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Organizational change in a children's mental health centre a case study.

Gail Lillian Furlan

University of Windsor

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LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE NOUS L’AVONS REÇUE
ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE IN A CHILDREN'S MENTAL HEALTH CENTRE:
A CASE STUDY

by
Gail Lillian Furlan

A Thesis
submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
through the School of
Social Work in Partial Fulfillment
of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Social Work at
the University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada 1985
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ABSTRACT

Organizational Change in a Children's Mental Health Centre:
A Case Study

by Gail Lillian Furlan

This case study explores the process of organizational change at a children's mental health centre over a seven month period beginning in September, 1984.

When the changes began in October of 1983, the survival of this organization was in jeopardy. It was an underused facility providing primarily residential care to teenage girls. By mid 1985, it had become a thriving human service organization offering a number of residential and day treatment programs to male and female teens.

This study describes the change process, analyzes the changes using a political economy framework and highlights the pervasiveness of human relations variables that were part of the organizational change. As it was the consideration of both the political economy of the organization and the human factors that contributed to the successful organizational change, it is recommended to develop an integrative model for organizational change encompassing both elements.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my gratitude to the members of my research committee, Professor Fritz Rieger and Dr. James Chacko for the time they took to ensure that the structure and content of this work was intact.

Special thanks to Chairperson, Professor Eli Tegam, who was instrumental in the initiation and conceptualization of this research project. His intellectual stimulation was a constant source of insight and challenge to me not only for this study but for my education in general.

The management, staff and Board members at "Riverland" deserve considerable recognition for the cooperation and enthusiasm they displayed throughout this research project. Their willingness to participate in this study made the process of collecting data very enjoyable. Thanks too to "Lynn Rossi" who "paved the way" for me to have access to staff, Board members and all available written documentation. Her openness towards this research was remarkable.

Lastly, I wish to thank my husband, John and daughters, Tanya, Kristine and Danielle. Their support and understanding during these last number of months made the completion of this project become a reality.
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Chapter 1 - Introduction

Bringing about major change in a large and complex organization is a difficult and problematic task. Individuals and groups must be motivated to continue to perform in the face of major turbulence. People must be told that the "old ways" which include familiar tasks, jobs, procedures and structures are no longer applicable. Political behavior frequently becomes more active and more intense. It is not surprising, therefore, that the effective implementation of organizational change has long been a topic pondered by both managers and researchers (Nadler 1981, 191).

Hasenfeld supports these views suggesting that organizations are likely to resist change and innovation (except perhaps when they are under duress) and that the forces promoting stability frequently outweigh those that push for innovation and change (1983, 245). According to Hasenfeld, "human services" are entering an era of high uncertainty in which the pressures for change will be ever present" (1983, 246). Rapidly changing environments require organizations to continually adapt in order to develop congruency between people, process, structures and the external environment (Beer 1980, 15).

There are various approaches to effecting successful organizational change all of which reflect particular theoretical orientations (the review of the literature on organizational change in chapter 2 of
this study supports this statement). How does a human service administrator find a way, through the maze of approaches to organizational change, to ensure that the organization being managed responds to the ever increasing changes in the environment? This fundamental question forms the basis of this research study.

Before proceeding any further, it is important to establish an adequate definition of organizational change. Hage and Aiken refer to organizational change as a change in the organizational system and limit their analysis to one kind of change: that which involves the adoption of new programs or services (1974, 114). Other authors like Golembiewski refer to organizational change in terms of behavioral changes in the attitudes, feelings and beliefs of the organization’s members and formal restructuring (which is facilitated and reinforced by behavioral changes) (1978, 198). Hasenfeld supports Hage and Aiken’s definition but includes the alteration or elimination as well as the establishment of new programs which result in significant changes in the organization’s domain (i.e. clients being served, human need being addressed and services being offered) (1980, 510). Hasenfeld adds that substantive organizational change, as opposed to symbolic change, entails significant shifts in the resource allocation and power structures
within the organization (1980, 511). In this study, organizational change refers to changes in the organizational system which result in changes in the allocation of resources (in respect to the services/programs offered); changes in the power structures within the organization and changes in the attitudes, feelings and beliefs of the organization’s members. Structural changes, in and of themselves are not used as indicators of substantive organizational change. It should be noted that for the purposes of this research, "successful organizational change" is used to refer to the fact that substantive organizational change did in fact take place and that the organization survived. No evaluative dimension is intended in the use of the term "successful".

There are three major assumptions made in this study: 1) that organizations are open systems which must respond to the environment in order to survive; 2) that change is effected through people and 3) that successful organizational change is dependent on the responses of the persons involved in the changes.

The last two assumptions result in the formulation of the research question: how was change experienced by persons involved in organizational change? This kind of research question lends itself to a qualitative methodology with its emphasis on the subjective accounts of individuals and its phenomenological
nature. Silverman's Action approach (1971) to studying organizations, which is described in detail in chapter 3, provides a reference base from which one can gather information from the persons involved in the process of organizational change. This framework emphasizes the meanings people attach to actions, their definitions of situations and their expectations as they relate to membership in an organization. It is a useful framework to extract the subjective meanings that lie behind the actions of actors involved in the process of organizational change.

The choice of a framework to analyze the volumes of data was made based on the assumption that organizations are open systems and as such must respond to the environment in order to survive. The concept of "exchange" was frequently referred to implicitly throughout the data collection process in terms of what people in the organization had to give up or do in exchange for other things. This theme needed to be incorporated in some way into the analysis. The political economy perspective with its particular emphasis on internal and external political and economic exchanges seemed to be a framework that would facilitate the presentation of a comprehensive picture of the studied organizational change.

Unfortunately, the political economy perspective does not allow for the inclusion of the human relations
elements that were referred to by the actors involved in the change process. It is this exclusion which forms the basis of the concluding proposal for a theory on organizational change that includes the elements of a political economy perspective with ideas from the human relations school.

A qualitative methodology is used in this research and is based on the belief that the nuances of the social world are best captured through procedures which allow for direct access to actors and their environment and promote investigation from within the subject of study. However, there are limitations to such an approach. These relate to a difficulty in generalizing the results with a sample of one and a difficulty in replicating the study since the primary instrument used to collect data is the researcher himself. Despite these limitations, a case study provides opportunities for insights hitherto unknown, a factor that significantly enhances the appeal of such a methodology, recognizing that it is but another approach to making a contribution to social science.

The chapters that follow provide a review of the existing literature on organizational change and an outline of the conceptual framework and methodology used for the study. A history of the organization is followed by a description of the changes which are then analyzed using a political economy perspective. The
concluding chapter ties together the analysis of this organizational change with what exists in the literature and proposes that a more integrative theory of organizational change be developed to include the elements of a political economy perspective and a human relations approach.
Chapter 2 - Review of the Literature

Harold Leavitt, in his article, "Applied Organizational Change in Industry: Structural, Technological and Humanistic Approaches", identified four interacting variables which loom especially large in the study of complex organizations: structure, task, technology and actors (1965, 1144). Leavitt uses these variables to categorize the major applied approaches to organizational change which he calls structural approaches, technological approaches and people approaches (1965, 1144).

Leavitt's categorization of approaches to change closely reflects Burrell and Morgan's exhaustive description (1982, 123-89) of the dominant theoretical perspectives in the study of organizations. They identify scientific management and classical management theory (on which structural approaches to change are based) (Massie 1965, 388), and industrial psychology, (the basis of the human relations approach to change) as the two major perspectives. All other perspectives, according to Burrell and Morgan, can be traced in some way to at least one of these perspectives (1982, 124). A combination of Leavitt's and Burrell and Morgan's descriptions would indicate that approaches to organizational change could be placed along a continuum
with structural approaches at one end of the continuum and people/human relations approaches at the other end. All other approaches would then fall somewhere between these two extremes, usually containing elements of one or both of these perspectives.

The following overview of the major approaches to organizational change closely reflects the theories or perspectives found in the literature on the study of organizations since the approaches to change are based on these theories or perspectives. As Hasenfeld points out, "each theoretical perspective does not simply determine what aspects of the organization will be studied with what conceptual tools. Each theory also embraces a set of assumptions, often implicit, about the role of organizations in society and about the relations between individuals and organizations; such assumptions shape ... the remedies offered to improve human service organizations" (1983, 14).

The major approaches to change will be highlighted under the headings, classical approaches, human relations approaches and other approaches.

A. Classical Approaches to Organizational Change

The classical approaches to organizational change view organizations as closed systems in which it is believed that changes to the structure within the organization will bring about the required improvements.
According to Tushman, "the structural school of thought can be traced to the scientific management and administrative science movements early in this century" (1974, 3). The work of Frederick W. Taylor and Henri Fayol is frequently cited as the foundation of classical management theory (Perrow 1976, 3; Massie 1965, 388; Tushman 1974, 3; Burrell and Morgan 1982, 126-7). Massie lists Fayol's five elements of administration as a) planning (prévoyance); b) organization; c) command; d) coordination and e) control" (1965, 388). Other writers, according to Massie, have renamed the third and fourth elements but, "current classical theory still recognize planning, organization and control as useful classifications for studying management. In fact, planning theory, organization theory and control theory have developed into large subtopics of management thought" (1965, 388). Gulick and Urwick outline Fayol's ideas by stating:

To organize is to define and set up the general structure of the enterprise with reference to its objectives, its means of operation and its future course as determined by planning; ...It is to give form to the whole and to every detail its place, it is to make the frame and to fill it with its destined contents (1937, 103).

Structural principles were definitely emphasized in classical management theory. Burrell and Morgan cite
the golden rule of scientific management: "get the situation right (i.e. the structure) and the appropriate human behavior and organizational performance will follow" (1982, 128).

Another structural orientation that is more explicitly sociological is described by Tushman and involves changing the roles people play in organizations in order to change the organization. With a structural orientation, Tushman believes that "the levers of adjustment and change must be directed at role definitions, role relationships and role behavior" (1974, 4).

Massie further describes the structural emphasis of classical theory:

Organizing in this theory involved the dividing of jobs and the grouping of positions in a hierarchy; it preceded any phase of management involving human interrelationships. ...The subject of organizing was thus restricted to the relationship of positions; not people; organizing was considered to be similar to designing a machine, and human characteristics were taken as constants (1965, 389).

Max Weber's concepts of bureaucracy fit into this classical frame of reference with its emphasis on structure and technology. Mousellis captures the underlying logic of the ideal type of bureaucracy in his book, *Organization and Bureaucracy*: "It is a system of control based on rational rules, rules which try to
regulate the whole organizational structure and process on the basis of technical knowledge and with the aim of maximum efficiency (1968, 39). It was later learned that bureaucratic structure was efficient when the tasks were predictable or uniform (as in machine operations). "In situations of widespread non-uniformity (as frequently found in human service organizations), the use of a combination of rules and hierarchy tends to be ineffective" (Litwak 1978, 135).

The assumptions implied in classical theory are listed by Massie:

1. Efficiency of an undertaking is measured solely in terms of productivity. Efficiency relates to a mechanical process and the economic utilization of resources without consideration of human factors.

2. Human beings can be assumed to act rationally . . .

3. Members in a cooperative endeavor are unable to work out the relationships of their positions without detailed guidance from their superiors.

4. Unless clear limits to jobs are defined and enforced, members will tend to be confused and to trespass on the domains of others.

5. Human beings prefer the security of a definite task and do not value the freedom of determining their own approaches to problems; they prefer to be directed and will not cooperate unless a pattern is planned formally for them . . .

6. People do not like to work, therefore, close supervision and accountability should be emphasized. Management must lead people fairly and firmly in ways that are not
of their inherent nature.

7. Coordination will not be achieved unless it is planned and directed from above.

8. Authority has its source at the top of a hierarchy and is delegated downward ... (1965, 405).

It is clear from these assumptions that a mechanical view of man was very much present and that change under this classical perspective would best be implemented by changing the structure of things within the organization.

B. The Human Relations / People Approaches to Organizational Change

The early developments in the human relations perspective in organizational theory is linked with the work of Barnard and the Hawthorne studies. According to Perrow, “Chester Barnard in 1938 proposed the first new theory of organizations: organizations as cooperative systems. He stressed natural groups within the organization, upward communication, authority from below rather than above and leaders who functioned as cohesive forces” (1976, 5). Barnard’s work was supported by the famous Hawthorne studies, conducted in England, which demonstrated the relationship between productivity and social relationships. Burrill and Morgan indicate that the Hawthorne studies “have had a massive impact upon subsequent developments in
Industrial psychology and sociology, particularly in relation to the human relations movement (1982, 131). The Hawthorne studies identified the existence of "social man" in the work situation (Burrell and Morgan 1982, 131). According to Hasenfeld, "the behavior of people in organizations and the quality of the interactions between them and their work organizations has been the focus of the human relations perspective ever since the Hawthorne experiments (1983, 22).

Leavitt clarifies the thinking of the "people approaches" to organizational change by stating that "the people approaches try to change organizations by first changing the behavior of the organization's members. By changing human behavior, it is argued, one can cause creative invention of new tools, or one can cause modifications in structure (especially power structure)" (1965, 1151). Literature dealing with organizational change is heavily people oriented (Leavitt 1965, 1151). Woodworth, Meyer and Smallwood concur with this statement. They submit that "organizational change theory and practice has drawn more heavily from the human relations perspective than from any other single school of organizational theory" (1982, 309).

The primary proponents of the human relations or people approaches suggest that changes in feelings and attitudes are prerequisites to voluntary changes in
overt behavior (Leavitt 1965, 1152). Emphasis on affect (i.e. morale and/or psychological security); participation and involvement in decisions (i.e. equalization of the distribution of power); communication; group dynamics and human growth and fulfillment are the key elements in the human relations approaches to organizational change (Leavitt 1965, 1151-66; Hasenfeld 1983, 22-7; Tushman 1974, 5-11).

It should be noted that the whole area of "organizational development" has as its roots the human relations perspective. A number of underlying assumptions and values of "organizational development" are made explicit by French and Bell as they relate to people as individuals, people in groups and leadership, people in organizational systems, and values in the client organization (1978, 30-5). Some of these assumptions and values, according to French and Bell are:

1. Most people have drives toward personal growth and development if provided an environment that is both supportive and challenging.

2. One of the most psychologically relevant reference groups for most people is the work group, including peers and the superior. What goes on in the work team, especially at the informal level, has great significance for feelings of satisfaction and competence.

3. Most people wish to be accepted and to interact cooperatively with at least one small reference group ...
4. For a group to optimize its effectiveness ... group members must assist each other with effective leadership and member behaviors.

5. Suppressed feelings and attitudes adversely affect problem solving, personal growth and job satisfaction.

6. The solutions to most attitudinal and motivational problems in organizations are transactional.

7. The leadership style and the climate of the higher team (lead by a manager) tend to get transmitted to the lower teams. Conditions of trust, support, openness and teamwork get transmitted to the lower teams.

8. Win-lose conflict strategies between people and groups ... are not optimal in the long run to the solution of organizational problems...

9. Changes take time and patience and the human resource subsystem must support the assumptions of an organizational development model.

10. Value is placed on all system members as well as a collaborative effort (1978, 30-5).

C. Other Approaches to Organizational Change

A number of theories can be found in the literature, all of which seem to contain some elements of either classical or human relations theory or both. These theories form the basis of varied approaches to organizational change, some experiencing more popularity than others. The sociotechnical systems theory and contingency theory are the most frequently cited alternate theories. They combine different elements of the two extreme positions taken by the structuralists and the humanists. On the continuum
mentioned earlier in this chapter, contingency theory would be closer to the classical end and sociotechnical closer to the human relations end, with proximity referring to greater emphasis on the elements contained in the nearest theory.

The sociotechnical and contingency theories view organizations as open systems which are continually influenced by the interactions with the environment. Burrell and Morgan believe that the Hawthorne studies were of principal significance, "not so much because they focused attention on 'social man' as because they constituted an important landmark in the application of the systems approach to organizational situations" (1982, 132). "The systems concept was not widely used in the social sciences in the early 1950's but it influenced the sociotechnical approach from the beginning" (Trist 1976, ix). The Tavistock Institute in England conducted studies in the British coal mines to determine how to ameliorate bad labor relations and low productivity after structural changes had failed to improve these areas. They found that an alternative to the mechanical way of organizing work (i.e. one man / one task) was available. This alternative was known as "composite working" in which "autonomous work groups undertook the whole work of the production cycle, ... Composite working was found to be superior to conventional working in regard to both performance and
work satisfaction" (Trist 1976, ix). These and other studies led to the introduction of the sociotechnical systems theory. "Scientific management had concentrated on the technical to the exclusion of the social, while human relations had reversed this direction of unilateral emphasis. The sociotechnical task was to increase the 'goodness of fit' between the two, to discover the 'best match'" (Trist 1976, ix). As Kelly points out, "a production system could not be seen as either a technical system - plant and machinery - or as a social system - social relations and work organization - but had to be seen in terms of both these systems. A productive system, in other words, was a sociotechnical system" (1978, 1069).

According to Burrell and Morgan, "the sociotechnical system has had major impact upon developments within the field of job design, particularly since the middle 1960’s and upon the quality of work life movement (1982, 147). These authors indicate that the quality of work life movement has come into prominence during the 1970’s and "seeks to apply the insights of open sociotechnical systems theory particularly, and the theory of job design to the problems which are posed by the transition from the industrial to the post industrial society" (1982, 182). The term "humanization of work" captures the essence of the quality of work life movement (Davis and Churns
While the sociotechnical systems theory brought together the technical and social dimensions of an organization as they relate to job design, the contingency theories presented a synthesis between organizational structure, technology and the environment (Millar 1978, 888; Hasenfeld 1983, 33). The thinking behind this theory, according to Hasenfeld, is that "the greater the variation in uncertainty presented by the environment, the greater the internal differentiation needed" (1983, 34). Likewise, different technologies call for different internal structures. "A routine technology requires essentially a bureaucratic structure in which line staff have little discretion, management has considerable authority and work is regulated through rules and standard procedures. In contrast, a non-routine technology, like psychotherapy, requires that line staff have considerable discretion, that authority be shared and that coordination be based on feedback" (Hasenfeld 1983, 34). In this type of situation a non-bureaucratic structure would seemingly work best.

Although the contingency approach is cited as an open systems approach and implicitly identifies power as a variable, it does not address it in any specific fashion (Burrell and Morgan 1982, 181). This theory along with most other theories, except the political
economy perspective, miss dealing directly with this variable.

Wamsley and Zald believe that the political and economic variables are the major determinants of (organizational) structure and change (1973, 64). They describe the scope of a political economy perspective:

Public organizations are characterized as engaging in external political exchanges in order to secure legitimate and basic life support. They are also viewed as engaging in external economic exchanges to secure low cost raw materials and means of production and distribution. Internally, public organizations can be analytically divided into polity and economy. Polity encompasses activities and behavior relating to the development and definition of agency purpose... Internal economy encompasses those phenomena and activities that relate to effective task accomplishment including division of work... and maintenance of an incentive system (1973, 62).

Conclusion

The list of theories is exhaustive: decisionmaking, neoMarxian, natural systems, and the like are but a few that can be added to those already described. This review has attempted to capture the thrust of the major theories as they relate to organizational change. The classical theorists and the scientific movement concentrate on structure; the human relations movement on people; sociotechnical on people and technology; contingency theorists on structure,
technology and the environment and political economists on internal and external political and economic issues. These theories advocate various approaches to effecting organizational change.

Given this review of the literature, one cannot help but ask if there is one best way to effect organizational change. Each theory advocates emphasis on variables that it believes are most important in determining whether substantive change will occur. The aim of this case study will be to conceptualize the many program, structural and cultural changes that took place at a children's mental health centre to determine if substantive change did in fact take place and then to analyze the processes that occurred to determine the variables that most significantly influenced the outcome of the change process.
Chapter 3 - Conceptual Framework

The review of the literature makes it clear that there are many approaches to organizational change. Likewise, there are many frameworks that can be used to assist in the collection of data. Initially, a sociotechnical framework was considered primarily because of its systems approach and emphasis on integrating technological needs with human concerns. After further thought, however, it was determined that using this framework could have promoted a biased examination of the change process since it advocated specific variables as being responsible for successful organizational change. Therefore, it was necessary to seek an alternate framework which would allow for the structuring of a comprehensive inquiry into organizational change.

The Action frame of reference as outlined in the work of David Silverman seemed to be a conceptual framework that would take into account everything involved in the change process. This approach draws heavily upon ethnographic accounts and participant observation techniques and tends to focus upon process as opposed to structure as a means of characterising the principal features of the world of work and everyday life (Burrell and Morgan 1982, 195).
Silverman fully describes the Action frame of reference in his book, *The Theory of Organizations*. According to Silverman, the Action frame of reference "suggests that an organization itself is the outcome of the interaction of motivated people attempting to solve problems. Furthermore, the environment in which an organization is located might usefully be regarded as a source of meanings through which members define their actions and make sense of the actions of others" (1971, 126).

Silverman presents seven propositions on which the Action approach is based:

1. The social sciences and the natural sciences deal with entirely different orders of subject matter. While the canons of rigour and scepticism apply to both, one should not expect their perspective to be the same.

2. Sociology is concerned with understanding action rather than with observing behavior. Action arises out of meanings which define social reality.

3. Meanings are given to men by their society. Shared orientations become institutionalized and are experienced by later generations as social facts.

4. While society defines man, man in turn defines society. Particular constellations of meaning are only sustained by continual reaffirmation in everyday actions.

5. Through their interaction men also modify, change and transform social meanings.

6. It follows that explanations of human actions must take account of the meanings which those concerned assign to their acts:
the manner in which the everyday world is socially constructed yet perceived as real and routine becomes a crucial concern of sociological analysis (1971, 126-7).

Understanding the subjective meaning which lies behind social action is the central theme in the Action frame of reference. Social action, it is argued, arises from the actors' definitions of the situation and their purposes or ends. It is therefore important to understand the varying definitions of the situation that each person holds as well as the respective hierarchy of ends that each brings to the organization. The nature of a person's involvement within the organization (ranging from moral to alienative) will also influence his definitions of situations as well as his expectations. A person will act according to his definitions, the nature of his involvement within the organization and his ends. There will be an influence on all of these from two sources. 1) Externally, the environment will provide him with historical experiences and a source of meanings. 2) Internally, the organizational role system will provide him with information and experiences which will continually have an influence on his definitions, expectations and the nature of his involvement (Silverman 1975, 151).

Silverman gives an outline to follow in analyzing organizations using an Action frame of reference which he suggests be followed sequentially:
1. The nature of the role-system and pattern of interaction that has been built up in the organization, in particular the way in which it has historically developed and the extent to which it represents the shared values of all or some or none of the actors.

2. The nature of involvement of ideal-typical actors (e.g. moral, alienative, instrumental) and the characteristic hierarchy of ends which they pursue (work satisfaction, material rewards, security). The way in which these derive from their biographies outside the organizations (job history, family commitments, social background) and from their experience of the organization itself.

3. The actors' present definitions of their situation within the organization and their expectations of the likely behavior of others with particular reference to the strategic resources they perceive to be at their own disposal and at the disposal of others (degree of coersive power or moral authority; belief in individual opportunity).

4. The typical actions of different actors and the meaning which they attach to their action.

5. The nature and source of the intended and unintended consequences of action, with special reference to its effects on the involvement of the various actors and on the institutionalization of expectations in the role-system within which they interact.

6. Changes in the involvement and ends of the actors and in the role-system, and their source both in the outcome of the interaction of the actors and in the changing stock of knowledge outside the organization (e.g. political or legal changes; the varied experiences and expectations of different generations) (1971, 154).

These classifications were used to structure the collection and sorting of data and guided the
subsequent analysis.
Chapter 4 - Methodology

A. The Logic of the Approach

The major factor that influenced the decision about the methodological approach used in this study was the research question itself. In formulating the question, it was assumed that successful reorganization of an agency was dependent on the responses of the persons involved in the changes. It was important therefore, to understand how organizational change was experienced by individuals since their responses to the changes were dependent on their perceptions and experiences. Thus, while the "objective logic" of structural change was not completely ignored, the main question addressed by this study was: How was change experienced by persons involved in organizational change?

The above research question is not one which could easily be answered using quantitative methods. According to Morgan and Smircich, "quantitative methods draw principally on the methods of the natural sciences and are appropriate for capturing a view of the social world as a concrete structure" (1980, 497-8). The question formulated for this research implies that change has been experienced in a variety of ways by the persons involved. Answers were being sought to the
change process as it was experienced by the persons involved. Change was not viewed as a concrete structure that could be frozen for the purpose of measurement and analysis. According to Morgan and Smircich:

Once one relaxes the ontological assumption that the world is a concrete structure and admits that human beings, far from merely responding to the social world, may actively contribute to its creation, the dominant methods (i.e. quantitative methods) become increasingly unsatisfactory and indeed inappropriate. For if one recognizes that the social world constitutes some form of open-ended process, any method that closes the subject of study within the confines of a laboratory or merely contents itself with the production of narrow empirical snapshots of isolated phenomena at fixed points in time, does not do complete justice to the nature of the subject. The very nature of the phenomena under investigation challenges the utility of such methodological closure (1980, 498).

Qualitative methodology allows direct access to the people and environment in which they function and requires an investigation from within the subject of study. In that way, one can grasp the "historical change, contextual fields of information and the processes through which human beings engage in symbolic modes of discourse, and create their reality" (Morgan and Smircich 1980, 498). According to Miles and Huberman:

In the past decade, more and more researchers in fields with traditional quantitative
emphasis (psychology, sociology, linguistics, public administration, urban planning, organizational studies, educational research, program evaluation and policy analysis) have shifted to a more qualitative paradigm. ...Qualitative data in the form of words rather than numbers are a source of well grounded, rich descriptions and explanations of processes occurring in local contexts (1984, 15).

When theory is discovered from such data, it is known as "grounded theory" since "it is based on data that has been systematically obtained and analyzed through a process of social research" (Glaser and Strauss 1967, 1). Rather than making assumptions prior to the research and then testing the relationship or validity of these assumptions, grounded theory is developed as the research progresses and is based on data obtained through the research process. The expression "generating a theory", used by Glaser and Strauss, clearly captures the ever-evolving nature of conducting research with such a process-oriented focus.

It is possible to discover grounded theory through quantitative research as well as through the use of qualitative methods. However, qualitative data has been seen as "the best and richest for theorizing about social structures and social systems. Also qualitative method is still the only way to obtain data on many areas of social life not amenable to the techniques of quantitative data" (Glaser and Strauss 1967, 17). Miles and Huberman support this belief by stating that
"Qualitative data is more likely (than quantitative data) to lead to serendipitous findings and to new theoretical integrations; they help researchers go beyond initial preconceptions and frameworks" (1984, 15).

Another factor that influenced the decision around methodology involved the nature of beliefs (i.e. the view of the world) that this researcher brought to the study of organizations. As Smircich and Morgan point out:

There is a need to approach discussions of methodology in a way that highlights the vital link between theory and method - between the world view to which the researcher subscribes, the type of research question posed and the technique that is to be adopted as a basis for research (1980, 499).

The link between the research question and methodology was discussed previously. The beliefs and assumptions of this researcher as they relate to the study of the social world strongly reflect a subjective slant and lead to an interest in doing research through direct involvement with the studied phenomenon. A qualitative methodology lends itself to this type of inquiry. For a detailed description of this researcher's beliefs and assumptions as they relate to the study of the social world, see the appendix to this report.

A less significant, but still important factor,
that contributed to the type of study that would be done was the availability of a study site. There was a mental health setting, that had recently undergone considerable organizational change which was willing to allow this type of research to be conducted. The opportunity for direct involvement with an organization that had experienced change was very appealing.

3. Field of Study and Source of Data

This field research was conducted at a children's mental health centre in Ontario, known as RIVERLAND (a pseudonym). This centre offers residential and on-site school programs to approximately fifty male and female adolescents experiencing varying degrees of emotional disturbance. This multi-disciplined setting employs child care workers, social workers, a psychologist, a psychiatrist and a medical doctor (on a fee for service basis), recreation specialists and a nurse. Teachers, employed by the local Board of Education were also on site, teaching in the special education program offered during regular school hours.

The sources of data included all full time staff who began their employment at least six months prior to the beginning of the organizational change which was earmarked by the hiring of a new executive director in October of 1983. This included:

1. maintenance and clerical staff;
2. administrative, supervisory and front line staff for the day treatment and residential programs;
3. supplementary service staff involved in recreation and medical services;
4. former staff;
5. teachers and their immediate supervisors;
6. some board members;
7. supervisory staff from the Ministry of Community and Social Services;
8. Community agency personnel.

Agency documents, minutes of meetings, reports on operational and program reviews and service plan information were also sources of data.

From October 1984 until April 1985, this researcher was a participant observer at a number of: biweekly management meetings, weekly child care supervisory meetings and monthly meetings of the Program committee, a subcommittee of the Board of Directors. These meetings provided further sources of data.

Participant observation in treatment home meetings, general staff meetings, an open house, an inservice training program and an agency pot-luck luncheon provided other opportunities for gaining an understanding of the organization and the change process.
C. Data Collection Methods

Interviews, participatory observation and the review of historical data and documents were the main methods used to collect data.

The field research was guided by the strategies presented by Schatzman and Strauss in their book, *Field Research* (1973) which provided helpful information in the areas of entering, organizing, watching, listening, recording, analyzing and communicating.

Forty-five semi-structured interviews were conducted each lasting an average of an hour. Notes were taken during the interviews and then transcribed at a later time, using Silverman's framework. Interviews with other persons either directly or indirectly involved with this facility, including Board members, ministry supervisors and other community personnel were conducted in formal and informal conversations that lasted from five minutes to two hours.

The next chapter is an historical overview of the studied organization which provides some background and leads to the description of the changes within the studied organization.
Chapter 5 - History of the Organization

RIVERLAND began in 1929 as a refuge-like shelter for girls and young women, owned and operated exclusively by the Sisters of Mary. By the early 1980's it had become a large, multiprogram organization with more than sixty secular staff. Church sponsorship and community involvement were replaced by full government funding and little community support. As owners of the facility, the Sisters of Mary remained involved through their positions on the Corporate Board of Directors. This evolution from a totally voluntary, church sponsored home to a government supported, strictly controlled organization is described in this chapter.

In 1929, the Sisters of Mary opened their doors to homeless girls and young women, at the request of the Bishop of the diocese. Their first home was a temporary residence. Within a year, larger, more suitable facilities were needed to accommodate ten girls and young women who required shelter and guidance.

1. The information in this chapter is a synopsis of an unpublished anniversary document entitled "The First Fifty Years" as well as government documents authored by Farina and Hoppe and another by Heseltine.

2. All proper names are pseudonyms used to protect the anonymity of the organization and its personnel.
In 1930, with a $50,000 loan from the diocese and assistance from their religious order, the Sisters were able to purchase four acres of property that included three buildings. These buildings provided space for the chapel, girls' dormitory and living areas as well as a section in which a laundry could be outfitted (Sisters [1981, 41]). The operating costs were covered through the provision of a laundry service which was operated by the residents as well as the Sisters. Community fundraising, donations, free medical and dental services as well as support from local religious communities provided the additional assistance required to meet the needs of the residents.

Work, discipline, education and prayer were emphasized by the Sisters. A press release published in July of 1948 described the Sisters as "devoting their lives to the rehabilitation and return to society of misguided and bewildered teenage girls who lacked the protective influence and disciplinary training of wise parents in good homes and who needed intensive character training" (Sisters [1981, 7]). Girls of any religious or racial background were considered for the program provided they were not pregnant and they had sufficient intelligence to benefit from the training offered.

During and after the war years of the 1940's, more and more girls required shelter, guidance and training.
By 1948, the Sisters of Mary had serviced more than three hundred girls in what had become known as a vocational training school program. There were major expansions in this year when a $180,000 project resulted in the building of a large, impressive, three storey building that stretched almost half a city block. By this time, the Sisters owned a total of seventeen acres of property, part of which was used to build this new structure. Thirty girls moved in in 1949 to what was then called, “Riverland Training and Vocational School”.

The Province of Ontario became involved with RIVERLAND for the first time in 1949 when it requested that RIVERLAND develop a program to provide residential treatment services to emotionally disturbed, adolescent girls. This request required a shift in focus and population. The planning for this shift was undertaken by the local Community Fund and Council (later to be known as the United Way), the Provincial Child Welfare Division of the Government of Ontario and the Sisters of Mary. It was realized at this time that professionally trained social workers would be needed to provide the treatment services for these emotionally disturbed children. The first two social workers were hired in 1950 which marked the introduction of secular staff to the organization. One of these social workers became the executive director in the same year.
In 1951, an advisory board was established to provide advice to the religious order. This board was comprised of secular community people representing various areas of expertise. The introduction of persons to a formal advisory capacity, who were not affiliated with any religious order, furthered the shift away from a church sponsored organization. The service was to become more specialized and assistance from outside experts was required.

According to excerpts from a paper presented by the director in Ottawa in 1952, "this type of residential treatment project was hitherto untried in the Province of Ontario and was to consist of specialized educational and social services for adolescent girls ..." (Sisters [1981, 33]).

The new treatment program retained the vocational training aspect of the earlier program. Cooking, sewing, introductory beauty culture, elementary typing and shorthand, first aid and the essentials of home nursing were taught. Grade four to grade ten programs were available with some of the girls attending local high schools if they progressed beyond grade ten. Cultural activities such as singing, dancing and music study were also integrated into the school program.

The educational services were only part of the treatment program. Counselling services provided by the Sisters, priests and ministers were fully utilized...
to "provide the youngsters with a character building program and the opportunity to develop greater inner strength. ...The priests and ministers also provided a spiritual revitalization which was believed to be very necessary in so many of the morally mixed up adolescents served (Sisters [1981, 35-6]). Recreation was also noted as being an extremely therapeutic means of expression and consciously used to assist the girls' developmental processes. Re-integration into the community was identified as a focus area and recreational activities were used to make the initial linkages back into the community.

During the 1950's, further growth and development was experienced. The large, institution-sized building did not yield itself easily to providing individualized care. Plans were consequently formulated to build six cottages on the property, each of which would house fourteen girls and two housemothers. Thus increasing the former fifty bed capacity to seventy-two. This was a $561,000 project which received a capital grant of $250,000 from the Province of Ontario (Sisters [1981, 43]). The cottages were completed in 1963 and were followed by additional building plans: an administration building, classrooms, a gymnasium, pool, chapel and a convent for the Sisters of Mary were completed in 1966.

In 1967, the first executive director of RIVERLAND
resigned after serving in this capacity for seventeen years. The second director, who was also a professionally trained, secular social worker, was hired in the same year and remained in this position for the next sixteen years.

During the early seventies, many changes in the social service arena impacted on the service provision at RIVERLAND. In 1971, RIVERLAND was recognized and fully funded by the provincial Ministry of Health as a Children's Mental Health Centre with the Sisters of Mary remaining the owners of the property and facilities.

During the seventies, there was a significant increase in the development of a variety of programs to meet the needs of emotionally disturbed youth. RIVERLAND was no longer the only facility of its kind as alternate residential care facilities, such as group homes and specialized treatment foster homes, began to provide residential services. More residential care facilities meant less demand for RIVERLAND's program especially from areas geographically distant from RIVERLAND. As the number of girls referred to RIVERLAND decreased, the dollars allocated by the Ministry also decreased. In 1972, two of the six cottages were closed one of which was reopened the following year to provide space for non-residential and administrative services. The other cottage became an
auxiliary convent for the Sisters.

The school program came under the auspices of the Board of Education in 1976 with reimbursement to the teachers provided through the Ministry of Community and Social Services. The teachers were no longer considered to be employed by RIVERLAND.

A decrease in the number of women attracted to religious vocations necessitated greater collaboration and dependence on secular staff to provide services at RIVERLAND. Community colleges had just begun to provide formal training to persons interested in child care, so certified child care workers were scarce until the late 1970's.

In 1977, mental health services for children were separated from other mental health services which were under the Ministry of Health. The Ministry of Community of Community and Social Services became responsible for children's mental health services which meant that all services to children were now under this Ministry.

In 1979, the Ministry of Community and Social Services decentralized its offices in attempt to have its civil servants be closer to the community services it funded. Regional managers, area managers and program supervisors were appointed to monitor the programs and determine the funding of children's services. The introduction of the service plan
approach to funding in 1980 marked the beginning use of "business" principles in the social service sphere. The days of plentiful resources with moderate accountability had ended. Residential care standards, service plan accountability and long range planning to meet documented needs had taken hold in the area of services to children.

This facility, experiencing declining utilization and continued pressure from the Ministry of Community and Social Services to meet the current community needs, decided to conduct an internal program audit in the early winter of 1981. This was followed by a formal operational review conducted by outside consultants in the fall of 1982. The consultants recommended strategic adjustments to RIVERLAND's programs, management and administration. In line with the consultants' recommendations, the Corporate Board of Directors decided that a general manager's position requiring considerable administrative skill and experience should be created. This decision eliminated the need for an executive director. John Hues, who had held the former position of executive director for the previous sixteen years was not given the general manager's position. Instead, he became the manager of administrative services, reporting to the general manager. Lynn Rossi, a person unknown to RIVERLAND was hired as the general manager in October of 1983.
The organizational changes that began with the hiring of the General Manager are the focus of this research study and are described fully in the next chapter.
Chapter 6 - The Changes

The changes that were made at RIVERLAND are described in the following sections as program changes, structural changes and changes in the culture of the organization. It is important to note that the information in this chapter represents what was shared with the researcher. Statements are many times not prefaced, however, by the words "according to ...", in an attempt to facilitate the reading process. Any notations by the author are clearly identified as such with the abbreviation (a.n.) to represent "author's notation".

A. Program Changes

The changes began at RIVERLAND in October of 1983 with the hiring of the general manager, Lynn Rossi, a woman with considerable administrative experience with the Ministry of Community and Social Services. Rossi was hired to strengthen the overall operation at RIVERLAND with emphasis on developing programs which would result in full utilization of the facility. Rossi initiated several program changes beginning with a residential program for male teenagers in need of long term residential care. In early summer 1984, existing non residential services were provided to
males which then meant that all programs offered at RIVERLAND served youth of both sexes. This was quite a significant step since it broke the fifty-five year tradition of RIVERLAND serving only female youth (a.n.).

The second program change involved the expansion and enrichment of the day treatment program to provide supplementary programming and crisis relief for both day students and residents.

Another program development involved the hiring of a pastoral care worker to enhance the spiritual component of treatment in this facility. This worker was a lay person, not a member of a religious order. The pastoral care position was new and exemplified a way to include spiritual enrichment in a non denominational manner. The Sisters of Mary had not been active in providing direct services at RIVERLAND for some time. This meant that their spiritual influence had increasingly diminished over the years. The pastoral care position was therefore created to keep this aspect of RIVERLAND alive since it was so much a part of its history.

A new program was developed to provide a secure setting for youth involved in breaking the law. This program was designed to provide short term, high security care for youth twelve to sixteen years of age who had been charged under the Young Offenders' Act.
The most recently approved program was an Independent Living Program. This program was developed to serve male and female young persons, fifteen to twenty-four years of age, with average intelligence, requiring life skills training and a supportive living environment. This program was designed to assist unemployed young persons learn the daily living, personal care and social skills necessary to obtain and keep a job.

By mid 1983, RIVERLAND had definitely diversified itself by offering a variety of programs to meet the needs of a larger group of young persons (a.n.).

B. Structural Changes

The program changes at RIVERLAND occurred under a somewhat different organizational structure than what was present prior to October 1983. Cognizant of the results of the operational review conducted by BAB Consultants, a private consulting firm hired by RIVERLAND, a new structure was developed. This new structure allocated responsibilities according to programs and eliminated one administrative level in the child care area.

B.1 Before October 1983

Prior to any of the changes, RIVERLAND's organizational structure included an executive
director, a treatment coordinator and five department coordinators. All treatment service areas (social service, medical, therapeutic recreation, child care and special education) reported to the treatment coordinator, Paul Phillips who reported to the director. Administrative services (maintenance, food services, laundry, office and finance as well as security) were directly supervised by the director (see "Organizational Chart Prior to the Changes - 1982-83"). Under this structure, the department coordinators carried considerable administrative responsibilities with limited direct client involvement. Phillips acted as the person in charge of social services (also known as 'social work') in addition to carrying the responsibilities of the treatment coordinator.

Child care workers were assigned to various treatment homes (known as "cottages") with unit coordinators being responsible for the supervision of the child care staff in each home as well as overseeing the home's general operation. The unit coordinators reported to the child care coordinator, Syd Talbot, who was considered the head of child care.

B.2 The Structure after October 1983

Under the new structure, the various programs at RIVERLAND were divided amongst two program managers and the planning and implementation coordinator (see
ORGANIZATIONAL CHART PRIOR TO THE CHANGES (1982-83)
REPRINTED FROM 1983 CONSULTANTS REPORT (WITH PERMISSION)
"Organizational Chart After the Changes (April 1984)"). Paul Phillips became one of the program managers and Lynn Rossi, the general manager, covered the responsibilities of the second program manager until a suitable candidate could be found. The position of child care coordinator was eliminated which meant that the unit coordinators, who were renamed child care supervisors, began to report directly to their program managers or the planning and implementation coordinator. Syd Talbot, the former child care coordinator, became the planning and implementation coordinator. This position was developed as a temporary position designed to facilitate the development and implementation of new programs. These programs were to eventually come under one of the program managers once they were fully developed which would eventually result in this position being redundant. There was a delay in hiring the second program manager, however, which meant that this "passing on" of new programs was not realized until May of 1985.

The position of special education coordinator was also eliminated which meant that this person resumed full-time teaching responsibilities. Previously, this person taught half-time and assumed administrative liaison functions designed to facilitate the coordination of treatment and educational services.
Organizational Chart After the Changes (April 1984)
(Compiled by Author)

*Note: Each residential program (R) has a child care supervisor and a social worker assigned*
The medical coordinator (a nurse) and the recreation coordinator were temporarily assigned to report to the second program manager. As Rossi was covering until this person was hired, they reported directly to her. These two positions were changed so that direct client involvement became their primary focus. Previously, more than half of their time was spent attending meetings and carrying other administrative responsibilities with direct client contact being made by other staff.

Thus, administrative positions or functions were eliminated or at least reduced. In addition to those positions already described, the position of head of maintenance was also eliminated once the incumbent left. In contrast, the child care supervisors increased their administrative roles with the elimination of the child care coordinator's position. In fact, these persons became part of the management group within the organization which resulted in their having direct involvement in the overall planning and development of changes at RIVERLAND. These supervisors were high energy, creative individuals who, for the most part, liked the increased status, attention and opportunity to be involved in the overall programming of RIVERLAND. They actually provided the leadership required to carry out the boys' residential program, the day treatment program and the independent living
While changes in the structure were occurring, remnants of the old structure still remained. Child care supervisors and social workers continued to meet in their respective groups despite their designation according to programs. The program managers' positions were outlined but not really operationalized during the first eighteen month period. Client progress meetings continued to include all disciplines with chairmanship designated to the social workers. According to staff, the program managers did not necessarily attend these meetings. Team meetings continued to be called (most frequently by the social workers) on an ad hoc basis to sort out difficulties between the disciplines. Staff indicated that these meetings were often held without the program managers always being present. Problem resolution was therefore dependent on the cooperative spirit of those involved. The social workers found it awkward at times to chair these meetings due to the vague formal authority attached to the role.

C. Changes in the Culture of the Organization

The program changes were many and the structural changes important for the development of the programs. The most significant of all the changes, however, were the changes in the cultural environment of the organization.
C.1 **RIVERLAND Prior to October 1983**

RIVERLAND had been a residential facility for female adolescents for over fifty years and was frequently thought to be a residence for unmarried mothers by the local community. In fact, the history of the organization indicated that it never identified unmarried mothers as a target group but the image persisted. A newspaper article which appeared in the local paper, circa 1957 specifically stated that RIVERLAND was not a home for unwed mothers (Sisters [1981, 391]) which leads one to believe that the reputation was present for many years (a.n.)

Amongst the local children’s service agencies, RIVERLAND was thought to be a relatively new, nicely equipped facility whose program needed strengthening to meet the needs of the more disturbed, difficult to handle adolescent. The Ministry of Community and Social Services was concerned about the dollars being spent to operate a facility that was serving so few and supposedly, less disturbed, teenagers than those served by other, less costly facilities.

RIVERLAND had a low profile in the local children’s service community until it received considerable media attention in the early 1980’s. A family with a mentally ill adolescent daughter decided to use political means to have their daughter admitted
to a local program when they felt that no one was willing to take responsibility for her care. It was at this time that the Community and Social Services minister became involved with the then executive director, John Hues, in an attempt to have this girl placed at RIVERLAND. The name RIVERLAND became known in the legislature during this episode and the story was covered in the media. Increased visibility and ministry scrutiny of the RIVERLAND operation resulted in considerable pressure to make changes.

Pressure to change from the community and the Ministry was accompanied by internal pressure originating from staff dissatisfaction. There were a number of department heads who wielded considerable power and were allowed to exercise illegitimate authority across departmental boundaries. Interdepartmental conflicts were common particularly between the cottage staff (child care workers and their supervisors) and all other areas at RIVERLAND which included the school, medical services, recreational services and maintenance. According to one veteran staff member, simple requests like replacing a light bulb would have to wait a week or more because bulbs were changed once a week, on a certain day. The people who made these rules were allowed to manage their departments as they saw fit and impose costs on other departments. This was similar to what Crozier
described in his study of two bureaucratic organizations. He speaks of "uncertainty" in an organization and the "power of the experts" (1964, 156). Workers who perform functions that are not well understood by administration have the opportunity to keep their skill a "rule of thumb one" to prevent others from "rationalizing it" (Crozier 1964, 156). In this way, according to Crozier, they can exercise considerable power over others and eliminate the possibility of anyone else learning their jobs (156) (a.n.).

A laissez-faire management style was perceived to be present in which conflicts were discussed but seldom resolved. This allowed authority to be diverted and many people were frustrated with the lack of problem resolution.

Many child care staff felt they had little status yet stated that they were frequently held responsible for failures with the residents. These cottage staff described themselves as seldomly feeling supported but frequently feeling blamed. As one staff put it: "when things went wrong, we were asked, "how did it happen?" - which implied, "how could you have allowed such a thing to happen?". ... No one ever asked "how can we help?"

One event which contributed to child care staff feeling that their contribution was insignificant
involved the practice of attendance at child progress meetings which were held regularly to discuss a child's progress in the program. According to the workers, all disciplines were represented at these meetings with the child care worker assigned to the child under review attending the meetings as an observer, not a participant. It was explained that since the child care supervisor attended these meetings, it was felt that to allow the full participation of the worker would result in an overrepresentation of the child care perspective. This experience provoked hostility because child care workers who worked with the child on a daily basis were not given the opportunity to express their knowledge about the child.

Many staff referred to the division between the cottage staff and the persons who worked in the "A" building, a term used to refer to the administration building. Cottage staff understood the "A" building to be off limits and seldom entered the complex except on official business. The director, John Hues, did not know many of the line staff personally. A number of staff reported that they had met Hues after more than a year of employment and were asked by him if they were new at RIVERLAND! Hues was not generally visible on campus which gave workers the feeling that he was very far removed from them. General staff meetings were not held under this administration so the opportunities for
line workers to meet their director were limited.

Employees other than front line staff did not feel distant from administration. Most of these staff worked in the "A" building or were directly supervised by Hues. They described Hues as a very calm, friendly person with a relaxed air about him. He had a methodical, slow paced approach to running RIVERLAND. Some of the staff in the "A" building described their work atmosphere as calm and family-like. Hues was perceived to be a sincere, honest, nonpolitical person. A few staff verbalized that perhaps he was too honest for RIVERLAND's best interest when it came to relations with the Ministry. These staff admired Hues as a man but felt that he was a weak administrator. In addition to having strained relations with the ministry (and reportedly, the Sisters, on occasion), he did not hold staff accountable for their job performance. Workers indicated that they became frustrated with their own jobs when matters involving other disciplines were at an impasse and higher level intervention was required. Some persons with strong personalities were thought to have too much authority under this administration.

The perception of staff during this administration was that change (in terms of personal development) was not encouraged. As one staff person put it: "people were often 'pegged' (i.e. assessed as having certain strengths and weaknesses) and supervision reinforced
the original assessment". This person was "pegged" as being a good nurturer and not particularly bright. She was encouraged to remain in her position in residential care. Regularly hearing that she was a good nurturer convinced her that she did not have any other skills. She remained in the same job for four years, never thinking that she was capable of other responsibilities. She became comfortable and found that she did not have to put out much effort to meet the demands of her job.

Many workers perceived the Sisters to be connected to RIVERLAND but they believed that they played a very minimal role in the overall operation. Other staff members with more seniority at RIVERLAND had worked with the Sisters in previous years and feared the power they had had in the past. For the most part, however, the Sisters were seen as being in the background until the time of the operational review when their authority and power were felt by more of the workers, particularly as it related to the demotion of Hues. Many staff felt that this was a poor way to handle the situation and blamed the Sisters. Rossi was not perceived as being in any way responsible for what happened in relation to Hues. Thus, negative feelings were not transferred onto her for what had happened — the Sisters were the "bad guys".

Staff felt change was necessary mainly because
they didn't know how long RIVERLAND would be in existence with things the way they were. They were aware of the declining number of children in residence. They feared that RIVERLAND would be closed which would mean the loss of their jobs. In many cases this meant their only source of income would be gone.

Change was necessary therefore, in the eyes of the community, the Ministry and the staff of RIVERLAND. The Corporate and the Advisory boards of directors knew that something very drastic had to be done in order to secure RIVERLAND'S survival. The stage was set for the new executive to come in and make changes.

C.2 RIVERLAND Under the New Administration

In contrast to the previous administration, Rossi promoted change. One person described Rossi as a "whirlwind" which meant things had really started moving since she arrived. The organization began to run like a business with clearly outlined goals and objectives to be met with limited resources. The survival of RIVERLAND meant developing new programs to meet the needs of a larger group of youth. This reality was translated to the workers through direct contacts with Rossi who encouraged them to participate in making the changes happen.

Rossi was seen as a person who was in charge. The first experience that made staff realize that things'
were going to be different involved her requesting that Mr. Hues leave RIVERLAND. This occurred shortly after she became general manager. Staff were amazed but relieved that the matter had finally been dealt with directly. After the operational review, Hues had been put in charge of administrative services which meant that he oversaw the financial, maintenance, laundry and food services. Staff who had problems in these areas had to go to Hues. They found discussing a maintenance problem with the former director to be a disgrace. They were embarrassed for him and felt that he was being humiliated. Staff also felt that it was difficult to appear loyal to an old leader and be willing to work with the new leader. Rossi solved a very difficult situation for many staff when she asked Hues to leave.

Another experience which indicated to staff that Rossi was in charge involved an experienced maintenance person who made it clear that he had no use for female bosses and then demanded that he be put in charge of maintenance. This person's employment with RIVERLAND ended shortly after this encounter.

Staff cutbacks were made particularly in the child care and maintenance areas. The 'shift schedule' for child care staff and their supervisors was changed resulting in fewer staff during the day and late evening hours. Some of the child care staff did not like the changes in the staffing arrangements during
these hours or the changes made to their shift
schedules and began to organize in defense. Talk of a
union began but soon ended when news of the talks
reached Rossi. This was an indication to child care
staff that they were not united in their thinking so
the idea of unionization was abandoned. In addition,
Rossi spoke to the people involved and confronted their
issues directly. Other workers were unaccustomed to
such an approach and feared that they too might be held
accountable for their actions in the future.

Rossi quickly became known in the organization.
She was visible to staff, attended cottage meetings,
arranged general staff meetings and organized a three
day communication workshop involving all RIVERLAND
staff. This workshop proved to be the event that
convinced many staff that Rossi was going to be a "good
boss". Staff reported that this was the first time
they could remember that all RIVERLAND’s staff were
brought together at one time. Ideas were sought,
concerns listened to and people given a sense that they
all belonged to RIVERLAND. For the first time, child
care staff felt that they were worthy of the director’s
time and that their thoughts were important. Rossi got
to know people’s names and where they worked. Their
sense of belonging was further enhanced and many staff
believed that their efforts would not go unnoticed.

Child care staff were beginning to feel that they
were a part of RIVERLAND and that their status was improving. The elevation of child care supervisors, resulting in their becoming involved in management meetings, meant that child care ideas and concerns would be well represented. As well, child care staff began to feel that they were having more input into the treatment provided to the residents. Attending progress meetings concerning children under their charge became their responsibility and they were expected to be prepared to present their ideas and participate fully in the discussions. Direct contact with the residents’ teachers and parents, as related to the day to day care of the teen, also became part of their responsibility. They no longer had to go through the social worker or their supervisor to make these types of contacts. Child care staff reported that they were beginning to feel that administration thought they were capable and many felt supported in their efforts.

When staff encountered particularly difficult children, one on one staffing was allowed and additional help brought in to assist with the other residents. Time out rooms that were structurally safe were established to provide another means of support to staff charged with particularly aggressive or hostile youth. Training in crisis intervention was also provided to all line and managerial staff (including Rossi), as well as all educational, medical and
recreational staff.

Material purchases for the cottages were made which, according to some child care staff, was a further indication that they were no longer a forgotten group. Much needed furniture, carpeting and appliances were purchased in an attempt to make the cottages more modern and less institutional.

Almost every staff interviewed assessed Rossi as competent. They saw money coming back into RIVERLAND and no longer heard about the Ministry causing problems. New programs received approval and RIVERLAND was expanding.

For some staff, Rossi's credibility was further boosted after she hired an acceptable person for the pastoral care position, a new position which creation caused a concern for some staff. A previous summer student doing research in the pastoral care area had antagonized a number of staff by her overbearing and presumptuous manner. She implied that a pastoral care person would have considerable freedom to influence the structure and content of the various areas in RIVERLAND. This student left some employees fearful of how such a position might affect the overall programming at RIVERLAND. Rossi gained the further confidence of some of the staff with the emotionally mature person she hired for this position.

Rossi became involved in the hiring and firing of
staff, a responsibility that, according to some employees, was frequently delegated by the previous director. Discharges concerning youth in the various programs also involved Ross. This resulted in the chief executive having considerable impact on the staffing resources and service output of the organization.

Ross also maintained direct contact with various staff through the temporary arrangement of covering for the second program manager. In addition, she participated and frequently chaired the child care supervisors' weekly meetings which provided excellent opportunities for her to become aware of the attitudes and beliefs that had supported historical practices (a.n.). Ross promoted an educational focus in which staff training and job changes were encouraged. This assisted staff in learning alternate ways to solve problems, giving them new information and opportunities to look at situations in different ways (a.n.).

The child care supervisors, the program manager, the planning and implementation coordinator, the nurse, pastoral care worker, recreational coordinator, vice principal of the school and a representative from social work were all included in management meetings. This meeting was used to coordinate interdepartmental efforts and inform people of the current state of affairs regarding changes. Ross would give a detailed
account of the logic behind various decisions, thereby exposing many people to her way of thinking. Both the child care supervisors' meetings and the management meetings provided Rossi with opportunities to obtain information, keep people informed and expose a number of individuals to her way of thinking and operating (a.m.).

Many staff viewed the new executive as a strong leader who was action oriented and held people accountable for their actions. Staff felt that she was a problem-solver and a decision maker. Her decisions, especially aroundhirings and firings, were not always liked, but for most people, they "made sense" which increased her credibility.

A number of staff felt that they were expected to work hard and accept the changes. Many liked Rossi's style and reached out to accept additional responsibilities and gain the attention and approval of the new executive. Other staff were thankful that RIVERLAND was being pulled out of its period of low residency. Others assessed Rossi as being good for RIVERLAND in that it was becoming a well run operation but they felt that they were being expected to give too much to the total operation. They resented increased workloads without additional pay and didn't like the shifts they had to work. As one staff put it, "work had become work". Others suggested that there was
little opportunity to have fun or spend time with their co-workers. Many staff were anxious about meeting the expectations of their new executive which gave way to an "every person for himself" type of survival strategy. One staff spoke of workers "running around trying to impress the big cheese" which meant they were doing their best to be noticed and accepted by Rossi.

Resistance was expressed, quasi-collectively, through the initial attempts to unionize as well as individually with colleagues. Rossi was willing to speak directly to people who had serious concerns, but when all attempts to educate and change attitudes had failed, the message, according to a few staff, was the same - "If you really don't like it here, then leave." Some staff did leave which allowed new people who embraced similar ideals as management to be hired. This strengthened the base of acceptance for the changes. Acceptance of the new administration was becoming the norm, with those who complained being seen as the outcasts. As one worker put it: "I don't know of anyone who doesn't like what's happening at RIVERLAND .... maybe the people who are dissatisfied aren't sharing their views with me because they've made it well known that I am behind Rossi all the way - she saved RIVERLAND and my job!" A few staff discounted those who expressed negative views by saying, "Some people are never satisfied", while others believed that
some employees were simply "hanging on" to old feelings and resentments and refusing to accept that things were different.

Change was experienced in every area of RIVERLAND but according to a number of staff, the social work area seemed to perform much the same way as it had before the changes. A few of the social workers felt that they were affected by the changes in terms of new routines and expressed some anxiety about Rossi's expectations. Other social workers felt left out and/or uninvolved in the planning and direction of change while their colleagues were pleased that they had been left alone, indicating that they already had more than they could handle. Some non social work staff wondered why social work was so protected from the main thrust of the changes. Rossi did not give much focus to the social work area leaving it instead to veteran supervisor, Paul Phillips and channeling her energies elsewhere. Some staff interpreted this as deliberate, believing that Rossi decided to build on the energy and enthusiasm for change that she found in the child care supervisors, and allowing a rather established area to remain as before, at least for the time being.

Otherwise, the pace of change was perceived as quick and moving in a positive direction. This fast pace energized some staff to "get in on the action". Internal job changes were encouraged, most times
involving no additional money. Personal growth and development were highly valued and promoted by Rossi. Many staff experienced renewed energy and began to feel that they had options if they wanted them. Staff were given first access to vacated or newly created positions which resulted in considerable internal mobility. The workers who were doing the moving were pleased and very positive about the opportunities. The staff who were not interested in changing jobs found that things were moving too fast and believed that not enough time was spent consolidating the changes before new ideas were acted upon. These people were in the minority, however, as more and more people decided to participate rather than resist.

In summary, RIVERLAND mid 1985 was much different from RIVERLAND 1983. The community knew it, the Ministry knew it and the workers at RIVERLAND were well aware of the differences. Who were the winners and who were the losers in all of this? What was it that made it work? An analysis of this and the overall change process will be the subject of the next chapter.
Chapter 7 - Analysis

Various analytical frameworks were reviewed in an attempt to find one that would be comprehensive enough to allow for full analysis of the change process. The Action frame of reference, used as the conceptual framework to guide the collection of data, had allowed considerable information to be gathered in terms of how organizational change affected the people involved. The next challenge was to find a framework that would incorporate all this data and aid in the analysis.

Structural approaches based on classical theory did not seem appropriate. Approaches based on sociotechnical theory had some appeal due to the attention paid to the technical and social aspects of the organization. However, not enough attention was paid in this approach to environmental influences. Likewise, contingency theory was lacking in other ways - not giving enough attention to the human relations and power variables. The human relations perspective, with its heavy emphasis on people, did not seem to go far enough to explain what happened at RIVERLAND. The leadership style was frequently referred to by the individuals involved in the change but this approach did not facilitate an examination of the numerous decisions that were made internally and externally,
particularly as they related to resource allocation, incentives and the overall survival of RIVERLAND. The political economy framework seemed to go furthest in explaining these variables and upon further examination, appeared to allow for a very comprehensive analysis of the change process. The political economy framework was therefore chosen as the most appropriate available framework on which to base this analysis.

According to Wamsley and Zald, the concept of "political economy" has been used in different fields and has had several meanings over the years (1974, 17). In this analysis, their descriptive definition is used: "political economy" represents the interrelationship between a political system (a structure of rules) and an economy (a system for producing and exchanging goods and services)" (1974, 17). In its most generic sense, according to Zald, political economy studies the "interplay of power (oriented towards goals) and productive exchange systems" (1970, 17).

The terms "political" and "politics" refer, according to Wamsley and Zald, to the "structure and process of the uses of authority and power to affect definitions of goals, directions and major parameters of the organizational economy" (1974, 18). They describe an organization's economy as its "system for producing the 'output' of the organization; it is the combination of men, money, machines and facilities to
produce the 'desired' output' (1974, 19). Both the internal and external political and economic forces of an organization are analysed using the political economy framework. Zald states that while the traditional concerns of the sociology of organization, professions and professional socialization — role relations and role conflict and even the "fit" between personality and role — can be included in a political economic analysis, they are subordinate and intermeshed with a dominant concern for the political and economic forces that are at play (1974, 19).

Before embarking on the analysis, it should be emphasized that in reality, the political and economic forces intersect and are not as neatly separable as this analysis might imply. An attempt was made, however, to identify the major factors and group the analytical information accordingly. The political economy framework was used as a guide to "tease out" the analysis so that all significant information could be presented in an extensive and comprehensible manner.

A. The Internal Political Structure and Processes

A.1 The Treatment of the "Old Guard"

Throughout this study, the staff at RIVERLAND stated that they believed that change was necessary but each was anxious in terms of how the changes would
affect them personally. The coordinators, who acted as department heads, were considered the organization's elite. Some of them held considerable power and controlled a significant part of the organization's resources. As Gouldner learned in his study of organizational change in a large gypsum factory:

Powerful individuals, like any others, do not respond directly to all the tensions of the organization as a whole; they respond with greater readiness to those organizational tensions which threaten their own status (1964, 241).

The head of maintenance was the person most frequently described as a very powerful person at RIVERLAND. However, the school, nursing and therapeutic recreation personnel also made decisions that affected primarily the child care staff who felt powerless in these situations. The child care supervisors were caught in the middle with little involvement and little authority or power under the old administration.

Two strategic decisions were made that significantly changed the power structure of the organization. The first was the decision not to fill the maintenance department head's position once that person quit to take a job elsewhere. This decision reduced the likelihood that past problems with maintenance would be repeated especially since Rossi
took over the direct supervision of the remaining maintenance staff for the first year and a half.

The second strategic decision was to eliminate the child care coordinator's position, thereby elevating the status and position of the unit coordinators (later known as child care supervisors). These unit coordinators/child care supervisors were recognized for their skill and expertise as well as their knowledge of the organization's child care issues that had been significantly highlighted in the program review conducted in 1982 by a committee of the Board. Rossi believed that these valuable and knowledgeable personnel should be directly involved in providing input into the direction of change at RIVERLAND. This second strategic decision therefore provided Rossi with ready access to a rich resource base for ideas and information and increased the potential influence of the child care supervisors.

The influence and power of the child care supervisors, who assumed supervisory responsibilities of the new programs, was further increased by the discretion they were allowed to develop the programs. This authority gave the supervisors considerable opportunity to shape the programs along with their staff and influence their way of thinking and operating. This situation reflects Crozier's observations that task assignments which allow
supervisors some initiative are often, quite rewarding to the supervisors (1964, 160).

The child care coordinator, Syd Talbot, became the planning and implementation coordinator after his original position was eliminated. Talbot's new position was a key administrative position that had the potential to influence not only the decision making around changes but also the actual operationalization of the changes. Talbot also had a lot to gain by accepting the new position in terms of organizational power and future career advancement opportunities. While the acceptance of this position was beneficial for Talbot, it also meant that he had chosen to work for change rather than against it. From the administration's perspective, Talbot's support was important. He was accepted and supported by the old administration and held a great deal of responsibility in the child care area. He had a lot to lose under the new administration with the elimination of his position. Instead, he was selected to fill the newly created, planning and implementation coordinator's position. This decision was one that would benefit the organization as well as his professional development. Problems could have been created for Rossi if Talbot had been fired or had felt that he had lost some power or prestige with the elimination of his job. As Zald states, "individual discontent is transformed into
organizational conflict when the individual has power or when he combines his power with others who are discontented" (1970, 225). Talbot could have wielded considerable negative influence in the organization had he felt dissatisfied with what took place. Instead, he and the child care supervisors became the primary supporters and instrumentally vital in implementing the changes.

Gouldner uses the term "old lieutenants" to describe those persons who were close and loyal to the old administrative head in his study. He states, "when the old lieutenants find that the successor, either because of ignorance or deliberate decision fails to respect the old obligations and their informally privileges positions, they begin to resist" (1964, 74). Syd Talbot was one of the old lieutenants as was the treatment coordinator/social work department head, Paul Phillips.

The former director had hired Phillips shortly after he became executive director. Phillips had been second in command for more than thirteen years. He was a close personal friend to the previous director and had been allowed almost complete independence in the delivery of all treatment services at RIVERLAND. The 1982 program review cited considerable support for Phillips primarily from the school personnel, social workers, some clerical staff and the child care
coordinator, indicating that he was a well respected and valued member of the organization. Rossi, recognizing the formal and informal authority that Phillips had had under the old system, appointed him to one of the two program manager's positions. In this way, he continued to provide input into organizational decisions and maintained his responsibilities as the head of social work department. His status within the organization had not changed. Consequently, another powerful person did not feel a need to mobilize staff against the new manager. His loyalty and friendship for the previous director could have sparked him to negate the current change efforts in an attempt to discredit what the successor was trying to do. Phillips had expected that he would be fired given his long association with RIVERLAND and the 1983 state of affairs. Instead, he was kept on, in a managerial position and was told that he was an important part of RIVERLAND. In turn, Phillips believed Rossi to be genuinely concerned about the welfare of children and he felt that her decisions reflected this concern.

The recreation co-ordinator, the nursing coordinator and the special education coordinator were the other "old lieutenants" whose positions changed.

The recreation coordinator decided to leave the organization a number of months after Rossi's arrival in pursuit of greater responsibility than his newly
defined position allowed. Another recreation coordinator was hired which meant that any old debts or promises, that had been made or implied under the old administration, no longer had to be considered.

The nursing coordinator maintained her position as a member of the management team but due to her increased direct involvement with the clients at RIVERLAND, she was seldom able to attend the meetings. She was directly supervised by PPS for the first year and a half as a result of the delay in hiring a new program manager. This "old lieutenant" did not feel that she was particularly affected by the change except that she liked the new focus her job had taken in terms of increased involvement with the male and female residents. The new arrangements were more personally and professionally satisfying than the old arrangements had been.

The last of the old guard was the special education coordinator, a teacher, who acted in a liaison capacity between the school personnel and the treatment staff. The previous administrator had created this position and encouraged this teacher to develop it as she saw fit which meant she had considerable emotional investment in its development. In past years, she had worked hard to coordinate the efforts of the school and treatment staff and she liked the professional growth and opportunities that the
position allowed. She had a lot to lose if changes were made in her position. A number of things changed from October 1983 to April 1985 which facilitated the working relationships between the school and treatment personnel and resulted in the redundancy of this position. A new vice principal who was willing to deal with controversies and work towards solutions that would benefit both sides was assigned to RIVERLAND'S school. The principal of the school was impressed with the changes that had taken place at RIVERLAND, particularly in the day treatment program. In addition, he had confidence in Patti as an administrator and was prepared to work with her. On the other side, the day treatment program, with its classroom crisis intervention component, began to act as a buffer between the treatment and school personnel. Many of the previous issues between the school and the treatment staff were no longer problems that required the assistance of a special education coordinator. Therefore, the position was eliminated and the teacher resumed full time teaching responsibilities at RIVERLAND.

Of all the "old lieutenants", the special education coordinator lost the most. All the others either remained relatively unaffected or gained by the changes. In addition, the four child care supervisors also gained power and prestige through the changes.
Thus, the decisions involving the elite of the organization resulted in more support for the changes than resistance.

A.2 The Use of Authority (Management Style)

The front line workers described themselves as "low men on the totem pole" under the old administration. Their views were not actively sought and a feeling of being the "dumping ground" prevailed. Their suggestions for improvements were most often bogged down in bureaucratic red tape, producing much frustration and few results.

Under the new administration, the front line staff felt that they were being recognized. Almost every child care staff interviewed felt that the communication workshop, held in early 1984 to acquaint all staff with one another and to share problems and concerns, was the event that indicated to them that they could rely on the new manager to listen to them and hear what they were saying. After this workshop, they felt they were to become an important part of RIVERLAND.

This workshop gave front line staff an opportunity to communicate directly with their new executive and experience her as a real person, not a distant bureaucrat. This, along with a message that they were all part of RIVERLAND and they all needed to work
together to ensure its survival gave staff the message that they were important and respected. Rossi de-emphasized her powerful position as general manager and encouraged the active participation of all staff. By doing this she reduced the consequences frequently experienced in hierarchical organizations. Also describes the effects on the organization when there are feelings of inequality among the lower echelons of a bureaucracy:

"(these feelings) ... inhibit identification with the organization and its objectives, lesser interest in performing tasks to the best of one's abilities, kill initiative, and reduce the chances that emergent operating problems will be readily met. Unless employees consider themselves partners in a common enterprise rather than tools in the hands of management, they are not prone willingly to assume responsibilities of their own. (1961, 30)."

The staff at RIVERLAND knew that Rossi was in charge but they did not feel inferior to her. She listened to their feelings and ideas. Knew who they were and encouraged them to come to her with their concerns. They felt that they were finally a recognized part of RIVERLAND. The discretion Rossi allowed the supervisors who assumed responsibilities for the new programs, proved to facilitate the creative energies of the supervisors and increase the respect they had for her.

As a result of this participatory involvement
approach the staff had a good understanding of the direction, RIVERLAND was heading. They were aware of what programs were going to be developed and were therefore not surprised when the implementation date of a program was announced. Staff meetings assisted in keeping people informed on a regular basis.

Rosi was very comfortable with her authority, seldom having to "pull out the rule book" in order to get compliance. The interest and enthusiasm shown by the staff encouraged them to work along with her rather than against her.

A.2. Gaining Legitimacy

According to Gouldner, "In a society such as ours, with its acceptance of achieved rather than ascribed status, especially in the industrial sphere, the manner in which a manager obtains and then uses his office is a crucial measure of legitimacy" (1964, 77). This is similar to Blau's belief that authority refers to "a relationship between persons" and that actual authority is "not granted by the form of an organizational chart but must be established in the course of social interaction ... " (1961, 71). At RIVERLAND, Rosi gained legitimacy by resolving conflicts, showing that she seriously considered the effects of decisions on the clients and implementing the changes that were identified as needed to ensure the survival of
RIVERLAND. Her visibility on campus and her willingness to discuss staff concerns gained her additional acceptance as did her overall use of authority.

Rossi came from a high profile, high pressure job with a provincial ministry. The knowledge and skills required for a general manager's position had been developed and tested in her previous years of experience. She did not need to prove her administrative adeptness since she had already held positions considered to be as difficult if not more difficult than her current position. Unlike the successor described in Gouldner's study, she was confident she could handle her new position which meant that she could attempt to solve problems and ease tensions drawing on her resources as a person rather than using the authority invested in her position as general manager (Gouldner 1964, 84). This non-authoritarian approach proved to be most acceptable to staff who perceived her as the person in charge but still reasonable and approachable.

A.4 Conclusion - The Internal Political Structure and Processes

Close attention was paid to the internal political structures and processes. A non-authoritarian approach, involvement of all staff in the processes, an
experienced and confident leader and a number of strategic decisions that positively affected the power structure of the organization all assisted in achieving more support than resistance to the changes.

B. The External Political Structure and Processes

The importance of effective boundary relations cannot be underestimated since it is through such relations that the change agents can alleviate the fears of other organizations about the changes, can negotiate exchange arrangements which will enlist the support of these organizations and can forecast from where resistance might be forthcoming (Hasenfeld 1980, 514-15).

Rossi was very aware of the importance of effective boundary relations with the funding body, the various community agencies, the media and the prospective client families.

B.1 Relationship with the Funding Body

Prior to the changes, the funding body, the Ministry of Community and Social Services, had created considerable anxiety and pressure on the board and administrator of RIVERLAND, questioning the survival of the organization. Rossi knew that the Ministry requirement for RIVERLAND'S survival was full utilization of the facility. The processes used to collect information, make decisions about options and present the proposed program plans were undoubtedly
aided by Rossi's administrative background in the same Ministry. Reasons for resistance to proposed plans were usually anticipated and measures taken to avoid serious difficulties. In dealing with the personnel involved, Rossi acknowledged and respected the power of the funding body.

8.2 Relationships with Other Organizations in the Network

Hasenfeld speaks of the importance of the next boundary relation:

One of the most serious impediments to organizational change is its threat to other units in the network. Such a threat is likely to mobilize the interorganizational network in counteraction (1980, 514).

Rossi began meeting with the local children's service agencies soon after her appointment as a general manager in an attempt to learn about their past problems with RIVERLAND and their views on what services RIVERLAND should provide in the future. This approach allowed agencies to provide input into the changes and provided Rossi with information about sensitive interorganizational boundaries and organizational domains.

An experience with the administration of a well-established mental health centre in the community demonstrated Rossi's ability to work with rather than against community agencies. RIVERLAND was considering
the possibility of opening a boys' residential program which had previously been identified as a community need (community research study). However, a boys' residential service was provided by another local mental health centre. Duplication of services would not be acceptable to the funding ministry and the mental health centre with the boys' program did not want its program to be replaced by RIVERLAND'S new program. Discussions with the involved centre's administrative staff resulted in a solution being worked out that was satisfactory to both organizations: RIVERLAND would provide residential services to teenaged boys in need of long term residential care and the other centre would continue to provide short term care for the less severely damaged youth.

Relationships with other organizations in the network were recognized as important when RIVERLAND was considering the development of the Independent Living Program as well. During the planning stages of this program Rossi met directly with the administrative staff of five agencies who were perceived to be possible referral sources or service providers to youth in the program. The result was a well coordinated program plan. All the agencies involved understood the components of the program and how each organization would work together toward a common goal. Rossi was quite cognizant of and skilled in the external
B.3 Relationship with the Media

Relations with the media were also handled in a very skillful manner. In one incident where a local columnist had learned of substantial purchases made by RIVERLAND he wanted to use the information to write a sensational story of tax dollar squandering. This columnist asked to see Rossi, intending to catch RIVERLAND at having committed some wrongdoing. The columnist had a reputation of "crucifying" people in his editorial column. As it turned out, after talking to Rossi, he did write the column but he was not nearly as critical as his reputation would have dictated. This experience seemed to dissipate quickly and no further mention was made of this matter.

Prior to the newspaper editorial, Rossi had been interviewed in relation to new legislation that was to be proclaimed. A number of staff who saw the short interview commented on how well their boss "came across" on camera and seemed to express a sort of pride in having her represent them in the community as RIVERLAND's manager.

B.4 Relationships with Clients (Consumers)

The final boundary relation which was recognized by Rossi as important involved the families of new
intakes. She became involved in initial meetings with some of the families who were uncertain of what RIVERLAND could offer their child and the remaining family unit. The client group was important to Rossi who seemed to remember that without families to serve there would be no need for any of the services at RIVERLAND. This was yet another way that the survival of RIVERLAND was assured.

Summary and Conclusion - External Political Structure and Processes

Boundary relationships with the many significant groups who could have created difficulties for RIVERLAND were judiciously maintained. This, along with the attention paid to the internal political structures and processes as previously described assisted in RIVERLAND'S success.

C. The Internal Economy

According to Hasenfeld, the term "economic" refers to the "processes by which resources needed for the service technologies of the organization are acquired, distributed and used" (1980, 510). Wamsley and Zald state that "central to the internal economy of an organization are the way its tasks are accomplished" (1974, 22). The tasks in RIVERLAND's organization involved the delivery of services to clients through
the various programs offered.

C.1 Clarification of Goals and Technology

Hasenfeld makes the point that frequently changes in human service programs are too ideological and not specific enough to provide detailed information about the techniques and procedures which would lead to the desired outcomes. He states "lack of a well-defined technology results in uncertainty, confusion and ambiguity in the tasks to be performed, raising measurably the costs of the change efforts, and reinforces the resistance to change" (1980, 5:5). "At RIVERLAND, prior to the change, the cottage staff (workers and supervisors) spoke of the ambiguity they experienced regarding how to handle the difficult girls under their charge. They felt they were responsible for keeping things "under control". This meant that they were not to allow an incident to occur that would bring on the questions and criticisms of the "A" building staff. They frequently did not know how to handle certain situations but were reluctant to ask for assistance from administration since past experiences had left them feeling inadequate as workers when things had gone wrong with a youth.

Under the new administration, staff felt that matters surrounding the handling of the children and the goals of treatment were becoming much clearer. A
supervisor, trained in crisis intervention at the organization's request and expense subsequently trained all treatment staff including teachers and administration in crisis intervention. Some of the techniques taught involved: how to avoid a potentially serious conflict between a youth and another youth or a youth and a staff; how to approach an angry and aggressive youth without escalating their anger and aggressiveness; how to protect oneself and the youth if a physical confrontation did occur and how to resolve an issue with a youth in order to teach him/her new ways to handle a similar situation in the future.

Just as the new administration encouraged a "concrete" crisis intervention training, it pushed for concreteness and clarity around the objectives of each of the newly developed programs. Supervisors who took over the boys' residential program and the day treatment program expressed clarity in terms of how they would meet the program's goals. The maintenance and housekeeping staff confirmed that things seemed to be "settling down". They explained that they knew this by the fewer "messes" they had to clean and the fewer repairs due to damages they had to make.

C.2. Utilization and Development of Human Resources

Several employees spoke of Rossi's ability to assess staff's skills and her ability to motivate them
to use these skills accordingly. This was most evident in terms of the child care supervisors. The political astuteness reflected in eliminating one administrative strata in the organization (child care coordinator's position) has already been discussed. The child care supervisors were high energy, motivated staff who clearly indicated they wanted changes to happen. The supervisors provided the skills and expertise to actually operationalize the new program developments. This rich bank of human resources was a key factor in assuring the successful implementation of new programs as well as the modification of the existing ones. The supervisors were known and supported by most staff at Riverland which made it much easier for the new programs they supervised to be accepted. They were also fully aware of the organization's norms and values which meant they were less likely to do things that would cause resistance from staff.

By mid 1985, however, RIVERLAND had grown to the extent that the current child care supervisors could not possibly supervise all the areas. RIVERLAND had to find additional supervisors. This proved to be a difficult task as resources were limited. Internal staff resources for key positions were becoming scarce which meant that time and energy would have to be spent on recruiting and training new supervisory and managerial personnel. This would likely slow down the
pace of changes or result in deterioration of what existed and quite possibly cause resentment amongst the staff involved. This human resource, an internal economic issue, seemed to be the most vulnerable area in terms of possibly causing some future organizational problems to RIVERLAND. A few staff referred to people being "stretched too thin". They felt that there was a need for RIVERLAND to slow down and stabilize before implementing any more new programs.

C.3 Structural Congruency

Hasenfeld states, "successful implementation of new programs necessitates that appropriate work structures are established that are congruent with the requirements of the new tasks" (1980, 516). He goes on to explain that a new program involving highly complex and variable tasks could not function adequately if the work unit was, "structured by hierarchical authority, vertical communication patterns, and rigid coordination mechanisms" (1980, 516).

The structure at RIVERLAND under Rossi was very much geared toward problem solving and decisionmaking that would lead to action. Barriers were overcome by looking at the problem and working out a solution. An example involved the practice of having the residents' meals prepared and brought to the cottages at meal time. The staff of the boys' program felt that having
the boys involved in meal preparation at least on the weekends would help teach the residents some concrete life skills. The tradition was changed for this cottage despite some resistance from the caterers and the need to adjust the cottage budget to accommodate food purchases and culinary supplies. Coordination, communication and clear methods of problem solving were frequently referred to by staff when describing the new administration. This undoubtedly helped in the day to day operation and overall progress that RIVERLAND experienced.

C.4 The "Politics of Abundance"

Zald speaks of the "politics of abundance" and the "politics of scarcity" referring to the "political consequences of the state of the economy (extent to which adequate or inadequate resources -- money, prestige, services -- are available for distribution)" (1970, 226). He goes on to describe the impact of scarcity and abundance on an organization:

Organizations changing in a system of scarcity are likely to experience greater conflict and discontent than those in an economy of abundance. Members being deprived are generally more resistant to change than those either being passed by (though not directly deprived) or who are increasing their payoff (1970, 227).

RIVERLAND was growing and more resources were coming
into the organization. Staff to accommodate new programs, including numerous temporary staff to assist with the extra work generated by the changes: furniture; appliances; sports equipment and the like were arriving consistently. For the most part, the changes meant things were added to rather than taken from what existed.

This abundance helped to reduce the resistance that could have occurred had staff felt that they were losing resources, which happened, when the number of staff in the cottages during the day was decreased. This decision met with considerable resistance from some of the involved workers as fewer staff meant less free time. Some resented not being able to relax and socialize with other staff during their shift as they had in the past. At times of "shift changeover," they were particularly annoyed, since it was difficult to relay significant information to their colleagues and still attend to the residents. There were attempts to overlap the time that staff ended a shift with the time the next shift started but for some, the feelings were still the same - something they had and liked was taken away and they weren't happy about it. Fortunately for RIVERLAND, the number of "take away" situations were few. Otherwise, "a polity of scarcity ... would probably foster conflict" (Zald 1970, 228).

Abundance meant that a variety of incentives were
available; additional programs meant new challenges and opportunities. As one worker put it, "for the first time in the history of RIVERLAND, there is a variety in the jobs that are available." This situation prompted employees who felt stale to reach out for one of the various new positions created by the changes. Some of the workers in these positions enjoyed increased status simply because they were involved in a high profile program. Most times, staff changed positions attracted primarily by the opportunities for personal growth and development. More jobs meant more options and a greater chance of securing a position that "fit" with a worker's workstyle, experience and preferences. Staff members were generally happier because of the options available and felt that they had benefited by the changes.

Another incentive for remaining at RIVERLAND was the improvement in the work environment referred to by some workers. Cottage staff liked the home-like atmosphere that was developing in the cottages with carpet, furnishings, draperies and appliances being added or replaced. This attention to the cottages increased child care staff's feeling that administration knew they existed and had some understanding of their needs as cottage staff.
C.5 Summary and Conclusion

The internal economic resources in terms of the skill and expertise of the staff, as well as the resources that were available to upgrade the existing programs and implement the new programs, were significant factors in creating the optimum conditions for the actual implementation of change. Incompetent or unmotivated workers would have seriously jeopardized the new programs. Likewise, insufficient financial resources would have meant cutbacks in other areas in order to accommodate the changes. The potential for resistance would have been increased had financial resources been severely limited.

D. The Economic Environmental Forces

A major point to be made in discussing the economic environment of public organizations is that many phenomena which might be treated as economic in a consideration of private organizations must be treated as at least partly political in public organizations (Wamsley and Zald 1974, 46).

Wamsley and Zald explain that because of public organizations' public funding and symbolic importance, because their demands are "aggregated, filtered and channelled through the budget process and their policy subsystem" (1974, 46), changes in allocation or market conditions are not purely economic but rather include political considerations.
Because of its dependency on government funding, the programs RIVERLAND proposed under the new administration were those identified by the Ministry as being needed. It was easier to obtain funding for these programs since their necessity was established and supported by relevant outsiders. The major initial push for change came from the Ministry in 1981 - 1982 when it expressed dissatisfaction with the relevancy of RIVERLAND'S programs in terms of meeting current needs. Resources were needed to make changes but were withheld from the old administration because Ministry personnel perceived the previous administrator to be incapable of implementing significant program changes. No money meant no changes which in turn resulted in increased pressure and criticism. The cycle continued until a new manager was hired and the Ministry felt confident that things would be different. This lack of support proved to be the demise of the old administration.

The financial support from the Ministry helped to convince staff that the direction RIVERLAND was taking was both approved and encouraged by the Ministry. The interpretation of the financial support as a sign that RIVERLAND would continue to operate provided some staff with a sense of relief. The many months of worrying over the survival of RIVERLAND and more particularly, their jobs were finally ended.
E. Overview

Wamsley and Zald use a chart to display the major components of political economy for public organizations (1974, 20). A variation of this format has been used to provide an overview of the analytical components of RIVERLAND's organizational change as described in this chapter.

A. Internal Political Structure and Processes

A.1 Treatment of the "Old Guard"
- head of maintenance not replaced
- elimination of child care coordinator's position
- child care coordinator becomes planning & implementation coordinator
- unit coordinators renamed child care supervisors
- and given increased status and power
- treatment coordinator becomes a program manager
- nursing coordinator's position redefined
- recreation coordinator's position vacated and new person hired
- education coordinator's position eliminated
- net result of the treatment of the "old guard" was that there were more winners than losers

A.2 Use of Authority (Management Style)
- involvement of all staff in clarifying issues
- communication workshop opens the door for acceptance of new manager's style especially by front line workers
- participatory involvement prevails; respect for workers; workers feel a part of the changes; good communication; workers understand nature of and reasons for the changes

A.3 Gaining Legitimacy
- conflicts resolved
- concern for clients demonstrated
- changes being implemented
- successor confident in administrative role
- successor in charge, yet reasonable and approachable

B. The External Political Structure and Processes (Boundary Relations)
B.1 Relationship with the Funding Body
* respect for power and authority of funding body
* past ministry work experience helps in working with rather than against the system
* resistance anticipated and serious difficulties avoided

B.2 Relationship with Other Organizations in the Network
* meetings with local children's service agencies
* input provided re past problems and community needs
* sensitized to interorganizational boundaries and organizational domains
* agreement reached with local centre re target group of boy’s program to eliminate overlap of services
* Independent Living program planning involves several community agencies - co-operation prevails

B.3 Relationship with the Media
* incident with editorial columnist
* RIVERLAND presented reasonably fairly by columnist
* no further incidents of this type
* brief television interview involving Rossi leaves staff pleased with Rossi representing RIVERLAND

B.4 Relationship with Consumers
* general manager involved in initial meetings with some of the client families
* client group important to Rossi

C. THE Internal Economic Structure and Processes

C.1 Clarification of Goals and Technology
* handling of children's goals of treatment becoming clearer
* organization wide training in crisis intervention
* concreteness and clarity of objectives stressed

C.2 Utilization & Development of Human Resources
* assessment of staff's skills and appropriate use of
* expansion means additional supervisors needed
* resources limited -- some strain and demands placed on the system
* perception of some that supervisors especially are being "stretched too thin"
* this is a vulnerable area
C.3 Structural Congruency
* problem solving & decision making stressed
* barriers overcome
* flexible coordination patterns

C.4 Politics of Abundance
* Riverland growing - many resources coming in
* project staff, furniture, appliances, sports
  equipment arriving consistently
* resistance reduced - more things added rather
  than taken away
* incentives available: 1) new programs, new positions
  provided opportunities for growth and challenge
  2) physical improvements in the cottages - nicer
  work environment

D. External (environmental) Economic Forces
* environmental economic issues - partly political
* ministry pushes for change - withholds funding
  until confidence in Riverland's management restored
* new programs proposed according to needs
  identified and supported by relevant outsiders
* money for new programs provided - relief expressed
  by workers re Riverland's survival

This overview of the political-economic structures
and processes that were present internally and
externally at Riverland makes evident the
comprehensiveness of a political-economy framework in
analyzing the complexities of organizational change.
However, this framework has its shortcomings in that it
does not draw attention to the human relations
variables that were referred to by the people involved
in the change process.

Implicit in the manner that change was implemented
at Riverland was the awareness of the psychological
needs of the staff and client groups. Mention was made
of Rossi's concern for the workers and her emphasis on their involvement in the change process. The communication workshop (which was conducted by an organizational development expert) was positively cited as an indication that all staff were viewed (by the new administration) as a part of RIVERLAND and were recognized as important. Rossi was seen as a competent and nonauthoritarian leader with the ability to motivate people. Education through discussions, trainings and job changes provided the means to change old attitudes and beliefs. Rossi valued personal growth and development and encouraged her staff to appreciate the benefits of working hard and experiencing the satisfaction that comes with a job well done. Personal awareness was encouraged by Rossi who believed, like French and Bell, that suppressed feelings and attitudes adversely affect problem-solving, personal growth and job satisfaction (1979, 32). Conflict resolution was also very much promoted by Rossi. These are all components of a human relations perspective but they could not be fully presented in the analysis using a political economy perspective.

The concluding chapter examines whether change did in fact take place at RIVERLAND, given the earlier definition of organizational change, and proposes an integrated approach to effecting substantive
organizational change.
Chapter 8 - Conclusion

In the introductory chapter of this research report, organizational change was defined as referring to changes in the organizational system which result in changes in the allocation of resources (in respect to services and/or programs offered), changes in the power structure and changes in the attitudes, feelings and beliefs of the organization's members. Substantive, as opposed to symbolic organizational change, occurs when the above outlined changes are present.

If one accepts this definition of organizational change, then RIVERLAND did experience substantive change during the eighteen month period that was studied. Four new programs were developed, the old power structure was significantly altered and the staff at RIVERLAND were, for the most part, energized and no longer fearful of the organization's ability to survive.

Towards an Integrative Approach to Organizational Change

The analysis section of this report made it clear that two very different approaches to change were present in the change process. Would the changes have been as effectively implemented if the new
administrator did not demonstrate the principles of a human relations approach but clearly did understand and practice the principles of a political economy framework? Put in another way, can the changes be exclusively attributed to the presence of a political economy perspective? This researcher does not believe that the "people" elements can be excluded from the analysis. It is true, that the survival of RIVERLAND was initially in jeopardy, but once this threat was reduced, the employees could have easily made it difficult for Rossi if they had not liked the way they were being treated. Also, unhappy employees would likely relay their unhappiness to people outside the organization which would then reflect negatively on the change efforts. Rossi's leadership style was repeatedly mentioned in a positive manner by the employees. To ignore that the human relations elements played a part in the successful implementation of change would be to miss a very significant component to the change process.

The reverse proposal would also not fully capture what happened at RIVERLAND. That is, to attribute the successful organizational change to Rossi's leadership style and exclude her attention to the political and economic concerns would result in only part of the picture being seen. RIVERLAND'S community reputation was weak, funds were being reduced and the organization
needed to make considerable changes to respond to the identified community needs. Staff were frustrated with the power that some employees wielded and sought ways to end the numerous conflicts that drained their energies. Political astuteness and recognition of the economic needs of the organization were essential to ensure the cooperation and support of the funding ministry, the community and the staff.

In the final analysis, therefore, it appears that a combination of a human relations perspective and a political economy perspective accounted for RIVERLAND'S successful organizational change. Before proceeding further, it should be repeated that for the purposes of this research, "successful" organizational change refers to the fact that substantive organizational change did take place and that the organization survived. No evaluative dimension is attached to the term "successful".

This organization had no choice but to change in order to survive. In some ways, this made the acceptance of change easier (Hasenfeld 1983, 245-6), but the success that was experienced at RIVERLAND must be attributed to two factors. The first was that there was full recognition of the internal and external political and economic forces that have been known to impede organizational change (Hasenfeld 1980, 509). The second was the awareness of the psychological needs
of the staff and client groups. People were viewed as the key variables in bringing about change. The interpersonal processes involved in this organizational change were thus viewed to be at least as important as the political and economic concerns.

Based on the findings of this qualitative case study, which reflects a successful organizational change, the following is proposed:

There is a need for a framework for effecting organizational change that combines the elements of the political economy perspective with the elements of the human relations approach.

With such a framework, human service administrators would be able to make their way through the maze of approaches to organizational change and ensure that the organizations being managed responded to the ever-increasing changes in the environment and the needs of their employees, which in turn, would contribute to the organization's survival.
Appendix

In an attempt to clarify the nature of beliefs brought to the study of organizational change by this researcher, the framework outlined by Burrell and Morgan in their book, *Sociological Paradigms and Organizational Analysis* was used as a guide. According to these authors:

All social scientists approach their subject via explicit or implicit assumptions about the nature of the social world and the way in which it may be investigated (1982, 1). ... These assumptions which relate to ontology, epistemology and human nature have direct implications on the methodology used (2).

Through the process of reviewing Burrell and Morgan's work, it became apparent that this researcher's beliefs and assumptions in the study of organizations leaned heavily towards a subjective interpretation with slight shades of objectivism. The shades of objectivism were due to a mid range position on the ontological issue. The following represents a synopsis of the beliefs and the corresponding positions as they relate to studying social science:

1. A belief that there is an outside world that is real but a recognition that people interpret this "real world" differently depending on their life experiences. This represents a mid range position on the ontological
issue.

2. A belief that the natural world and the social world are very different and should be studied differently. This represents an anti-positivist epistemological position.

3. A belief that people have control over their environment and are, for the most part, masters of their own destiny. This represents a voluntarist position on the human nature dimension.

A mid-range ontological position (between nominalism and realism), joined with an anti-positivist and voluntarist position, imply that an ideographic methodology be used. The ideographic approach to social science is based on the view:

That one can only understand the social world by getting close to one's subject, and exploring its detailed background and life history. It emphasizes the analysis of subjective accounts which one generates by 'getting inside' situations and involving oneself in the everyday flow of life. The ideographic method stresses the importance of letting one's subject unfold its nature and characteristics during the process of investigation (Burrell and Morgan 1982, 6).

Qualitative research exemplifies an ideographic approach to studying social science. According to Burrell and Morgan, a nomothetic approach, unlike an ideographic approach,

lays its emphasis on the importance of basing
research upon systematic protocol and technique. It is epitomized in the approach and methods employed in the natural sciences, which focus upon the process of testing hypotheses in accordance with the canons of scientific rigour. It is preoccupied with the construction of scientific tests and the use of quantitative techniques for the analysis of data (1982, 6-7).

In summary, an important, albeit not the most important factor, that influenced the approach used to study organizational change involved this researcher's beliefs and assumptions, as they relate to the study of the social world.
Bibliography


Vita Auctoris

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