

TO WHAT EXTENT DOES PUBLISHED RESEARCH ON QUALITY OF WORK LIFE
REFLECT A MANAGERIALIST IDEOLOGY IN BOTH ITS' LATENT AND MANIFEST
CONTENT?

By

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DECLARATION

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Social Science (Industrial Psychology), in the Graduate Programme in

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I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. I confirm that an external editor was not used. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Social Science in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Sciences, University of Kwa Zulu-Natal, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

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—

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Abstract

Industrial Psychology (IP) has a major impact on millions of workers and thousands of organisations and is given increasing reign in deciding and influencing human affairs within the organisation, thereby playing an important role in society. The field of IP however has been used to uphold the status quo, showing a preference for management over workers. There is also a lack of self-reflexivity, and a failure to address ideology and power relations and the methodological assumptions underlying research and practice. This research project aims to address these problems through the analysis of research articles on a contemporary topic, namely, quality of work life. The aim is to find out whether published research on quality of work life reflects a managerialist ideology in both its' latent and manifest content. A review of previous research and a theoretical and conceptual background is presented. Critical discourse analysis was used to analyse research articles. It was found that research articles draw on an HRM discourse and uphold power relations and dominant ideologies. There exists within published research and in all likelihood, social practice, the dominance of a managerial perspective and the presence of a managerial ideology. Critical perspectives tend to be marginalised. It is necessary that the critical perspective be brought more into the mainstream, and for industrial/organisational psychologists to challenge the status quo. Points for discussion and recommendations are presented.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Stages and Steps for Critical Discourse Analysis

Appendix 2: List of Articles for Analysis

Appendix 1

Stage 1: Focus upon a social wrong, in its' semiotic aspect.

- *Step 1. Select a research topic which relates to or points at a social wrong and which can productively be approached in a trans-disciplinary way with a particular focus on dialectical relations between semiotic and social elements*
- *Step 2. Construct research themes and objectives for initially identified research topic, and theorise them in a trans-disciplinary way.*

Stage 2: Identify obstacles to addressing the social wrong.

- Step 1. Analyse dialectical relations between semiosis and other social elements.
- Step 2. Select texts and focus on categories for their analysis, in the light of and appropriate to the constitution of the object of research.
- Step 3. Carry out analyses of texts, both inter-discursive analysis and linguistic or semiotic (discourse) analysis.

Stage 3: Consider whether the social order 'needs' the social wrong.

Stage 4: Identify possible ways past the obstacles.

Stages and Steps for Critical Discourse Analysis

Appendix 2

List of Articles Used in Analysis

- Boudrias, J., Gaudreau, P., Savoie, A. & Morin, A.J.S. (2009). Employee empowerment: From managerial practices to employees' behavioural empowerment. *Leadership and Organisation Development Journal*, 30, 625-638.
- Brown, M., Geddes, L.A. & Heywood, J.S. (2007). The determinants of employee-involvement schemes: Private sector Australian evidence. *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, 28, 259-291.
- Chen, C.C. & Chiu, S. (2009). The mediating role of job involvement in the relationship between job characteristics and organisational citizenship behaviour. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 149, 474-494.
- Jung, J.Y. & Hong, S. (2008). Organisational citizenship behaviour (OCB), TQM and performance at the maquiladora. *International Journal of Quality and Reliability Management*, 25, 793-808.
- Kandasamy, I. & Sreekumar, A. (2009). WRKLFQUAL: A Tool for Measuring Quality of Work Life. *Research and Practice in Human Resource Management*, 17, 59-70.
- Korunka, C., Hoonnaker, P. & Carayon, P. (2008). Quality of working life and turnover intention in information technology work. *Human Factors and Ergonomics in Manufacturing*, 18, 409-423.
- Ongori, H. (2009). Managing behind the scenes: A view point on employee empowerment. *African Journal of Business Management*, 3, 9-15.
- Ramstad, E. (2009). Promoting performance and the quality of working life simultaneously. *International Journal of Productivity and Performance Management*, 58, 423-436.

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The exercise of power itself creates and causes to emerge new objects of knowledge and accumulates new bodies of information... The exercise of power perpetually creates knowledge and, conversely, knowledge constantly induces effects of power... It is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge, it is impossible for knowledge not to engender power.

- Foucault, 1980, p. 52

Chapter 1: Introduction

Industrial Psychology (IP) has a major impact on millions of workers and thousands of organisations and is given increasing reign in deciding and influencing human affairs within the organisation, thereby playing an important role in society. Despite this, the field has been used to preserve the status quo, and has only recently “began to question the moral and ideological implications of this state of affairs” (Prilleltensky, 1994, p. 131). This questioning however, has occurred on a very small scale and is marginalised within the discipline. Additionally, as Fox (2008) asserts: “It’s important to keep in mind that psychology’s vast mainstream still pays little attention to its own radical critics” (p. 233).

The history of IP itself – from Elton Mayo’s human relations and occupational mental health to psychological testing – has shown preference for working with management over labour, with its focus being on increasing profitability and productivity. As Brief (2000) states: “Industrial psychologists aimed to serve management” (p. 344). IP also lacks self-reflexiveness with reference to the influence of ideological factors in research and practice (Prilleltensky, 1994). Fox (1985) states: “The failure of social scientists to seriously question their own ideological and methodological assumptions contributes to the complex interrelationship between global ecological and individual psychological problems” (p. 48).

This research project aims to address these problems through the examination of discourse in the form of research articles. By carrying out a critical discourse analysis on articles on a contemporary topic, namely, quality of work life, the aim is to find out whether published research on quality of work life reflects a managerialist ideology in both its’ latent and manifest content.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Quality of Work Life

2.1. A Brief Introduction to QWL

The term 'quality of work life' or QWL is widely used in all areas that have something to do with organisational activity, from academia and government, to labour and management circles. QWL entails a wide variety of programmes and/or movements that includes: total quality management, worker participation, shop floor democracy, socio-technical planning, employee problem-solving groups, human relations, union-management relations, job redesign, job enrichment, job rotation, autonomous work teams/groups, quality circles, participative management, self-responsibility, participative decision-making, participative problem-solving, team management, worker involvement, among others (Rose, 1999; Skrovan, 1983; Steenkamp & van Schoor, 2002; Wells, 1987). Skrovan (1983) states that despite the variety in the above goals and programmes, there is an underlying set of value beliefs that give unity and consistency to the QWL movement:

QWL will be viewed more accurately as a diverse movement that is the product of different goals – but with a unifying set of assumptions...

- People should be treated in the work environment with the dignity and respect they deserve as human beings in other situations.
- People support what they help to create.
- People in a work environment prefer to learn and grow with the organisation.
- People want to understand how their organisation functions and how their individual efforts contribute to the whole (p. xiv).

Skrovan (1983), together with a task force appointed to study QWL, adopted the following definition for the term:

Quality of work life is a process for work organisations which enables its members at all levels to actively participate in shaping the organisation's environment, methods and outcomes. This value-based process is aimed toward meeting the twin goals of enhanced effectiveness of the organisation and improved quality of life at work for employees (p. xiv).

2.2. Wells (1987): QWL's Empty Promises

In his book, *Empty Promises: Quality of Working Life Programmes and the Labour Movement*, Wells (1987) states that despite the many names that QWL programmes go under, “all QWL programmes embody an orientation to conflict in the workplace that is fundamentally psychological: most of the existing barriers to cooperation between management and labour are believed to derive from the distorted images the two have of each other, and the fears associated with these images” (p. 2). Power relations are regarded as personal conflicts. Proponents of QWL assert that if the psychological barriers are understood and conquered, workers and managers will find that they have much in common and will begin to cooperate in a new way that will be mutually beneficial. According to Wells (1987), it is this therapeutic framework that is the basic rationale for QWL. He states that even though management benefits from the major productivity increases associated with it, QWL proponents believe that there are corresponding benefits for workers in terms of better jobs, increased job satisfaction and increased job security. This mutual benefit has a simple logic: “Since it is workers who do the jobs, it is workers who know more than anyone else about how to make these jobs productive. If therefore, managers give workers more say about their jobs, and if workers understand that they have a personal stake in making their jobs more productive, everyone will gain” (Wells, 1987, p. 3). If workers have a bigger voice in their jobs they will be happier workers. Happier workers translate to more productive workers which – by way of increased loyalty to workers, less supervision, lower absenteeism and sickness – then translates to greater profits and thus more investment to create more jobs. This is the simple logic of the ‘win-win’ relationship between labour and capital. QWL then becomes the vehicle that brings together two former enemies: profit and democracy.

Wells (1987) makes three main arguments. First, QWL proponents promise jobs that give the worker a sense of ‘enjoyment’, ‘pride’, ‘accomplishment’, ‘challenge’, ‘ongoing learning opportunities’, and ‘real decision-making responsibilities and power’, and above all this, they offer workers what was once always refused: democracy in the workplace that stems from joint control and responsibility between union and management. However, Wells (1987) states that QWL was created “because of capitalism’s need for increased profitability” (p. xii). To stay competitive in a progressively more global production industry, new investment is needed thereby leading to organisations pressurising their workers even more to continue creating the same profit. Thus, autocracy has not really become democracy and corporations are still more interested in reaching production goals than in a product’s quality.

What corporations are really aiming for is to increase labour's productivity, that is, to make more profit from the same hours of labour, and this can only be achieved through the engineered cooperation that QWL promises. On the contrary, the promises that QWL makes are tailored more to the needs of business and government who stand to gain much more while workers stand to lose whatever leverage they may have gained through trade unions. This is what can be described as the new innovative industrial relations that has come about as a result of worldwide economic changes to help organisations survive in an increasingly unstable economy. QWL thus represents a move from a pluralist-based industrial relations to Human Resource Management, or a unitarist-based industrial relations. This is discussed more in detail further on.

Second, QWL is not a movement in which management relinquishes power; rather QWL aims to add to management's power. As Prilleltensky (1994) states: "Management is no longer satisfied with making workers obey: it now wants them to *want* to obey" (p. 146). By using QWL, management aims to bring out the capacities and abilities of workers that traditional managerial control has restrained. The aim of this is not for workers to realise and express their full human potential, it is so that managers are able to gain more complete domination and control over workers. In this way, QWL is actually the reverse of what it portrays itself to be. Moreover, the intention of QWL is to weaken worker solidarity and to undermine the need for unions. Prilleltensky (1994) explicates this by stating that QWL programmes are the vehicle to increased productivity. This is carried out by increasing the participation of workers, by creating higher levels of cooperation, and by creatively and productively using employee's abilities that was once suppressed in the workplace. The intention of this is to "undermine the main form of power that workers and their unions normally resort to – the negative power of resistance or refusal to obey" (p. 145). Promises of decision-making, pride and enjoyment in work, do not ultimately benefit workers. The central aim of QWL is to foster cooperation on the part of the workers. That is, the cooperation that QWL requires is a selective, management-biased cooperation, which is argued to actually decrease or *reduce* the quality of working life (Wells, 1987; Prilleltensky, 1994). The programmes aim to fit workers to their job, not vice versa; it aims to make workers carry out their own subordination and control. Even the decision-making power promised by QWL is merely consultative and results in only minor changes which management has already decided. QWL is a subtler, more manipulative control. As a 'softened' control strategy, "QWL interventions have promoted an approach whereby control over workers is gained

through cooperation. These techniques are refined versions of human manipulation” (Prilleltensky, 1994, p. 146).

Finally, Wells (1987) emphasises that the only way that QWL may be effectively challenged is if workers themselves expose QWL for what it actually is, because democracy in the workplace has always been the task of labour, not management. In addition, the new industrial relations (mentioned above and discussed further on) is more than just a response to an economic crisis. It is also a response by the economic and political elites to social disintegration. There is a need to eradicate all internal conflicts, “and nowhere is that more important to political and economic elites than in the workplace, the cradle of productivity and profits” (Wells, 1987, p. 9). To eradicate these internal conflicts means to remove worker resistance, individual or collective. Thus, QWL promotes both economic competitiveness and democracy in the workplace, because democracy translates into less worker resistance.

What Wells (1987) study shows however is that QWL only moves further away from democracy into a realm of increased management control:

The history of modern management is a history of increasing management control through masking management power, and QWL is the latest disguise. Instead of embedding control in the technology of production (as Henry Ford did with his assembly line), or in impersonal bureaucratic rules... (as in the modern union contract), QWL attempts to hide the supervisor in the worker’s head. To the extent that management is able to implant its own ideology among workers, QWL represents the furthest management has reached along the frontier of control in the workplace – the battle for workers’ minds (p. 10).

2.3. A Brief History of Industrial Psychology’s Managerial Ideologies

At this point it may be useful to have a brief history of Industrial Psychology to the point at which QWL emerged as the new organisation rhetoric, or ideology.

Frederick Winslow Taylor was primarily interested in removing all inefficiency from the workplace, and he targeted his efforts toward the manual worker, aiming to increase their productivity and reduce their judgment. Taylor believed that scientific management would result in happier, more productive workers. His approach was however found to be inconsistent with human needs. Marx’s conception of the alienation of the worker accurately

describes scientific management. Marx states that alienation is caused by the work being “external to the worker... he does not fulfil himself in his work but denies himself... does not develop freely his mental and physical energies but is... mentally debased” (Beder, 2000, p. 96). Rose (1999) adds: “Workers work because they have to, they work at the behest of others in a process they do not control... Work is made up... of obedience, self-denial, and deferred gratification” (p. 56). The Human Relations approach, now synonymous with the name Elton Mayo, was seen as an alternative to scientific management, and was essentially about being nice to workers on the assumptions that “a certain style... of supervision and of reaching decisions with subordinates... will greatly increase the morale and satisfaction of workers”, and that the “more satisfied a worker is (e.g., in his social relations with his work group) the harder he will work” (Beder, 2000, p. 102). According to Isaacs, Bobat and Bradbury (2004), this approach emphasised: industrial democracy, employee participation that would increase motivation and decrease resistance, “fostering a greater sense of involvement and belonging for workers, and providing workers with opportunities to grow and develop” (p. 15). The approach was given recognition after the Hawthorn Studies in the 1920s, and the strains of QWL are already evident here. Mayo despised competitiveness, conflict and/or disagreement. He asserted that when workers cooperate with management in order to fulfil managerial objectives such as increased efficiency and productivity, then it would increase their self-fulfilment. On the other hand, participation in trade union activities, for the worker’s own objectives, is not viewed as the same. In other words, Mayo’s writings “are open to the interpretation that the cooperation of workers with management is ‘socially healthy’, while cooperation among workers for ends of their own is not” (Bendix & Fisher, 1949, p. 316). In this way, both human relations and scientific management were management ideologies; they adopted a managerial perspective in their attempt to increase the cooperation of workers in order to attain the goals of management (Beder, 2000). Rose (1999) argues that in the end, it is always the manager who is exercising power and influence upon the workers, that is, there is always some form of domination and control present.

The new visions and versions of organisations were adopted to make workers satisfied so that they may be more productive and efficient and so that profits will increase for the organisation. According to Rose (1999), it was then that the idea of the subjectivity of the worker emerged, and the need to understand, regulate and explore this subjectivity became of utmost importance. In other words, the worker emerged as a ‘tool’ whose body and soul needed to be manipulated, fixed in space and time in order to be made efficient and

productive, thereby increasing the profits of the organisation. The notion of exerting control and power through the manipulation of bodies in time and space was more clearly elaborated on by Foucault (1977), and will be discussed further on. Psychology or more specifically, Industrial Psychology, was one of the disciplines that decided this, increasing the need for the field. As Rose (1999) states, when management became “dependent upon an objective knowledge, a scientific expertise and a rational technology of the personal and interpersonal” (p. 56), it was then that Industrial/Occupational Psychology was born.

2.4. Emergence of QWL: Transforming the Worker, Thought, Practice and Ideology

The Industrial Psychology of Charles Myers, the Human Relations of Elton Mayo, and today’s contemporary movements of quality of working life and quality circles (QCs) has/ve presented themselves with the same language: liberal, democratic and egalitarian conversions of the activity of production. Critics however, have dismissed this language as insincere and politically naive as it disregards power and financial inequalities in the activity of production and as simply an effort to justify self-interests of the ‘experts in work’. Rose (1999) captures this:

Whatever their professed concerns, the psychologists of organisations and occupations have colluded in the invention of more subtle ways of adjusting the worker, based upon the happy but not altogether innocent illusion that industrial discontent, strikes, absenteeism, low productivity and so forth do not derive from fundamental conflict of interest but from ameliorable properties of the psychological relations of the factory. The apparent discovery of a fortunate coincidence between personal contentment of the worker and maximum efficiency and profitability for the boss is merely yet another dissimulation of the fundamental conflict between capital and labour (p. 58).

Thus, by focusing on theories and methods that would offer pragmatic and profitable solutions for managers, the psychological knowledge of production has predictably assumed a managerial perspective. In other words, the authority and symbolism of scientific knowledge and language has assisted in continuously legitimising hierarchies of power in the organisation, and conditions and relations of production. However, they do more than just that; their goals are more far-reaching. This managerial thought and psychological knowledge have a major role in the creation of new images and methods that align the organisation with cultural values, social expectations, political concerns and professional aspirations: “The new

ways of relating the feelings and wishes of individual employees to the fate of the enterprise are key elements in the fabrication of new languages and techniques to bind the worker into the productive life of society” (Rose, 1999, p. 60).

Rose (1999) also states: “The changes in the conception, organisation and regulation of work and the worker... involve relations between many aspects of thought and practice” (p. 60). That is, the history of work and society that has impacted on the worker and the nature of work has changed with different movements and conceptions of work and the worker, for example, “the elaboration of an expertise of management [and] innovations... to incorporate the human resources of the enterprise” (Rose, 1990, p. 60). Rose (1999) views all these changes from the perspective of the worker, and Industrial Psychology (IP) played a critical role in each change. Once the image of the citizen was transformed to a ‘choosing self’, a consumer, a new image of the productive subject came about, one in which the worker is not an economic actor seeking financial advantage nor a social actor pursuing the satisfaction of security and solidarity needs, but one in which the worker “is an individual in search of meaning, responsibility, a sense of personal achievement, a maximised ‘quality of life’, and hence of work” (Rose, 1999, p. 104). Thus, the individual need not be emancipated *from* work but needs to be fulfilled *in* work. The reformers of work came to the familiar conclusion that work could be transformed and managed so that it assists the individual in attaining self-fulfilment and self-actualisation. Hence, as with other projects of reform, work could now be redesigned in line with the worker’s subjectivity so that, at the same time as the psychological needs and strivings of the workers are met, so would efficiency, productivity, quality and innovation be improved: “A new psychology of work, and the worker, a new set of psychological doctrines for managers, and a new breed of psychological consultants to the enterprise would burgeon in the attempt to forge a link between the new imperatives of production and the new mentalities of the employee” (Rose, 1990, p. 104).

The increased concern with managing the productive subject had two ideologically opposed but conceptually compatible dimensions. The first concerned the reactivation of the Tavistock-transformed project of human relations. This led to a new and self-consciously progressive politics of the workplace, what was known as the ‘humanisation of work’, or ‘improving the quality of working life’. The second dimension formed around a notion of a psychological employee as a self-actualising ego whose personal struggles could be built into the organisation. This was advanced as a new management doctrine called ‘the management

of excellence' (Rose, 1999). There was an increased concern of the negative consequences that alienation at work would have on the political and social sphere. There was also a picture of advanced technology that while it would destroy jobs and make workers subordinate to machines, it would also create a break from repetitive and uncreative work. Underlying these were humanistic objectives. According to Rose (1999): "These certainly stressed the virtues of social solidarity provided through work. But they sought to align these with a new image of the employee as a unique individual seeking a personal meaning and purpose in the activity of labour" (p. 105).

This new 'movement' called itself 'Quality of Working Life' or 'QWL' and its goal was simply to humanise work. Its' values were similar to previous movements like Human Relations: security, equity, individuation and democracy. Its' language however, was revolutionary. Those who supported and promoted QWL believed that these values would only be realised through the restructuring of social, political, economic and technical arrangements. Security for the worker was legal rights that would remove their 'damaging anxieties' in terms of income, health, and employment. Equity would mean the removal of unjust hierarchies and income differentials in the organisation. Individuation meant respect for individual workers through the redesigning of work to increase autonomy and to give workers meaning by allowing them to control their own work. Democracy was arrangements that included participative management, workers' control and self-management. But those who supported QWL also emphasised that QWL would improve productivity, efficiency, flexibility, quality and related goals. Hence, as Rose (1999) states: "The optimised autonomous subjectivity of the worker was to be the keystone in an arch spanning the protection of the social fabric and the revitalisation of economic life at the one end and the reconstruction of the minutiae of technical, financial and power relations in the workplace on the other" (p. 106).

2.5. Managerial Ideology and Types of Control

Two important notions were drawn on in the above section: (1) managerial ideology and forms of control, and (2) psychology, or rather Industrial Psychology (IP), at the service of the dominant status quo.

Managerial ideology has always been central to the control of workers. Barley and Kunda (1992) state that managerial theories may be thought of as rhetorics or ideologies,

defining ideology as a “discourse that promulgates, however unwittingly, a set of assumptions about the nature of the objects with which it deals. In this sense, all theories have an ideological component, since all theorists must adopt some ontological stance in order to proceed with their work” (p. 363). In managerial theories, the targets for rhetorical construction are managers and employees, and how the former can direct and control the latter. Historically, the development of managerial thought may be described as a succession of phases – a classification of compliance and control (Barley & Kunda, 1992). In the first phase managerial discourse aimed to legitimise coercive shopfloor systems. This ended in the 1800s. The rhetoric of this phase defended their harsh discipline and violence threats by applying the individual ethic of success. The second phase was brought about by an upsurge of mass production and corporate consolidations and was characterised by utilitarian rhetorics. This phase of management discourse was dictated by rational theories of management and peaked with the work of Frederick Taylor. The workforce was controlled by drawing on worker’s self-interest and by reshuffling production processes. The third phase commenced at the start of the Depression. Managerial discourse here highlighted normative control, that is, the belief that workers could be more successfully regulated by appealing to their thoughts and emotions, instead of only their behaviour. If the hearts and minds of workers were won then managers would attain the most subtle control, that is, moral authority: “The recent explosion of interest in schemes for increasing employee loyalty and commitment are often read as evidence for the continuing vitality of the normative orientation that began with the human relations movement” (Barley & Kunda, 1992, p. 364). Historically though, ideologies have not played out linearly, they have alternated between rational and normative control. Nevertheless, some type of ideology has always been present in managerial discourse. We will focus on the final, present era because QWL is encompassed within it:

The succession of managerial ideologies since the 1870s		
Ideology	Era of ascent	Tenor
Industrial betterment	1870-1900	Normative
Scientific management	1900-1923	Rational
Human relations	1923-1955	Normative
Systems rationalism	1955-1980	Rational
Organisational culture	1980-present	Normative

Table 1: Managerial ideologies (*From* Barley, S.R. & Kunda, G. (1992). Design and devotion: Surges of rational and normative ideologies of control in managerial discourse. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 37, 363-399).

Organisational culture and quality, 1980-present.

Surge.

During the human relations era, organisational climate and culture was occasionally hinted at. However, it was only in the late 1970s that an idea of culture being profitable was considered. This idea came into managerial discourse through two ways (Barley & Kunda, 1992). The first way was through theorists who encouraged a different paradigm for organisational analysis and argued that organisations may be regarded as socially constructed systems of meaning. The second way was more influential and was through applied researchers and consultants that wrote mainly for practitioners. The latter's assertion was more practical: they argued that if managers paid attention to the meaning of leadership and to their employees' values then it would boost the organisation's competitiveness. They used the example of Japan's industrial rise to support their position. Japan's rise was linked to their organisations' capacity to rouse commitment without having to give up flexibility or performance. It was suggested that organisations would go a long way if they followed the Japanese in creating 'strong' organisational cultures of flexibility, quality and service.

It was in 1982 that the interest in organisational culture really peaked, with many business magazines featuring stories on organisational culture as well as the commercial success of similar books. By mid 1985, the practitioner-oriented view was widespread, even amongst academics. By the 1990s culture and commitment became interlinked with other efforts to give a new life to organisations, such as 'Total Quality Management' and 'World Class Manufacturing'. Barley and Kunda (1992) state: "Quality was seen as the product of a state of -mind that required a revolution in the way both managers and workers viewed their jobs. Commitment was to quality as calculation was to efficiency" (p. 381). The movement from systems rationalism to organisational culture is further evidenced by many managers who wrote about culture change in their organisations, by studies that point to conscious attempts to make corporate culture part of organisational life, and by the increased frequency of published articles on corporate culture (commitment, employee motivation, organisational loyalty, teamwork, culture, and morale). Clearly, QWL fits into the above; it encompasses the notion of organisational culture and quality.

Rhetoric.

The ideology of systems rationalism had sacrificed moral authority, flexibility, quality and social integrity to streamline production, but their system of tight controls was not sufficient in an increasingly turbulent time. Rationality declined as the costs of profitability began to overpower benefits. Organisational culture's first tenet derived from this decline:

Economic performance in turbulent environments requires the commitment of employees who make no distinction between their own welfare and the welfare of the firm. Texts on culture argued that 'unity' and 'loyalty', the primary attributes of 'strong' cultures, could counteract the unintended consequences of rational design. Although shared beliefs and values might blur the boundaries between self and organisation, such commitment was said to imply no loss of individualism or autonomy. In fact, strong cultures were said to actually enhance autonomy, since well-socialised employees could be trusted to act in the organisation's best interest (Barley & Kunda, 1992, p. 382-383).

Proponents of the new ideology argued that strong cultures would alter organisations into 'collectives' – where employees had a strong sense of community. This gives workers feelings of pride and accomplishment at being part of something bigger.

The new ideology's second principle was that strong cultures can be intentionally planned and manipulated. Effective managers would not only be able to devise value-systems, but also be able to implant these values in the workers. Proponents recommended that managers force out unwelcome thoughts and feelings and replace them with emotions and desires that would be advantageous to the organisation. Naturally, values were not to be controlled and manipulated simply for its' own sake, leading to the third principle: "value conformity and emotional commitment would foster financial gain" (Barley & Kunda, 1992, p. 383). In other words, strong cultures would give the organisation economic and competitive advantage, through increasing the productivity and efficiency of the employees.

Normative control.

Normative control, whether through industrial betterment, human relations or organisational culture, creates an organisation of shared values and moral commitment. To do so, the boundary between managers and employees, and work and non-work was blurred. Because employees were in effect regarded as social beings, it was believed that they would

perform more efficiently when they were committed to certain values. Control in organisational culture revolves around shaping employees' emotions, identities, beliefs and attitudes. Normative ideologies emphasise the employees' relation to the organisation (Barley & Kunda, 1992). One could therefore argue that despite the era, management ideologies are always present and managers are always exercising some form of manipulation and control. Perlow (1998) states: "The intent is for workers to be driven by internal commitment, strong identification with company goals, and intrinsic satisfaction from work" (p. 329). In this way, workers are bound to be more productive, efficient, and profitable.

2.6. Psychology at the Service of the Status Quo

According to Prilleltensky (1994) the pro-management bias of IP is based on two interrelated premises: (1) industry as a class-conflict-free enterprise, and (2) IP as a science, with science being good for society, thus making IP good for society. *First*, the notion of conflict in organisations is most often viewed as psychological misunderstandings, ignoring power distribution, and regarding worker problems and militant workers as "misguided and maladjusted individuals" (p.138). Industrial relations is largely ignored in IP research and practice for two possible reasons: it is in IP's political and economic interests to preserve the status quo, and the belief in technical, over political, situations. Thus, class and politics is given little attention in conflict or in organisations. *Second*, the belief that science contributes to the good of society, and IP is a science, is often used to support its scientific research and knowledge. While the intention may have been to benefit all, the result has almost exclusively benefited the powerful. Like other domains of social science, IP adopts a technocratic doctrine that views and treats human problems as technical problems. Inequality, power and discrimination, for example, are not due to any injustice but may be better regarded as a lack of scientific progress. In this way, IP has become blind to the politics involved in production and the organisation. There has been irrefutable faith in the belief that science is good for society to the extent that the simple question – good for whom in society? – has rarely been asked. Shore (1982) states the vision of psychology advancing human welfare has been ignored, so that:

The mainstream of Industrial Psychology has traditionally laboured to promote employer welfare as its principal goal. While the single minded quest for efficiency / productivity / profitability inevitably encounters the obstruction of unions, it also results in a regard for workers – all workers, not just union

members – as little more than instrumentalities for achieving management objectives (p. 334).

In keeping with Prilleltensky (1994), IP can be said to uphold the status quo in three ways: (1) the personalisation of conflict, (2) the cooperative approach, and (3) the professionalisation of managerial decisions.

The personalisation of conflict.

When conflict arises in the organisation, employees are led to believe it is because of their own inadequacies, and employers provide counsellors for the “welfare” of employees, leading to workers blaming themselves, at the same time that management extricates itself “for whatever role it might have played in the workers’ difficulties in the first place” (Prilleltensky, 1994, p.142). For the money spent on counsellors, employers are doubly rewarded with productivity, passiveness and conformity. Once unions realised this impact of counselling, they opposed it, criticising it as ‘cow psychology’, or the attempt to get more out of workers by keeping them docile and tolerant. Hence, the move towards the cooperative approach.

The “cooperative” approach.

This approach uses a type of controlled influence described as ‘softened power’, which “decreases individuals’ experience of political impact on their lives and thought, promoting uncritical internalisation of prevailing ideologies and anesthetising persons to the ways in which they are being led, influenced or controlled” (Prilleltensky, 1994, p. 143). Two creative approaches were introduced: organisational development (OD), and quality of working life (QWL). OD uses interventions – such as reward systems, team building, and problem solving – that aim to increase organisational effectiveness. While it aims to be humanistic, it is not as impartial or caring as it claims to be. It ignores power relations and promotes conflict-free language. In addition, OD consultants enter companies as ‘management consultants’, thus lending “its ‘scientific support’ to keeping the prevailing distribution of power in industry” (p. 144). With OD, employers and employees are treated like equals, in this way employers gain cooperation and employees are subtly persuaded away from pursuing their own objectives. Prilleltensky (1994) states that QWL programmes are similar to OD programmes as they also increase participation of workers, and create higher levels of cooperation: “[B]oth OD and QWL interventions have promoted an approach

whereby control over workers is gained through cooperation. These techniques are refined versions of human manipulation” (p. 146).

Professionalisation of managerial decisions.

Finally, the professionalisation of managerial decisions diverts attention from politics and assists in maintaining the industrial status quo. When management bases its decisions on the expert advice of organisational and psychological science, they shift responsibility to science, which is presumed to be separated, impartial, and thus, fair, an idea repeatedly promoted by management and IP.

The epistemology of IP.

Islam & Zyphur (2006) state that the major journals of IP such as the Journal of Applied Psychology and Personnel Psychology have a highly applied focus and stress that not only is the application of IP of utmost importance, but the application to increasing organisational performance and profit. IP scholars have disregarded whether or not this is a good idea, as they continuously focus on improving testing procedures, increasing the validity of these and maximising profit and performance. A “management myopia” is the outcome and a direct result of the epistemology of IP. The problem is not about the issues that IP studies but the standpoint they adopt in relation to these, a standpoint which largely reflects a managerial bias. The management myopia is when research “assumes the position of management, informing decisions of management and worrying about management concerns” (Islam & Zyphur, 2006, p. 23). An example of this can be provided with job satisfaction where the main issue is to link satisfaction with performance. To study satisfaction of workers on its own, irrespective of whether or not it improves performance and productivity, is uncommon – or rather unheard of – in IP.

The epistemology of IP is based on the positivist belief that there is an external and objective reality that can be properly measured if objective and standardised instruments are used (Steffy & Grimes, 1992; Islam & Zyphur, 2006). IP uses ‘latent’ variables for measurement as these are thought to be real but not directly measurable, resulting in IP adopting a strong methodological focus. Quantification is used to support hypotheses and it is often overlooked that behind quantification lays an epistemological foundation. Islam and Zyphur (2006) argue that this epistemological choice of objectification and quantification is a

result of unquestioned political dynamics in IP, and that positivism helps maintain a managerial bias and top-down power relations.

Following from this, Islam and Zyphur (2006) suggest that in the attempt to create a critical perspective on IP, one should look at the social construction in IP and the field's ethical concerns. A construct is an idea or concept with a thorough definition. The field of IP is largely made up of widely agreed upon 'acceptable' constructs, as these are the only constructs that IP journals will take into account, thereby indicating the political nature of IP. Besides journals, there are other support mechanisms in place for the literature of IP, which means that IP is filling a social function. In other words, it does not exist only because it is objective but because of the many institutional mechanisms that are in place to support its existence. IP literature, the discursive space wherein IP reality is constructed by IP academic scholars, is largely focused on organisational application (in terms of increased performance and profit) and in this way acts as management 'agents'. That is, it is the academics that provide management with the tools "to legitimise power relations by discussing them in terms of scientific facts" (Islam & Zyphur, 2006, p. 26), and who further serve to disguise power relations. In return, the academics are rewarded by their theories being legitimised as being practical because of the role it plays within the organisation in terms of the contribution that it makes toward the success of the organisation.

The 'dark side' of organisations.

Like Islam and Zyphur (2006), Abel (2005) states that mainstream or traditional IP is generally concerned with maximising performance and increasing profits in organisations, taking a managerial bias, and inclining towards those who hold positions of power. However, while they have been preoccupied with this, a 'dark side' of organisational existence has emerged (Abel, 2005). Abel (2005) describes this 'dark side' as one that "stifles the individual, frustrates the attainment of certain desired social ends and threatens to distort many core values of democratic societies" (p. 496). Mainstream organisational theory or the 'dark side', according to Abel (2005), is based on concepts of determinism, generalisation, rationality, efficiency and productivity, and because of these they seek ways of separating the organisation from external factors that may disturb its functioning by removing behaviour that lead to such disturbances. In other words, there is a focus on ways in which "organisations might control managers, the productive capacity of employees and the impact of environmental variables" (p. 500). Mainstream theory has been instrumental in creating the

social knowledge that helps establish power relations thereby shaping societal norms, practices and behaviours. Still, even as they participate in this society, organisations are regarded as separate from it; this marginalisation is a direct result of individualism. The consequence of such individualism involves the pursuit “of whatever power is necessary to secure organisational interests... against whatever resistance is encountered from either their external environments or those that they employ... [Thus] a familiar concept of power as involving force, conflict and domination prevails” (Abel, 2005, p. 502).

Early movements such as scientific management and human relations depict different forms of this power, the former displaying a dominance-oriented approach focused on authoritarian, hierarchical control, while the latter used subtle and less dominant forms of control in terms of psychological manipulation, incentives and self-discipline. Thus, there was a movement from the traditional sense of power, to the expanded belief of the ability of power to operate ‘unseen’ (Abel, 2005). When power did not work as effectively in these ways, there was a move to systems and contingency organisational theories. Here is another expansion on the concept of power and how it may dominate, that is, organisational power here is “ultimately an attribute of total systems that locate power differentially in social roles” (Abel, 2005, p. 505).

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

3.1. Critical Theory

Bohman (2005) describes critical theory broadly (and narrowly) as providing “the descriptive and normative bases for social inquiry aimed at decreasing domination and increasing freedom in all their forms” (p. 1). A theory is critical only “to the extent that it seeks human emancipation” (Bohman, 2005, p. 1), and in its need to abolish social injustice (Hoy & McCarthy, 1994). Many critical theories have been developed over time in response to varying social movements. Horkheimer (1937), for example, describes a critical theory of society as “a theory dominated at every turn by a concern for reasonable conditions of life” (p. 199). He also states that there is an inhumanity which pervades society and social institutions, with the goal of critical theory being the “idea of a reasonable organisation of society that will meet the needs of the whole community” (p. 213). Marcuse describes critical theory as being concerned with man’s potential, and with a person’s freedom, happiness and rights. In addition, only when material conditions of existence are transformed, then only will the human relations as a whole be liberated (Bohman, 2005; Geuss, 1981). There are two major schools of critical theory: the Frankfurt school (Marcuse, Horkheimer, Adorno) and the contemporary critical theory of Jurgen Habermas.

Some characteristics of critical theories are as follows. These characteristics also describe why critical theory is useful for this research problem. Geuss (1981) states that the aim of critical theory is emancipation and enlightenment, so that one is put “in a position to determine where true interests lie” (p. 55). Prilleltensky (1994) essentially argues that QWL is a managerial ideology that manipulates workers to reflect managerial goals; it is not focused on the betterment of the individuals’ position within the organisation. Critical theory is also ‘reflective’ or ‘self-referential’: “a critical theory is always a part of the object-domain which it describes; critical theories are always in part about themselves” (Geuss, 1981, p. 55). Critical theory is about the criticism of existing modes and approaches that are “colonising everyday life, robbing individuals of freedom and individuality by imposing technological imperatives, rules, and structures upon their thought and behaviour” (Marcuse, 1991, p. xiv). Thus, critical theory critiques existing practices from different modes of thought and behaviour. Finally, Held (1980) states that a critique of ideology is an essential part of critical theory. According to critical theorists, ideology is a part of the current state of affairs and knowledge; ideologies are not illusion but are exemplified and

revealed in social relations, they conceal social contradictions and they express modes of existence. Thus, ideologies are symbols, ideas, theories and practices through which people experience their world. Critical theory “aims to expose and thematise contradictions between society’s performance and legitimating ideologies” (Held, 1980, p. 186).

Steffy and Grimes (1986) state that critical theory has two aims. The first is that it includes a critique of ideology, of the cult of ‘scientism’ in both method and theory. This means the acceptance of the fact that knowledge is controlled by science, and can be clarified by examining scientific procedure. In organisations, because of the reliance on technical and scientific reasoning, other forms of reasoning (such as political) are ignored, thus ignoring communication and democratic processes. Scientism also reduces individuals’ ability for ‘organising actions’ for their own objectives. To counteract this effect, the authors assert that organisation science “incorporates an analysis of the ontological, epistemological, and methodological assumptions underlying research. Such an analysis argues against dominating forms of reason” (p. 326). The second aim is the development of an organisation science that changes organisational processes. When conducting research, the denial of any motivational interest should be instead replaced by stating that “its purpose is to minimise the ‘objectification’ of organisational actors” (p. 326). This requires an interaction among research, theory, practice and organisation members.

3.2. Critical Theory and Social Science

According to Alvesson and Willmott (1992), critical theorists assert that social science can and should play a part in releasing people from restrictive traditions, ideologies, assumptions, power relations, identity formations and the like. That is, social science should liberate people from all things that prevent their autonomy and that prevent them from attaining their needs and desires, and therefore greater, permanent satisfaction:

“Central to CT is the emancipatory potential of reason to reflect critically on how the reality of the social world, including the construction of the self, is socially produced and, therefore, is open to transformation... CT enables researchers to reflect critically upon their scientific credentials and practical limits... Uncritical acceptance of behavioural scientists’ understanding of human needs, critical theorists suggest, amounts to the development of a new dogma that preserves conditions of work that deny or place socially unnecessary restrictions on processes of self-determination.” (p. 435-436)

Critical theory tends to reject organisation/management theory on the basis that it communicates technocratic thinking that aims to manipulate human potential and desire so that a ‘falsely naturalised’ status quo may be preserved. Management theorists are often criticised for neglecting to recognise that existing work processes have a historical and socially constructed nature. In addition, they also tend to regard the individual employees’ needs – for money, security, and self-actualisation – as being essential to human nature, instead of seeing these needs as being an expression of the structure of social reality that constructs and interprets employee’s needs (Alvesson & Willmott, 1992). Simply put, individual employees’ needs are constructed by their social reality, and are thus imposed upon them as being what they ‘need’. Alvesson and Willmott (1992) states: “Given its attack upon established conceptions of science, policy and practice, it is not surprising that critical theory has itself been marginalised by mainstream theorists and practitioners” (p. 437). Critical theory is believed to have a ‘holier-than-thou’ attitude, but in spite of this, the authors believe that the link between science and emancipation must be emphasised, as well as pointing out how this link is weakened or even completely lost in the management sciences.

3.3. Critical Theory and Control

Jermier (1998) states: “Although organisational theorists have long acknowledged that processes of control are integral to the way organisations operate, there are reasons to believe that we have entered a new age in which the forms of control being used are more insidious and widely misunderstood” (p. 235). The author does not mention QWL per se; rather he refers to technological changes, managerial innovations and organisational experiments. He suggests that the above, among which QWL can easily fit, are ‘fads’ that are only so popular because they seem to be more humanistic, in that “they disguise control in the rhetoric of emancipation” (Jermier, 1998, p. 235). This new control however, is more ‘thorough’. In order to identify and reflect critically on these new forms of control, Jermier (1998) believes that critical theory can be particularly useful in that it is powerful and effective in forcing out abusive control, in contesting controlling forces, and in finding major alternatives. Critical theory implies a very specific approach to the analysis of social relation and necessitates the scrutiny of structures of control in society as well as the political implications of academia. Two classic and interrelated subjects of critical theory are (a) the misuse of power, resulting in mistreatment of individuals and groups, and (b) a validation for aligning science with the interests of those who have been mistreated.

3.3.1. Mistreatment

Jermier (1998) states: “Critical theorists maintain that in stratified and divided societies, more powerful groups and individuals reap the benefits of participating in processes through which less powerful people and the natural environment are mistreated” (p. 236). Contemporary critical theory associate mistreatment with oppression and social injustice. Mistreatment can be obvious, such as when it results in physical pain and suffering. In contrast, mistreatment may be when a certain culture (within society or an organisation, for example) encourages practices and systems of belief that reduce people’s recognition of being deprived, thereby creating an environment that promotes contentment and stability without the actual material and structural inequalities having been changed at all. In such cultures, the mistreated or subjugated group will understand the mistreatment as being normal, expected and unavoidable. The latter are the new, subtle forms of control, as predicted by Marcuse (1991): “A comfortable, smooth, reasonable, democratic unfreedom prevails in advanced industrial civilisation” (p. 3).

3.3.2. Critical epistemology

According to critical theorists, there is no form of knowledge that is neutral. Science therefore is an essential part of society and cannot be separated from struggles for control. Such struggles influence scientific activity thereby influencing how the struggles develop. Critical theorists assert that social scientists, even though they may declare their neutrality, objectivity and aim to serve society at large, uphold interests and take sides on significant issues. The above position points to the difference between mainstream and critical theory: while mainstream theory assists in social reproduction, critical theory knowingly aims to challenge it. Contemporary critical theory adopts Horkheimer’s view and highlights three things: “(1) describing and criticising exploitation, oppression and social injustice, (2) the impossibility of a disinterested social science, and (3) the desirability of uniting theory with struggles for social change” (Jermier, 1998, p. 239).

3.4. Herbert Marcuse

Herbert Marcuse’s critical theory (of society), while being the most well-known of the Frankfurt critical theorists, was the least understood and was hardly fully comprehended (Abromeit & Cobb, 2004). Marcuse’s critical theory of society is both theoretical and practical, and is oriented “toward the understanding of all forms of social practice and the

factors which hinder their self-consciousness and free development... [and] with both preventing the loss of truths which past knowledge laboured to attain and the critique of current conditions and the analysis of their tendencies” (Held, 1980, p. 224). In an investigation of society’s structure inherent in all social phenomena, in all facts and conditions thereby establishing their place and function, its’ aim is to show that society’s structure is made up of unrealised potentialities that create a gap between the reality of human existence and human essence, or the unrealised abilities and capacities of human beings. The gap can be understood by studying social struggles, concepts that challenge the dominant use of language, and desires which show frustration with the current state of things as well as longing, in other words by studying all that exists in opposition to the established order. Marcuse defends a rationalist, critical approach to society that subjects society to a theoretical and practical, positive and negative critique. It has two guidelines:

First, the given situation of man as a rational organism, i.e. one that has the potentiality of freely determining and shaping his own existence, directed by the process of knowledge and with regard to his worldly happiness; second, the given level of development of the productive forces and the (corresponding or conflicting) relations of production as the criterion for those potentialities that can be realised at any given time in men’s rational structuring of society (Marcuse, 2009, p. 9).

Marcuse’s critical theory emphasised human values such as freedom and aimed to commit his critical theory to envisage how such values may actually be realised in social life.

Held (1980) states that Marcuse’s work discusses a number of forces that together will result in a greater control and management of the capitalist workplace and economy. These are as follows. First, Marcuse observed that there is an outstanding development of productive forces that stems from the strength of capital and financial control, drastic changes in science and technology, a tendency to mechanisation and automation, an increased productivity and surplus value, and the accelerated transformation of management into administration and greater private bureaucracies. Second, he stressed the rising control of free competition, which is a direct result of state intervention that promotes the economy, the linking of a nation’s economy to a worldwide monetary network, and the growth of a public bureaucracy. Third, he mentioned changes in social structure with regards to occupational structure and consumption patterns. To summarise, “Marcuse felt that the prevailing trends in

society were leading to the establishment of a technical apparatus which threatened to engulf public and private existence” (Held, 1980, p. 74).

Marcuse’s (1991) analysis, in *One Dimensional Man*, discusses how the ‘one-dimensional man’ is losing or has already lost their individuality, freedom and the power to dispute and control their own destiny. As Kellner (1984) states:

The ‘private space’, the dimension of negation and individuality, in which one may become and remain a self, is being whittled away by a society which shapes aspirations, hopes, fears, and values, even manipulating vital needs... [T]he price that one-dimensional man pays for its’ satisfactions is surrender of its’ freedom and individuality (p. 236)

By losing their individuality, they lose their freedom, which entails knowledge, will and power. Thus, they do not know their true needs and wants, because it is no longer their own, these are administered and superimposed; they are incapable of resisting domination and acting autonomously, because they associate with public behaviour and emulate and surrender to the powers; and finally by lacking authentic self-activity, man yields to increasingly total domination (Kellner, 1984).

Chapter 4: Conceptual Framework

Human societies tend to be structured as group-based hierarchies in which dominant groups possess a disproportionately large share of positive social value such as political authority, power, wealth, and social status, whereas the subordinate groups possess a disproportionately larger share of negative social values including low power... Attempts to create social justice, then, are almost inherently linked to enacting social changes that would redistribute social values. Social change, however, is invariably met with resistance. The default ideological position is conservative and status quo maintaining (O'Brien & Crandall, 2005, p. 1).

4.1. Ideology

Ideology is a type of social influence. There are two types of social influence: extensive and pervasive processes of influence, and influence due to a real or imagined presence of a person/s. Although ideology involves both types, it is an example of the former, as it is basically a society-wide phenomenon that represents us as social beings. However, definitions of social influence do not do justice to the concept of ideology. According to Foster and Louw-Potgieter (1991), ideology has been described as “the most elusive concept in... social science” and “an essentially contested concept” (p. 348). This concept has a history of about 200 years, which increases its’ complexity, as the meanings of it has varied over the different contexts.

The two most familiar views of ideology are the critical and neutral views. Marx and Engels conception of ideology is a *critical* one, in that it relates ideology with idealism and believes that ideology sustains the existing power relations in society by supporting the uneven distribution of resources and power. Ideology thus has a ‘motivational flavour’, that orientates itself either with or against or social system, thereby providing an ‘illusion’ by which a system – or even a society – is able to rationalise itself (Jost, Nosek & Gosling, 2008). The *neutral*, or descriptive, conception of ideology refers to it as any system of thoughts, beliefs, attitudes or values, shared among a particular group, and can be applied to a controlled set of values, such as Marxism, liberalism, conservatism or a religious doctrine. This type of ideology is value-neutral, and is generally depicted by stability, logic, sophistication and consistency. According to Jost et al. (2008), the latter has led to “a dead-

end in social scientific scholarship” (p. 127), while there has been renewed interest in the former through theories such as system-justification and social-dominance, which “address the manner in which consensually endorsed system-justifying ideologies (or legitimising myths) contribute to the stability of oppressive and hierarchically organised social relations among groups” (p. 127). A critical conception of ideology is thus oriented toward particular social systems in terms of affirming and supporting the status quo, or by opposing it, otherwise known as the ‘right’ and the ‘left’. The two dimensions of left-right have remained stable over time, giving coherency to and guiding political action. With regard to the left-right ideology dimensions, Bobbio (1996) states:

“‘Left’ and ‘right’ are not just ideologies... they indicate opposing programs in relation to many problems whose solution is part of everyday political activity. These contrasts concern not only ideas, but also interests and judgements on which direction society should be moving in; they exist in all societies” (p. 3).

Thus, the term – ideology – has different meanings and is a result of “residues of historical scholarship and of actual social struggles” (Foster & Louw-Potgieter, 1991, p. 350). Since the 1960s, the concept has been widely disputed and discussed, resulting to its’ development in five ways. First, ideology was considered to refer to material practice, instead of ideas. Second, ideology made individuals subjects: subjectivity was created by ideology, so individuals could act within social structures. Third, a link has been established between ideology and language (or signification). This particular development is of great importance in critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2010). Fourth, individuals are now seen as more active, rather than passive agents. Finally, it has been realised that ideology has to be broadened to encompass patriarchy and racism as specific ideologies.

There are also specific theories of ideology. Some of those with a more social psychological focus are: the classical Marxist view, Therborn’s, and J.B. Thompson’s. According to Marx and Engels, social reality is contradictory: humans are not the masters of social structures, but are controlled by them. In ideology, this is reversed: human actions are the result of their own choice. Ideology becomes “a solution in consciousness of contradictions that cannot be solved in practice” (Foster & Louw-Potgieter, 1991, p. 351). As a specific and limited form of consciousness, ideology has two traits: it masks social contradictions, and it does so in the interests of the dominant class. With this view, ideology

changes as the contradictions change – it is historical. But, class-oriented thought must conceal contradictions to be ideological. Ideology does this in four ways: denial, misunderstanding, displacement, and dilution of contradictions. According to Therborn, ideology is not only social cement (subjection); it is also a prompt to conscious social action (qualification). Ideologies give people three lines of defence by allowing them to see: what exists or not, what is good and right and its' opposite, what is possible or impossible. In relation to this, there are six modes of ideological domination: accommodation, sense of representation, fear, sense of inevitability, deference and resignation. Ideologies can be set along two dimensions of subjectivity: “being”, existential and historical, and “in-the-world”, inclusive and positional. Thus, ideologies can be part of more than one dimension, are not reduced to class ideologies, and intersect and interrelate with others. He stresses that ideology is an ‘ongoing social process’, never static but competing and conflicting.

JB Thompson resists ideology as social cement or false consciousness, as he believes ideology functions through language or signification, which is real. Ideology involves ways in which language maintains relations of domination. He focuses on three ways: legitimation, dissimulation and reification. Ideology is concerned with language, as language is the medium of meaning, and meaning, although unfixed, is permeated by power. In this way, language lends itself “freely to the operations of ideology” (Foster & Louw-Potgieter, 1991, p. 359). Integrating the above, one can say: ideology is defined by the way it sustains relations of power and domination, it is a social process made up of a social reality, it involves signification and representation, helps create human subjectivity, is historical but can be reproduced, it is dynamic, ever-changing, it contradicts and supports, and is closely related to material practice. Ideology is not just a system of beliefs or ideas, or false consciousness; it also has a powerful emotional component.

4.1.1. Ideology and psychology.

Prilleltensky (1989) states that the “ideology of modern society regards psychological science as one of its more precious instruments” (p. 796), and attributes this to two central reasons: the first can be found within the structure of psychology and the second has a more subtle, circumstantial nature. *Structurally*, there is a persistent dichotomy between the individual and society found in psychology. This dichotomy has the ideological benefit of the individual being studied asocially and ahistorically. That is, the individual’s life is regarded as separate from the broader socio-political context. As a

result, solutions to human problems are not to be found in the broader context, but rather within individuals themselves, thus leaving the social order unchanged. There has been a general tendency by all people – psychologist or not – to consider all human issues in a psychological way. Although this tendency is hard to avoid, it frequently leads to oversimplification. Circumstantially, psychology's support of the dominant ideology may be found in existing governmental policies and in the advancement of cultural beliefs. Actions carried out by psychological science have been used to promote social beliefs that were not always about human welfare. Examples of psychology supporting political thought are the testing movement and social Darwinism. In addition, by disseminating values such as individualism, male supremacy, political conformity, and technology's capacity to solve human problems, psychology has been influential in sustaining the dominant ideology (Prilleltensky, 1989).

In addition to this, psychology's consistent claim that its' efforts are free of any values, its tendency to portray itself as value-neutral, has many ideological functions. The first is that it has the power to depict psychology as depoliticised thereby using it to propagate the dominant ideology: "Psychology has shown a clear bias in supporting the interests of the powerful and the status quo, many times in the name of scientific objectivity" (Prilleltensky, 1989, p. 797). Because of its claim of objectivity, psychology's prescriptive biases are often incorrectly interpreted as descriptive statements of human behaviour. However, because value commitments are unavoidable and psychologists – as social actors – cannot disentangle themselves from values, it is unlikely psychologists are able to simply describe what is there without subtly prescribing what they believe to be desirable. What they regard as desirable though is often in line with dominant ideologies. Prilleltensky (1989) identifies the second ideological function as follows: "The value-neutral idea predisposes the public to accept psychology's assertions uncritically and to regard them as apolitical truisms rather than socio-historically conditioned statements" (p. 797). However, this is not only because of socio-political interest but also because of the hegemony of the positivist scientific paradigm. The power that ideological interests exercised in the development of positivism, once established, used the idea of a value-neutral psychology to enhance ideological goals.

Lane (1999) makes the following statement: “It became clear that psychology was an ideological science” (p368). Together with psychologists like Bruno, Moscovici, Israel, Tajfel and others, in an engagement with psychology’s key concepts such as motivation, attitudes, social perceptions, small groups and socialisation, it was found that ideology was clearly present in the experiments of the above phenomena, even though such phenomena were believed to be ‘natural facts’. Furthermore, human beings became fragmented through the use of such concepts and theories, with the possibility of unifying them becoming vague. In developing a critical view of psychology, psychologists found that three interrelated concepts were crucial: language, social representations, and ideology (Lane, 1999). First, language is essential because it is instrumental in human being’s development, it allows for the creation of abstractions that move people out of particular times and spaces as well as allowing us to build culture, history, and humankind. Second, social representations are then a natural outcome of the expression of words, meanings, sounds and ideas. Through the use of words, representations of the surrounding world can be constructed. Although language assumes the existence of words and meanings, it is only in a social group or in social relationships that the meaning of a specific sound or word is determined. Thus, if a social group determines the meaning of words, the nature of the relationships that make up that group needs to be understood, that is, the differences that exist between group members as well as the presence of authorities and subalterns needs to be understood. Lane (1999) states: “These differences are a function of the power of individuals, and, in turn, of those who have the power to be able to determine the meaning of the words. Power, words, social representations and values – good or bad, nice or ugly, useful or useless, glad or sad—are interrelated as part of a complex process of *ideology*” (p. 369).

Furthermore, language and emotions have made possible the construction of cultures, histories and societies, and “this construction has been through the process of legitimating the powerful, dissimulating oppression, unifying peoples, and fragmenting our understanding of individual consciousness, reifying elements of experience as if they were natural ‘facts’, and privileging those ‘facts’ necessary to maintain the ‘status quo’” (Lane, 1999, p. 369). Social representations can then be defined as the verbalisations of a person’s conceptions of their surrounding world, in such verbalisations the presence of values and ideologies are evident. Thus, when using social representations to describe one’s world, society, institution or family, and to describe thoughts and feelings, one is inevitable repeating ideology. When

exchanging ideas and when using social representations, questions are not individual, rather they come out of the same social historical context. Lane (1999) states:

Ideology has the objective, at least in capitalist societies, of maintaining individualism and introducing as natural concepts the thought that society is built out of necessary and universal relations of authority and inferiority, of domination and submission, and through the establishment, as ‘natural’, of the competition of people against each other... [T]he relationship between authority and ideology, assum[es] as necessary the development of ideological references to justify and maintain the status quo (p. 372).

4.1.2. Ideology as system justification.

Stemming from Marxist accounts of ideology, a more critical view of ideology regards it as a way whereby relations of power, control and dominance are upheld in a society. Power and control are no longer being exercised overtly but are increasingly being exercised through covert and subtle ways. According to Augoustinos (1999), ideology is described as social cement that keeps capitalist social formations whole, regardless of the inherent presence of social and economic contradictions. In order to maintain social order, what is needed is the political, cultural and ideological hegemony of the dominant group(s) over the rest of society. This view of ideology, as espoused by Marx, critiques idealist views of consciousness, stating that consciousness – made up of ideas, beliefs and ideology – is not independent of circumstance, but is determined by the material and social conditions within a society. Ideology also has an illusory role: “Ideology is equated with false, mystifying or distorting knowledge which functions to conceal social conflicts by embodying ideas, values and language which justify existing social and economic inequalities” (Augoustinos, 1999, p. 298). However, according to this view, not all types of knowledge and ideas are ideological, aside from those that conceal contradictions and that function in the interests of the dominant group. Thus, Augoustinos (1999) states: “By concealing contradictions, and/or rationalising relations of dominance and subordination, ideology legitimates and reproduces inequitable social relations” (p. 298). Jost and Hunyady (2005) state that system justification theory asserts that “people are motivated to justify and rationalise the way things are, so that existing social, economic, and political arrangements tend to be perceived as fair and legitimate” (p. 260). Over the years many system-justifying ideologies have been identified – ideologies that people embrace to justify the status quo. Some of these are: meritocratic ideology, individual ability and motivation will be rewarded by the system; power distance, big power differences

are normal and legitimate, as is inequality; social dominance orientation, where group-based hierarchy is good; amongst others. Research has shown that because these systems correlate with each other in capitalist societies, “they may serve a similar ideological function, namely to legitimise existing social arrangements” (Jost & Hunyady, 2005, p. 299).

4.1.3. Ideology and language.

Larrain (1979) states that contemporary intellectual development is giving even more significance to studying language as a central phenomenon for understanding consciousness and social life. This thought was vaguely sketched by Marx a while ago who argued that because consciousness begins in social relations, in the need for communication and interaction with others, it has to be expressed in a tangible form so that other people can access it. Consciousness cannot be pure then because, as Marx stated, it was ‘burdened’ with levels of air and sounds, or, of language, making language practical consciousness. Marx though did not speak much more on the topic, but later a new relationship came about: “If language is a system of signs, then not only sounds or written texts, but also all meaningful social practices and cultural phenomena may constitute particular kinds of language” (Larrain, 1979, p. 130). According to Larrain (1979) it is for this reason that ideology is a critical phenomenon that must be studied in association with language, not because ideology is a type of language or because ideology it can be found in a specific discourse, but rather because it is a layer of meaning that is present in all types of discourses. Traditionally ideology overlooked language itself, choosing to focus on the aspects of ideology as present in the subject matter of the discourse. Now, Larrain (1979) states, the focus is on language itself,

[N]ot only in the sense that ideology is found in the use of language, that is, in the selection and combination of signs, but also in the sense that the material practices which are at the basis of ideology are construed as languages, as systems of signification. Hence, several attempts have been developed to study ideology which in one way or another take into account the linguistic significance of social practices and discourses (p. 130).

Dobles (1999) asserts that in order for ideology to be used to legitimise injustice, social inequality and discrimination, “it is not sufficient for certain ‘ideas’ to be appropriated by disadvantaged groups as ‘truths’, but rather... social ‘untruths’ (in the sense that they conceal or distort or legitimise basic social processes) must be reproduced in everyday behaviour” (p408). If this is the case, then it has to be accepted that socially and politically,

something that is not 'true' may still have a powerful effect. Ideology is a useful concept in that it points to the need to disentangle the injustices and legitimisation of the social system reproducing it.

4.2. Power

4.2.1. Foucault on power.

Foucault believed that power itself as a concept was largely ignored. To this effect, Foucault (as cited in Smart, 1985) states: "Who exercises power? And in what sphere? We should investigate... relays through which it operates and the extent of its influence on the often insignificant aspects of the hierarchy and the forms of control, surveillance, prohibition... [Power] is always exerted in a particular direction, with some people on one side and some on the other" (p. 73). Foucault's conceptualisation of power differed from the previous ones in three ways (Smart, 1985). First, he did not regard power as a possession or property of a dominant class or state, but rather as a strategy. Second, the domination connected with power does not come from the misuse and exploitation of a subject but from manoeuvres, tactics and techniques. Third, relations of power do not place obligations or prohibitions on the powerless; power is transmitted by and through them. Foucault viewed power not "as an institution nor a structure but a 'complex strategical situation', as a 'multiplicity of force relations', as simultaneously 'intentional' yet 'nonsubjective'" (p. 77). He took issue with 'economic' analyses of power that regarded power as a right, a possession, something to be transferred and alienated, and with the domination-repression concept of power because it ignored the productive and positive effects of power. Finally, Hook (2004) states that "previous critiques have lacked in historical contextualisation and have tended to occur in isolation from questions regarding the broader production of knowledge" (p. 211).

Foucault addresses the above critiques using two reference points: discourses of right that legitimate and delimit power, and effects of truth produced and transmitted by the power. Discourse of right have five provisions regarding the form, level, effect, direction and knowledge 'effect' of power (Smart, 1985; Mills, 2003). First, analyses of power should not only consider centralised and legitimated forms of power because power is not only present at these levels; analyses need to consider techniques of power in local, regional and material institutions. Second, analyses should not merely consider the possession and intention of

power, but the exercise, practice and effects of power and the complex processes that make subjects tools of objectification. Third, power is not a possession of an individual, group or class; it flows through the social body such that the individual becomes an effect of power, and is an expression of it. Fourth, while conventional analyses of power consider the macro level of power – how power of the state has dispersed on and affected the social order – Foucault focuses on a microphysics of power. His analysis considers histories, techniques and mechanisms that act on the body, social practices and institutions as rituals of power, production of docile bodies and souls, and the political and economic functions of it. Finally, the exercise of power leads to the creation and accumulation of knowledge.

4.2.2. Docile bodies: A pragmatic explanation of Foucault's position.

Foucault (1977) states about the body: “The classical age discovered the body as object and target of power. It is easy enough to find signs of the attention then paid to the body – to the body that is manipulated, shaped, trained, which obeys, responds, becomes skilful and increases its forces” (p. 136). Man-the-Machine, that is, the human being, can be distinguished simultaneously in two ways: on the one hand, there was the submission and use of the body and on the other hand, there was functioning and explanation. Thus, there was both a useful and an intelligible body. There was also the concept of ‘docility’ which joined both the intelligible and useful body: a docile body is one that may be transformed, used, subjected and improved. Foucault (1977) states that even though the body was always at the centre of investments, restrictions, obligations and powers, the new techniques of control were different in many ways. Firstly, the scale of control was different. There was no longer an interest in treating the body ‘wholesale’; rather there was now a focus on treating it ‘retail’, that is, individually: “of exercising upon it a subtle coercion, of obtaining holds upon it at the level of the mechanism itself – movements, gestures, attitudes, rapidity: an infinitesimal power over the active body” (p. 137). Second, the object of control has changed; it is no longer the behaviour or language of the body; the economy, efficiency of movements and internal organisation of the body now needed to be controlled. Finally, the approach of it changed – it became an endless coercion that managed the processes of the activity instead of the final result and the exercise of the control was according to a close analysis of space, time and movement. All these methods resulted in the accurate control of the operations of the body, guaranteed a continuous subjection of its’ forces thereby simultaneously imposing on them docility and utility, or what may be Foucault (1977) termed ‘disciplines’.

These disciplines were different from every type of discipline that came before them: slavery, service, caprice, ascetism, domination, and the like. This new type of 'discipline' was not only about increasing skills or strengthening subjection, it was about both: "the formation of a relation that in the mechanism itself makes it more obedient as it becomes more useful, and conversely" (Foucault, 1977, p. 138). The human body became an art, of which coercion was exerted upon it and its' elements, gestures and behaviours were to be manipulated. The human body also became a machine that was to be explored so that it may be broken down and rearranged. Hence, a 'political economy' or a 'mechanics of power' was created that delineated how a person could control others' bodies so that they would do what that person wishes as well as operate as that person wishes, according to the techniques, speed and efficiency that that person determines. As Foucault (1977) states:

Thus, discipline produces subjected and practiced bodies, 'docile' bodies. Discipline increases the forces of the body (in economic terms of utility) and diminishes these forces (in political terms of obedience). In short, it dissociates power from the body; on the one hand, it turns it into an 'aptitude', a 'capacity', which it seeks to increase; on the other hand, it reverses the course of the energy, the power that might result from it, and turns it into a relation of strict subjection (p. 138).

Ironically then, the new disciplinary methods have a dual advantage: with increased aptitude comes increased domination.

This political economy was not entirely new. It was found everywhere, scattered and overlapping, imitating and supporting one another. These techniques were used in secondary schools and moved to primary schools, they invaded hospitals and prisons, and reorganised the military. The adoption of such techniques was predominantly a response to needs that suddenly came about: industrial innovations, an outbreak of a disease, and new inventions. Eventually however, such techniques became general and essential transformations. These might have initially been minute and careful, but they were still significant. This was because they delineated a mode of accurate political investment in the body – a 'micro-physics' of power. Foucault (1977) described them as "small acts of cunning endowed with a greater power of diffusion, subtle arrangements, apparently innocent, but profoundly suspicious, mechanisms that obeyed economies too shameful to be acknowledged" (p. 139).

In an organisation, the administration of workers is one of most important tasks. To organise large groups of people and to distinguish between them – to rationally and efficiently control them – requires techniques that will facilitate the management of people as a whole. Thus, the management of employees necessitates a way of knowing, representing and ordering them and disciplines provide a means towards this (Townley, 1993). Discipline controls bodies, and creates out of this control four types of individuality, or an individuality that has four characteristics, it is: cellular, organic, genetic and combinatory.

1. Cellular - Spatial distributions.

Discipline begins with the distribution of individuals in space, and to do this it utilises many techniques, described by Foucault (1977) as follows:

1. Discipline necessitates *enclosure*: “the specification of a place heterogeneous to all others and closed in upon itself” (p. 141). This was essentially to maintain order, control and discipline. The aim of enclosure was to maximise advantages and minimise or neutralise inconveniences (thefts, interruptions, disturbances) and as production transformed, it was needed to protect the tools and master the labour force. Early forms of enclosure tended to be highly physical. Presently these have been modified, even though conceptual effects remain.

2. Enclosure however, is dispensable, and not sufficient nor constant. The technique of *partitioning* utilises space in a much more flexible and thorough way. Each individual has their place, and vice versa, so that disciplinary space is broken up into as many sections as there are bodies. The aim is to abolish imprecise distributions, uninhibited disappearance of people, and uncontrolled circulation, to eliminate anything that may affect concentration and productivity. Partitioning aided in pointing out presences and absences, to know where and how people are located, to be able at any moment to oversee conduct, to assess and judge it. This procedure was for knowing, mastering and using (Foucault, 1977). Partitioning also entails classification of workers (blue/white collar, manual/non-manual labour, core/periphery); this is essentially a political ordering of people (Townley, 1993).

3. Because partitioning was somewhat crude, *functional sites* came about. Places were not only about supervising and eliminating disturbances, but were also about creating a useful space. In the factory for example, distributing people, arranging machinery, and the different types of activity all needed to be brought together. The labour process then became expressed in two ways: according to its’ stages or activities and according to the individuals that carried

out these activities. In this way each variable of the workforce may be observed in line with strength, accuracy, promptness and skill. Spread out in a way that eliminates any confusion, supervision was both individual and general: the individual worker and the quality of their work; the comparison of workers with each other so that they may be divided according to skill and speed; and the different stages of the production process. Effectively then, the whole workforce is analysed in individual units, and the collective is divided and fragmented.

4. The unit being analysed is the *rank*: the place a person holds in a classification. Discipline is about rank and it individualises bodies by distributing them in relation to others. By allocating people places, it allows for the supervision of each individual as well as the supervision of all individuals at once. It permits hierarchies, order and reward allocations.

In organising ‘cells’, ‘places’ and ‘ranks’, the disciplines create complex spaces that are at once architectural, functional and hierarchical. It is spaces that provide fixed positions and permit circulation; they carve out individual segments and establish operational links; they mark places and indicate values; they guarantee the obedience of individuals... also a better economy of time and gesture (Foucault, 1977, p. 148).

Islam and Zyphur (2006) discuss Foucault’s argument that measurement and control, popular in IP, are powerful tools “because they reduce the potentially infinite complexity of social behaviour into discrete units that can be administered”, resulting in the transformation of “dynamic and complex human relations into discrete and measurable human ‘resources’” (p. 24). These discrete units can be manipulated in favour of the organisation without any ethical reservation. Within IP, objectification of workers is seen as essential in order to validate conceptual schemes, and as we have seen, Foucault views objectification in relation to the techniques of enclosure, partitioning and ranking (Islam & Zyphur, 2006). Townley (1993) further discusses the many systems in place to enclose, partition and rank workers. These include: job classifications, ranking and evaluation, reward systems, performance appraisal, skills inventories, psychological assessment, selection and placement, attitude measurements, and so on. All these techniques are, in essence, disciplines: “Disciplines characterise, classify, specialise; they distribute along a scale, around a norm, hierarchise individuals in relation to one another and, if necessary, disqualify and invalidate” (Foucault, 1977, p. 530).

2. Organic - Coding and control of activities.

The disciplinary control of activity has specific processes and behaviours (Foucault, 1977):

1. The *time table* – an old legacy – had three important functions: it put certain patterns into place, it enforced certain occupations, and it controlled cycles of repetition. The arrival of the disciplines altered this temporal regulation by refining them, giving a more exhaustive partitioning of time, as well as assuring the quality of time through constant pressure of supervision and the elimination of any disturbances. The features of disciplinary time was precision and application; time measured and paid must have no flaws and be a time of quality, where the body is continuously engaged in what it is meant to do.

2. *The temporal elaboration of the act.* This control of activity is more elaborate, it has more restraints and a greater degree of accuracy in its' gestures and movements, it is yet another way to adjust the body to time. The development and stages of an act is controlled from the inside through a detailed programme that constrains and sustains the entire act. Time infiltrates the body together with accurate controls of power.

3. Consequently, the *link between the body and the gesture.* A disciplined body means an efficient, productive gesture. Disciplinary control does not merely teach or impose a pattern of movements; it imposes the best link between the movement and the overall position of the body. When a body is used in the correct way – that is, correctly disciplined, time is used correctly, and nothing is left inactive; everything sustains the act at hand.

4. *The body-object articulation.* Discipline outlines all relations the body must have with the object it influences and the act it carries out. Power is introduced by the body becoming inextricably tied to the object (or act). Power imposes regulations at the same times as it decides the construction of the object. The effect of disciplinary power is that it synthesises the product to the body that creates it.

5. *Exhaustive use.* The idea behind the timetable was basically negative. Discipline, conversely, made it positive, a principle of the increasing use of time was posited. The use of time was to be intensified such that there was maximum speed and efficiency. This new technique of subjection created a new object – there was a move from the mechanical body (a body that was assigned movements) to the natural body. This body had new mechanisms of

power and thus new types of knowledge. It was inclined to certain operations that had their order and stages, it was manipulated by authority, and it was practically trained.

After classifying and ranking people, the disciplines focused on time, body, and everyday activities. As is evident in the above, the disciplines aim was to codify and catalogue as much in detail, and as closely as possible, time, space and movement. In present-day organisations, the coding and control of activities works in similar ways. Townley (1993) identifies some of these as follows: job analyses, job descriptions, task and skill specifications, behavioural-anchored appraisal systems, behavioural observation scales, training specifications, management by objectives, sales targets, and the like. The aim this is so that management may capitalise on time: “capitalisation of time is the detail of activity through time, related to cost-the partitioning of time, space, and movement allied to a financial equivalent” (p. 533).

3. Genetic - Accumulation of time.

A new phenomenon emerged, one that aimed at controlling the time of individual existence and for regulating relations of time, bodies and forces. The question that was asked was: “How can one capitalise the time of individuals, accumulate it in each of them, in their bodies, in their forces or in their abilities, in a way that is susceptible of use and control? How can one organise profitable durations?” (Foucault, 1977, p. 157). The discipline was also a tool for capitalising on time and it did this in four ways. First, periods must be divided up into successive segments that must each end at a specific time; time must be broken up into separate, adjusted segments. Second, these segments must be organised and combined according to increasing complexity. Third, these temporal segments should last a certain amount of time and end with an examination to decide whether the subject has reached the desired level and to differentiate between skills and abilities. Fourth, series should be laid down for each person according to their level, rank, and exercises agreeing with him. Foucault (1977) states that making activities into series and segments allows for

The possibility of a detailed control and a regular intervention (of differentiation, correction, punishment, elimination) in each moment of time; the possibility of characterising, and therefore of using individuals according to the level in the series that they are moving through; the possibility of accumulating time and activity, of rediscovering them, totalised and usable in a final result, which is the ultimate capacity of the individual (p. 160).

Thus, the breaking up of time in such a way produces profit that may have otherwise been avoided. Power invests itself in time because time guarantees it control and usage.

4. Combinatory - The composition of forces.

There was a new need that discipline needed to react to, a need to create a machine whose overall effect will be greater than the individual parts that it is made up of. Discipline is not simply distributing bodies, extracting time and accumulating it, it is also combining forces to create an effective machine. This need is articulated in three ways (Foucault, 1977):

1. The individual body is an element that can be placed, moved and expressed. What defines it is the place it inhabits, its' regularity, the time it takes up, and the order with which it moves. The function of the body on its' own is reduced, but its' insertion into the whole is what is emphasised. The body becomes one segment of a multi-segmented machine.
2. The many series that must be combined to create a composite time are also parts of machinery. Each time must be altered in accordance with each other time, so that a maximum force is gained from each and can be combined for the most advantageous result.
3. This particular combination of forces necessitated an exact system of command. The activity of the disciplined person must be such that they do not require an explained or clearly formulated order; an order must simply prompt the necessary behaviour. From the master to the subject, it is not about understanding the order, it is about recognising it and immediately reacting to it. The person is trained so that their obedience is rapid and blind, they are passive and compliant, and any delay in response to an order is an offence. Foucault (1977) states:

What discipline does through the control of the above characteristics of individuality is: Operates four great techniques: it draws up tables; it prescribes movements; it imposes exercises; lastly, in order to obtain the combination of forces, it arranges 'tactics'. Tactics, the art of constructing, with located bodies, coded activities and trained aptitudes, mechanisms in which the product of the various forces is increased by their calculated combination are no doubt the highest form of disciplinary practice (p. 167).

In essence, what Foucault (1977) documents above is the progress and processes of control and power, and the creation of the limitations on individuality. As times have changed, control and power has become more subtle, techniques have become more refined, effective and all-encompassing. It is through these techniques and processes that the

“individual is rendered more easily calculable and manageable” (p. 534). This basically means that they are now even more unaware that they are being manipulated and controlled.

Disciplinary power is thus a critical concept in Foucault’s perspective of power. Hook (2004) highlights two points. First, the first appearance of psychological knowledge was inextricably and intimately linked with this type of power. Second, individualisation in practices of subjection led to processes of objectification: “The criminal became a species to be studied and understood, to be *known*, the crime something to be exhaustively coded and classified” (p. 214). This is when human sciences came about, the first steps toward the study of man, his behaviour and his social environment, the first step to treating ‘men’ as objects. Thus, as Hook (2004) states, knowledge “became a key principle of power” and thus arose “the power of psychology as a form of knowledge that objectifies” (p. 215).

4.2.3. Foucault on power-knowledge and discourse.

The inseparability of power-knowledge came into effect here. Holloway, Byrne and Titlestad (2001) most succinctly describe this: “Knowledge gives rise to power. Power engenders knowledge. It is impossible for power to be exercised without knowledge. At the same time, power promotes particular forms of knowledge” (p. 254). Thus, power produces knowledge; all power relations constitute knowledge at the same time that knowledge constitutes power relations. This relationship between power and knowledge is described by Abel (2005) who suggests that the ‘dark side’ of organisations “predominates only insofar as the patterns of dominance, resistance and discourse through which it is accomplished remain ‘unexamined totalising assumptions’ that are ‘taken for granted’ as simply ‘the natural convention’” (p. 510).

Because power privileges certain knowledge, the same knowledge allows power to be exerted in a way that guarantees conformity to the dominant ‘truth’. But with power comes resistance and challenging the status quo. The subjectivities and identities of individuals are a result of the dynamics of power and resistance, [re]constructed by the discourses in the workplace; employees construct their identity in relation or opposition to dominant organisational discourse (Townley, 1993). A common or shared economy of power decides this, that is, individual and organisational interests, goals and values are not decided by themselves but are conceived of through this shared conceptions and thought. These make up the social reality of individuals and organisation, which together with its dark side can be

dispelled through change or resistance by individuals. Foucault also argues that “organisations can play positive roles in advancing social and individual interests through the knowledge its existence produces” (Abel, 2005, p. 512).

4.2.4. Strategised subordination and self-surveillance.

The new work environment of high-end industries and changing workforces brings with it subtler forms of domination even though the older forms of apparent, direct domination still exist (Deetz, 1998). As Rose (1990) argues, as capitalism progresses it creates newer and better forms of domination, more manipulative and understated. These newer forms of domination can be understood using Foucault’s concept of disciplinary power. This power targets individuals or groups of individuals and is regarded as having facilitated capitalism (Clegg, 1998). Foucault describes four types of technologies of self-understanding, each related to a particular kind of domination, present in power (Deetz, 1998). These are technologies of: production, sign systems, power, and the self. The four technologies interact with each other, and even though they facilitate productivity and define identities and relations, they also create needless conformity, restrictions on learning and one-sided identities. So, at the same time that they enable, they constrain; one cannot happen without the other. Thus, individuals need to be empowered to create their own, more satisfying, identities, and power relations need to be reconfigured. The focus is however on technologies of self as it is these that are essential to domination in workplaces, and employees generally “consent within a discursive formation through strategising their own subordination and engage in active self-surveillance and self-control” (Deetz, 1998, p. 153).

4.2.5. Subjectivity and power.

Miller (1987), drawing on the works of Foucault, argues that power and subjectivity have for too long been regarded as opposed concepts. Power has been considered as functioning through the repression of subjectivity. In other words, it is often assumed that in order for power to have any effect, subjectivity must be crushed. Conversely, what Foucault has put forward is a directly contrasting view of power, one that functions not through the crushing or repression of subjectivity, but rather by promoting, cultivating and nurturing subjectivity. However, this functioning of power is not neutral because subjectivity is always promoted in particular conditions and thus a regulated subjectivity comes out of such a process. The mechanisms through which this process operates are called regulatory practices of the self. It may be necessary to distinguish between domination and power. Domination is a specific type of power that depends on a certain way of conceptualising power. It is a way

of acting on individuals or groups in opposition to their goals and demands, and is present at home, school, workplace, and national and international state levels. Power, conversely,

[O]perates through the promotion of subjectivity and is more resourceful. It is not limited to seeking to deny and to challenge, but attempts to invest the individual with a series of personal objectives and ambitions. Power in this respect is a more intimate phenomenon. It knows the individual better, it does not act on individuals at a distance and from the outside. It acts on the interior of the person, through their self. As a mode of intervention on social relations it is one in which the production of a knowledge of the subject and a mode of acting upon the subject is crucial (Miller, 1987, p. 2).

4.2.6. Foucault on hegemony.

In Foucault's work one finds that his analysis of complex social techniques and methods is central to achieving a relationship of direction, guidance, leadership or hegemony. In accordance with Foucault, Smart (1986) states that

Hegemony contributes to or constitutes a form of social cohesion not through force or coercion, nor necessarily through consent, but most effectively by way of practices, techniques, and methods which infiltrate minds and bodies, cultural practices which cultivate behaviours and beliefs, tastes, desires, and needs as seemingly naturally occurring qualities and properties embodied in the psychic and physical reality (or 'truth') of the human subject. (p. 160)

By focusing on both the forms and knowledge and power relations that objectify the human subject, as well as on techniques of the self and similar discourses that humans recognise themselves in, Foucault exposes the complex and numerous processes, techniques and methods that lead to the emergence of a hegemonic power. The consequence of Foucault's various analyses points to the existence of government – that the direction of the conduct of individuals and groups – and self-government. Government and self-government is a necessary action or practice, tantamount to achieving hegemony (Smart, 1986).

4.2.7. Psychology and power.

Prilleltensky (2008) asserts that power plays a central role in wellness, oppression and liberation and that it has both a political and psychological identity. The author argues that power is simultaneously pervasive and invisible, and that the actions of psychologists are permeated by power. Psychologists use their power to study power. This also helps them to

define power in a way that avoids them being unaffected by it. Psychologists however, often argue against this, stating that their science is objective and value-neutral, and that their research of those ‘out there’ does not get affected by their own interests and power. According to Prilleltensky (2008), “power operates in subtle ways because it is usually hidden under a mantle of neutrality of larger discourses about science, truth, and justice” (p. 117). However, as Brief (2000) states that it is quite an obvious conclusion by now that “science is not value-free... our values unavoidably shape the research questions we pose” (p. 345). To this effect, Prilleltensky (2008) argues that it is essential that psychologists understand how their subjectivity, interests and power influence what they think, feel and study: “We just cannot take it for granted that psychology pursues human welfare in a way that is always just and fair. Psychologists have contributed, directly and indirectly, wittingly and unwittingly, to oppressive... policies” (p. 118).

4.3. Power, Ideology, and Language (or Discourse)

Fairclough (1989) states that ideology is closely related to power, because the nature of the ideological assumptions embedded in particular conventions, and so the nature of those conventions themselves, depends on the power relations that underlie the conventions; and because they are a means of legitimising existing social relations and differences of power, simply through the recurrence of ordinary, familiar ways of behaving which take these relations and power differences for granted (p. 2).

Furthermore, the author states that ideology is also closely related to language, because the use of language is the most ordinary form of social behaviour, that which we are usually not consciously aware of, and the usage of which rests on ‘common-sense’ assumptions, which is implicit in linguistic conventions. Fairclough (1989) states that the use of power in modern society is largely accomplished through ideology, above all through the “ideological workings of language” (p. 2). Language is the medium through which power and control is exercised, with ideology being ever-present in language. But one must be careful to distinguish between power achieved through coercion and power achieved through the ‘manufacture of consent’ or at least through compliance and acceptance. While power relations may depend on both, ideology plays a major role in the latter, that is, in manufacturing consent. What Fairclough (1989) is essentially arguing is that “language connects with the social through being the primary domain of ideology, and through being both a site of, and a stake in, struggles for power” (p. 15).

Chapter 5: Discourse

Human Resource Management (HRM) Discourse

5.1. What is the HRM Discourse and How Did it Emerge?

Harley and Hardy (2004) discuss how Human Resource Management (HRM) discourse – as an academic discourse – allows for a range of practices and understanding. Although HRM has a shifting nature, it can be characterised as follows: a primary focus on the goal of organisational performance; adopting a unitarist perspective; as well as a related belief that employers and employees may be receiving ‘good’ or ‘soft’ HRM, as opposed to ‘hard’ HRM. ‘Hard’ HRM, according to Harley and Hardy (2004), “focus on ensuring that HRM policies are aligned with the broader strategic initiatives of the organisation and tend to be less ‘people-friendly’ policies”, while ‘soft’ HRM is when “employees are nurtured and developed as valuable members of the organisation who help it to achieve its’ goals” (p. 379). However, whichever the case, both types of HRM have a central business function as it is performed by line managers and executives rather than by HR managers or personnel.

Before HRM appeared as the dominant discourse of the labour relationship, the radical and pluralist – or the traditional – perspectives on labour relationship were favoured. With the latter, conflict and competition between employers and employees was emphasised, and professional, specialist staff were utilised to manage the function. In what is essentially identified with the emergence of neoliberalism – the social, political and economic changes associated with Thatcher’s government in the UK and Reagan’s presidency in the USA, HRM appeared and replaced the traditional discourse of the labour relationship. Keenoy (1999) states:

Ideologically... [HRM] has been projected as *the* alternative to pluralistic employee relations. And, both as a range of normative-descriptive discourses about how employees ought to be managed and as a variety of social practices designed to engage or re-engage employees in the organisation (or, sometimes, disengage them *from* the organisation), HRM has been directed at the daily routines of people management, employment and re-engineering work organisation (p. 2).

HRM, like previous and other efforts to create a better fit between the objectives of the organisation and its' employees – efforts such as Taylorism, human relations approach, QWL and OD – is usually associated with efforts to bring about a considerable change in what Keenoy (1999) terms as organisational 'ideo-culture':

Ideo-culture refers to managerially initiated and managerially driven conceptions of 'appropriate behaviour' which are either implicit in 'new' workplace policies and practices and/or explicitly legitimised through 'new' norms and values. 'Ideo' to indicate that such conceptions emerge from managerial objectives and initiatives; and 'culture' to indicate that such conceptions relate to 'the way we do things around here' (p. 19).

In whichever way employees experience such HRM-type initiatives and efforts, the organisational meanings and languages used to (re)construct and (re)present work organisation and the labour relationship experiences an effective transformation. In addition, because current managerial rhetorics entails the organisation being subjected on a dangerous journey in an unreceptive environment, the actual benefits promoted by HRM will generally arrive in the future. In this way, the actual implementation of these 'employee-friendly' practices is dependent on surpassing the real or imagined threats from the environment. Because in social practice outcomes tend to be dependent, there is a gap between the promoted rhetoric and the experienced reality (Keenoy, 1999; Truss, Gratton, Hope-Hailey, McGovern & Stiles, 1997). Despite all this, HRM as a discourse has become increasingly popular, principally with regards to its' influence on academic discourse.

In a paper examining contrasting positions on the HRM discourse, Harley and Hardy (2004) conclude that the version of HRM used in academic discourse

is consistent with the interests of powerful actors in society. It legitimises managerial prerogative, reinforces the view that the rational calculation of 'bottom line impacts' is the only way to measure the value of organisational practices, and undermines alternative ways of managing the employment relationship. Its convergent identity also embodies an advantage for managers through the way it masks a far more fragmented reality... It becomes possible... to implement 'hard' HRM practices while using the language of 'soft' HRM (p. 398).

Thus, because of the mixture of convergent meaning and ambiguous practices – in terms of hard HRM being implemented in the guise of soft HRM – HRM becomes a powerful instrument that managers can use. Due to the effects that HRM discourse has, critical analysis and engagement with HRM is essential. Harley and Hardy (2004) state that critical writers however confront many difficulties when attempting to carry out the above. These are as follows. First, the counter story that challenges the initial one – the critical story to the accepted one – generally only serves to reinforce and reproduce the dominant one, because the first story is always the more persuasive one. Second, accepted and mainstream discourse is made up of more influential, powerful discourses and because critical writers use less powerful and influential discourses outside of the accepted, the latter is often unfamiliar to readers. Third, by using suggestive language to point out the political nature of their work, the work of critical scholars is often undermined, as they write in an arena where scientific language and neutrality are more valued. Fourth, the narrative of critical scholars tend to be less linear, as its' goal is to challenge assumptions, make available other interpretations, question reality, and separate truth from knowledge. Finally, the work of critical scholars will never become abstracted prescriptions as the work of positivistic scholars so easily does.

5.2. Hard and Soft Models of HRM, or, Theory X and Theory Y

The hard and soft models of HRM are based on differing assumptions and views of human nature and managerial control strategies. The hard model centres around tight managerial control and a market-oriented, economic view of man in terms of Theory X, while the soft model is centred on control through commitment, is people-oriented and humanistic, and is described by Theory Y (Guest, 1987; Keenoy, 1999; Truss et al., 1997).

5.2.1. Douglas McGregor's theory X and Y.

Rose (1999) discusses how Douglas McGregor created a new perception of the worker. McGregor was not convinced with the assumptions of human management inherent in traditional notions of management, that is, he argued against what he termed Theory X: individuals did not like work and thus had to be controlled, coerced, threatened and directed to do work; individuals favoured direction and needed security; and they had little or no ambition and steered clear of responsibility. As a response, his Theory Y created an image of the worker as an individual who wanted to work. Theory Y stated that the average individual did not have an aversion to work, and thus control and punishment are not the only ways to get workers to expend effort in order to achieve organisational goals. If the individual is

committed to achieving goals then he or she will exert direction and control upon themselves. The commitment to the achievement of goals is related to the rewards associated with it, with the most important of these rewards such as satisfying ego and self-actualisation needs, being a direct result of effort exerted to achieve organisational goals. Under appropriate conditions the average individual will both accept and seek responsibility, and a wide portion of the population have the capacity to apply imagination, creativity and ingenuity in solving organisational problems. However, with the conditions of modern industrial life, the capacities and potentials of individuals were barely being realised. Because Theory X regarded individuals as lazy, indifferent, irresponsible, uncreative and uncooperative, it gave management an easy rationalisation. Theory Y, on the other hand, stated that the root of the problem was with management themselves, who had not created the conditions under which the full potential of individuals could be realised. Thus, what management had to now do was to create conditions in the organisation so that workers would achieve their personal goals best when they focused their efforts to organisational success and achievement of organisational goals. Thus, both the individual's and the organisation's goals need to be realised and achieved. McGregor believed that the view of human nature determines the management control strategy employed (Rose, 1999).

5.2.2. Hard HRM.

Hard HRM involves a calculative, quantitative and business-strategy oriented way of managing the individual-resource in the most rational way, as you would for any other factor of production. Hard HRM centres around 'strategic fit': human resource practices and policies are directly related to the organisation's strategic objectives (external fit), and are coherent between themselves (internal fit). The fundamental goal here is increasing the competitive advantage of the organisation. Truss et al. (1997) state that the emphasis on strategic direction, integration and performance management techniques are "management control strategies... based on views of human nature contained in Theory X (e.g. that people dislike work), leading to tight managerial control through close direction" (p. 55).

5.2.3. Soft HRM.

Soft HRM is linked to the human relations movement, the use of individual talents, and McGregor's Theory Y. This is essentially the same as a 'high-commitment work system', that aims to obtain a commitment so high that behaviour is mostly self-regulated instead of being controlled by external pressures and sanctions, and there are high levels of trust in

relations in the organisation. Soft HRM is also linked to goals of flexibility and adaptability, and entails better communication from management. Truss et al. (1997) state that “soft models of HRM can be compared with the Theory Y approach... The soft version assumes that employees will work best (and thereby increase organisational performance) if they are fully committed to the organisation” (p. 56). Thus, employees will not only obey the organisation’s wishes but will positively and affectively devote and commit themselves to the goals and values of their organisation, giving more value to their work. The soft model asserts that this devotion and commitment will only be gained if employees are given trust, if they are trained and developed, and if they are given the space to work autonomously and control their own work. The strategic element is that control is gained through commitment.

5.2.4. A study on hard and soft HRM.

Truss et al. (1997) carried out eight in-depth case studies to learn whether organisations were practicing either hard or soft HRM. They argued that because the two forms were so opposing in their views, both cannot be included in one model of HRM. However, their study found that there were no absolutely pure examples of either form. Rather, “the rhetoric adopted by the companies frequently embraced the tenets of the soft, commitment model, while the reality experienced by employees is more concerned with strategic control, similar to the hard model” (p. 53). That is, at a rhetorical level, organisations accepted the central principles of the soft model, such as training, development and commitment, but this was consistently limited to improving bottom-line performance. Even though soft HRM is supposed to have twin goals of improved competitive advantage *and* individual development, the latter was largely ignored – the focus was largely on improving organisational performance. Individuals in the organisation perceived this as ‘empty rhetoric’. Truss et al. (1997) concluded that even though the rhetoric of the organisation may be soft, “commitment-based strategic control”, the reality is hard, “tight strategic direction towards organisational goals” (p. 70). Thus, the interests of the organisation always take preference over that of the individual. The distinction and inevitable distance between rhetoric and reality must be considered when conceptualising HRM (Keenoy, 1999; Truss et al., 1997).

Chapter 6: Research Methodology

6.1. Research Aim

The aim of my research is to find out the extent to which published research on Quality of Work Life (QWL) reflect a managerialist ideology in both its' latent and manifest content.

6.2. Research Questions

1. What kind of discourses are evident in QWL?
2. To what extent does literature on QWL reflect the Human Resource Management (HRM) discourse?
3. Is QWL 'hard' or 'soft' HRM?
4. What are the subject positions created within the discourses present in QWL literature?

6.3. Broader Issues

- Even though psychology can be used to criticise the status quo, literature indicates that it has been predominantly used as a tool to preserve the status quo of the dominant class. In other words, psychology serving the status quo is a widespread and pervasive phenomenon.
- Social, cultural and political values are very much a part of the theories and practices of psychology and these values play a prominent role in maintaining the state of affairs in society, in terms of preserving the dominant ideology.
- Psychology can be both a change-promoting and a conformity-producing force.
- When it operates as conformity-promoting, message/activities have an ideological element that supports and maintains the dominant status quo/social order.
- Although attempts have been made to make psychology a change-promoting force, these attempts have been marginalised in the field.
- Ideology is a system of beliefs, values and ideas that are promoted by the dominant part of society so that they may maintain their position of power, domination and control over others, as well as conceal the real interests, goals and advantages of the dominant group.
- Managerial Ideology is the beliefs and values advocated by management – as a dominant class – so that they may preserve the status quo and hence their power.

QWL reflects the ideology of management. Managerial ideology serves to sustain power and in doing so maintains control and domination over others.

- QWL can be viewed as a strategy employed by management that while being depicted as invaluable for workers is actually a strategy used to realise the goals of management.
- In other words, QWL can be regarded as an activity that psychologists have been instrumental in advancing in the name of 'science', but that has actually not been of much benefit in terms of promoting human welfare.
- QWL may be a 'neutral term' mechanism but it has a very pro-management bias in terms of being an instrument that actually realises and advances the needs and goals of the organisation, over those of workers.
- Also, although QWL may be regarded as an innovative technique that helps to modify or critique the system, it is insufficient in dealing with system-wide problems, and only deals with superficial problems.
- There is also a conformist prescriptive bias that is inherent within such theories and practices of psychology. Because these practices are propagated by psychologists, it leads individuals to believe that they are 'value-neutral' and 'objective', when they may be largely influenced by the psychologists' epistemic values (Prilleltensky, 1994).

6.4. Critical Discourse Analysis

6.4.1. Discourses and texts

Discourses are the means by which meaning is conveyed across cultures, and comprises all forms of written and spoken, verbal and pictorial, formal and informal communication (Parker, 2002). Together, wordings, statements, references, and themes make up particular discourses for the reader. How discourses are used to formulate and communicate a certain version of the world depends on contextual and local factors, including available and current discourses, events and social practices. Luke (1996) states: "People construct meaning on the basis of their prior experiences with language and texts, their available stock of discourse resources. In this way, many statements are recognised as familiar in form and features" (p. 15). Discourses are then made up of recurring statements and wording across texts. Together these point to "identifiable systems of meaning and fields

of knowledge and belief that, in turn, are tied to ways of knowing, believing, and categorising the world and modes of action” (Luke, 1996, p. 15). Harley and Hardy (2004) state: “Texts are ‘weapons that agents in struggle use in their discursive strategies’ as they try to change understandings of a social situation, shape particular experiences and invoke certain practices within a system of meanings (p. 381). Specific discourses may therefore be identified through (key)words, naming or ‘glossifications’. These are focused on creating meanings for a specific field of knowledge and belief. However, these are neither fixed or unchanging. The meanings of such (key)words are closely linked to a certain orientation or worldview. These are dynamic and adapt along with changing the demands and needs of an institution, organisation or community. For example in section 2.5. above, it was pointed out how managerial discourses have alternated between normative and rational ideologies/control in keeping with the historical context and changes in production and organisation. Managerial discourse is therefore not static, it is dynamic, and adapts to the changing demands and needs of employers and organisations.

Furthermore, a discourse will not stay within its’ own boundaries, it will borrow, adopt and adapt helpful terminology from similar, close discourses. Texts and discourses are multidiscursive, they employ a range of discourses, fields of knowledge and voices. In this manner, discourses are rearranged and restored in everyday texts. Texts are not arbitrary or separate units, they link and refer to each other, (un)systematically, deliberately, through choice or through coincidence. Texts assist people in making sense of the world and in constructing social actions and relations in everyday life. They position and construct individuals, and provide many meanings, ideas and versions of the world (Luke, 1996).

Consequently, as Luke (1996) states:

The texts of everyday life, then, do not just randomly or arbitrarily proliferate. Rather, they are all tied closely to particular social actions and interests in the contexts of particular social institutions. Just as discourses develop to articulate particular fields of knowledge and belief, texts develop to serve institutional purposes and projects. They thus tend to be identifiable as particular text types, or genres... Every text is a kind of institutional speech act, a social action with language with a particular shape and features, force, audience, and consequences. (p. 15)

6.4.2. An introduction to critical discourse analysis

This research project is a textual analysis of date employing a qualitative critical discourse analysis (CDA) methodology. CDA is a fairly new research method, and because of this there are no specific guidelines or recommendations with regard to its' methodology. Janks (1997) states that CDA derives from a critical theory of language that regards language as a type of social practice:

All social practices are tied to specific historical contexts and are the means by which existing social relations are reproduced or contested and different interests are served. It is the questions pertaining to interests that relate discourse to relations of power. How is the text positioned or positioning? Whose interests are served by this positioning? Whose interests are negated? What are the consequences of this positioning? Where analysis seeks to understand how discourse is implicated in relations of power it is called critical discourse analysis (p. 329).

As follows, the typical vocabulary of CDA will include concepts such as: power, hegemony, dominance, ideology, class, gender, race, discrimination, interests, reproduction, dissemination, institutions, and social structure (van Dijk, 2001).

Fairclough and Wodak (1997, pp. 271-280) identify the central principles of CDA as follows:

1. CDA addresses social problems
2. Power relations are discursive
3. Discourse constitutes society and culture
4. Discourse does ideological work
5. Discourse is historical
6. The link between text and society is mediated
7. Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory
8. Discourse is a form of social action.

6.4.3. Basic characteristics of CDA

According to Fairclough (2010), CDA has three basic characteristics; it is relational, dialectical and interdisciplinary. It is relational because its' primary focus is on social relations and not individuals or entities. Social relations are complex and layered. Relations are dialectical in that while they are different from each other, they cannot be separated.

Power and discourse relations exemplify this: they are different aspects of the social process but discourse is internalised in power, like power can be simplified in discourse. CDA is inter- or trans-disciplinary because it analyses dialectical relationships across disciplines. Thus, CDA has a trans-disciplinary methodology, and is a theory-driven process of constructing objects of research (research themes) on the basis of theorising research topics, in relation to both the categories of a theory of discourse as well as other pertinent theories. This allows the analyst many points of entry during the analytic process. A primary focus of CDA is the role power relations and inequalities play in creating social wrongs, especially on dialectical relations between discourse and power. This includes an understanding of ideology as a way of depicting aspects of the world and is operationalised in ways of acting and interacting, thereby assisting in establishing and maintaining power relations.

In CDA, analyses entail analysis of texts. Fairclough's version of CDA regards textual analysis as having a dual character: it is interdiscursive analysis in which the different genres, discourses and styles of a text are analysed, as well as their articulation; and it is a multi-modal analysis in that it analyses different semiotic modes and their articulation. Fairclough (2010) states that research and analysis can be considered as CDA if it has all of the following three characteristics:

1. It is not only analysis of discourse (or texts); it is a type of systematic trans-disciplinary analysis of the relations between discourse and their elements.
2. It is not only a broad commentary on the discourse; it is a systematic analysis of texts.
3. It is normative, in addition to being descriptive. It addresses social wrongs in terms of discourse and suggests ways of mitigating them.

6.4.4. CDA's Agenda

A broad agenda of CDA can be formulated as follows (Fairclough, 2010, pp. 19-20):

- *Emergence of discourses.* Identify the range of discourses that emerge, and their differences and similarities, in terms of: how they narrate events and link these to practices and institutions, how they explain events, how they justify actions, and how they legitimise practices and systems. Explain the origins of that discourse. The above analysis needs to be combined into trans-disciplinary critical analysis oriented to a particular object of research. Significant to this is the explanation of how and why such discourses emerge in certain social circumstances.

- *Relations of dialogue, contestation and dominance between discourses.* Show how different discourses are brought into dialogue within a strategic struggle, for example, in the manoeuvring for positions. Show how certain discourses increase or decrease in importance over time, and how some emerge as dominant or hegemonic. CDA can give insights into the strategic struggle for changing society in different directions through the analysis of rhetoric, discourse, dialogue, polemic, and so on. However, such analysis needs to be incorporated within a trans-disciplinary critique, as this will assist in explaining why some strategies work while others fail, as well as in identifying strategies and discourses that are desirable and feasible in terms of these being able to improve human well-being.
- *Recontextualisation of discourses.* In showing how certain discourses become dominant or hegemonic, show how they are disseminated across structural (between different social fields e.g., education, politics, industry) and scalar (between local, national and international) boundaries, and how they are recontextualised in different fields and at different levels.
- *Operationalisation of discourses.* Show how and subject to what conditions discourses become implemented and operationalised as strategies, that is, how discourses are enacted, in changed practices of acting and interacting; inculcated, in changed identities and ways of being; and materialised, in changes in reality. Operationalisation is – to a certain extent – a process within discourses: discourses result in changed fields and changed styles. Even though discourse analysis does analyse the ways in which discourse plays a role in social transformation, the focus is on the relations between discourse and social elements. Also, the operationalisation of discourses depends on other factors as well, factors that are external to discourse. Thus, in order to analyse relations between discourse and other social elements, one has to also articulate different forms of critical social analysis.

6.4.5. Fairclough's (2010) Methodology

There are a few approaches to CDA, but most do not have a clearly defined methodology. I will adopt Fairclough's (2010) approach to CDA, because of the well-defined and illustrated stages and steps. In accordance with Fairclough (2010), CDA has four stages and can be formulated as follows. Appendix 1 outlines all stages and steps collectively.

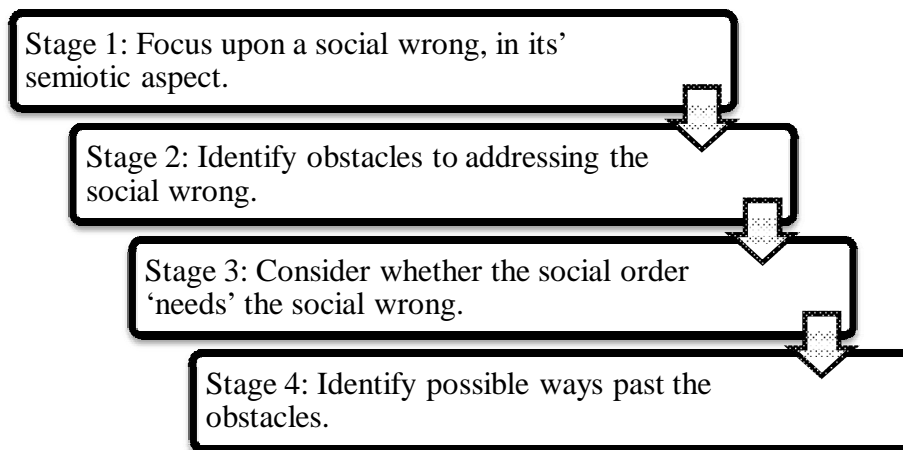


Figure 1. Stages of Fairclough's CDA.

Stage 1: Focus upon a social wrong, in its' semiotic aspect.

CDA aims to gain a better understanding of the natures and sources of social wrongs, what is preventing these from being addressed and ways to overcome these obstacles. Fairclough (2010) states that social wrongs are "social systems, forms or orders which are detrimental to human well-being, and which could in principle be ameliorated if not eliminated, though perhaps only through major changes in these systems, forms or orders" (p. 235). Stage 1 can be broken up into two steps:

Step 1. Select a research topic which relates to or points at a social wrong and which can productively be approached in a trans-disciplinary way with a particular focus on dialectical relations between semiotic and social elements.

During this step the researcher selects a topic upon which research will be based.

Step 2. Construct research themes and objectives for initially identified research topic, and theorise them in a trans-disciplinary way.

This step entails the development of particular themes and objectives as related to the research topic. This also necessitates the researcher drawing on relevant theories and concepts across different disciplines to go further beyond the surface level of the research topic. Also, because the researcher's point-of-entry, that is methodology, is through discourse, theories of discourse also need to be drawn upon.

There are no right answers to the question of which theoretical perspectives to draw upon: it is a matter of researchers' judgements about which perspectives can provide a rich theorisation as a basis for defining coherent

objects for critical research which can deepen understanding of the processes at issue, their implications for human wellbeing and the possibilities for improving wellbeing (Fairclough, 2010, p. 236).

Stage 2: Identify obstacles to addressing the social wrong.

In stage 2, the social wrong is studied in an indirect way, by the researcher asking what is it about the structure of social life that prevents the social wrong from being addressed. This necessitates an analysis of the social order, and one way of doing this is to select and analyse related 'texts' and address the relations between the semiotic (discourse) and social elements. Stage 2 can be broken down into 3 steps:

Step 1. Analyse dialectical relations between semiosis and other social elements.

Step 2. Select texts and focus on categories for their analysis, in the light of and appropriate to the constitution of the object of research.

Step 3. Carry out analyses of texts, both inter-discursive analysis and linguistic or semiotic (discourse) analysis.

These three steps point to an important feature of Fairclough's (2010) CDA: that textual analysis is only a part of discourse analysis, and the former must be effectively framed within the latter. The purpose is to acquire a semiotic point-of-entry into the objects of research, and this must be set up through different theories and concepts, in a trans-disciplinary manner. Textual analysis can only contribute to this if it is situated within a broader analysis of the object of research – semiotic (discourse) and other social elements, and discourses and other texts.

As a significant step, an elaboration on step three is necessary. Fairclough (2010) asserts that although the method of textual analysis often depends on the research topic, his version of CDA has a general method of analysis. Textual analysis encompasses both linguistic analysis and interdiscursive analysis. Linguistic analysis, in this context, is essentially analysis of language in practice: words, sentences and their meanings. Interdiscursive analysis is analysis of the genres, discourses and styles that the text draws upon, and how these are communicated together. Additionally, interdiscursive analysis crucially links linguistic analysis with social analysis, and the analysis of the text as event (action, strategy) with the analysis of social practices (structure). This is significant because

by comparing how genres, discourses and styles are communicated together within a text as part of an event, as well as in orders of discourse as part of networks of social practices, they are – via social practices – objects of social analysis.

Stage 3: Consider whether the social order ‘needs’ the social wrong.

Fairclough (2010) admits that this step is not instantly entirely clear but clarifies it as follows. During this stage, the researcher considers whether the social wrong in question is innate to the social order, whether the wrong can be dealt with within the social order or only by changing it. Thus, if the social order is shown to naturally lead to social wrongs, then it should presumably be changed. However, the question at this point is whether the social order *can* be changed: whether inconsistencies within the social order as well as the resources and forces set against it are such that change is possible and desirable. Fairclough (2010) asserts that this “also connects with questions of ideology: discourse is ideological in so far as it contributes to sustaining particular relations of power and domination” (p. 239).

Stage 4: Identify possible ways past the obstacles.

Stage 4 brings the analysis into a positive critique. Here, opportunities within the current social process for conquering obstacles to addressing the social wrong are identified. The focus should be on dialectical relations between discourse and other elements. Thus, there must be a semiotic point-of-entry into research regarding how these barriers have been tested, opposed and/or resisted – whether through social or political groups and movements, or even by people in their everyday working and social lives. A semiotic approach would consider the ways through which the dominant discourse is challenged, criticised and resisted (Fairclough, 2010).

6.5. Data Selection and Sample

The procedure that was followed for the retrieval of texts for CDA is as follows. Specific criteria were followed:

- Only electronic journal articles were used.
- A Google Scholar Advanced Search was carried out.
- Articles specifying ‘quality of work life’ or ‘quality of working life’ as well as the indicators of QWL – ‘employee involvement’, ‘citizenship behaviour’ and employee empowerment’ – in the *title* of the article were chosen.
- Only journal articles between 2007 and 2009 were chosen.

- 40 random articles were chosen.
- Reports, working papers, unpublished theses, book chapters and books were omitted.
- As articles were found, they were numbered continuously from one to 40.

A random number programme was used to select 10 articles from the 40. The programme was created to generate random numbers between one and 40. Once the programme is run, it turns out random numbers between one and 40. Twenty percent of the articles were selected. Therefore, the first eight numbers turned out by the programme were selected as articles for analysis. A list of these articles may be found in Appendix 2.

Chapter 7: Data Analysis by Critical Discourse Analysis

7.1. Introduction

In this section, critical discourse analysis (CDA) of the selected texts will be carried out using Fairclough's (2010) method of CDA as outlined in the previous section. Each stage and step of the method will be followed in a methodical way, as advised by Fairclough (2010). Some stages or steps have already been dealt with in previous sections. If this is the case, it will be pointed out and only briefly described in the present section.

7.2. Data Analysis

7.2.1. Stage 1: Focus upon a social wrong, in its' semiotic aspect.

Step 1. Select a research topic which relates to or points at a social wrong and which can productively be approached in a trans-disciplinary way with a particular focus on dialectical relations between semiotic and social elements

The research topic selected is as above: To what extent does published research on quality of work life reflect a managerialist ideology in both its' latent and manifest content? Thus, the social wrong that the research topic points to is the dominance of a managerialist ideology in research on QWL. According to the definition of what constitutes a social wrong (see above), a managerialist ideology does indeed fall into this category, because if a managerialist ideology prevails then it will be detrimental to the well-being of human beings, as it assists in the control and manipulation of workers for the benefit of managers and employers.

In selecting a research topic, the researcher must be cognisant of the relevance and impact of such a topic on human well-being. The topic must thus be a contemporary topic in which major features of the topic have not been given sufficient attention in social research. A topic may also attract the interest of a researcher "because it has been prominent in the relevant academic literature, or is a focus of practical attention in the domain or field of issue" (Fairclough, 2010, p. 235). From the literature review, one can conclude that the topic is a significant one because QWL it is a contemporary topic, widespread in organisations of today. Consequently, it is receiving much practical attention in organisational science and industrial psychology. In addition, social research has not given sufficient attention to a

managerialist ideology prevailing in QWL discourse. One may argue that there is no recent research on this particular issue, hence it is a significant research topic. According to Fairclough (2010), selecting topics in this way guarantees that the topic is pertinent to contemporary issues and problem, however it may also lead the researcher to taking too much at face value. Thus, these topics must be conceptualised and theorised. This leads us to the next step.

Step 2. Construct research themes and objectives for initially identified research topic, and theorise them in a trans-disciplinary way.

Sub-themes and objectives for the research topic have been constructed, in the form of research questions (see 6.2.) and broader issues (see 6.3.). Critical theory was chosen as the theoretical framework for the research topic (see chapter two) for three reasons, described in detail above. First, it is concerned with emancipation and enlightenment to determine where true interests lie. It aims to decrease domination and create reasonable conditions of life relating to increasing man's happiness, freedom and rights. Second, it critiques current practices and approaches that are taking over aspects of everyday life. Third, it critiques ideology. According to critical theorists, social science should release or liberate people from repressive structures, ideologies and power relations. It asks researchers to critically reflect on their science and practices, because if they fail to do so, then repressive working conditions and ideologies will prevail. Critical theory rejects mainstream organisation and management theory, because of its' historically and socially constructed nature. In addition to the theoretical framework of critical theory, the conceptual framework considers power and ideology (*see chapter three*), as these concepts pervade everyday life and structures.

7.2.2. Stage 2: Identify obstacles to addressing the social wrong.

Step 1. Analyse dialectical relations between semiosis and other social elements.

In this step, the relationship between orders of discourse and social practices, texts and elements of events, are analysed. That is, what needs to be considered is entrenched or current discourses in relation to the research topic. In addition, how such discourses relate or lead to current social practices and texts are examined. This step has already been discussed in a previous chapter but will be briefly delineated here. Chapter five considered the HRM discourse as an entrenched academic discourse and how this discourse has resulted in and allowed for a range of practices and understandings. HRM deals with people management,

employment and reengineering work organisation. It may therefore be argued that QWL falls under the banner of HRM, in terms of their central values and what they are preoccupied with. Thus, HRM is a contemporary discourse that may be of some relevance in understanding the research topic. HRM is in itself a discourse, and it also is made up of a range of normative-descriptive discourses that delineate how employees should be managed. HRM is also a range of social practices that are created to (re)engage employees in the organisation. HRM has a particular influence on academic discourse in that it legitimates managerial discourse and ideology; it promotes the powerful. Its' focus lies with profits and productivity when it considers the value of particular organisational practices and methods (Keenoy, 1999). As pointed out above, this research is interested in whether an HRM discourse prevails in research on QWL, and if so, to what extent, and what type of HRM – hard or soft – is dealt with in the texts. That is, what the research aims to show is how HRM discourse translate from rhetoric into reality.

Step 2. Select texts and focus on categories for their analysis, in the light of and appropriate to the constitution of the object of research.

A detailed explanation of the selection of texts is provided in section 6.5. above. Briefly, a random number programme was used to select 20% of texts from 40 texts. Articles between 2007 and 2009 formed the initial text sample, as the more recent the texts were, the more current and relevant the results will be. All texts were written texts, specifically, journal articles. Of the eight articles that were selected, three were 'quality of work life' articles, two were 'employee empowerment' articles, two were 'organisational citizenship behaviour' articles, and one was an 'employee involvement' article. The latter three concepts are some indicators of 'quality of work life'. Of the eight articles, one was a theoretical text, one employed a qualitative methodology (namely, content analysis), and the remaining six employed quantitative and statistical methodologies. Categories for analysis include the concepts of power, ideology, control, discourses, managerial bias, and related concepts that will be further specified during the discussion of the texts.

Step 3. Carry out analyses of texts, both inter-discursive analysis and linguistic or semiotic (discourse) analysis.

In this step texts will be analysed according to their indicators. That is, I will analyse 'quality of work life' texts together, 'organisational citizenship behaviour' texts together, 'employee empowerment' texts together, and the 'employee involvement' text.

1. *Quality of work life.*

Article 1. The content of the first text, Ramstad's (2009) text, is centred around the simultaneous promotion of quality of work life (QWL) and performance. She focuses not merely on short term higher productivity but on a "sustainable long-term increase in productivity", "sustainable high performance" and "sustainable work systems" (p. 423) through the promotion of QWL. She also discusses how HRM practices may make positive contributions to *organisational performance* in terms of job influence, organisational commitment, higher-quality products and reduced turnover. She does mention that it may have negative effects in terms of mental strain, intensity, and work-related exhaustion, but does not focus on it. She states that it is an HRM practice to simultaneously boost performance and QWL. She considers OD projects according to their impact but argues that the "best" project is to simultaneously boost performance and QWL. Merely improving QWL for the sake of it, or for the sake of employees, is thus not deemed satisfactory. For instance, the author states that work and practices need to be made "agreeable from the employee's point of view" because this is an important part "in how well staff cope at work, in encouraging them to stay at work longer, and in making their work more productive" (p. 424). She discusses an assessment carried out by management that found a positive link between HRM practices and productivity. She examines the impact of the development process in terms of whether employees accept practices and how committed they are to it.

Therefore, the topics dominating Ramstad's (2009) text are HRM practices, that is, the author is predominantly engaged with increasing performance, productivity, commitment, and innovation in the workplace by way of increasing QWL. The author's focus is on improvements and benefits for the *organisation*. There is no particular engagement with the interests of the worker. The recognised purpose, or broader institutional objective of the text, is therefore to provide information on whether organisations may simultaneously increase both QWL and performance (productivity), instead of implementing it both separately; as well as on the development process of such practices and how these impact on similar positive outcomes. The message that the author intends us to draw on from the text is the availability of practices that managers may employ that will lead to positive outcomes for the organisation, and in which best way these may be developed and implemented, so that they will improve effectiveness and efficiency of the employees with the least amount of costs to the organisation as possible.

The article is clearly addressing OD and management consultants, managers and psychologists – they are the ideal audiences for the article as they are the ones who will benefit from the findings and the research that the article provides – and the person addressing them is a management/work consultant. By drawing on an HRM discourse within the text (the author specifically engages with HRM practices), the author calls into the text a subject (topics) position of HRM, arranging this position in accordance with the engagement of HRM-related practices. This text is not in any way directed to the employees themselves, even though it centres around improving their performance and productivity. However, the text does affect the subjectivity of the worker. A worker reading this text, hearing the ‘discourse’ that is being presented will be affected by it. This is because the text provides him with the ‘tools’ to know himself as a worker. Ways of thinking, judging and knowing the self is linked to ways of acting on the self. Thus, workers become knowledge objects of the discourse being presented, they are knowledge objects of a managerial discourse. Thus, there may be three subjects (people) in the text: consultants and psychologists, managers, and employees. However, the text is written for and directed to the former two, and is concerned with the latter, only because concern with the latter will achieve the goals and objectives of the former. In other words, the focus on employees in the text is a means to an end for the managers. In this way, an unspoken power relation is maintained wherein consultants and managers are those exercising the power over employees by studying how employees may be subjected to HRM work practices that will enable employers to increase the performance of employees. This power relation that assists in shaping the discourse, is both an institutional and societal one, as it manifests itself in all everyday relations, wherein – in simple terms – those with more resources (in terms of wealth, provision of jobs, decision-making power) have more power.

As follows then, those exercising the power are managers, as it is their discourse that is being presented and engaged with within the text. Employees are subjects that the text are merely dealing with; they are characterised as being easily malleable and manipulated for the needs of the organisation – if managers and organisations impose upon them or subject them to certain practices, then management will be able to draw out from them higher performance, productivity, commitment and innovation, thereby benefitting managers and organisations. Employees can be easily controlled and directed towards the achievement of managerial objects. In this way current social realities and power relations are maintained in

the text. Moreover, because the use of power is accomplished by way of ideology, there is a particular ideological character in the above-discussed elements of the text. This ideology is inclined toward management, further sustaining power relations and supporting the interests of management over those of employees.

Article 2. The article by Korunka, Hoonakker and Carayon (2008) centres around QWL and turnover intention. The authors discuss the increasing significance of turnover because of its expensive – substantial and hidden costs – and disruptive impacts on organisations. HRM practices have been put forward as solutions to high turnover. QWL has been found to be an important predictor of turnover, by way of job commitment (an affective response to the organisation) and satisfaction (an affective response to the job): low job satisfaction and commitment lead to higher turnover. In addition, high levels of burnout and exhaustion lead to low satisfaction and commitment, and thus high turnover. Commitment, satisfaction and burnout (stress) are all facets of QWL. Korunka et al. (2008) further discuss how HRM emphasises the importance of a set of organisational practices that positively affect high involvement work process. In turn “high involvement processes influenced organisational effectiveness (i.e. employee turnover) both directly and indirectly, through positive influences on employee morale” (p. 411). Thus, according to a model developed by the authors, job and organisational characteristics impact on QWL which affects turnover intention. The results of their study confirmed the stability of the model. The strongest relationship was found between QWL indicators stress and satisfaction, and job demands and stress, in relation to turnover. The authors suggest that increasing employee involvement, making jobs more challenging and providing supervisors, career advancement opportunities and rewards, will reduce turnover. Korunka et al. (2008) conclude: “A high quality of working life is the most important factor to accomplish the goals of minimising costs and optimising organisational outputs” (p. 420).

From the above comprehensive summary of the article, it can be firmly concluded that reducing organisational turnover in order to reduce costs to the organisation dominates the article. The text centres around what factors have both indirect and direct effects on high turnover and what can be done – what factors need to be considered – in order to achieve the organisational objectives of lower costs and increased outputs and productivity. The article is therefore focused on benefits for management and the organisation. Similar to the above article, the authors’ intention is to point to the practices that organisations may utilise that

will have the best results for the *organisation* in terms of minimised costs and optimised outputs. The recognised institutional purpose of the text follows in a related way. The article is targeting the ideal audience of managers and organisation, as it studies ways in which the organisation itself will benefit, thereby adopting their subject position. Like the previous article, this article also specifically mentions HRM literature and practices, and in its' discussions draws on the HRM discourse. However, unlike the previous QWL text, the language the authors adopt in terms of their subject position and HRM discourse seems instinctive and intrinsic to them. In other words, the use of such a discourse was very natural to the authors, they were unconsciously adopting it, in all probability because it was innate to their worldviews. In the previous text, the author was more consciously adopting the HRM discourse and the subject position of managers; the author was more aware of the language she adopted, she knowingly adopted this particular discourse and worldview. For example, with the first text the author *mentioned* a few times the negative impact of HRM practices for its' own sake even though she did not elaborate or highlight it. With this article, the authors discuss job stress and burnout only in relation to the negative impact it has on turnover, not for its' own sake, and not for the impact it has on employees. The first article was more subtle and indirect in its' language and discourse, 'softer', about increasing performance through QWL; this article is more direct in its' use of language and discourse about its' specific method of utilising QWL to decrease turnover and increase output. As argued by Luke (1996) the choice of discourse employed in a text may either be a deliberate or unconscious choice.

This text is therefore specifically written for managers and perhaps consultants. Once again, there may be three subjects (people) in the text: consultants and psychologists, managers, and employees, but the text is written for and directed to the former two, and is concerned with the latter. There is an explicit power relation (once more, it comes from both a societal and institutional level) evident here, with the presence of and engagement with an unmistakable managerial discourse. All of the text is predicated on the primacy of the values, goals and objectives of the organisation, with little – or perhaps, no – references to the impact on and welfare or the values and goals of employees. Management is exercising their power and control over employees on whom certain work practices are imposed upon, so that management and organisations will incur less costs and increase their outputs. The marked power imbalance points to how management is effortlessly able to impose their work practices and ideology on employees for the benefit of the former, so that management is able to achieve its goals. The interest and focus is on the goals of management, there is no

mention of any benefits on workers. Existing power relations are therefore maintained, not challenged. In addition, by providing ways in which organisations may reduce turnover – make jobs more challenging, increase reward and career opportunities – the authors show how organisations *bargain* with and further control workers to make them more happier and satisfied so that they will stay with the organisation and increase their output. What Rose (1999) argued above requires repetition here: “The new ways of relating the feelings and wishes of individual employees to the fate of the enterprise are key elements in the fabrication of new languages and techniques to bind the worker into the productive life of society” (Rose, 1999, p. 60). By using such techniques, management is able to more tightly bind the worker to their organisation. Happier workers are more productive workers, and much more likely to stay in the organisation than dissatisfied workers. Essentially this is the implicit premise of this article. If we follow Fairclough (2010) in his analyses of political texts, the above two texts may be effectively regarded arguments whose structures are planned along these lines:

Premises: Performance and output needs to be increased within organisations, and turnover and turnover intention must be decreased. This will have overall benefits on the organisation in terms of lower costs and increased productivity and outputs. Organisations that wish to lower their costs and increase productivity need to effectively utilise HRM practices or QWL because increasing job satisfaction and commitment will assist the organisation in achieving these goals.

Implicit premise: (Organisations want to lower costs and increase productivity.)

Conclusion: (Further) HRM practices and /or QWL must be (more) effectively and efficiently adopted to achieve such goals.

Article 3. The article by Kandasamy and Sreekumar (2009) is the only article in the sample that utilises a qualitative (content analysis) methodology. The authors discuss how current times have resulted in organisations realising that its’ employees are the “primary source for a company’s competitive advantage and organisational prosperity” (p. 59). If organisations do not treat employees in a way that increases their commitment and loyalty, satisfaction will decline and result in low performance and turnover. Organisations and specifically, management, have the responsibility of making certain that workers who are highly committed to achieving organisational goals have a high QWL. Additionally, studies on QWL show that organisations that are focused on QWL are “more effective at retaining their employees and achieving their goals” (p. 60). Low QWL has a negative impact on

quality of services and organisational commitment. Because QWL programmes improves job satisfaction, “satisfied employees are more likely to work harder and provide better services” (p. 60). If employees *perceive* the organisation as offering a good work environment, it will increase satisfaction, leading to higher performance and involvement and lower turnover. Thus, satisfied employees are more effective, efficient and productive. The organisation therefore has more positive outcomes when such constructs are understood, communication and measured. The aim of the authors is to develop a tool to measure QWL, because of the importance of the construct to organisations and managements.

This content of the text is primarily interested in improving QWL, not for the sake of employees, but for the numerous benefits and advantages it offers the organisation – efficient and effective service, and increased productivity. Like the second article, the authors are explicit about the subject position they are adopting; they are concerned with the benefits QWL has for the organisation, adopting the position of management. Hence, their article is written for or directed to the ideal audience of managers and researchers, as is also mentioned in their conclusion. Interestingly, the authors recognise the importance of words and meanings – discourse – as they are preoccupied with and stress the need for a comprehensive definition and measuring instrument or tool for QWL. It could be argued that they are aware of the implications this would have, as measurement allows for control (*see* Foucault, 1977; Townley, 1993). If there is a proper measurement tool for QWL, management would be able to effectively control QWL. The authors offer a definition for QWL that warrants mention here. This definition states that QWL encompasses workplace strategies, operations and an environment that promotes and maintains satisfaction *so that* it will improve organisational effectiveness as well as working conditions for employees. Thus, QWL is a strategy that aims to increase job satisfaction so that the effectiveness of the organisation will be enhanced. The concern and focus of this definition is organisation-related benefits.

The authors also refer to employee as “internal customers” that require “internal marketing”. Their jobs need to be shaped or moulded to fit their human needs. This implies the need to sell the job to employees; to market it effectively though QWL. The authors even assert that marketing to employees is more important than marketing to customers. This is because internal marketing elicits excellent service and external marketing from the employees themselves. If the jobs are effectively marketed to employees, there will be increased job satisfaction and employees will provide a higher service quality that will

increase the customers' satisfaction. The organisation is who ultimately benefits, as they are achieving dual goals simultaneously: more effective, efficient workers, and more satisfied customers, which both translate to higher productivity and profits for the organisation. Thus, the focus is on the needs and goals of the organisation, not those of the employees.

Employees may perceive that the organisation is interested in increasing their satisfaction, but this is not done for its' own sake. The organisation wishes to increase the satisfaction of employees so that they will increase the productivity of the organisation. Thus, employees are manipulated into achieving the needs of the organisation. Again, the discourse impacts on the subjectivity of the worker, how they know themselves as workers and/or as factors of production. The text and the techniques of QWL, are "the new ways of relating the feelings and wishes of individual employees to the fate of the enterprise [and] are key elements in the fabrication of new language and techniques to bind the worker into the productive life of society" (Rose, 1990, p. 60). Thus, the language used in this text (the discourse) and the techniques described are new ways of acting on the worker, impacting on the nature of their work and their subjectivity, and aiming to bind them more tightly to their work to increase their productivity and efficiency.

2. Organisational citizenship behaviour.

Analysis of the two articles on organisational citizenship behaviour (OCB) – Jung and Hong (2008) and Chen and Chiu (2009) – found that the central premises of the articles are alike, and they therefore follow similar structures or arguments, planned along these lines:

Premises: In order to increase job performance, effectiveness and productivity in the organisation, OCB needs to be increased, by way of motivating job characteristics, innovative management methods, job redesign and/or total quality management (TQM), as these increase job involvement, employee satisfaction, loyalty, and commitment.

Implicit premise: (Organisations want to increase the performance and productivity of its' employees by increasing their OCB .)

Conclusion: All aspects and elements of OCB need to be measured and emphasised in order for there to be effective implementation of OCB so that organisations may achieve their objectives.

The definitions of OCB provided by both texts have a distinctive focus on the goals and objectives of the organisation, and the benefits that OCB provides for the organisation.

Definitions are important as the words and meanings of the definition often inform research studies, and dimensions for study are chosen in accordance with the definition. Jung and Hong (2008) adopt the definition of OCB as “discretionary behaviours on the part of an employee that directly promote *the effective functioning of an organisation*, independent of an employee’s objective productivity” (p. 794, italics added). Effectiveness is a direct result of proactive and benevolent behaviours toward the organisation on the part of the employees. Similarly, five elements of OCB can be identified: altruism, courtesy, conscientiousness, civic virtue and sportsmanship. Chen and Chiu (2009) define OCB as “behaviour that is not directly recognised by an organisation’s formal reward system but that is generally *beneficial to the function of organisational effectiveness*” (p. 475, italics added). Such behaviours include employees’ helping their co-workers to complete their work, employees’ willingness to support the organisation, and employees’ performance of extra job-prescribed duties. OCB can be succinctly described as behaviours that are beneficial to the *organisation* (see italicised parts of the definitions), and this is the concern, focus and objective of both texts. Even considering the elements of OCB (Jung & Hong, 2008) and the behaviours (Chen & Chiu, 2009), these have a direct impact on the organisation, being evidently and especially beneficial to the organisation, not the employees.

The purpose and objective of both sets of authors is to show what promotes OCB, and how OCB may be increased and measured for the benefit of the organisation. OCB has been transformed into a *construct* whose dimensions may be measured and therefore controlled through the measurement of certain behaviours and factors. Islam and Zyphur (2006) suggest that such constructs need to be considered as they are often socially constructed ones, and widely ‘acceptable’ and thus point to the political nature of the discourse that is being used. Such constructs only serve to maintain existing power and social relations, because they uphold dominant interests. In these texts for instance, the construct of OCB is defined and measured in a way that allows for the objectives of management and organisations to be achieved, thus preserving their interests. In addition, developing constructs that may be measured through examining the presence or absence of particular factors and behaviours, is a tool for control, as measurement is a powerful form of control (*see* Foucault, 1977; Islam & Zyphur, 2006 *above*). Measurement reduces the complexity of social behaviour into easily measurable units, leading to complex human beings being diminished to discrete, quantifiable and measurable human resources. Thus, texts like these two uphold a discourse wherein the aim is to subtly measure, manipulate, control and exert power over human beings; to motivate

and satisfy employees so that the organisation may benefit, that is a discourse that favours the needs and interests of the organisation over those of its' workers – a managerial or HRM discourse. Implicit in the texts then is the existence and upholding of an ideology that tips in favour of management, one that is concerned with – above all – increasing the productivity and performance of employees.

The concern with the culture of the organisation in the form of OCB, points to the organisational culture and quality rhetoric, together with normative control, that is occupying contemporary managerial ideology, described by Barley and Kunda (1992, *see above*). Control in organisational culture revolves around shaping employees' emotions, identities, beliefs and attitudes. Normative ideologies emphasise the employees' relation to the organisation. This is essentially what OCB is trying to do, and what the concerns of both texts and discourses are. It is therefore self-evident that the ideal audience for the text are organisations, management and consultants, the text is written for them so that it may provide insights as to how best they may benefit from increasing employees' OCB, and the most efficient ways to go about implementing it. Once again, this also impacts on the worker's identity, on his/her subjectivity, as the discourse attempts to colonise the worker's psyche. Rose (1990) states: "The subjectivity of the worker has thus emerged as a complex territory to be explored, understood and regulated. Management has become dependent upon an objective knowledge, a scientific expertise and a rational technology of the personal and interpersonal" (p. 56). In other words, the worker emerges to be manipulated, fixed in time and space to be made productive. Discourses and texts like this one and QWL-related practices are attempts to colonise or own the subjectivity of the worker, that is, it has political effects in terms of entrenching existing power relations.

Jung and Hong (2008) also consider employees as the "internal customers" of the organisation, like the third text on QWL above. This has already been discussed. Jung and Hong (2008) also specifically mention the use of total quality management (TQM), and how soft TQM, not hard TQM, is more likely to lead to the desired benefits for the organisation. This may be regarded akin to hard and soft HRM, as TQM would fall under the umbrella of HRM. They do however suggest that research should consider whether the successful implementation of hard TQM will enhance the performance effects of soft TQM. This focus on HRM practices and methods dominate much of the article with relation to the negative and positive effects these practices have on the *organisation*. It could be argued that the authors

are interested in a subtler and softer control strategy in the form of soft HRM, and how to use soft HRM as a facade for hard HRM. Thus, their strategy is specifically to increase performance through increasing commitment and devotion of employees. The authors themselves point to this in their conclusion: “Employees’ willingness to *sacrifice* themselves, or at least cooperate with the organisation, will contribute to the quality, productivity, customer satisfaction, and employee satisfaction” (p. 804, emphasis added). The choice of *sacrifice* as a word is worthy of note; it points to the idea that the interests of employees be sacrificed over those of management (quality and productivity), as the latter’s interests is of more importance and substance than the former’s. This is, of course, not directly stated in the text, or in any of the above texts, but by the constant and consistent focus on benefits and needs of the organisation (performance, productivity, efficiency, effectiveness), one could argue that this is indeed the case in all the texts thus far; it is clearly implied in and thus easily inferred from the text in terms of the discourses – the choice of words, sentences, meanings, even worldviews – that these authors employ. Additionally, not only is employee satisfaction the final consideration and benefit – it is added almost as an afterthought, but, once again, employee satisfaction is not studied for its’ own sake but rather for its’ effects on performance, a common occurrence in such texts (*see above*, Islam & Zyphur, 2006).

The choice of words utilised in a text and the manner in which these are conveyed, communicated the perspective and the discourse that the authors of a text are adopting and thus upholding. Chen and Chiu (2009) specifically mention “from the organisation’s perspective” and “organisational beneficial behaviours” and “organisational commitment”. Such choice of words clearly express the presence of a managerial perspective and ideology within the text. This clearly conveys a message to the worker as well – a message about who is important (management and the organisation), about who is in control (management and the organisation), and about what is required of the worker (increased performance and productivity). Interestingly, Chen and Chiu (2009) suggest in their conclusion that future research could consider the negative effects of job characteristics on individuals. However, they have not considered it, instead choosing to consider its’ adverse effects on *organisations*. Similarly, all the hypotheses of Chen and Chiu’s (2009) study contain the words “job involvement”, and all the hypotheses of Jung and Hong’s (2008) study contain the words “TQM” and half of them contains the word “performance”. Considering the direction of the hypotheses once again points to the interests and purposes of the author – the adoption of an organisational viewpoint, how such factors impact on the organisation.

3. *Employee empowerment.*

Article 1. The first article by Boudrias, Gaudreau, Savoie and Morin (2009) is an argument that may be structured as follows:

Premises: Employee empowerment is a central concept that must be effectively implemented in terms of empowering managerial practices, psychological empowerment (PE) and behavioural empowerment (BE), with a particular focus on BE if the organisation wishes to enhance performance. Creating an empowering, proactive behaviour will increase job satisfaction, citizenship behaviour, productivity, innovation, performance, efficacy and effectiveness. To know if empowerment is achieving these desired benefits, they need to know whether their practices are generating a proactive motivation and proactive behaviours amongst employees.

Implicit premise: (The organisation wants to enhance bottom-line results.)

Conclusion: Organisations must crucially focus on successfully encouraging a proactive motivational orientation as well as work on increasing the behavioural empowerment of their employees.

This article follows the same structure and argument, and therefore has the same concerns as the above articles. It is straightforward text in that it is a mainstream text that follows a clearly-marked out structure, argument, and description. Like other similar texts, it speaks to its' ideal audience of managers and consultants using a managerial or HRM discourse. This discourse is evident through its' central concerns; it is focused on how empowerment may be effectively utilised within organisations to achieve desired objectives and results. The topic dominating this text is implicitly profit and productivity. The intended message of the author is how behavioural empowerment may be effectively utilised for the needs of the organisation, and how managerial practices directly influence the motivation and behaviours of employees. The authors are undoubtedly adopting a managerial subject position; they are engaged with ways in which the organisation may improve their 'bottom line results' and generate proactive behaviours within their workforce. This subject position logically flows from the focus of the text and from the audience the text is written for, and has not been adopted by the authors. Rather, it is natural in their discourse, in their way of talking and using words and in the structure of the text. This is evident in a first-reading of the text, in its' manifest content, without even considering the latent content. In other words, the subject position had not been decided, it was inherent to the discourse of the authors.

The implicit premise of the article – the organisation wanting to enhance bottom-line results – also implies greater levels of self-surveillance and self-domination, as workers subordinate themselves to the goals of the organisation. Self-surveillance and self-domination are central to contemporary organisations, and may be described as technologies of the self:

Technologies of the self, which permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality (Foucault, 1988, p. 18).

Technologies of the self are central to domination, they enable employees to strategise their own subordination, and carry out their own surveillance and control. Control in this way is not direct control, but rather more subtle control. The lack of direct control “leaves employees with a sense of liberation and capacity for negotiated self-identity and reality, as well as potential for different operations of power and forms of domination. Cultural and other forms of disciplinary control... are internalised... as a form of self-control” (Deetz, 1998, p356). With direct control, “management watches the work effort, rewards and punishes according to personal standards for desired work characteristics”, but in subtle control, “management instrumentalises the employee... and hires experts to construct systems to get the most from the employee” (Deetz, 1998, p. 164). The systems constructed are QWL and its’ related systems of empowerment, behaviour, commitment, and the experts constructing them are psychologists and organization/OD consultants. On the one hand, employees may assume their subjectivities in these systems are their own and passively accept it as natural. On the other hand, by creating a false sense of autonomy in employees through increasing empowerment and commitment, management ensures active consent. This is described as strategizing or participating in one’s own subordination where employees are accomplices in their own exploitation, and it is this, which more than destroying subjectivity, makes employees instrumentalise and strategize themselves. Thus, through self-surveillance and self-management of one’s behaviour, bodies, feelings and dress, employees use themselves, benefiting management’s interest more than their own. The inner world of the employee is thus managed in this way. Thus, empowerment processes are not liberating the worker, they are enmeshing him/her in a deepening network of power that impacts directly on his/her self-identity.

Relations of power are not explicitly mentioned but are easily noticeable in the article. That this power relation is tipped in favour of managers is evident in the different definitions of empowerment, empowered individuals and behavioural empowerment provided by the authors. As discussed above, management exerts this power in a subtle way, by creating a workplace in which employees impose power structures – through surveillance, control and subordination – upon themselves. Empowerment is a tool that managers use to ensure employees work towards achieving the goals of the organisation. Additionally, the definitions used in the text – which is the basis for all studies and are often repeatedly quoted and mentioned – centre around how empowered employees lead to positive outcomes for the organisation. That is, they have a “proactive work orientation” and “organisational citizenship behaviours”, they have the “means to achieve expected results”, they have a real “impact on organisational outcomes”, they aim towards “securing work effectiveness” and at “improving work efficiency” (p. 626-627). Because this power relation is managerially inclined, the discourse being presented is also managerially inclined. These positive outcomes have an adverse effect on worker’s subjectivity. The knowledge produced in this text, and similar texts has discursive effects on workers, on how they come to relate to the organisation and on how they relate to themselves (see above, technologies of the self). It may therefore be concluded that this text upholds a top-down power relation and sustains a managerial ideology.

Article 2. Ongori’s (2009) paper is a theoretical paper that discusses the concept of empowerment, its’ theoretical perspectives and its’ benefits to the organisation. The author’s specific concern is what organisations should do to enhance employee empowerment and reduce employee turnover. The author therefore adopts a managerial perspective, even describing empowerment as a “complex management tool which needs to be nurtured and handled with a lot of care” (p. 9). If management effectively uses this tool it will improve productivity, performance and job satisfaction, and lead to the organisation achieving a competitive advantage. The author also explicitly points to his managerial subject position when he states that “management must empower their employees so that they can be motivated, committed, satisfied and assist the organisation in achieving its objectives” (p. 10). The author therefore writes for the benefit of the organisation. Ongori’s (2009) choice of words such as ‘management tool’, ‘subordinates’, ‘discipline’ maintains a top-down power relation. Additionally, Ongori’s (2009) characterisation of employees as easily controlled, malleable, weak and subordinate is unmistakable throughout the article and not only further maintains

existing power relations but also serves to express a dominant ideology and discourse that employees are subject to. The author repeatedly concerns himself with the benefits that the organisation will receive through employee empowerment, this focus dominates his article, making it apparent that he is speaking to management and he is writing for their audience. The voice that is speaking is management, and the recipient of the voice is the worker, once again having an effect on the subjectivity and identity of the worker. The worker becomes of secondary importance, with the goals of management being of primary importance. The knowledge or the discourse being presented in the text is a managerially-inclined one. The worker becomes someone to be known and categorised so that their subjectivity may be more effectively controlled and manipulated. The current vocabulary and language of management, present in the other texts as well, like other managerial ideologies before them, is part of the focus and attention on the differences between workers, “seeking to know them and managing them from the perspective of social and institutional goals and objectives, an attention that enmeshed the individual within a complex of calculative practices” (Rose, 1990, p. 59). Thus, management needs to know workers and to colonise their psyche and subjectivity as this is requisite to achieve the goals and objectives of the organisation. These texts therefore analyse and untangle how best such practices like QWL may be used with employees to elicit the most positive outcomes.

4. Employee involvement.

The article by Brown, Geddes and Heywood (2007) deals with the determinants of four types of employee involvement (EI) schemes: autonomous groups, quality circles, joint consultative committees and task forces. That is, the authors central focus is what determines whether EI schemes will be successfully adopted and implemented in organisations. EI is considered to be an HRM practice. They also consider complementary HRM practices that increase the possibility of successful EI. They suggest that organisations adopt other HRM practices in addition to EI because “the productivity gains from combined HRM practices are greater than the sum of each individual practice alone” (p. 270). Brown et al. (2007) discuss how EI has the dual advantage of increasing both productivity and job satisfaction, and decreasing costs to the organisation. The authors discuss the many benefits of EI and the many ways in which it may help the organisation but fail to discuss the possible negatives or downsides to it and how it explicitly helps employees. Benefits of EI include: cooperation and efficiency, information exchange and input, and loyalty and low turnover, and creative interaction resulting in better coordination between workers. EI aims to make workers design

the job themselves so that they “are less likely to resent it” (p. 264). The authors also specifically state that EI is a tool to “increase commitment, responsibility and effort” (p. 265) and “organisational performance” (p. 266). This once again points to organisations making workers carry out their own subordination and surveillance – self-surveillance and self-subordination. These technologies were explicated above (See ‘employee empowerment’, article 1 analysis). One point warrants further discussion here. Employee involvement may be regarded as having one major benefit: increasing the ‘loyalty’ of employees. Loyalty is one of the ways in which employees exert subordination and surveillance upon themselves (Deetz, 1998). Deetz (1998) states that loyalty is a type of consent to organisational arrangements that are regarded as natural and indisputable: “Consent processes designate the variety of situations and activities where someone actively, though often unknowingly, accomplishes the interests of others in the faulty attempt to fulfil his or her own” (p. 159). Consent is a direct process when members knowingly subordinate themselves for money, identity and meaning, which should come from the workplace itself, without the need for subordination. Self-subordination hinders the realisation of the goals of the ‘self. The more such content processes are employed, the more loyal or dependent employees become on the organisation, reducing their ‘voice’. Voice is the ability to engage in active contestation or resistance of content processes and challenge dominant interests, thereby recovering marginalised interests. Increase in loyalty makes employees less capable of voice. To ensure employees stay in organisations, to reduce turnover and to increase performance, management attempts to increase their ‘loyalty’. Increased loyalty means decreased resistance to power. Employee involvement schemes provide management with a tool to do so.

EI may therefore be regarded as a technique that organisations use to make workers impose control and subordination upon themselves. It also increases surveillance through the increased interaction between workers, where workers are not merely watching themselves, they are also watching their co-workers. A striking aspect of this text is the potential the text and the authors had to be critical. Brown et al. (2007) explicitly state that EI is a tool that may be used to increase performance, that it helps workers design their own job so they would not resent it, and that “EI may be used to get employees to ‘buy in’ to changes in work practices or organisation that otherwise might not be palatable” (p. 270). That is, it is pointed out that EI may be used as a tool to control and manipulate workers and to make them do things they would not otherwise do. However, the authors do not go any further with these points as they do not intend these to be critical words or phrases. That is, in the context of their text their

intention is not to be critical or to critique EI. Their intention is to show managers and organisations what a powerful tool EI is for their use and how it can be used to their benefit. Had these phrases and sentences been worded in an alternate way, had the authors followed these with different ideas and thoughts or continued with a similar train of thought, had the authors contextualised it in a different way, it would have resulted in an altogether different discourse being privileged.

As it stands however, a managerialist point of view is still maintained within the article, sustaining instead of (possibly) transforming power relations. The text did however have the potential to transform power relations through challenging dominant ideology. In their choice of words however, the authors make explicit the subject position they have adopted. The author's ideal audience remains managers and organisations, privileging the discourse of management and HRM over a more critical discourse. The fundamental concern of the text is what practices the organisation may adopt that will best increase the likelihood of the successful implementation of EI, and will result in the most benefits to the organisation, in terms of increased productivity and performance, and lower turnover. McKinlay and Taylor (1998) state that employee involvement regimes "are 'successful' to the extent that they impose increasing psychological pressure on workers to seek personal satisfactions through their assimilation – and realisation – of *corporate goals* of quality and flexibility" (p. 174, emphasis added). Similarly, the authors are interested in how best employees may be controlled and manipulated to achieve the goals of the organisation, and thus characterise the employees as being easily malleable and influenced to do what the organisation wishes them to do. The pressure is placed on employees to carry out the wishes of the organisation so that organisational goals are realised.

7.2.3. Stage 3: Consider whether the social order 'needs' the social wrong.

The current social order may be basically described as one in which those with more power are able to exert their discourse and ideology (discourse is ideological) over those with little or no power. In workplaces, corporations and organisations, such an order indicates that managers will be exercising power over employees, often with the assistance of management and/or organisational consultants and scientists, as well as psychologists, who assist in upholding the ideology of management and presenting their discourse. Management needs their ideology to dominate research on QWL, because not only does this mean that their

discourse is prevailing, but also because upholding management ideology serves to sustain their power relations. This allows them to focus on how to draw out the highest effectiveness, efficiency, productivity, and the like from employees, effectively helping them to control and manipulate employees. A managerialist ideology has always been intrinsic to the social order; although the tenor of it may have altered between rational and normative types of control, and its' focus may have differed according to context, there has always been a managerialist ideology prevalent in organisations and sustained by consultants and psychologists (see chapter two). Such a social order inevitably leads to the social wrong, that is, it inevitably leads to a managerialist ideology permeating research and studies (currently, research on QWL); a managerial point-of-view is predictably going to be presented if a managerialist ideology is innate in the social order.

As this is the current situation, the social order inevitably and naturally leads to the social wrong in question, the social wrong will therefore not easily be dealt with within the social order. It follows then that the social order ought to change. As Fairclough (2010) states though, at this point, one has to question whether the social order *can* be changed. That is, the inconsistencies and contradictions within the social order need to be extensive, compelling and resilient in order for it to be challenged so that it would be changed. Additionally, those who wish to change need to have the power – in terms of resources and forces – to change it. One may question whether this is even possible, with the deep entrenchment of a managerial discourse and ideology. This leads us to the final stage, what ways may be identified that will offer a way past the obstacles of a dominant managerial ideology.

7.2.4. Stage 4: Identify possible ways past the obstacles

There are of course *opportunities* within the social order for conquering obstacles, or, at the least, addressing social wrongs and bringing them to light. Fairclough's (2010) method calls for a focus on how these opportunities present themselves in terms of a dialectical relationship between discourse and other elements. That is, Fairclough (2010) states that what needs to be identified and considered are the ways in which language, words, sentences, and discourse, have challenged, criticised, resisted and opposed the current social order and the dominant discourse. There are many authors that have challenged, critiqued, opposed and criticised dominant and mainstream practices, discourses and ideologies, thereby offering an alternative language and way of speaking and thinking through their critical discourse. (*See*

Abel, 2005; Alvesson & Willmott, 1992; Breen & Jones, 2008; Brief, 2000; Clegg, 1998; Deetz, 1998; Fairclough, 2010; Fox, 2008; Islam & Zyphur, 2006; Jermier, 1998; Keenoy, 1999; Knights, 1992; McKinlay & Taylor, 1998; Miller & Rose, 1995; Prilleltensky, 1989, 1994, 2008; Prilleltensky & Nelson, 2002; Ratele & Duncan, 2003; Rose, 1990, 1999; Shore, 1982; Steffy & Grimes, 1986, 1992; Townley, 1993; Wells, 1987; *among others*). Some authors also offer an idea of what they believe critical psychology, critical IP, and critical management studies should look like. Such authors have exposed managerial ideology and mainstream discourse for what they are: tools of manipulation and control that sustain power relations and thus have hegemonic effects.

Critical psychology and critical IP is a field of knowledge that offers an alternative to the mainstream discourse and thought, a way past the obstacles of the social wrong. However, while the Society for Industrial and Organisational Psychology (SIOP) provides ethical and legal guidelines for IP, there are no guidelines for critical psychology or critical IP (Breen & Jones, 2008; Islam & Zyphur, 2006). Furthermore, Breen and Jones (2008) state: “codes of ethics have been criticised for being reactive rather than proactive – they are altered only after issues and problems with them are identified – and for serving the interests of researchers rather than the researched” (p. 8). It is suggested that critical IP should not only focus on profit and performance, but on institutional, social, personal and environmental aspects of the field, in both consultation and academia. Critical IP needs to be reflexive, asking of itself whether it is affecting harm or doing good, so that it may be beneficial to the employees. Islam & Zyphur (2006) state that they are not suggesting that an applied psychology is ‘wrong’ or that critical psychology is ‘right’. Rather, critical IP is essentially a call for a socially responsible application of the field. In addition, if IP considers this, then the use of psychological research and IP technologies for benefit of workers can be manifold.

The concepts of ideology and power (particularly Foucault’s power) are crucial concepts (or words) that needs to be examined and confronted in research and practice, as they are, what Fairclough (2010) would describe as, a semiotic means of overcoming obstacles to the social wrong. These concepts challenge and critique dominant and mainstream discourse. Ideology has also been used by critical writers in their critique of mainstream organisational discourse, though not as widely as power (*see* Dobles, 1999; Fairclough, 1989; 2010; Fox, 1985; Lane, 1999; Prilleltensky, 1989, 1994, 2008; Prilleltensky & Nelson, 2002). Many critical authors have used the works of Foucault and his

concepts of power, power/knowledge, genealogy and subjectivity, in creating a more critical perspective on psychology and IP (*see* Abel, 2005; Clegg, 1998; Covalski et al., 1998; Deetz, 1998; Ezzamel & Willmott, 1998; Fairclough, 1989, 2010; Islam & Zyphur, 2006; Jermier, 1998; Knights, 1992, 2002; Ratele & Duncan, 2003; Townley, 1993). However, these works are rare within mainstream psychology. Islam and Zyphur (2006) most aptly describe why it is so important to bring Foucault's concepts of power/knowledge into mainstream discourse and texts:

The concepts of power and knowledge used in Foucault can bring the social element into concepts usually seen as purely technical... Foucault emphasised the unpacking of social power relations in what may formerly have been seen as purely technical or specialised scientific fields. These power relations can be seen in the delimiting of specialised scientific fields whose conclusions are viewed by the public as resulting from impartial or objective study. However, these specialisations also become endowed with a unique capability to define and control social processes... This mix of specialisation and power is the basis of power/knowledge (p. 20).

Furthermore, Abel (2005) argues that through the conceptualisation of power as well as the exposition of the patterns of power relations and the operations of power present in mainstream theory through its 'value-free scientific' claim, "Foucault explains how the negative aspects of organisational existence are preserved and how science may be mobilised in order to transform or reverse those patterns" (p. 514). Thus, Foucault's concept of power may be effectively utilised to dispel the 'dark side' of organisations.

Thus, if concepts like power/knowledge are incorporated into organisational research and discourse, it will assist in deconstructing processes and practices, as well as adding a social element in concepts that are highly technical and specialised. Furthermore, an important part of the concepts of power and ideology is that they are inextricably linked: "Ideologies are a significant element of processes through which relations of power are established, maintained, enacted and transformed" (Fairclough, 2010, p. 26). Ideology is also intrinsic to the use of language as it is regarded as being located in discourse. Thus, both ideology and power should continue to be used in critical discourses and texts as well as be brought into the mainstream, because they offer a sound, well-substantiated, and well-researched way of challenging and critiquing the social wrong in question, thereby offering a way past the obstacles posed by the social wrong.

Chapter 8: Discussion

In this chapter, two important issues that came about during data analysis but were not explored will be discussed in detail here. In addition, this chapter will succinctly answer the research questions, even though these would have been implicitly answered through the course of data analysis.

8.1. Issues for Discussion

Two additional issues that came about during textual analysis and that warrant further discussion here are: the methodology (and hence, epistemology) employed by the authors within the texts – one that is largely mainstream, and the practices that assist with the presentation of the dominant discourses (that is, journalistic standards and constraints).

8.1.1. Mainstream epistemology and methodology.

Of the eight articles in the textual sample, one was a theoretical paper, one employed qualitative content analysis, and the remaining six used quantitative methods in their study. Quantitative research, particularly experimental designs, are privileged over other forms of research and methodologies that are marginalised within disciplines like psychology where the dominant narrative and epistemology is positivism. This seems to be the central problem as the dominance of positivism leads to certain discourses being privileged over others. Psychology, management and organisation science and scientists/researchers have, “almost since its inception... embraced positivism through its insistence that psychological science is objective, generalisable, and value free (or neutral)... Alternative epistemologies and methodologies remain predominantly at the margins within psychological research” (Breen & Jones, 2008, p. 2). A positivist epistemology means that knowledge needs to be objective, value-free, neutral and acquired through the use of a scientific method. The central tenets of positivism are control, description, prediction, and explanation, with its central goals being to create universal laws.

Mainstream and contemporary organisational theory and discourse has similar tenets. As discussed above, Islam and Zyphur (2006) argue that this epistemological choice of quantification and the like is a direct result of unquestioned political dynamics in IP, and that positivism helps maintain a managerial bias and top-down power relations. The privileged position that positivist epistemology and methodology has acquired has led to the

maintenance of a hegemony of the positivist epistemology, dismissing and diminishing alternative epistemologies. Additionally, the hegemony of positivism also serves to maintain the hegemony of a managerial ideology, with management and organisational knowledge being regarded as tools of 'technical control' or 'a bag of tricks' (Nodoushani, 1999). To this effect, Nodoushani (1999) states that the dominant epistemology controls the production of knowledge: "The simple, if unspoken truth, is that the positivist epistemology has functioned as a hegemonic approach within universities and maintained control over the professional associations devoted to generation of new knowledge" (p. 558). This would therefore result in the generation of articles and research papers that (like the above texts) maintains a managerialist ideology and sustains top-down power relations, by focusing on the objectives and goals of managers over employees.

Unfortunately, as Breen and Jones (2008) argue, a "dominance of positivism has the potential to reinforce the position that psychology offers little relevance to the understanding or solution of complex social issues" (p. 14) and the authors therefore assert that "the enduring hegemony of positivism needs to be opposed to enable psychology to genuinely understand the antecedents of, and provide meaningful sustainable solutions for, complex human issues without being constrained by a narrow focus on method" (p. 2). Breen and Jones (2002) assert that it is therefore essential for psychology and psychological research (as well as other disciplines) to embrace a pluralism in terms of methodology and epistemology. Such pluralism necessitates holistic, complex and multi-faceted changes in training, practice and research. This is because change requires various strategies at multiple levels. Implementing such strategies necessitates the participations of psychologists, psychological boards and associations as well as employer and employee groups. Such pluralism is bound to be contentious and resisted, and will therefore require much time and commitment. However, what is being called for is not a rejection of systematic knowledge:

This shift towards pluralism need not negate or compromise the systematic pursuit of knowledge. Indeed, we do not reject the experimental method per se; rather, we acknowledge that a particular type of research question might be best answered by one approach over another. However, the problem lies in the uncritical acceptance of one epistemology, methodology, or method over all others (Breen & Jones, 2008, p.14).

Similarly, Knights (1992) argues that the idea is not to displace positivism, but to show how the production of positivist knowledge in organisations and management relies on “that which they cannot know (e.g., subjectivity or the way in which human beings are categorised or categorise themselves) or choose to ignore (e.g., power)” (p. 515). To this effect, Knights (1992, p. 519) uses Foucault’s archaeological and genealogical insights and analyses and draws up a blueprint of a contrast between positive and anti-positive knowledge, showing the forms of knowledge that emerge from positivism, as well as how positivism and positive knowledge is and can be challenged or contradicted:

Features Associated with Positive Forms of Knowledge	Ideas that Counter the Positive Approaches to Knowledge
1. Treats their subject matter as a "given," exactly like the natural sciences.	1. Refuses either to focus only on the representations of human existence or to reduce subjectivity to an objectification of apparent subjective "characteristics"; instead, the power matrix, which is the background to the production of such representations and objectifications and "characteristics," is examined.
2. Develops laws, rules, or statistical probabilities concerning their respective objects.	2. Recognises the goals of a science of management and organisations as a claim to status, respectability, and legitimacy, but one that is open to ridicule because it is incapable of standing up to the rigour of the methods it has set. That is, its’ emulation of the positive sciences locates it in the trap of having to provide causal explanations, invariable laws, and predictions, the possibility of which would demand that knowledge of management could be independent of, or truly ignore, the conditions (e.g., an elusive subjectivity) of its own production.
3. Acquires the status of sciences.	3. Suggests an analysis that does not use evidence exhaustively to establish a set of causal relations but selectively to render a problem intelligible. This is the genealogical approach, which in displaying the conditions that made it possible for management knowledge to develop, points to the precarious and unreliable character of that knowledge.

4. Becomes an integral part of power relations through their impact on standards of public health (biology), correct grammar (linguistics), and the management of the economy (economics).	4. Encourages management and organisation theorists to confront the way in which power and knowledge influence one another and to refrain from engaging in the practice of power while projecting the pretence of value neutrality. It recognises how management knowledge results from, and contributes to, a particular disciplinary regime.
5. Produces truths (i.e., the norms of what it is to be a healthy, speaking, and productive subject) through their power effects.	5. Perceives truth as an effect of power-knowledge relations rather than the outcome of correct scientific procedure or method. Students of management and organisation, therefore, must avoid presuming that when the practical recommendations of a research project "work," this is so simply because the theory underlying them is true. The "truth" of our knowledge is much more a result of it being seen as true and, as a consequence, drawn upon in the exercise of power.

Table 2. Contrasting positive and anti-positive knowledge. (From Knights, D. (1992).

Changing spaces: The disruptive impact of a new epistemological location for the study of management. *The Academy of Management Review*, 17, 514-536.)

8.1.2. Professional practices.

This stems from a noteworthy point made by Islam and Zyphur (2006), as well as one of the concerns of CDA. The issue here is the professional practices that are in place that support the presentation and dissemination of dominant discourse, practices that include journalistic standards and constraints. It is linked to the above issue, the epistemology of the articles. The following are a list of the journals that the articles dealt with in this analysis have come from

- The Journal of Social Psychology
- Leadership and Organisation Development Journal
- International Journal of Quality and Reliability Management
- International Journal of Productivity and Performance Management
- Economic and Industrial Democracy
- Human Factors and Ergonomics in Manufacturing

- African Journal of Business Management
- Research and Practice in Human Resource Management

All these journals are journals related to Psychology, Industrial Psychology or organisations.

Islam & Zyphur (2006) state that IP journals have a highly applied focus: “In these publications, it is often made clear that it is not just the application of IP which is of paramount importance; it is also the application of IP toward increased organisational performance and greater profit for organisations” (p. 22). In the discourse of such journals is an intrinsic management perspective or the perspective of those who hold power in organisations. It is not so much the topics that are discussed or dealt with in these journals, rather it is the perspective – the subject position – that is taken with regards to the topics. That is why it is important to make explicit the standpoint that is adopted by, when looking at texts, asking questions such as “for whom is this concern important”, “who is being positioned as an actor and observer?” “and who is being observed as an outsider?” (Islam & Zyphur, 2006). Although these may seem simple and straightforward questions, they reveal much about the text.

A similar approach was used in the analyses of texts above. The answers to the questions were the same in all articles – the concern of the text is of importance to managers and consultants; it is management, consultants and organisations that are the actors and observers; and, employees are being observed or acted upon as outsiders. The article is *concerned with* employees but for the *concern of* management and consultants. These answers reveal that, what may be described as, a “management myopia” is the concern of the texts – and this is not only a direct result of epistemology (and methodology), but also a result of the professional practices in terms of journalistic standards and constraints. Thus, because of the dominant discourse, research has a management myopia, it “assumes the position of management, informing decisions of management and worrying about management concerns” (Islam & Zyphur, 2006, p23). An example of this can be provided with job satisfaction where the main issue is to link satisfaction with performance. To study satisfaction of workers on its own, irrespective of whether or not it improves performance and productivity, is uncommon in IP. Furthermore, Brief (2000) states that when studying management journals, he found that

the field did not take very seriously the well-being of workers (either economically or psychologically defined) as a desired end in and of itself. The literature overwhelmingly seemed focused on understanding how to make organisations more effective, with effectiveness criteria including indicators of worker well-being only when such measures were justified in terms of their relationships to outcomes really important to managers (p. 345).

8.2. Answering Research Questions

8.2.1. What kind of discourses are evident in QWL?

A discourse may be identified through the use or repetition of certain words. The meanings that are created through the use of the words describes the field of knowledge and the discourse that is being utilised, as they are closely related to a particular worldview or orientation. From the analysis, it is apparent that the discourses evident in literature on QWL are a managerial discourse and HRM. This is because of the repetition of the same words between all the texts and because of the concerns and subject positions that the authors of each text adopt. With regards to the latter, the literature on QWL adopts a managerial point of view and therefore presents a discourse concerned with the objectives and goals of management. Subject position is discussed further below. If one considers the articles the repetition of certain words point to the dominance of a managerial and HRM discourse. Such words include, among others: performance, productivity, effectiveness, involvement, commitment, empowerment, turnover, tenure, exhaustion (in relation to turnover), satisfaction (in relation to turnover), behaviour, and management. Additionally, another factor that confirms the presence of the HRM discourse in the literature on QWL is the actual mention of, discussion about, and engagement with HRM practices, strategies, policies, assumptions, literature, issues, and methods by the authors of the different texts. This occurs in numerous ways in seven of the eight texts. As was stated above, HRM is not merely a range of normative-descriptive discourses that describe how employees should be managed, it is also a set of social practices aiming at (re)engaging employees in the organisation, thereby impacting on the subjectivity of the workers. That is, HRM is both a range of discourses and a set of practices. It goes without saying then, that if the authors are specifically engaging with HRM practices within their text, then the HRM discourse is inherent in the text as well, as the HRM discourse is contained within HRM practices, issues, literature and the like.

8.2.2. To what extent does literature on QWL reflect the Human Resource Management (HRM) discourse?

Keenoy's (1999) description of HRM as being a socio-cultural artefact aptly points out the extent to which literature on QWL reflects the HRM discourse:

More generally, HRMism is a phenomenon which has been constituted and enacted by significant social actors – including managers, employees, unions, politicians, consultants, academics and publishers – all apparently intent on effecting changes in employee-related behaviours. As such, HRMism may be regarded as a socio-cultural artefact implicated in the 'management of meaning' against a socio-economic context in which there is an increasing concern with the 'effective' utilisation of human resources (pp. 2-3).

Both QWL and HRM are phenomena that have been disseminated throughout organisations and research informing their practice has proliferated since their inception. Keenoy's (1999) description points out that HRM discourse and QWL are both effectively concerned with the 'effective' utilisation of human resources by effecting changes in employee-related behaviours. HRM and QWL may be argued to be one and the same, in many ways: HRM discourse manifests itself in QWL practice, QWL practices are incorporated within HRM practices, HRM discourse supports QWL practice, QWL literature reflects an engagement with HRM discourse and practice, and so forth.

8.2.3. Is QWL 'hard' or 'soft' HRM?

QWL *discourse* may be best regarded as soft HRM. Hard HRM are generally practices and methods that are less 'people-friendly' and QWL is an exceedingly people-friendly programme. Like soft HRM, QWL aims to nurture, develop and support employees because they are regarded as important members of the organisation that assist the organisation in achieving their goals. Soft HRM is a discourse that discusses 'high-commitment work systems', 'employee commitment', 'high involvement', 'autonomous work', 'training and development', 'self-direction', 'self-control', 'employee satisfaction', and a 'concern with the human element of the organisation'. All these concepts and values of soft HRM may be found within the tenets and values of QWL. Soft HRM is people-friendly, focused on the employees' emotions, satisfaction and attitude. Soft HRM aims to control employees through eliciting a high commitment to the organisation from them. Similarly, with QWL culture, the aim is to make employees highly focused on the goals of the

organisation through increasing their internal commitment, creating a strong connection between the employee and the organisation and increasing the intrinsic satisfaction that employees receive from their work. The different elements of QWL as well as the QWL indicators – OCB, EI, and employee empowerment – are also often described by the authors as falling within HRM practices. Thus, it may be concluded that QWL *discourse* or *rhetoric* is soft HRM, because of the numerous parallels or similarities that may be drawn between the values and ideals of both QWL and soft HRM. However, it is important to note that whether it is soft or hard HRM both have a significant business function as they both aim to achieve the objectives and goals of the organisation and are carried out by line managers and executives rather than by HR managers or professional personnel. The aim is to make practices such that workers are bound to be higher performers in terms of increased productivity, effectiveness, efficiency, and profitability.

Another important issue here is that while QWL may be soft HRM, it may not be perceived as such by employees. A study discussed in chapter five pointed out that while the *rhetoric* of HRM that is embraced by organisations is often soft HRM, employees often perceive it as hard HRM. Soft HRM is meant to increase both individual development as well as organisational performance, but the focus of organisations is predominantly on improving bottom-line performance, thereby largely ignoring the human aspect. There is therefore a significant distinction between rhetoric (discourse) and reality. QWL, as an HRM discourse or practice, always privileges the needs of the organisation over those of the employees.

8.2.4. What are the subject positions created within the discourses present in QWL literature?

The subject positions created or adopted in the QWL texts analysed above is an organisation or management one. That is, the authors adopt the viewpoint and perspective of management. The discourses of some texts explicitly used words such as ‘benefits to the organisation’, ‘organisation’s perspective’, and ‘organisation beneficial behaviours’. In the analysis of each text, it was clearly stated whose perspective the authors adopted, or from whose subject position they were speaking. In each text it was found that the authors adopted the subject position of organisations or management. These were elaborated on within the analysis, as well as above (section 8.2.2.). Although the texts were concerned with employees, they were concerned with them to the extent that organisations may impose and implement certain practices that would increase the effectiveness, efficiency and productivity

of employees. Thus, it may be effectively concluded that the subject position of the authors within the discourse was one in which they were concerned with how to increase performance of employees for the benefit of management and organisations.

8.3. Marcuse's One-Dimensional Man, Society, Thought and Behaviour

From the above, one may deduce that the voice of the authors in the texts are the voice of management. Workers are the objects of knowledge within these discourses; they are studied as factors of the production process. The knowledge that is produced impacts of their subjectivity, producing them as workers. In this respect, Marcuse's one-dimensional man has become increasingly significant today. The above may be described as what Marcuse termed as a one-dimensional society, where the subject becomes assimilated into the object, abiding by the orders of "external, *objective* structures" (Kellner, 1984, p. 235, emphasis added). The capacity for authors to discover liberating alternatives and to participate in transformative practices to accomplish these alternatives is lost. These alternatives may not exist, but through human practices, they may be attained. As Marcuse (1991) states, "the capabilities (intellectual and material) of contemporary society are immeasurably greater than before", unfortunately this also means that "the scope of society's domination over the individual is immeasurably greater than ever before" (p. xl). Marcuse (1991) argues that although society and man is capable of creating qualitative social change – different institutions, new ways of human existence, and an alternate direction in the productive process – perhaps their most outstanding achievement is containing this social change, thereby extending a system that shapes discourse and action, domination, subordination and power. What results from this, is a one-dimensional state of affairs, described by Kellner (1984) as "a state of affairs that conforms to existing thought and behaviour in which there is the lack of a critical dimension and the dimension of alternatives and potentialities which transcend the existing society" (p. 235). Marcuse (1991) states that the consequence of such a state of affairs is "an overriding interest in the preservation and improvement of the institutional status quo" (p. xliii), a status quo that, "validated by the accomplishments of science and technology, justified by its' growing productivity... defies all transcendence" (p. 19).

According to Marcuse (1991), one-dimensional man does not have, or is losing, freedom, individuality and the power to control their own lives. The space in which man may preserve the 'self', is reduced by a society that controls ambition, hopes, fears and worth, manipulating critical needs: "The price that one-dimensional man pays for its' satisfactions is

surrender of its' freedom and individuality'' (Kellner, 11984, p. 236). Kellner (1984) presents what Marcuse contrasts as the traits and conditions of an authentic individual versus that of a one-dimensional man. This contrast illuminates what one-dimensional man is deficient of.

One-Dimensional Man	Authentic Individuality
(1) Heteronomy/social domination of thought and behaviour: (a) servitude to social control (b) conformity, false needs and consciousness	(1) Autonomy/individual capacity to think, choose and act: (a) freedom from domination (b) freedom for self-determination, choice, dissent and refusal
(2) Mimesis: mechanical reproduction of conformist behaviour	(2) Creative self-activity: growth and development
(3) Unreflective and non-critical acceptance of prevailing needs, ideas and feelings; no sense of one's own needs and potentialities	(3) Reflection and critical awareness of needs, assumptions and one's unique selfhood
(4) Powerlessness/ conditioned behaviour	(4) Power and will: ability for creative action

Table 3. Contrasting one-dimensional man and authentic individuality. (*From Kellner, D. (1984) Herbert Marcuse and the crisis of Marxism. London: MacMillan Education.*)

Through the advancement of technology and other techniques of subordination and control, man does not only lose his individuality, but his freedom as well. Freedom entails knowledge, will and power: the knowledge of one's own desires and needs, the will to choose what one wants and deny other structures and strategies, and the power to overcome obstacles and fulfil one's own potentials. The reason why one-dimensional man cannot identify its own needs is because its' needs are not its' own; needs are imposed and administered to man as they identify with public behaviour thereby submitting to higher powers; and new forms of control leads to man lacking the ability to authentically know his 'self' thereby unknowingly giving in to increasingly total domination (Kellner, 1984; Marcuse, 1991). Thus, Marcuse (1991) states, from this "emerges a pattern of *one dimensional thought and behaviour* in which ideas, aspirations, and objectives that, by their content, transcend the established universe of discourse and action are either repelled or reduced in terms of this universe" (p. 14). In this way, any thought, behaviour or concept that deviates or challenges the status quo is suppressed, invalidated (by science), marginalised, and/or eliminated.

Chapter 9: Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

9.1. Summary

This dissertation was concerned with finding out to what extent published research on QWL reflected a managerial ideology in both its' latent and manifest content. To achieve this necessitated a number of steps, in terms of first providing a literature review and theoretical, conceptual and discursive frameworks for the research topic. Using Fairclough's (2010) methodology, critical discourse analysis was carried out on the sample of texts. From analysis and further discussion, it may be aptly concluded that this research found that published research on QWL, to a large extent, reflects a managerial ideology in both its' latent and manifest content. A managerial ideology was found in a noticeable, manifest way, that is, by simply reading the articles, the perspectives and ideology were easily apparent. In other words, the perspective adopted by the authors and the power relations and dominant ideology that is being upheld, became manifest in an obvious way. A managerial ideology is also present in an underlying, latent way. When characteristics such as the language that the authors employ, their choice and phrasing of words, the discourses used, their underlying concerns and focus, the intrinsic characteristics of the text, the subject positions they take on, the way they present actors and events within the article, their intended message, who they are writing for, ideologies and power relations, were considered then it was found that that the latent content of research on QWL also reflects a managerial ideology. Furthermore, an evaluation of the professional practices and dominant epistemology supported the presence of a managerial ideology in both latent and manifest content.

9.2. Recommendations

Articles and research on QWL and other work-related programmes and topics require further evaluation and study in order to determine the perspectives, subject positions, power relations and ideology present in discourse. Researchers, consultants and psychologists need to adopt a more critical perspective and be more self-reflexive in their research, to challenge and criticise mainstream research and epistemologies, and their control and manipulation of workers. Critical theory provides useful suggestions on how they may go about doing this and what issues are of importance, especially with regard to critical theorist's viewpoint on emancipation, control, and mistreatment of human beings. Critical theory will also provide researchers with descriptive and normative bases for social inquiry, which will help them to decrease domination and increase freedom. It is also imperative that researchers critically

engage with the concepts of power and ideology, and to recognise its pervasiveness in their actions, words and research, indeed, in the very structure of their science.

Steffy and Grimes (1992) discuss the reasons for a more critical approach to the field: there is a wide gap between theory and practice; only the most common sense theories are consistently supported; majority of the research focuses on static instead of dynamic issues like power, conflict, politics and ideology; and the current methodology provides only fragmented explanations that do little to help one understand the complexities of organisational life. The authors explore how a more critical perspective can be approached with reference to level of analysis and subject matter domain. Personnel/organisational psychology (POP) adheres to a micro level, focusing on the individual actor or organisation. To be more critical, a serious attempt should be made to integrate micro and macro levels of analyses so structural and social factors are considered. With regard to subject matter domain, POP falls into the epistemological discipline of biology. However, if POP does not incorporate analysis and subject matter from the other subject regions then it is ontologically biased and representative of a delimited and lacking worldview.

Mainstream researchers need to adopt critical theories and concepts such as power, ideology, and language, and incorporate these into their discourse and practice, as these will add a much-needed dimension and dynamic to research on QWL and similar topics, one that will not constantly position itself on the side of management, and one that will perhaps not fail to consider the importance of the worker's needs and desires.

9.3. Conclusion

There exists within published research and in all likelihood, social practice, the dominance of a managerial perspective and the presence of a managerial ideology. Ideologies and power relations permeate all levels of discourse, informing the words, thoughts, sentences and speech of researchers. These ideologies and power relations have detrimental consequences on those with whom the text deals with – the worker. The language of QWL and all that it encompasses are tools and devices that bind employees to the goals, objectives and ambitions of managers, seeking to disguise inherent contradictions between managers and employees. Workers are dominated, controlled, and manipulated into achieving the objectives and goals of management, and discourse plays a major role in leading to these detrimental effects. The significance of the concepts of power and ideology should be self-

evident as one cannot escape from the influences it exerts on everyday life. However, researchers and social scientists remain largely unaware of it and refuse to address it. Whether this is done through choice or sheer obliviousness is not known. Additionally, those who do address it remain largely marginalised in both discourse and practice. It is necessary that the critical perspective be brought more into the mainstream.

Islam & Zyphur (2006) assert:

We believe that the loss of absolute epistemological certainty is well worth the investment in a critical perspective. For only when the claims of objective validity made in traditional I/O research are submitted to criticism can the social relations underlying these claims be brought to light (p. 27).

Furthermore, as Prilleltensky (1994) states, whilst there may be a preference to favour management over labour, and to uphold the status quo, this “does not preclude the prospect of I/O psychologists challenging it” (p. 149).

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