. In this way the subjects of a dominant group are contributing to the rationalisations and reinforcing the status-quo.

When there are more dramatic changes in our case, the employment situation, the relative contentment will begin to shift towards discontentment and the power of rationalisation reduces. In some cases rationalisations such as it is better to leave employment and work for yourself becomes a more attractive rationalisation, this increase in apparent independence from anything the employer might do, reduces the extent of control the dominant group has over them. An example of this is were in might be in the interests of the employer for it to be realised that there will be job losses, and
that people will be selected for redundancy by their performance record. This realisation should make people work harder and more conscientiously in competition with each other for the available jobs. If the employees rationalise the redundancy situation as an inevitable fate someday and that it could be better than staying with their employer, managers at all levels in the hierarchy, risk losing control. In these circumstances, the dominant group must try to re-establish legitimacy for their authority.

Eagleton (1991) asserts that the concept of legitimation refers to a process through which a dominant group secures from those it rules at least a tacit consent to their authority. Subjects legitimate the power those in authority have over them when they judge their own behaviour by the criteria of those in power. For this to take place ideas must have a 'value' as well as a cognitive element, as suggested by Berger and Luckmann (1979) who regard legitimation as follows:

"Legitimation explains the institutional order by ascribing cognitive validity to its objectivated meanings. Legitimation justifies the institutional order by giving a normative dignity to its practical imperatives. It is important to understand that legitimation has a cognitive as well as a normative element. In other words, legitimation is not just a matter of 'values'. It implies knowledge as well". (Berger and Luckmann, 1979, p. 111).

For example the idea that the 'customer is always right' has a value in a consumer society that dignifies the role of the customer, if employees are made cognitively aware that they are equally customers of each other in the internalised market place of the organisation, then this transference of a social value to the workplace provides a new frame of reference within which performance is judged.

The TQM educational programme which was aimed at providing managers with knowledge as part of the TQM institutionalisation process, was a way of re-establishing the legitimacy of the company to continue cutting cost, but in a more acceptable way. Managers and other employees were not being fired to satisfy the shareholder of Ilford, but they were being exhorted to reduce waste for the benefit of people like themselves - customers.

Beyer (1981) views legitimacy as essential for organisations who depend upon the larger societal system for their resources, they must legitimate their activities and goals within that larger system. Ideological discourse that provides an alignment with widely held social values become a powerful means to avoid crises and defend the aims of the business by presenting it to its internal and external environments as accepting of societal norms.
The re-articulation of Ilford’s goal to be ‘The Best in Black and White’ for customers as the prime stakeholder, was a move to legitimate the DMC’s drive for quality in a way that would still cut costs, but through which people could keep their jobs.

So far I have discussed the concepts of ideological change and the three mutually reinforcing components of the organisation of consent, ideological control and legitimation. When combined these three components offer a powerful change mechanism, overlapping yet each providing its own unique view of this complex process. To examine more closely how these concepts and mechanisms were applied in Ilford, I will now go on offer a re-interpretation of the activities I have described in the managerial perspective.

An ideological interpretation of the change methodology
I wish to discuss now the extent to which the activities in Ilford could be re-interpreted as methodologies of ideological change. Such an interpretation was not in use at the time and has been postulated only during my ideological analysis. Nevertheless it is of interest to see how normal management activity, such as meetings and workshops may be seen as part of the ideological change process.

The TQM communications events and workshops were the ‘forges’ out of which the new hegemonic principle could be fashioned and through which the new organic intellectuals could disarticulate old meanings, work out their strategies and clarify their own understandings of TQM. Once the managers knew and accepted the new way of looking at the company, they could persuade other employees of its value as simply ‘good management’.

The usual resistance by the traditional management ‘intellectual’ to a break in the continuity is an interesting point. If managers saw TQM as a complete break with tradition, their resistance would have been much greater, but the attraction of its arguments and the fact that the managing director was himself a convert, meant that it could not be that far removed from the fundamental aims of the organisation and the values of management. It was a more palatable (for the times), expression of what was always there, the need to be economically successful.

The methodology of participatory research has been already discussed in Chapter 2, but briefly it is of value to recall that, according to Brown and Tandon (1983) this approach to research is appropriate if:

"...the legitimacy of power and resource distribution is in question, when client groups are aware and mobilised to influence their situation,
and when researchers are ideologically committed to social transformation". (Brown and Tandon, 1983. p. 291)

The aim of participatory research is to bring about change through reframing knowledge in terms of 'popular knowledge'. This is achieved by bringing into the open and sharing knowledge about social conditions which were previously unexpressed. In the sense of being a researcher, all managers who were involved in the workshops could be considered as occupying this role. Their everyday knowledge and experience was the basis for building new knowledge, it was a conversion of practical consciousness into discursive consciousness, which for Giddens (1979), is the basis of emancipation and the possibility of praxis, which is the bringing together of theoretical insights and practical action.

The workshops also enabled a form of dis-indoctrination (Vio Grossi 1981) or detachment from the existing operative ideology by examining the contradictions between the traditional and the TQM approach to work. This dis-indoctrination can take a number of forms including drama, thematic photographs as well as meetings. They help people to examine deeper layers of their organisation. This examination can lead to a new knowledge that offers a reinterpretation of the ideological superstructure. Vio Grossi (1981) suggests that new knowledge does not derive from the existing ideology but from the experiences and world view of the people. In organisations, the experience and world view of employees is itself ideologically determined by the capitalist ideology, which has created their consciousness and cannot be denied completely. But they can achieve new insights that re-interpret their world views, which in lead to the creation of a revised operative ideology.

The aim in participatory research is to convert practical consciousness into discursive awareness. The old ways of doing things were set up for iconoclastic and ritual pulling down, everyone on the DMC was critical for the first time in public of their own approach to management and the organisation which they had created.

The process of iconoclasm and reinterpretation created what Gramsci would have called a 'popular religion'. There was in Ilford a sense of evangelical zeal about TQM, but perhaps more significantly, this ensured that the new hegemonic principle would prevail. This would not be possible through the intrinsic logic of TQM as a technique or set of techniques. This is perhaps why it was important that TQM was introduced in Ilford as a 'philosophy' as well a technical and rational response to the problems associated with poor quality. Had this not been the case, there would be no moral attachment to TQM. In my view the 'technical' approach would have driven and even deeper wedge between the economic aims of the company and the genuine support of its management that was needed to realise those aims.
Participatory research as a means for change is not without its problems however. In an epistemological sense it would not be regarded as 'value free', it deliberately adopts the groups values. Secondly, in the organisational application it does not challenge in this case, the underlying power structure of the management. In a strict sense the power of participatory research was 'co-opted' to the service of management. It is as Nord and Jermier (1992) have said of the use of critical theory by managers:

"... improved ways of controlling the alienated managers and other less powerful members of the elite may be forthcoming" (Nord and Jermier 1992. p.215)

The question of how 'qualified' were the management at any level in Ilford to conduct research of the kind described here can be easily answered. They were not. They knew nothing of critical theory or its methodology, but were doing some of these things anyway. This situation is recognised by Nord and Jermier in a footnote:

"... modern elites show evidence of doing some of these things (coopting critical theory for improved exploitation) already, it is clear that one can get to the same point without formal knowledge of CSS, (Critical Social Science)" (Nord and Jermier 1992 p.220).

The adoption of TQM in Ilford was successful in Gramscian terms of creating an expansive hegemony. This consisted of an active consensus that resulted in the genuine interests of everyone being articulated as a 'popular will'. No one disagreed with the belief that customers are important. What the top management of Ilford were able to do was to build upon what was already 'popular knowledge' and create a new hegemonic principle that brought together what everyone knew, with the means of adopting what everyone knew, as a shared philosophy of business. This could transcend the differences and conflicts through a higher order of unity. TQM has become the renewed hegemonic force of management within which the competitive and profit ideologies of the leadership are directly linked to the interests of consumers. The question of how such a force will continue to survive after its inception will in part be related to the ways in which people are involved in its creation. Bate (1994) identified one of the strengths of the conciliative approach to culture change through its contribution to the durability of a new culture. In ideological terms this approach incorporates discursive change (Mumby 1988).

Mumby suggests that if a particular meaning system is to 'stick', the dominant group must control the process through which meaning becomes attached to organisational practice. Alternative meanings cannot be articulated by those who do not control the process of structuration, which is the way social structures produce meanings. They
reconstitute the structure, which Giddens sees as both enabling and constraining. Through its constraining dimension, the dominant management group in an organisation are able to use language to articulate and reify particular aspects of organisational life that reinforce dominant relations.

During the usual management meetings that are held by members of the Divisional Management Committee, the language and behavioural deference afforded to the DMC member clearly reproduces the organisational relationship between boss and subordinate. The DMC member is expected to chair the meeting and have a final say on any decisions. He will sit at the head of the table or even if he doesn't, his seat becomes the focal point for others in the room. But discourse need not operate ideologically all the time. Discourse can be transformative as well as reproductive. The problem is that the dominated subordinates will attempt to reproduce an ideological relationship even when the powerful individual in the asymmetrical relationship wishes to suspend the asymmetry. A DMC member sat in on one of our regular cost of quality meetings because he wanted to "learn something about the cost of quality". But despite announcing his role as learner and observer, those in the meeting behaved as if he was in the 'chair'. The same kind of problem existed when the communications event and the workshops started. The DMC wanted to transform relationships but the strength of the normal discursive practices were such that subordinates continued to reproduce their dominated status even when they had no need to do so.

One way in which the managing director was able to achieve an initial degree of transformation was by attending the workshops as a participant and subjecting himself to the same conditions of being directed and led by the workshop leader as everyone else. This could be seen as a start in the process of producing a new hegemony, where clearly visible 'sacrifices' of status were being made and a role of learner communicated to lead others to believe in their own capability and that they really were 'all in it together'.

In Giddens (1979) terms these acts were a form of discursive penetration which involves the ability to reframe the system of organisational rules and raise the level of discursive consciousness that enables the 'deconstruction' of the traditional ideology. It was a move towards the Habermasian notion of the ideal speech situation of equality and freedom from coercion in order to arrive at a true consensus. However a lifetime of practice makes this a difficult task.

Operating ideologically, language and its use by top management in organisational discourse can appropriate 'natural' or everyday non-organisational language to further reinforce their interests. The use of metaphors to convey images of work being similar
to sports is an frequent example. Here the dominant group speak of "winning teams" and being "fit and lean" to compete. These conjure up images of all being on the same side and pulling together, that would be difficult to refute.

Habermas (1984) regarded language when it is systematically distorted as the principal medium through which ideologies are produced and reproduced. Habermas envisaged the ideal speech situation in which all members of, in our case, the organisational management group are accorded equal opportunity to communicate in a coercion free environment for the purposes of change.

The communications events were not exactly what Habermas would have considered free from manipulation and coercion, but they were nevertheless a new and unique communications opportunity for discursive analysis that would not previously have been conceivable in Ilford. Usually, articulations of organisational reality exclude any oppositionist views and communications are ideological in the sense of distorting the truth. In such circumstances although contrary views may be voiced to give the illusion of achieving consensus, they normally have little effect on making an alternative meaning stick. In the case of the communications events, these were structured as a meeting of equals in the sense that no one person knew more about what was to be discussed than any other. This was made explicit and the tone was set for the interactions and the suspension of the usual controls. What was significantly different was the absence of the usual technical legitimation for managerial actions, which was replaced by the social rationale of the customers' interests. In its methodology, the communication events created an opportunity for the emancipatory interests of those present to emerge. But in a sense this was illusory because whilst creating the impression of equality and confronting old meaning systems, what really went on is the transformation from one system of domination to another. It was as if the managers were the architects of their own prison design from a closed gaol to an open one, thus giving the impression of falling free albeit relative freedom.

The language used in TQM of personal responsibility, teamwork, learning and customers brings an appearance of transformation to the relations between the dominant and the dominated, yet functions ideologically by masking the real interests of the top managers of the company and its owners.

TQM claims to be a force for the customer and the rejuvenation of industry, but it has multiple referents, (Thompson 1984) which means that while it explicitly refers to one thing it implicitly refers to something else. TQM articulates the raison d'etre of Ilford is to serve the customer as its legitimising claim, because this is what the dominant management group say it is. But it is also clear that TQM must serve the primary
economic interest of becoming increasingly effective in making money for organisational owners.

SUMMARY
Throughout my analysis there has been a recurring theme of the dialectical nature of management ideology. It is concerned with the moral principles and the practice of expertise in management. In organisations there is also the dialectic of control between the persuasive power of ideas and the coercive power of sanctions. I could summarise my arguments by suggesting that TQM has restored at least temporarily, the balance between fundamental ideology and its application in practice. It has also shifted the balance of control towards a more normative and moralistic influence.

In this chapter I have discussed both the concept of ideological change and how it may be applied as an analytical perspective to the introduction of TQM within Ilford. This argument reveals or 'prises open' (Alvesson and Willmott 1992) the partiality of organisational interests and the role of power in ways not easily recognised. The ideological perspective of change in Ilford which I have used in the latter part of this thesis departs from the more orthodox treatment of TQM. Whilst there is value in putting a different slant on a familiar phenomenon, there are also benefits for the practice of the management of change by revealing the significance of ideology in organisations. I believe it provides a 'realistic' social counterbalance to the technical and neo-positivist understanding of the change processes more usually applied to TQM.
INTRODUCTION

In this final chapter, I wish to reflect back on my work as a manager/researcher and review the methodological implications of my position. Throughout this thesis I have described the outcomes of a 'methodological journey' which has taken me through a varied landscape of theoretical perspectives and different researcher roles. In the concluding chapter it is appropriate that I should now elaborate upon the 'destination' to which I have travelled and attempt to develop my conclusions from an examination of the research approaches I have taken. The experiences gained from the critical perspective used in the latter part of this thesis and its impact on my continuing role as a manager, warrants particular attention. I focus this attention, partly because of my special interest in critical theory, but also because I believe it is important to consider how I see its significance for the future of managerial education and work.

It will be recalled from chapter 2, that I felt my research strategy and methodology were constrained by the fact that I was employed as a manager in the organisation I was researching. I argued that this role produced pressures which focused my attention on the usefulness criteria for knowledge production. The importance of 'useful knowledge' is that it will have an immediate impact on the organisational systems being researched, (Gustavesen 1979). When I left my employment before completing the research work, I described how my researcher role shifted from an internal orientation to that of an external analyst. This created a bifurcation of the overall research approach into two traditions each with different claims to validity and the criteria for evaluating its effectiveness. This bifurcation creates a number of potential issues regarding research paradigm mediation and poly-paradigm research, (Kuhn 1962; Burrell and Morgan 1979; Pondy and Boje 1981; Morgan 1983; Hassard 1993).

On the face of it, the use of two such different perspectives in what is essentially a managerially oriented case study might seem odd. I have accounted for the emergence of these two different views in chapters 1 and 2, namely my roles and biography in the context of employment with Ilford when the research started and my leaving the company before the research task was completed.

In terms of examining my position it is worth briefly revisiting the issues of paradigmatic boundaries and the extent to which they are a help or hindrance. I shall then go on to
explore the epistemological implications of my researcher position with reference to the notion of praxis and the practical requirements of my work in Ilford and since that time. This will expose some contentious concerns with the idea of using critical theory as a perspective for analysis, in particular how to deal with Hammersley's charge that:

"...the label 'critical' has lost any cognitive value it may have had: it is an empty rhetorical shell. Its use amounts to an attempt to disguise a particular set of substantive political commitments as a universal position that gives epistemological and moral privilege." (Hammersley 1995, p 43)

I need to clarify my own location within the critical theory perspective as a colluding member of the management group to which I apply my critique and to revisit the issues of objectivist and relativistic balance (Johnson 1995), which arises out of the need to substantiate such a position.

PARADIGMATIC ISSUES

The problem with scientific paradigms was raised by Kuhn (1970) where he stated that when proponents of a paradigm argue for their paradigm choice they can only use their own paradigmatic defences. A change in allegiance from one paradigm to another cannot be based on any open or neutral debate, because there is no arbiter who may decide the supremacy of one scientific tradition over another. Each paradigm uses different standards and language, based on different assumptions to explain the world. It is this apparent exclusivity that prevents meaningful communications between the them. Rorty (1979) argues that one root of the problem of inter-paradigm conflict is epistemology. Epistemology aims to produce foundational criteria for testing the correctness of knowledge and seeks universal commensuration. In doing so it closes down other possibilities for knowledge production and discourages what Rorty calls discourses or 'conversations' that 'mirror' the world, from taking place. In place of epistemology Rorty argues that his philosophy of 'edification' should replace epistemology, which would result in more fruitful and more interesting ways of talking about the world. His notion is that theories should not be opposed to each other as in the natural versus the social sciences split, or positivism versus hermeneutics conflicts, but instead each offers us ways of talking about the world we inhabit. Rorty rejects the ontological basis for privileging human knowledge because it denies our moral status, by reducing humanity to a correspondence theory of truth. All human opinions and points of view as well as theories are interesting and useful, whether they are 'objective' or not. Morgan (1983) has picked up Rorty's views where researchers are seen to 'converse' with the phenomenon being investigated, sometimes on the researchers terms and
sometimes on the terms of what is being investigated. Thus, different research strategies are "voices", speaking about different forms of knowledge and arguing for different interpretations of the phenomenon under investigation. Each strategy therefore makes 'claims' for its knowledge that should not be treated as absolute, but as tentative and warranting the same hearing, scepticism and critique as any other claim.

This view seems a long way from the very popular work of Burrell and Morgan (1979) in which they discuss the four social science paradigms as mutually exclusive. They do mention the possibility of inter-paradigm communication but in terms of "hostility" (Burrell and Morgan 1979, p.36), rather than debate. This seems a difficult position to hold in the field of organisational science which in my view, benefits from multiple perspectives and poly-paradigmatic knowledge production rather than suffers from it.

The possibility of multi-paradigm analysis

Hassard (1993) discusses the issues of paradigm mediation and rejects Kuhn's (1992) notion that a scientist working in one paradigm cannot entertain another. At least until there is some conversion or paradigm-jumping experience. Hassard draws upon the 'later' Wittgenstein (1953) theories of language-games to argue for paradigm mediation. Wittgenstein distinguished between what he called everyday language games and technical or special language games. The former is the language game we learn as children and is the first language we learn, it is a basic structure from which we develop linguistic competence. We learn to speak and to discriminate aspects of living and this provides the foundation for us to learn technical or special language games, such as science. There is therefore an overlapping between language-games with the everyday language game as the fundamental to any form that understanding might take.

Phillips (1977) argues that paradigm jumping is not possible as an instant switch of allegiance, because "unorganised experience cannot order perception" (Phillips 1977, p111). We can be trained through our meta-everyday language to understand other special languages, there are technical commonalities such as the notion of measurement or the idea of interpretation and these common understandings can be used to bridge over into new ground. Phillips uses the term 'seeing as' to describe the ability to 'see this' or to 'see that' or both 'this and that' at the same time. He uses the Kohler drawing of goblets and faces to make his point, where we can see either faces or goblets or both when we know what faces and goblets are and see their presence in the drawing. Using this analogy Phillips argues that we do not only switch from seeing one facet to another, but we can see the faces, the goblet and the drawing itself. We 'straddle perspectives'. This thesis is an example of how straddling perspectives above the traditional paradigmatic boundaries, can offer a greater insight into a phenomena. Some
postgraduate courses, such as the M.Sc. in Organisation Development run by Sheffield Hallam University, teaches students multiple paradigm research methods. From such training students can produce multiple perspectives and analyses, each 'saying' something different and interesting about the phenomenon they are investigating. The value is not just in the choices of perspective but in the richness of analysis, whether this contributes towards the production of practically useful knowledge, as in action research or a theoretical explanation of ideological change, both aid understanding. Organisations are pluralistic in their make up that requires pluralistic approaches to their analysis.

Such straddling of perspectives does however create difficulties at an epistemological and ontological level which need to be addressed. The above views on multi-paradigmatic perspectives implies a 'consensus theory' of truth which Johnson (1995) picks up as problematic, particularly when considering the idea of radical and critical research. The difficulty arises out of the desire to desert objectivism, with a shift towards subjectivism and a consequent retreat into the problems of relativism. This occurs through the severing of links between knowledge and the external reality it is taken to represent. These issues are especially relevant to my evaluation of the ideological perspective and I shall return to them later in this chapter.

EVALUATING THIS RESEARCH

This research work was based on a case study research strategy. I argued for this particular choice because of its wide contextual approach, (Yin 1981). That is, a case study design is useful when the boundaries between the phenomenon of TQM and the contexts in which it occurs are not clear. To say that I am going to investigate TQM without any specific hypothesis or focus on a particular feature of the phenomenon, leaves my researcher's option open to pursue different avenues of study using different methodologies, as they appear to be appropriate in revealing interesting data. I am aware that if I had a more focused research aim at the start of this investigation, the case study approach may have encouraged an unhelpful spread of my research resources, as distinct from say an 'experimental' approach.

My research may be evaluated at three levels. First the level of the overall strategy design. Secondly, the managerial perspective which was a mixture of positivist and practical ethnography designs and thirdly, the ideological perspective, in which I have attempted to use a critical approach.

I shall now consider each of these levels in turn.
Case study strategy design

The purpose of the case study design for my research, has been to pursue an explanatory objective in which different explanations of the same events are posed. Yin (1994) has suggested four criteria for judging the quality of case study research designs or other form of empirical research, which are mainly directed at the use of methods or tactics. These are, construct validity, which is the appropriateness of the measures used; internal validity, is the establishment of a causal relationship through data analysis; external validity is the generalisation of the study to other areas, and reliability, which is the 'repeatability' of the study insofar as the procedures used could be repeated with the same results. These criteria follow largely positivist orientations and Yin does admit there are some difficulties in using certain aspects of these rather traditional criteria measures in what is often an idiosyncratic and interpretative investigative process. Further, the narrative form of this research work does not present precise measures that would enable some of the criteria to apply. But it does reflect the application of existing organisational theories to the circumstances encountered in the case study. Gill and Johnson (1991) suggest that "emergent theory is likely to be empirically valid as it has been built up through intimate interaction with reality", (p.119). However, there is the danger that the researcher will not be able to pick out important features of a case because of their close involvement and their own biases. For example, my own organisation development background locates me in what may be termed a 'change management' orientation to my research work.

Yin argues that for case studies which are primarily aimed at explanation building, as in this research, internal validity is a particularly relevant criteria. As I have mentioned, this criteria is concerned with the extent to which causal relationships are claimed for events. In my research work I have made a number of inferences that suggest causal relationships. I have discussed the enactment of TQM as a response to a quite specific set of contextual circumstances in the outer and inner contexts of Ilford. Through the process of explanation building, I have worked through an iterative process at the level of perspective and at theoretical statement. For example, I began the explanation of TQM in Ilford by considering the work of PA consultants which presented a 'behavioural' theory of organisational events. As we progressed with the introduction of TQM different theories of social, organisational and strategic change were used to explain events. These were essentially practical, insofar as they were useful in helping to cope with the managerial problems at the time. This iteration appeared to 'hold water' in that they reflected progress of TQM as levels of analysis that indicated the growing importance of TQM from a behavioural to a strategic intervention. These explanations could be seen as 'rival' explanations of the same thing, although this would be somewhat inaccurate.
because of the temporal nature of the phenomena. That is, at different times in the process of TQM introduction, particular explanations were both useful and reflected the growing cognitive sophistication of the management. Taken together the within the managerial perspective, these explanations form a coherent picture of the dynamic and progressive nature of activity in Ilford.

The great danger of explanation building is that the researcher will drift away from the original purpose of the study. During my work in Ilford as a manager there was always the constant reminder from colleagues that this work was not just an academic exercise, but a job of work. This was fine during this period of the managerial perspective, but when I began to develop the ideological perspective of TQM in Ilford, there was more risk of this happening. In fact on more than one occasion, I developed an interest in how TQM might develop into a study of corporate ethics and its psychoanalytic aspects, (Freud 1991; Money-Kyrle 1955). But this is a phenomena that probably most Ph.D. students suffer from, knowing where to draw the line!

The ideological perspective could be seen as a rival explanation, which I have tried to argue as a plausible view of TQM in Ilford. This has empirical validity, but the traditions of this research approach are quite different to the more orthodox managerial approach and needs to be evaluated against the criteria of its aims as a research perspective.

Evaluating the managerial perspective approach

On what grounds can research be considered successful? I have already indicated that a research approach may be shown to have weaknesses from the perspective of a different approach, but it is against its own internal criteria that its effectiveness must be judged.

A difficulty I would have in accurately evaluating my own work in Ilford, is the extent to which I could disentangle what I was doing from what the other thirty nine senior managers in Ilford were doing towards introducing TQM. However my models of change, the behavioural, social, organisational and strategic, did meet the underlying criteria of 'usefulness'. That is not to say that other models would not have served equally as well, they could be criticised and they were, from the ideological perspective which I developed later. At the time they were a 'functional' match to the circumstances.

The evaluation of the managerial perspective rests on its usefulness to the users of the knowledge produced and it was this criteria that remained uppermost during my work. The work was 'evaluated' in real time, where judgements and adjustments are made according to the extent to which the expectations for a particular approach were met in practice.
At the levels of validity and plausibility, the success of TQM in Ilford was judged by myself and the managers with whom I worked and it is my account of this success that I have tried to convey in this report. Such an account is, in Hammersley's (1992) terms, a form of selective representation and as I have already indicated in chapter 2 on research methodology, my work is open to criticism from this viewpoint. This criticism is warranted on the grounds that I have presented this part of my thesis as a 'knowledge producing report' aimed primarily at a management audience. The plausibility of this account rests on my role immersion in the work on TQM at Ilford and as such is a knowledge claim. A claim, which is based on a social construction that was linked with 'external reality' through a philosophy of practical adequacy. Notwithstanding an awareness of the effects of the double hermeneutic, my account of these events is selectively articulated. Had I been an accountant instead of an organisation development practitioner, the manner and content of my interpretations would have been differently influenced. But I could also argue that my representations have as much validity as anyone else's interpretation of them, not least on the basis that I am aware of the partiality of my report.

Evaluating the ideological perspective.
This research project was conceived out of a need to understand and explain the events brought about in Ilford by introduction of Total Quality Management. I have claimed that the project was driven by a search for useful knowledge. During this process my activities as a manager enabled me to develop and order, a theoretical framework that would help to make sense of events from my researcher role. From this sense making, further decisions regarding what actions to take in a real time situation could be made. I have further argued that my particular contribution to the understanding of TQM has been viewing the case study from an ideological perspective. This represented a shift from the functionality of research work as a real time activity and as being useful in a managerial sense, to the more academic oriented and 'off line' explanatory pursuit of ideological analysis.

These two perspectives of research activity represent different academic traditions in terms of epistemology and methodology, which I discussed in my chapter on research methodology, (chapter 2). The managerial perspective orientation that I have used is very clearly bound by the practical requirements of my work as a manager, whereas the tradition of critical theory and the study of ideology has a different aim in mind. The aim of critical theory is regarded primarily at the emancipation and release of people from domination, (Burrell and Morgan 1979; Carchedi 1983; Forester 1983; Mumby 1988; Alvesson and Willmott 1992; Morrow 1994).
Against the criteria of emancipation, my research cannot make any claims to success. But if Morgan's (1983) interpretations of emancipation as empowerment are correct, then there could be a retrospective claim to some validation of the critical theory approach. Morgan sees that 'empowerment' (Block 1987; Eccles 1993) is a suitable way of interpreting emancipation, but according to Fay (1987), it is a component that leads towards emancipation, given that other conditions are met. My ideological analysis of the introduction of TQM was carried out after the event. It was of course, a retrospective analysis of the phenomena in Ilford through the use of theories of ideology, but through which I have tried to show that there may have been degrees of emancipatory activity.

The challenge put out by Carchedi (1983) considers the political nature of research and its evaluation by different interests. I could argue that the managerial perspective favoured the aims and interests of the dominant management group, including my own, more than the interests of the less powerful groups in Ilford. This perspective projected a picture of reality that was essentially managerial, whereas the ideological perspective enables the managerial view to be seen in this light and offers a quite different view of reality with the interests of the 'oppressed' in mind. The question - which view is correct? - is inappropriate. When the criteria of usefulness is applied to research, it is the question - useful for whom? - that indicates the ideological nature of all research strategies. My research which I present as a socially constructed ideological analysis reveals the issues of power and interests in an organisational change that centred around TQM, where it can be seen as a means to introduce 'New Right' ideas of the marketplace into the organisational fabric of the company. Although I could re-interpret some of the events in Ilford by looking at them as critical theory methodologies, the conscious purpose of free and open enquiry or emancipation, did not accompany their implementation. The value of this part of my work therefore, has been restricted to developing an understanding of how a well known recent management innovation may be recast as ideology. This analysis recognises the manipulative potential of TQM and at the same time, reveals its capacity to regenerate a legitimate purpose in the work of managers.

The critical theory orientation
I have adopted this particular approach for two reasons, firstly the notion of ideology interested me. Secondly, it provided a critical analytical opening that appeared practical insofar as my purpose was to provide alternative explanations, through a different social construction to that offered by a managerial perspective. This re-construction involved the analysis of the power - knowledge relations and their context, that were unaccounted
for through my original perspective as a practising manager in the company. Social structures may be seen as being produced and reproduced through the exercise of political and economic power and this power is legitimated through the use of ideology. In organisations, this ideology derives from management. In my work, I have tried to present a picture of the way in which managers drew upon TQM to bring about changes in Ilford, (changes in which I played a significant role), as an exercise in the dynamics of ideological shifts necessary for the renewal and legitimation of power in the company. I was as much a part of the 'object' of my critical analysis as were other actors in the organisation and because of the nature my analysis as a post-fieldwork task, there are both limitations in and opportunities for, understanding the use of critical theory approaches in management. As part of my concluding discussions, I propose to review my work by drawing upon parts of the research agenda proposed by Alvesson and Willmott (1992) in their examination of critical theory in management and the more recent work of Johnson (1995) on his identification of three issues raised in reference to the work of 'radical accountants'.

In some respects these authors are dealing with critical theory in management at two levels, Alvesson and Willmott present a convincing argument about why critical theory is valuable and important to the field of management theory and practice. They argue that the decisions made by managers in corporations have such impact and dominance over our everyday lives, that it is simply too important to escape critique:

"Whilst social systems cannot be understood as operating free of agents, the dominant social group in corporations presents and important (and neglected) focus for critical investigation" (Willmott 1984, 1987 in Alvesson and Willmott 1992 p. 5)

Critical management studies contributes towards understanding management as a political, cultural and ideological phenomenon and in doing so it gives "voice" to managers as 'persons' and to their stakeholders "whose lives are more or less directly affected by the activities and ideologies of management" (p.8).

My critical analysis has, I believe, added to this voice by articulating the ways in which the common practice of change in organisations, which is often valued by managers as a universally acclaimed 'good thing', can also serve to maintain the interests of a particular group of stakeholders. Importantly, I have tried to show the central role of management ideology in accomplishing particular changes that were based on a popular management innovation.

Johnson moves the discussion forward by considering ways of countering the criticisms of research methodologies based on critical or radical approaches that originate within the subjective and objective paradigmatic dimension. He examines the epistemological
and ontological issues facing radical or critical researchers wishing to pursue a critical research agenda and the openings available to them.

Alvesson and Willmott (ibid) offer a five point research agenda which draws upon critical theory ideas for use in management studies. These ideas and other supporting methodologies strive to reveal a critical understanding of how managers work in their efforts to manage and control their organisations. I shall attempt reflect on my own studies of how TQM was managed in Ilford by relating some of my main points to the research agenda proposed for the critical study of management theory and practice. The first point is that a critical approach helps to develop a non-objective view of the technical and organisational processes of management as an elite group. This view is afforded by a subjectivist perspective in which social reality is shown as more precarious than the objectivist orientation to management theory implies. Clearly a critical approach must adopt a radical stance towards this subjective - objective dichotomy by showing not only how managers are implicated in constructing social reality, but that they do so in a fashion which reflects their particular interests. The ideological perspective I have attempted to articulate in this thesis, develops out of the view that the managerial perspective is indeed such a social construction and not the objectively neutral and technical manifestation that its presentation implies.

The second point is that I have aimed through the ideological perspective, to question the political neutrality of Ilford's organisation. Management power to bring about changes that are ostensibly in the interests of a plurality of stakeholders has been exposed as a move towards a re-establishment of the status -quo. As a manager who participated in engineering these changes, I am reflexively aware of our unawareness that we were acting in any other way than in the interests of all concerned. The asymmetry of power relationships were unquestioned on the grounds that there could be no other way of rationally managing the organisation. Hierarchy was a normative concept. What remained unexamined and unquestioned during my work as a manager in Ilford was how the interests of the top management group were being served. This state of affairs leads on to the third point in Alvesson and Willmott's research agenda where discursive closure is not counteracted and such counteraction further reveals the tensions between the managerial and ideological perspectives. The managers assumptions were taken for granted rather than exposed as an arbitrarily constructed reality which represented management ideology and fourthly, the partiality of ideological interests were not open to debate. I have shown through my analysis and discussions of research methodology that there was a form of controlled debate which restricted the levels of critique to first order concerns within the existing hegemonic framework. This was could be seen to be related
to the fifth point in the research agenda, which is the appreciation of the use of language and communicative actions. I have tried to show that in Ilford, old appeals to the legitimacy of management were renewed through careful use of the language of the customer. Such a language was presented as part of the lexicon of TQM and given the favourable interpretation of context, language could be utilised to re-articulate meanings in order to achieve management goals.

In further elaborating their research agenda for the critical study of management, Alvesson and Willmott (ibid) support 'utopian thinking' as an element of emancipation which they argue, will free up 'fixed thinking' in management practice. My research examines the successful manipulation of management ideology and as a re-interpretation of management practice and in doing so I have steered away from notions of emancipation. But, I have tried to show how the manipulation of management ideology in Ilford also led to a 'loosening' of traditional thinking within the context of TQM. If such shifts in thinking are seen as component of emancipation then perhaps, unwittingly, any form of major change in which people participate, could be viewed as having some emancipatory content. It depends of course on how emancipation is defined. According to Geuss (1981), emancipation is a state free of self imposed coercion, a coercion brought about by ideology through which actors are not aware that this coercion is self imposed. Once actors become aware, through critical theory, that their conditions of existence are governed by the need to maintain the interests of the ruling group, they may still be 'coerced' by social pressures. The organisation does not suddenly cease to exist because it can be shown to be less than legitimate. The livelihoods of a large number of people have become dependent upon the corporation and although their interests may not be fully served by it, they may still accept its coercion. What we may see therefore are degrees of emancipation, where it could be argued that over time, industrial and business organisations have become more acceptable to prevailing social expectations. They have achieved this through changing the basis for their legitimacy and appearing to become more democratic and less oppressive.

In Ilford, even though there was an absence of critical theory awareness, the events underpinned by TQM could be interpreted through critical analysis as bringing about a degree of thinking that went beyond its usual barriers. Had critical theory been evident as a conscious means for critique, such thinking may have gone further. However I believe that the introduction of a new management innovation and particularly the way it was introduced did go some way in achieving the latterly articulated aims of a critical theory.
I think Alvesson and Willmott have also contributed to the exploration of the implications of practitioner/researchers in organisations. The particular value I see is their stimulation of debate and thought, aimed at managers, which raises awareness in the academic and management community of the utility of critical theory. The goal of which, must ultimately be to achieve praxis.

A critique of the critical - as a research methodology

Hammersley (1992; 1995) criticises the idea of a critical theory as having no substantiated claim to being a viable social research discipline on the grounds that it attempts to disguise its own political aims, which are to confer epistemic and moral privilege. Because of its unsound philosophical basis, Hammersley advocates a 'common sense' approach to critique which is neither inherently good or bad, but only more or less appropriate. It is perhaps in the latter sense that I would not necessarily agree with his views. From my understanding of ideology, it is itself a source of what passes for 'common sense' and I think Hammersley's argument is perilously close to assume the possibility of a 'neutral' position, as if he regards common sense as universal cornerstone in all social contexts.

Johnson (1995) recognises and counters the difficulties faced by 'critical' or 'radical' researchers, that are caused by laying themselves open to attack on the grounds of philosophical difficulties. These difficulties are brought about by the retreat from objectivism into relativism, which a researcher working out of the radical humanist paradigm described by Burrell and Morgan (1979) would experience. Johnson seeks to counter this problem by addressing three key issues, which he sees present in the articulation of critique. That is an articulation that has its philosophical basis in both a challenge to the dualism of subject and object and in the potential for relativism that this brings about. These issues are 1. knowledge claims; 2. the reflexive examination of researchers own interests; and 3. the role of the radical researcher in the social construction of alternative views outside of mainstream research.

The above issues will provide a useful framework against which to review my own work in the field of critical theory.

The ideological perspective and an epistemology for critique

In chapter 2, I have outlined my arguments regarding the epistemological and ontological bases for a critical analysis and I now will return to this discussion in the context of considering 'knowledge claims' made through the managerial and ideological perspectives.
One of the factors raised by the idea of a meta-theory is the critical notion that external reality can be represented through different social constructions that support a number of interests. This can be seen in the ways in which actors attempt to use discourse (Gouldner 1979; Deetz and Mumby 1990; Nord and Jermier 1992) to disguise their interests in such a way as to gain advantage. We can argue about the epistemology of claims and whether objectivism, a consensus theory of truth or practical adequacy will deliver us out of the contradictions we encounter. But the type and form of discourse that builds and draws upon deep seated cultural assumptions can have considerable persuasive power with people. For example, a managerial perspective articulates the values of competition and the pursuit of economic interests as something towards which we should all aspire and from which we all benefit. But in a society where the consumer 'paradigm' is emerging as a strong counter force it can put checks on the extent to which the managerial perspective may continue to only serve the interests of an elite minority and exposes flaws in what some hold to be 'common sense' in a capitalist world. TQM articulates and encourages consumer discourse which competes with more traditional discourses for ideological control. In Ilford the operative ideology was changed to 'ingest' the competing elements of a consumer paradigm and produce a new discourse that would articulate TQM as once again representing the combined interests of all. This, according to my analysis, was a way of legitimising and sustaining the management ideology and yet leave the fundamental ideology with its reference to capitalist ideals as unscathed.

Knowledge claims and discourses are the means by which actors will attempt to gain control of their environment and realise their interests, (Habermas 1972). The effectiveness of such claims and discourses can, as Johnson points out, be adjudicated through their practical adequacy, which recognises the socially constructed nature of knowledge and its link to practical consequences. However, if a critical researcher reveals interests that are unaccounted for or disguised in a knowledge claim, they must clearly also attend to the examination of what interests they are serving, through the act of pointing out such deficiencies in others. The critical analysts must therefore be reflexive, which brings me onto the second issue that I wish to consider.

Johnson and Nord and Jermier point out the dangers inherent in adopting critical and radical awareness for the 'wrong' reasons. There are benefits to managers, like myself, in the idea of critical theory. It can help to raise our consciousness of 'capitalist' assumptions which we take for granted. It can point out the reifications and contradictions inherent in our approaches, as managers, to working within social organisations. Equally it can uncover new ways of dominating and controlling. It has the
potential to support the more effective management of change in a world where the emergence of new interest groups appear to present counter-managerial ideologies at an increasing rate.

For years people have sought more effective means of social influence and control, but whether critical theory will direct effort towards emancipatory ideals or towards greater domination is a crucial question. It is also relevant to consider the needs of the human psyche and in what direction do humans need to evolve? Erich Fromm (1942) presents a powerful account of ways in which progress towards democracy and freedom has made us more afraid through the isolation and insecurity it brings. A 'fear of freedom' is instilled by our sense of isolation and makes us wish for a sense of belonging and need to submit to the power of the organisation.

Would greater freedom be something every one would universally value? If not what of those theorists who would argue, from a critical theory camp, that emancipation is something which is 'uncritically' worthwhile? Are they sufficiently reflective regarding their own motives and their intended consequences? It is like telling us what should be in our best interests, which we ourselves cannot see, (Geuss 1981) a little like the 'giving up smoking' syndrome.

I have, in immeasurably smaller ways than some, experienced disappointments and frustrations, but what is it that causes these experiences to influence our 'world view' and work? Also, what are the implications for researchers who pursue a critical theory driven by their own experiences and values and who, to different degrees, influence the thinking of others?

I was influenced by my readings of authors whose positions and reputations in academia were, for me, sources of respect. However, on reflection it seemed as if some 'political agendas' being played out through their writings and could have been the means through which they wished to indulge their 'attacks' on those whom they regard as protecting the dominant hegemony and causing their frustrations. Indeed, how do any of us escape our political agendas? If we cannot, perhaps we should 'come clean' about them.

Johnson, in his article on the "epistemology for radical accounting", proposes political praxis as the means through which radical accountants and presumably all those researchers aspiring to critique, should reflexively consider their own 'partisan constructs'. By political praxis he means a reflective and mindful activity amongst the research community in all its possible manifestations. Knowledge changes not just because of reflection but through action and knowledge changes through praxis, where re-conceptualisations occur as a "result of a direct engagement with the structures and processes which generate knowledge" (Harvey 1990).
In my own critical endeavours I have tried to lay open my biography and the experiential influences from a career in management within large organisations. This history and experience has attracted my interest towards critical theory, but for what end - so that I could offer an 'intellectual' attempt to explain another side to TQM in a research context? I believe this is part of the story. My exposure and immersion in critical theory has also led to a strong desire in my present managerial work to see for myself and to help my colleagues see, the contradictions and the unquestioned assumptions in our daily work. This includes the common belief that there is an impartiality and an unerring technical logic to my activities. I also think that in common with a dialectic approach, critique can aid understanding, but I still have to keep reminding myself of the fallibility of all the postures I might adopt. The consequences are that I find it more difficult in my management role to uncritically accept the dominant views, doctrines and regimes in which I find myself working at present. I have developed, for good or ill, a reputation for being a 'subversive' and although this has been put to me by colleagues in a sort of "well, its a good thing too" way, it is not without its personal risk. This is because the 'management cultures' in which I have worked, being 'critical' is, in most contexts, often regarded as a sign of a 'negative attitude' and a 'lack of commitment'.

One of the most frustrating elements of my situation as a practising manager is the lack of education which I have perceived to be widespread within my present organisation and in Ilford. This is not in the sense that employees are 'uneducated' but that largely their education seemed to stop when they joined the organisation, although their 'training' continued. This training forms part of a manager's socialisation and there were some who took on some formal studies in management, which again reinforced the 'technical' values in the work of management. What implications are there in this for critical theory and in particular my own role as a critical analyst had this been possible at the time of my engagement with Ilford? This question leads me into the third issue which I would like to explore in this concluding chapter.

Johnson's third issue is concerned with what form the role of a critical or radical theorist takes in the social construction of alternative views not included in mainstream research. I wish to consider this issue in the context of my own role as a manager and researcher working outside mainstream research and trying to use methodologies for ideological critique.

In chapter 10 on *TQM as a change in management ideology*, I referred to the work of Gramsci (1976) and Barrett (1994) on the notion of hegemony which was described as the 'organisation of consent'. I have used these ideas for the purpose of analysis rather than to postulate about what may have been or how my own role would be implicated in
generating radical ideas at work. Now I wish to briefly explore what these implications may have been and my own stance relative to the enabling of new and different modes of engagement by managers with their external reality.

A major question for managers/researchers in organisations who are interested in critical approaches is whether or not such role could be overtly sustained by a "insider"? Would a hegemonic group actually employ a researcher whose prime aim is to criticise them or indulge in what Rorty called 'abnormal discourse'? Such questions may return us to the problems discussed by Fineman (1981) who argued for a "much fairer representation of research of different orientations and epistemologies" (p. 484). A further concern of critical researchers is how greater representations or 'voice' may be given to less well articulated interests. Unfortunately, I have no definitive answers to the question of whether such options are open to a part-time manager/researcher, only informed speculation. I also have the knowledge that I have been able to solve the problem for myself, in limited fashion, through the serendipity of an opened 'backdoor' to critique, brought about by a change in employer. The limits of my own critical theorising were however restricted to an 'intellectual critique' through retrospective analysis, rather than actually enabling a greater 'voice' for Ilford managers. Yet I was one of those managers and my own 'voice' is hopefully to be given a wide and fair hearing, through the medium of the written word in this thesis.

My own role whilst employed in Ilford, was one more akin to the pedagogic method criticised by Freire (1972). I was, through some form of 'epistemic privilege', depositing knowledge generated from a functionalist and largely a positivist orientation. This use of my own education and resulting claim to some expertise overshadowed the likelihood of adopting Freire's methods of pedagogy. This was largely to do with the culture and the time pressures for results as well as an unawareness of Freire's methods. I believe the methodologies of Freire and Gramsci could have played a greater role in enabling managers to explore more widely the implications of their actions in a socially transformative context. Such action would have implied a major re-educative programme for all managers and the removal of a number of obstacles. Fay (1987) argues that for critical theory to have any practical intent the processes of all three elements of enlightenment, empowerment and emancipation must be completed. My own analyses, insofar as it addresses any of these elements, was restricted to enlightenment and partial emancipation in bringing about an awareness of 'ideologically influenced consciousness'. Fay suggests a number of stages for critical theory to connect to social practice, first there must be a crisis in a social system. In Ilford there was a legitimisation crisis for the DMC group following years of cost cutting and redundancies,
this crisis impeded progress towards the main aim, which was to lead the company towards improved competitiveness. Secondly, there follows the process of enlightenment, which involves actors in seeing themselves in a radically different way to their own current self conceptions. It was at this early hurdle that we, in Ilford, may have fallen, in that although I and my colleagues were engaged in re-conceptualisation, it was not 'radical' in the critical theory sense. Indeed, I have argued that such re-conceptualisations were carefully controlled through the use of 'expert' rather than 'facilitative' educative strategies which guided the level and degree of 'enlightenment' to remain within the management hegemony. Radical enlightenment should, according to Fay, lead to empowerment through which actors achieve a radically altered set of social arrangements that relieves their oppression - this is their emancipation.

The changes in the operative ideology that I have described did not emancipate in the fullest sense as suggested by Fay, but the improvements that did ensue could be shown to represent improvements for people. These were evident in their increased earning power, their improved levels of job security, (albeit temporarily), and greater enthusiasm for their work. But the real beneficiaries were those whose interests were preserved and enshrined in the fundamental management ideology (Seliger 1976), which emerged unscathed and the consequential turnaround in profits.

Despite my limited experiences, my own convictions regarding the use of critical theory are still strong, but I believe that for any progress to be made in developing such approaches beyond the relatively small group of interested researchers and academics, have to be through education. Clegg and Dunkerley (1980) developed the Gramscian ideas and commented that they believe an important role of business schools and management education is in the reproduction of management ideology. They also refer to the work of Mills (1956) some 40 years ago, who wrote:

"The demand of bureaucracies has been not only for intellectual personnel to run new technical, editorial and communication machinery, but for the creation and diffusion of new symbolic fortifications for the new and largely private power these bureaucracies represent". (Mills 1956 p.154).

What is still apparently missing is the articulation of these challenges through any significant changes in educational policies and practices. With the increasing trend towards the extent to which privately owned organisations affect our everyday lives, the views of Alvesson and Willmott regarding the power of management in society, have even more relevance. I believe there is sufficient awareness of what should be done to ensure greater enlightenment for individuals that go beyond 'popular capitalism' and the feelings of influence that, for example, a small share holding provides. The question is
whether the coming together of different economic, political and social contextual factors will provide encouragement or even ethical demand, for the development of critical theory and that this will be recognised by those who set the agendas for management education.
PRODUCTION PROBLEM - CAUSE ANALYSIS

WASTE
(TIME & MATERIALS)

- INCONSISTENT MATERIALS
  - R & D
  - PURCHASING
  - QC
  - OTHER PROD PROCESS

- POOR EQUIPMENT
  - ENGINEERING
  - PRODUCTION
  - FINANCE

- PRODUCT/PROCESS DESIGN
  - R & D
  - ENGINEERING

- OPERATOR ERROR/ABUSE
  - PRODUCTION
  - PERSONNEL

ILFORD
FILM FINISHING COATED ROLL STORE

FROM 3 FEBRUARY TO 21 FEBRUARY 1992

SYSTEM COMMISSIONED.

TEMP DEG C

DATE
03-Feb-92 07-Feb-92 11-Feb-92 15-Feb-92 19-Feb-92
05-Feb-92 09-Feb-92 13-Feb-92 17-Feb-92
COST OF QUALITY

£14M
(20% OF SALES)

5-7 YEARS

5-10% OF SALES

£7-10.5M

PREVENTION

APPRAISAL

FAILURE

DECREASE TOTAL COST OF QUALITY

DECREASE FAILURE AS % OF TOTAL

INCREASE PREVENTION AS % OF TOTAL

DEC APPRAISAL AS % OF TOTAL

ILFORD

TQM
Productivity

$M^2$ / Person HR


ILFORD
TOOLS FOR THE JOB

- REQUIREMENTS
- STANDARDS
- EQUIPMENT
- FACILITIES
- PROCEDURES
- SPECIFICATION
- SYSTEMS
- PEOPLE
- TRAINING
- PERSONNEL
- POLICIES

PROCESS (JOB)
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<td>2) Property Rights</td>
<td>Consensus</td>
<td>Technology</td>
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<td>Fulfillment</td>
<td>3) Competition to</td>
<td>2) Rights and Duties</td>
<td>Scientific Insights:</td>
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<td>Self-respect</td>
<td>Satisfy Consumer Desires</td>
<td>of Membership</td>
<td>Newton</td>
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<tr>
<td>Etc.</td>
<td>4) Limited State</td>
<td>3) Community Need</td>
<td>Einstein</td>
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<td></td>
<td>5) Scientific Specialization</td>
<td>4) Active, Planning State</td>
<td>Ecologists, et al.</td>
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<td>5) Holism</td>
<td>Traditional Institutions</td>
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<td>vs.</td>
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<td>New: e.g., OPEC, Japan</td>
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<td>Traditional Behavior Patterns</td>
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</table>
The profile of the successful Manager (as perceived by the DMC)

1. Achieve/reliability
2. High integrity - does as they say
3. Stamina and endurance under pressure
4. Respected leader and able to take direction
5. Courage to fight for their views
6. Personally organised
7. Good delegation
8. Can work outside guidelines
9. Young - professionally trained
10. Achiever - gets things done
11. Scope for advancement
12. Ability to step up a level
13. Direct and straight with truth
14. Able to see themselves as others see them
15. Regarded well by peers
16. Aware of others
17. Team commitment
18. Will take on any task thats needed
19. Will work within the system
20. Good communicator
21. Attention to detail
REFERENCES


French, J. 1964 (p.38) in R.L. Kahn and E Boulding, (Eds.), *Power and Conflict in Organisations*. Tavistock, London


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