

Organisational Behaviour: A Review of New Zealand Research*

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The paper provides a comprehensive non-evaluative review of published research on organisational behaviour conducted in New Zealand between about 1970 and 1986, a total of 179 studies. An absence of studies in conventional areas of organisational psychology, for example, personnel selection, and ergonomics, is noted. There has been strong interest in work attitudes, motivation, and job satisfaction, particularly in terms of 'national' characteristics and of specific occupations. Other areas which have received considerable attention are work processes as observed in non-quantitative studies, the behavioural characteristics of Polynesian minorities in the New Zealand workforce, the management of organisations, and the analysis, from various disciplinary perspectives, of industrial relations in the mass-production meat industry. Compared with international research, New Zealand work has been descriptive rather than conceptual, qualitative rather than quantitative, and situation-specific rather than generalisable.

Organisational behaviour is the study of human behaviour in work organisations. It has its roots in what used to be called industrial or occupational psychology, and is now usually called organisational psychology, but also in industrial sociology, organisation theory, social anthropology, and political science. This diversity of origins makes organisational behaviour truly interdisciplinary, and provides it with greater explanatory power than that of any of the constituent disciplines alone. On the other hand, the range of competing frameworks within which to study and understand any particular phenomenon is wide. Diverse paradigms and conceptual structures may be used. Even the unit for analysis (organisation? group? individual?) is unclear. It frequently seems, therefore, that organisational behaviour is fragmented. These points emerge strongly in the following review.

Organisational behaviour is influential. Nourished more than anywhere else in the booming business schools of the 1960's and 1970's, it has become a basic element in the education of managers, administrators, supervisors, accountants and professional staff in both the private and the public sectors. In New

Zealand universities, for example, an estimated 2000 undergraduates per year take basic courses in which organisational behaviour is the main, or only, discipline. Advanced and postgraduate programmes, technical institute courses, and courses for experienced managers and public servants add many more students to the number. The narrower field of organisational psychology is studied to a higher level by psychology majors in New Zealand mainly at Waikato, Massey, and Canterbury Universities, but their numbers are smaller, and they have less potential influence on organisations. Courses in organisational behaviour tend to be viewed—by students and business managers especially—in pragmatic terms, as training rather than education, and as a source of technique and practice for making organisations more efficient for their owners and more satisfying for their members. On the other hand, a balanced education in organisational psychology attempts to blend theory, research, and practice.

Over the years, the burgeoning research and theory development in organisational behaviour, centred on the United States of America, has produced an orthodoxy in methodology and theory represented typically in glossy undergraduate textbooks. These tend to follow stereotyped lines, with chapters on "motivation", "group behaviour", "leadership", "organisation structure", "organisational development" and other set topics, based on abstract theories

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derived from large-scale factorial studies in large organisations. Key concepts include "job satisfaction", "attitudes", "expectations", "interpersonal communication", "group norms", "leadership style", "bureaucratic structure", and "organisational change". Less emphasis is given to areas of traditional concern in industrial psychology, such as selection, training, performance appraisal, and physical conditions of work.

Organisational behaviour was established as a research-based discipline in New Zealand in the late 1960's and early 1970's, when most Universities established at least one relevant position. In research and publication, a lead was taken by a psychologist, George Hines of Victoria University of Wellington and subsequently of Massey University. Within a few years, Hines published a basic New Zealand oriented text (Hines, 1972a), a book of local case studies (Hines, 1973a), a research-based book on New Zealand managers (Hines, 1973b), and an edited set of readings on business in New Zealand society (Hines, 1973c), as well as completing a number of empirical research projects, cited elsewhere in this review. Subsequently, numerous empirical projects have been completed, by researchers from all over the country. A number of publications have been edited from collections of papers at specific conferences (McLennan, 1977, 1978, 1979; McLennan, Smith, Inkson and Marsh, 1979; Marsh and McDonald, 1983). Boxall, Rudman, and Taylor (1986) incorporated an effective treatment of 'practical' organisational behaviour within a New Zealand-oriented personnel management text. However, prior to the present paper, no attempt that the author is aware of has been made to review all of the published research.

In 1984, five New Zealand academics came together to attempt to create a New Zealand textbook of organisational behaviour, written out of their own intellectual consciousness, relying as far as possible on research and case material from their own literature, and oriented to the needs of their own students (McLennan, Inkson, Dakin, Dewe, and Elkin, 1987). The present paper seeks to develop that exercise by means of a review of the academic literature on organisational behaviour in New Zealand.

The following principles have been followed:

1. By and large, only books and articles in

refereed academic journals have been included. Theses have not been included, nor, for the most part, have magazine articles and conference papers. A few exceptions have been made where such articles contain empirical results or ideas which seemed to the writer to have something special to add to the review.

2. Only research conducted within New Zealand is included. In some cases, this includes New Zealand research conducted by overseas visitors.
3. Within the constraints of 1 and 2, the author has attempted to be comprehensive, and has consulted a number of New Zealand's most distinguished behavioural scientists to locate source material. Undoubtedly, however, there will be omissions, particularly around the rather subjective boundaries of organisational behaviour.

Traditional Industrial Psychology

As a starting-point to this review, it is worth returning to the predictions of Jamieson (1974) about the future of the field. Jamieson recognised that even at that stage, personnel psychology had "become largely a technology", a series of practical techniques with little theoretical basis or development. He noted the growth of interest in industrial social psychology, the growing influence of the humanistic movement in reforming management practice, and the development of a systems perspective in which the traditional person/job focus is widened to consider the whole organisation as a total social system. He predicted that as these orientations came to dominate the business schools, there would be an increasing polarity between the schools and the narrower, more scientifically inclined psychology departments. It has all come to pass. New Zealand research is dominated by the modern, expanding Faculties of Commerce. About 60% of the papers reviewed in this paper came from university departments of management and administration, compared with about 15% from departments of psychology, 20% from departments of sociology, education, and economics, and 5% from other or unknown sources. The literature of New Zealand origin in the traditional areas of expertise of industrial psychology (personnel selection, occupational training, and ergonomics) is pitifully thin. It might be thought that this is because, as

Jamieson remarked, these are areas of practice rather than of science, and that good work is, nevertheless, being done behind the scenes. Not so in New Zealand, if a recent series of essays on occupational psychology in New Zealand (Inkson, 1984) is anything to go by. By and large, the contributors agreed that in this country psychologists have manifestly failed to identify with organisations' problems in the organisation's own terms. Little, apparently, has changed since Hines (1972b) found that only 7% of personnel managers in New Zealand companies would consider employing an industrial psychologist, compared with 44% and 60% respectively in equivalent-sized Australian and US companies. As a result, the professional practice of industrial psychology in selection and training is increasingly done by business consultants.

It is likely that the best work in research (and practice) on selection, training, and ergonomics is done in the Armed Forces. Typically, such work is not publicly reported, though Toulson (1984) provides a useful summary. On the other hand, reports of the activities of psychologists involved in selecting and monitoring the members of New Zealand expeditions to Antarctica are publicly available and offer fascinating insights (e.g., Gregson, 1978; McCormick, Taylor, Rivolier, & Cazes, 1985; Taylor, 1978, 1986a, 1986b; Taylor & McCormick, 1985). For example, Gregson (1978) studying performance changes of men 'wintering over' in Antarctica, concluded that "there is slight evidence of performance improvement after wintering over, but certainly none of performance decrement as previously believed. This is comparable with low stress, not far from optimum. . . the adverse experiences of some early explorers lead to an expectation of high stress which is not substantiated in normal contemporary Antarctic working conditions" (p.31). It is ironic that the published literature tells us more about the selection and performance of the few hundred New Zealanders who have taken part in Antarctic expeditions than about the hundreds of thousands who work in everyday jobs. Perhaps we tend to regard human performance in extreme situations such as the Antarctic and the flying of expensive military aircraft as critical, and take performance in everyday situations for granted.

Bull (1974) provided a cautionary critique of the over-enthusiastic use of the 16PF test

in personnel selection in New Zealand; unfortunately his advice has not been heeded, and the 16PF enjoys ongoing popularity despite its questionable validity, while other more valid selection devices, particularly tests of ability, are ignored (Inkson & Dakin, 1985). Another contribution to the literature on selection is Shouksmith's (1978) manual of interviewing. The important field of occupational training is neglected, though in *management* training Moore (1978), Dakin and Gough (1986), Inkson (1985a), and Brook, Shouksmith, and Brook (1983a, 1983b, 1984) have provided reports of worthwhile New Zealand ventures, based on initial identification, through research, of the key training needs of these involved. The Brook et al. study also involved a careful follow-up of training outcomes. Brook (1986a, 1986b) has also outlined a novel method of applying Repertory Grid techniques (Kelley, 1955) to the evaluation of management training. Maxwell and Pringle (1986) have applied video-based social skills training to management. Robinson (1986) presented a model of training for educational administrators, clearly applicable to other settings, based on helping trainees to identify their own "theories in practice" that underlie managerial behaviour.

In ergonomics, Kammann (1975) studied printed instructions (in university calendars) as means of input of complex material, and concluded that in many circumstances a flow-chart would be a superior alternative. Russell and Norton (1979) completed an ergonomic evaluation of 35 Christchurch kitchens and found many deviations from recommended standards and good principles of ergonomic design. Both studies direct our attention to the design of person-machine interfaces taking into account the information-processing and performance characteristics of the individual.

There is growing interest in the area of alcohol in the workplace. The Alcoholic Liquor Advisory Council advises local organisations on Employee Assistance Programmes (EAPs) designed to identify and treat problem drinkers and alcoholics in the workplace. Unfortunately, no systematic evaluation of EAPs has been conducted in this country. Johnson and Black (1985) pointed out that the poor standards of supervision and supervisory training characteristic of New Zealand, and the small size of many local organisations, make EAPs proble-

matic, and that inadequate control data make the evaluation of such programmes difficult in any case. Johnson and Black argued for the development of alternative methods. Bull's (1983) paper was more radical, effectively exploding a number of myths about such topics as the effects of alcoholism on absenteeism, and the costs of firing and replacing alcoholic employees. Bull suggested that alcoholism must be treated as a problem for the community, not for the profitability of the company, and that diagnostic training for supervisors, and the threatening characteristics of EAP's, are undesirable. He recommended instead professionally-staffed 'broadbrush' employee welfare programmes including assistance on other problems such as drugs, debt, and family relationships. In a study based on diary and interview analysis of managerial staff, Pringle and Houghton (1984) documented how alcohol is used frequently as a social lubricant.

The Meat Industry — An Example of Interdisciplinary Study

Some idea of the range of different approaches which may be taken to an area of organisational behaviour can be gained by considering a number of studies of the New Zealand meat industry. This industry is of special interest because of its size, and its centrality to the country's economic welfare. The organisational behaviour which has attracted most interest, of behavioural scientists and public alike, is the high conflict-proneness of the industry, resulting in high incidences of absenteeism, accidents, and strikes.

In early papers, Howells and Alexander (1968a, 1968b) provided a typical case-study of a meatworks strike mushrooming from a single incident. They also noted the high relative incidence of strikes in the Otago-Southland area, and suggested an explanation in terms of the Kerr-Siegel hypothesis (Kerr & Siegel, 1955) which asserts that industries "are highly strike-prone when the workers form a relatively homogeneous group, isolated from the rest of the community. . .and where work itself is regarded as tough and disagreeable" (Howells & Alexander, 1968a; p.45). Otago-Southland meat works, with high proportions of migratory labour living in works camps and hostels, were thought to provide a clear exemplification of the phenomenon. Geare (1972a) used his three seasons' experience as

a meat worker to provide an alternative explanation. The monotonous unpleasant working conditions create a build-up of resentment and antagonism, which can then be turned into industrial action by minor incidents. In the works where Geare had been employed, the catalyst was usually hostile actions by supervisors. Geare's argument was further supported by his analysis of the seasonality of strike action in the industry (Geare, 1972b), which showed that nearly all the time lost came during a relatively short peak-season period. Geare's (1972a) analysis of Otago-Southland statistics did not support the Howells and Alexander position, and a lively debate followed (Alexander, 1972; Geare, 1973). Turkington (1976), in a major study of industrial conflict in three New Zealand industries (the other two being construction and the waterfront), conducted an interview survey of managers and union officials throughout the meat industry, and a detailed examination of industry statistics. He concluded that various factors were responsible for the high levels of conflict. Some of them, such as the nature of the work, were endemic to the industry, but others, such as plant size, location, and ownership, and foreman quality, varied between locations. Inkson (1979a, 1980a) noted wide differences between plants in the incidence of conflict, and concluded, as Geare (1972a) had done, that much of the conflict was avoidable by appropriate managerial action.

The interest of the present author in the industry was initially triggered by the fact of its monotonous, assembly-line type work. The responses of workers to this type of technology and job have been considerably studied (e.g., Walker & Guest, 1952). All of the authors cited above saw the nature of work as a predisposing cause of conflict in the meat industry. In an initial, participant-observer study, Inkson and Simpson (1975) investigated the "alienation hypothesis" which sees conflict as deriving from a frustration-aggression response to psychologically deprived conditions of work; they described patterns of horseplay and ritual antagonisms, as slaughterman, labourers, and meat inspectors attempted to adapt to difficult conditions. In a larger, interview-based study, Inkson (1977a) further investigated the meat workers' characteristic instrumental, or calculative, orientation to work, that is, a constellation of attitudes in which the principal mean-

ing of work to the worker is that of labour expended in return for material rewards. The conclusion was that instrumentalism served an important function for meat workers, enabling them to rationalise, and adapt to, the potentially dehumanising nature of their jobs.

In a further article, Inkson (1977b) discussed a number of different behavioural science perspectives, including job enrichment and human relations, in relation to his data obtained from research in the industry. Principles such as job enrichment and participative management may have much to offer the industry, and it is a pity they have not been taken advantage of. However, the narrowness and managerial bias in such approaches is thrown into relief by a more recent application of labour process analysis to the industry (Inkson & Cammock, 1984). Labour process analysis is a Marxist approach derived from the work of Braverman (1974), in which scientific management and routinising technology are seen not just as forces making for boredom and psychological difficulties for the worker, but as instruments ensuring the continuation of capitalist domination of the workforce. The Inkson and Cammock paper investigated the somewhat cataclysmic events of 1931-32, when the modern chain system of meat processing was introduced, and the subsequent resistances and adaptations made by workers to it. The paper, somewhat uneasily, attempted a resolution of Inkson's 'adaptation' theories of attitudes to work within the main analysis, a resolution made more explicit in a more recent article (Inkson & Cammock, 1987a).

In retrospect, the 1970's research on the meat industry belongs mainly to its own era. If, in the 1960's and 1970's, the industry's main issue was industrial conflict, in the 1980's the issues are technological change, marketing, over-capacity, and rationalisation. The change reminds us, perhaps, of the ephemeral nature of the issues and circumstances with which organisational behaviour deals. Research on the meat industry, mainly conducted from the perspectives of economics, political science, sociology, and industrial relations theory, also reminds us of the narrowness of attempts to offer purely psychological explanations of macro-level, collective human behaviour such as that involved in industrial unrest.

Motivation and Attitudes to Work

A high proportion of the New Zealand literature is in the area of motivation, work attitudes, and job design. In these studies, survey methodology has typically, though not exclusively, been employed. Studies may conveniently, though arbitrarily, be divided into three main groups (with some falling into more than one group).

Broad Theory/Methodology Studies

Only a few New Zealand studies have had the objective of advancing general theories and/or methodologies. Most of these studies also served the objective of illuminating understanding of motivation and attitudes of New Zealand workers in general, or of particular occupational groups. Hines (1973d) used a study of New Zealand managers and salaried employees to question the cross-cultural validity of the controversial two-factor theory of work motivation (Herzberg, Mausner, & Snyderman, 1959). Hines' data showed that in both groups the factors which differentiated between satisfied and dissatisfied people were those connected with social relations in the workplace, which Hines considered had special significance in the New Zealand cultural context. Inkson (1977c) used information from a study of freezing workers, watersiders, and construction carpenters to test the 'technology' thesis, in which work attitudes are held to be a product of technical conditions of work. The effects of different conditions on attitudes were very clear. From the same study, information about the job satisfaction, job performance, and self-esteem of freezing workers was used to test Korman's (1970) consistency theory of work attitudes, which states that self-esteem is a moderator of the relationship between performance and satisfaction, the two being logically related only among individuals who have a positive self-concept. The results supported the theory (Inkson 1978a). A further paper based on attitudes of apprentices as well as those of the previous groups, suggested that manual workers typically go through a two-stage process in orientating to their jobs. Extrinsic factors have priority in job choice and industrial relations activities, intrinsic factors in the determination of on-the-job behaviour (Inkson & Cammock, 1987a).

There are only two published New Zealand contributions to the massive international literature on job characteristics and job design apart

from a critique by the present writer of the modern fad of job enrichment (Inkson, 1977d). Barnes and Jamieson (1977) conducted a study of Maori, Samoan, and European employees in a car-assembly plant, and questioned the applicability across cultures of the influential job characteristics theory (Hackman & Lawler, 1971), which is based on Western occupational values. Hesketh and Shouksmith (1986) conducted a questionnaire study of 411 veterinarians. The data from this study enabled a number of theories and hypotheses to be investigated; for example, job characteristics of both job and non-job activities were shown to be related to mental health, and Karasek's (1979) propositions concerning the relationship between discretion and job stress were given some support.

Two further series of studies at Massey University are extending the methodology of work-response studies by using subjects' own definitions as bases of attitude measurement techniques. Dewe's (1985a, 1985b, 1985c, 1986) studies of stress in ministers, nurses, and teachers began with pilot surveys based on unstructured interviews, the results of which were used to determine the questionnaire design for the main study. Dewe emphasised that stress is a person-environment transaction, separated anxiety and exhaustion as outcomes of stress, and focused on coping strategies. More ambitious still is Brook and Brook's (1984; see also Brook, 1986b) piloting of Repertory Grid techniques to determine the constructs used by various occupational groups to describe their work; using this technique, the investigators hope to develop a methodology for studying the dynamics of work and non-work.

Special Factors in New Zealand

A number of writers have sought to determine the special characteristics in the motivation, attitudes, etc., of working people which distinctively apply in New Zealand. There are two difficulties in such an endeavour. The first is the formidable set of methodological barriers involved in making international comparisons of this type: there are enormous problems of measurement method, translation, equivalence of sample, and method of interpretation of results. The second difficulty is that rather than seeking to overcome these barriers, investigators tend to resort to uncontrolled personal observation, and thus risk their conclusions being contaminated by selective perception and

stereotyping. Work of this type provides interesting speculation rather than definitive evidence.

The most detailed work in this field has been done by Hines (1973d, 1973f, 1974a, 1974b, 1976). Hines used a combination of historical analysis, everyday observation, and objective tests. Hines (1973f, 1976) believed that factors such as New Zealand's development from a predominantly agricultural economy based on small-scale organisations, the historically low levels of unemployment, the egalitarian ethos, the State system of social welfare, and the tax structure, led to national attitudes to work which tended to be casual, affiliation-oriented, informal, and unambitious. Workers, said Hines (1974a), tended to be passive to the point of resisting participating in decision-making or sharing responsibility. Hines' (1973d) test of two-factor theory, showing the critical nature of affiliative relationships to New Zealand managers, has already been referred to. In another study, Hines (1974b) compared achievement motivation levels of entrepreneurs, managers, and educators in New Zealand, Britain, the USA, and Australia: New Zealand born subjects scored lower than every other national group in every occupational category, and immigrants to New Zealand from the other countries also tended to score lower than their overseas counterparts. Another study, of graduate emigration, suggested that New Zealand may be a net exporter of achievement motivation, that is, our most achievement-oriented graduates choose to work overseas (Hines, 1973g). Given the demonstrated links between achievement motivation and economic growth (McClelland, 1961), and the poor economic performance of New Zealand in recent times, this appears to be an area where further research would be most desirable.

Other papers provide support for Hines' ideas, but without scientific evidence. Twinn (1977), a management consultant, noted with surprise the contrast between the lazy, passive, unimaginative behaviour of many New Zealanders at work, and their activity, ingenuity, and independence in leisure and home-improvement activities. Inkson, Henshall, Marsh, and Ellis (1986) convened a series of discussion groups of high achievers from the New Zealand business sector, and found a consensus that various forms of protection in the socio-political environment depress achieve-

ment-oriented behaviour, and that outstanding achievement tends to be punished rather than rewarded. New Zealanders therefore may aim, as their standard of competence, at doing work which is acceptable rather than outstanding—which the writers refer to as a 'mediocrity mentality'.

All the empirical work referred to above concerns those at the higher levels of the educational/organisational hierarchy—for example, entrepreneurs, managers, and graduates. Two studies have considered other levels. Inkson (1977c) used a standard international measure of job satisfaction to compare samples of New Zealand male manual workers with international norms. The New Zealand groups tended to have low levels of satisfaction, particularly with the work itself. Inkson attempted to explain the results in terms of international differences in work values, but there are methodological difficulties in making such an explanation definitive rather than speculative (Robinson, 1978; Inkson, 1978b). Inkson also reported results for the same groups concerning their work values (Inkson, 1978c) and aspirations (Inkson, 1979c). The data suggested at least in terms of what respondents reported, that many New Zealand workers have a rather passive, instrumental orientation to their employment, and that for others self-employment may be perceived as being more attractive than organisational advancement as a means of progress. The second study, by Hesketh (1982a), reported similar work values and a similar factor structure of values in New Zealand and Australian samples of school leavers.

Attitudes in Specific Occupations

A number of studies have considered the work motivation, attitudes, and satisfaction of key occupational groups in New Zealand. Generally, these studies have been diagnostic in their aims, that is, the researchers have had the objective of identifying key areas of satisfaction, dissatisfaction, and/or stress as a means of better understanding the orientations, concerns, and performance of the group in question and possibly of recommending actions aimed at improvement. Behavioural scientists show their value when such studies are commissioned by employing organisations, and are then used as a basis of reformative action. The Massey University survey of 575 prison officers and 301 prison officers' wives, which resulted

in 37 specific recommendations, many of which were subsequently implemented, is a clear case in point (Voges, Long, Roache, & Shouksmith, 1982). This study showed that stress among prison officers was related not only to the nature of their custodial role, but also to problems of organisational climate, communications, structures, salaries, promotion, and status, that is, matters common to organisations of all types.

Two studies of New Zealand nurses have been conducted. The earlier study, by Hines (1974c), focussed on satisfactions and dissatisfactions, and found important differences between full-time and part-time nurses. For example, salary level was generally a source of satisfaction to part-time nurses, but of dissatisfaction to full-time. Dewe (1985a, 1985b) focussed on sources of stress in the nursing role and the methods nurses used to combat stress. Both these studies were, by New Zealand standards, impressive in scale, with 2,211 questionnaires forming the database of the Hines study, and 312 interviews plus 1,801 questionnaires that of Dewe.

Another relatively well-studied group is primary and intermediate school teachers. Galloway and his associates completed a major study of satisfaction and stress in the early eighties (Galloway, Boswell, & Panckhurst, 1981; Galloway, Boswell, Panckhurst, Boswell & Green, 1982; Galloway, Panckhurst, & Boswell, 1982; Panckhurst, 1982, Panckhurst, Galloway & Boswell, 1982). Galloway, et al. (1982) emphasized the high intrinsic and low extrinsic satisfaction of teaching, and the tendency of teachers to experience conflicts of demands between work and home. Dewe's (1986) study of teacher stress identified a number of key stress-causing features of the job, including multiple relationships with children, administrative difficulties, pressure from parents, lack of support, home-school difficulties, and work overload. Of these, the last (work overload) was perceived as having the most stressing effect in terms of both main stress outcomes (anxiety and exhaustion). A third study, by Koopman-Boyden and Adams (1974), attempted to relate teacher job satisfaction to lack of consensus about the teacher's role, but the results were equivocal, which is scarcely surprising, in view of the number of other potential effectors.

Shouksmith and Hesketh (1986) have re-

cently completed a study of the work attitudes of veterinarians, while the work of Brook and Brook (1984) using the Repertory Grid, provides information on limited samples of accountants, dentists, lawyers, teachers and plumbers. Smith (1974) provided a survey-based account of work attitudes, aspirations, and career progress among middle-level public service officials.

Among manual groups, a number of studies have focused on ethnic differences of attitude among factory workers, and these are considered in the section on the multicultural workforce elsewhere in this review. Griev and Philip (1969) conducted an important early study of attitudes to shift work. Howells and Woodfield (1970) and Howells and Brosnan (1972) used a technique of asking workers, union officials, and supervisors to split sums of money between different outcomes (e.g., higher pay, more holidays, better conditions) as a means of investigating motivation. They found major differences between workers' allocations, and officials' and supervisors' predictions of these allocations. Seidman (1975) provided a comprehensive survey of male workers' attitudes in four New Zealand organisations, focussing mainly on attitudes to industrial relations. Cammock and Inkson (1985a) compared the aspirations of modern engineering apprentices with the assumptions implicit in the normal apprenticeship contract, and found considerable discrepancies between employers who emphasised security and loyalty aspects, and employees who were mainly interested in variety, mobility and intrinsically interesting work. Fielder (1984) completed a survey of forestry workers in Northland, and noted the demotivating and dissatisfying effects of the new, 'factory-like' forest technology.

Inkson (Inkson, 1977a, 1985b, 1987; Inkson & Gidlow, 1981) in his interview studies of a number of key groups of manual workers, has attempted to adopt the wider theoretical perspective of 'orientation to work', in which the overall meaning of work to the worker (e.g., as livelihood, as community, as self-expression) is considered as a context for attitudes, satisfaction, and behaviour (Goldthorpe, Lockwood, Bechhofer, & Platt, 1968). The sociological concept of 'ideal type' has been used to postulate specific orientations prototypical of particular groups: for example, freezing workers having a specific 'instrumental' orien-

tation. Waterfront workers in two New Zealand ports were found to be characterised by some aspects of a prototypical 'traditional proletarian' orientation, which was however receding due to social and technical changes such as containerisation (Inkson & Gidlow, 1981). A more recent exercise identified self-employed potters as an 'expressive' or 'craft' type characterised by high integration, intrinsic satisfaction, and self-development, whose expressiveness in practice was however strongly circumscribed by commercial factors (Inkson, 1985b, 1987). Another, exploratory, study of orientations to work, this time of hill-country sheep farmers in Canterbury, was reported by Greer and Tipples (1979).

Two further studies, of less specific groups, have been reported. One is the major 'mobile workforce' study (Thomas, O'Driscoll, & Robertson, 1984). This study investigated the adaptation of workers and their families who have moved recently to new districts, and is based on fieldwork among staff in large, temporary projects in Taranaki, Whangarei, and Huntly. Both work and non-work contexts were considered. The other study, by Roborgh and Stacey (1987), considered the phenomenon of radical mid-career change and its effects on satisfaction and happiness: By and large, mid-career changers located in Nelson were found to be an exceptionally happy group.

Non-Quantitative Studies of Work Processes

Surveys yielding quantitative information are not the only means of finding out about people's behaviour at work. Observational, ethnographic, and journalistic studies usually lack the rigour of surveys but can provide a depth, and a richness of understanding that can make the (apparent) statistical precision of the survey seem narrow and sterile in comparison. For example, Levine's (1983, 1985) anthropologically-based studies of the Stewart Island cray-fishing community are, in a sense, about organisational behaviour, but they illustrate how the behaviour of the fisherman can only be understood in terms of economic, political, technical, and competitive factors. The usual apparatus of organisational behaviour concepts does not get us close to understanding the real working activities and concerns of the fishermen. Hill's (1984) study of organisational responses to technological change in the *Christchurch Press* took a labour

process perspective to show how established power relations and reciprocities led to collusive behaviour between managerial and union personnel to protect the interests of both against the threat of advanced technology and cheaper labour. Other studies in the same symposium applied the labour process perspective to the New Zealand banking industry (Couchman, 1984) and the clerical function of the public service (Brocklesby, 1984). Brocklesby, Couchman, Hill, Inkson, and Smith (1984) provided an overall New Zealand perspective. Again, the limitations of traditional organisation psychology, its narrowness of focus, its reliance on self-report, its neglect of useful qualitative data as against meaningless quantitative data, and its failure to appreciate its own (usually managerial) ideology, were made clear.

Participant-observation studies in the meat industry by Geare (1972a) and Inkson and Simpson (1975) have already been mentioned. In another participant-observer study, Perry (1981) used his own experiences as an insurance clerk to provide a detailed ethnographic account, and theoretical rationale, of clerks' utilisation of limited on-the-job autonomy in pursuit of personal and status goals. On a much larger scale is the *Work in New Zealand* project (McLennan, 1984; McLennan & Gilbertson, 1984). This project is 'qualitative, subject-centred, field interview-based investigative human research programme, broadly aimed at finding out about the meaning and significance of work to New Zealand people, organisations and life' (McLennan, 1984, p. 40). The researchers completed over a hundred long, unstructured interviews with workers from a wide range of different occupations. The goals were to increase insight into the nature of work, to generate empirical data against which theories might be tested, and to promote improvement in the quality of working life (McLennan, 1984).

McLennan has also been involved in three useful qualitative studies of group phenomena, virtually the only substantive New Zealand contributions to group effects on organisational behaviour. These studies concerned group restriction of output in a dairy factory (McLennan & Liew, 1980; group-initiated defensive behaviour in a managerial group supervised by an aggressive boss (McLennan & Harwood, 1981), and the use of supervisor stim-

ulation of group participation and autonomy to transform (positively) the performance of a group of male offenders undergoing periodic detention (McLennan & Macdonald, 1979). Another worthwhile study of a successful and well-integrated mixed-race (Maori-pakeha) work gang, is provided by Mason and Cole (1977). However, perhaps the best local group-based qualitative study—indeed, arguably one of the best group stories ever told—comes from a biographical book by Sir Edmund Hillary (1975). Hillary describes how in his youth, as an employee on a dam construction site, he was subjected to strong restrictive norms by a group of co-workers, but was successful not only in evading them, but also (presumably by force of personality) in effecting a dramatic change in group behaviour, in the direction of massively increased performance.

The Multicultural Workforce

The arrival, in the 1960's and 1970's, of waves of immigrant labour from Samoa, Tonga, the Cook Islands and other Pacific Island states, triggered much interest in organisational behaviour as a cross-cultural phenomenon. Most of the published research was conducted by the South Pacific Work Research team based on the Department of Management Studies at the University of Auckland. These studies had three objectives: Contributing to the international literature on cross-cultural differences, helping local organisations to better understand the psychological and social dynamics of their new, multi-cultural workforces, and assisting in the introduction of programmes facilitating workforce integration. As an example, a study of 218 supervisors, including sub-groups of immigrant Polynesians, New Zealand-born Polynesians, New Zealand-born Europeans, and immigrant Europeans, served all three functions. Nedd and Marsh (1979, 1980) showed that the cultural origin of each group was a major determinant of its attachment to key values of social traditionalism versus modernity, and that both cultural background and values were related significantly to the personality factors field-independence, tolerance of ambiguity, and machiavellianism. These papers, and a related study by Nedd and Marsh (1981) on the effect of cultural differences on field dependence-independence of factory workers, are not specifically oriented to *organisational* behaviour as such, although

a further development of the first study, relating social traditionalism to supervisory style, is so related (Nedd & Marsh, 1983). However, further data from the same studies enabled worthwhile comparisons between different ethnic groups in the New Zealand workforce is to be made. Nedd and Marsh (1977) reported on basic attitudes to work of 250 male workers in five plants, comparing European, Maori, Samoan, Cook Island, and Tongan employees, while a similar study of 203 female employees was reported by Marsh and McDonald (1980). The cross-cultural study of supervisors was reported by Nedd, Marsh, and McDonald (1978), who focused mainly on cross-cultural differences in compliance-gaining strategies. Finally, in Nedd, Marsh, McDonald, and Miller (1978), the South Pacific group explored the implications of their findings for manpower and management practices in New Zealand industry. One general finding from these studies is that Island workers tend to have high instrumentalism (orientation to financial rewards). Another is that Island supervisors define their role as being an affiliative group-building, yet authoritarian one.

A number of further useful studies have been conducted. Graves and Graves (1977a, 1977b) focused on the "adaptive strategies" which individual workers used to cope with the world of work. Generally, they found that Island workers tended to be more reliant on their kinfolk in relation to various work issues, whereas Europeans were more self-reliant, and Maori workers more peer-reliant. Haman (1978) demonstrated the intricate interdependencies of work and nonwork for female Island workers. Feldman, Ah Sam, McDonald, and Bechtel (1980), in a study of work outcome preferences, drew attention to the role of concrete external circumstances (such as relative poverty) in addition to cultural values in determining work behaviour, and showed that Samoan workers were more particularistic than Europeans in their evaluation of outcomes. Barnes and Jamieson (1977), in a study involving Samoan, Maori, and Pakeha workers, discussed the application of job characteristics theory in a cross-cultural context. Spoonley (1978) outlined the role of gatekeepers such as personnel officers in controlling the entry of Polynesian workers to New Zealand organisations.

Two studies specifically considered the cross-

cultural dimension in relation to leadership behaviour. Hines and Hines (1976) rather dramatically found that positive associations between democratic leadership style and group performance in New Zealand, were reversed in a study of native groups in Fiji. In contrast, Anderson (1983) found that differences in the racial heterogeneity of New Zealand work groups did not affect the leadership styles most likely to be effective. Styles effective in heterogeneous groups were also effective in homogeneous groups.

Much of the research reported above has led to positive, practical outcomes. The Vocational Training Council, which sponsored and supported much of the effort, has used it in the creation of various guides and films (e.g., Edgeley and McDonald, 1984; Vocational Training Council, 1976a, 1976b) to provide assistance and advice to supervisors and members of the multicultural workforce in New Zealand regarding such matters as understanding cultural norms, improving workplace communication, and using culturally homogeneous versus heterogeneous work-groups.

A major gap in the research has been the work behaviour of New Zealand Maori people. Pierce (1967, 1969, 1970) conducted some early studies generally disconfirming some of the public prejudices about typical Maori work behaviour (for example, that Maori people have especially high mechanical aptitudes and absenteeism rates). Seidman (1975) provided information about Maori versus European differences in attitudes to industrial relations. A number of the attitude studies cited above, including those of Graves and Graves (1977a, 1977b) Barnes and Jamieson (1977), and Nedd and Marsh (1977), included Maori subjects, who were found generally to occupy attitudinal positions midway between those of European and Island groups. Generally, however, our information on Maori work behaviour is sparse. The Vocational Training Council, for example, provides educational material for work organisations on "Understanding Polynesians" and "Understanding Pakehas" but not on "Understanding the Maori". In addition, the wave of research on Island groups, so strong in the later 1970's, seems to have all but died at the present time.

The above treatment of the multicultural dimension in New Zealand organisational behaviour is necessarily brief because of space

constraints. A more detailed account is available in Inkson (1985c), and a chapter is included in the recent textbook (McLennan et al., 1987).

Management

Management is an important topic in organisational behaviour, in both its senses: the role of managing, particularly managing people and their behaviour; and the men and women discharging that role, the managers themselves. Several studies have focused on the demographic characteristics, education and career paths of New Zealand managers, with mixed and sometimes apparently contradictory results. As far as education is concerned, for example, Hines (1973b) found little difference in level of education between members of his large sample of New Zealand managers and the population in general. On the other hand, Greatorex and Fogelberg (1975) found that most of the country's managerial elite of managers who were also directors, were relatively well educated, over 70% of their sample having had some tertiary education. The work of Greatorex and Fogelberg (1975) and Fogelberg and Greatorex (1979) suggests that the elite are indeed a relatively select group, mainly from business, management, and professional families. Interestingly, the majority commenced their work in clerical or sales careers. More recently, the Canterbury Management Study analysed the backgrounds, activities, and development of 175 Chief Executives of organisations employing more than 50 staff in the Canterbury area, and drew conclusions about national strategies for executive development (Dakin & Gartens, 1985; Dakin & Hamilton, 1985; Dakin, Hamilton, Cammock & Gimpl, 1984). The patterns of development which they noted may be, relatively unique to the New Zealand setting. The work of Place (1979, 1981) focused on women in management, described the management styles typically adopted by women managers, and suggested that an internalised locus of control is a critical factor predicting women's entry to, and success in, management. Henshall (1984) provided an anthology of senior managers' views on "How to Manage".

A number of studies have focused on participation in management, that is the extension to workforce members of managerial decision-making responsibilities. Hines' (1976) analysis of New Zealand cultural norms, mentioned

previously, led him to the conclusion that New Zealand workers typically had little interest in such participation. However, in one study he was able to show clear relationships between workers' perceptions of participation and their job satisfaction (Hines, 1974a); he also showed interesting interactive effects between workers responses to participation and their belief or non-belief in the existence of a class system in New Zealand. Smith (1978) utilised Department of Labour data on worker participation in New Zealand and came to the conclusion that formal schemes of participation (relatively infrequent in any case) were often characterised by an overt display of worker involvement while at the same time preserving intact management's key prerogatives. McLennan et al. (1987) similarly note the "dilemma of control" whereby New Zealand managers on the one hand recognise the potential of workers, particularly in acting cohesively in small groups, to improve work performance through self-determination and self-supervision, but at the same time cannot face up to the loss of managerial control such changes would entail.

Other papers look at specific management techniques and styles. Jamieson's (1973) cautious review of behavioural problems associated with 'Management by Objectives' emphasised the importance of *participative* objective-setting to maximise performance outcomes. Anderson (1981) analysed the relationship between self-monitoring (Synder, 1974) a personality construct identifying individuals who are skilful at modifying their behaviour to suit situational clues, and the effectiveness of supervisors and middle managers. Anderson predicted that self-monitoring would be strongly associated with performance among supervisors of large culturally heterogeneous groups, and less strongly associated with performance among middle managers supervising smaller, culturally homogeneous groups. Somewhat to his consternation, the relationships tended to be weak and positive for the former group, and significant and negative for the latter. Anderson suggested that self-monitoring behaviour is in fact seen as inconsistent or indecisive in these stable groups. More recently, studies by M. and A. Singer (M. Singer 1985; M. Singer & A. Singer, 1986) utilised the concepts of transactional versus transformational leadership (Bass, 1984) in which there is much contemporary interest. Managers' ratings of

their leaders on transformational factors were more highly correlated with perceived leader effectiveness than were their ratings of their leaders on transactional factors. Inkson, Henshall, Marsh, and Ellis (1986), replicating the well-known American *In Search of Excellence* study (Peters & Waterman, 1982), found a high incidence of apparently transformational chief executives among rapidly-growing smaller New Zealand organisations. Other factors which this study suggested were common to high-performing New Zealand companies were a specific and clearly articulated sense of company mission; a strong external focus; empathy with customers; attitudes and practices favourable to continuous innovation; simplicity in control systems and structures; and the specific generation of 'we' feelings in the socialisation and integration of the workforce.

Another management paper, well argued and of considerable charm, is Gimpl and Dakin's (1984) consideration of "management and magic". Gimpl and Dakin focused on predictive techniques in business, such as forecasting, capital budgeting, and strategic planning; they likened such techniques to magical rites which give practitioners illusions of control, but the main value of which lies in boosting confidence. The authors provided convincing data to show that the predictive techniques seldom produce results in excess of random probability, and that these results are usually rationalised rather than compared objectively with the prediction. In another paper, A. Singer (1985) replicated a U.S. study of decision-making criteria used by executives in taking decisions concerning investment, divestment, and dividend policy. New Zealanders were found to rely more than Americans on qualitative criteria and managerial judgement, and less on quantitative criteria and financial analysis.

Miscellaneous Contributions

Inevitably in such a review, one is left near the end with a large number of significant contributions to the literature which do not fit neatly under any of the previous headings, and which have little in common with each other. Perhaps, again, these studies serve to display the diversity of different disciplinary, theoretical, and methodological frameworks which can be used in organisational behaviour research.

A number of papers have explored behav-

our aspects of industrial relations. Seidman (1975), Brosnan (1976) and Inkson (1979b) all reported surveys of worker attitudes to industrial relations and in particular to trade unions. Inkson (1979b) concluded that many New Zealand workers take a unitary perspective on industrial relations (i.e., see management and worker interests as being complementary), see the industrial relations process in terms of personalities rather than issues and mechanisms, and have relatively conservative views regarding the political role of unionism. Inkson (1980b) also studied the extent of worker involvement in unionism in various New Zealand industries and suggested that involvement was framed more by external realities, such as workforce concentration and union organisation, than by individual worker attitudes. Smith and Turkington (1982) compared the self-reported negotiating styles of union and Management negotiators in 94 different negotiations, and discovered some interesting differences, but also many similarities.

Other papers consider, in various ways, educational organisations as settings for organisational behaviour. The Schools with Special Needs project at Waikato University is worthy of study by any student of organisational behaviour, particularly in its relating of organisational events to external community structures. Successful schools modify not only curriculum content but also teaching methods and organisational climate to effect transformations, whereas unsuccessful schools attempt to reproduce existing structures in the community (Ramsay, Sneddon, Grenfell, & Ford, 1983). Robinson (1982) considered, in the light of theories of organisational development and change, the formal mechanisms for conducting in-school reviews in New Zealand, and suggested the introduction of new methods of generating internal commitment to change, and the use of external consultants as change agents.

There are also a number of New Zealand papers on 'action research' and 'organisational development' interventions, designed to improve organisational functioning. In a theoretical paper, Peters and Robinson (1982) surveyed the approaches of eleven action researchers, and concluded that most action research proponents saw action research primarily as a methodology, that a smaller number linked it to a specific theory of social science, and

ORGANISATIONAL BEHAVIOUR

that action research had undergone insufficient development to be considered a paradigm. In keeping with this view, most New Zealand organisational development studies are straightforward descriptive evaluations of the methods and results of interventions in organisations as diverse as a major Government department (Loorparg, 1979), a library (McGill, 1979), a hospital (Gilbertson, Smith, & Chan, 1981) and a tyre company (McLennan, 1981). A recent study linked an action research intervention to the development of a new company programme of management development (Marsh, MacCormick, & Robinson, 1986; Marsh, Russell, & Robinson, 1984).

A great deal has been published in recent years concerning issues directly affecting women in the workplace—issues such as employment and status discrimination, sex-role stereotyping, sexual harassment, the effect of women's work on the family, women's attitudes to work, and women in traditional 'male' occupations. Unfortunately much of this material, while valuable, is published mainly in journalistic form. Understanding of women's problems at work can be enhanced by the reading of female interview transcripts in anthologies edited by McLennan and Gilbertson (1984) and Gray and Barrington (1981). A synthesis of the research, including a number of unpublished papers and magazine articles has recently been attempted (Inkson and Dewe, 1985), but a more thorough examination, preferably by a woman writer, is overdue.

Macky and Haines (1982) provided a thorough literature review of the psychological effects of unemployment. Macky (1984) studied the relationships between school leavers' employment status and their mental health. Hesketh and Shouksmith (1984) used attribution theory (Heider, 1958) to study the attributions made by unemployed people regarding their failure to find jobs, and the dilemma of active job searching resulting in low self-esteem. Hines (1973h) explored the relationship of achievement motivation to labour turnover in various occupational groups and found that engineers, managers, and accountants with high turnover rates had high achievement motivation. Hines (1980) also demonstrated apparent 'mid-life' crisis effects on organisational behaviour, showing increased job instability and decreased job satisfaction among non-graduate males roughly between the ages of 34 and 45, and among

graduates between the ages of 40 and 50. Taylor and Frazer (1982) studied the stress reactions of workers involved in body handling and victim identification following the Erebus air disaster. Hesketh (1982b) examined the effects of active versus passive decision-making styles on vocational choice behaviour. Gilbertson (1976) analysed the role of the hospital ward sister from a behavioural perspective. Sligo (1984) examined information flows in a government department and a professional practice. Dwyer (1981), starting from the observation that in some shift-operated plants there are more accidents on the day-shift than on the night-shift, while in others the reverse is the case (despite working conditions being equivalent regardless of shift) developed a sociologically-based explanation for industrial accidents which set factors such as nature of incentives and supervisory style within an analysis of the social relations of the workplace. Cammock and Inkson (1985b) explored the articulation of Protestant Ethic motivation in small businessmen with fundamentalist religious beliefs. M. Singer and A. Singer (1985) tested, in a business simulation, the Staw (1976) hypothesis that individuals responsible for a previous decision (e.g., investment) escalate their commitment to that decision following negative outcomes; the results were negative. Finally, Gear, Marsh and Sergent (1985), in one of the few experimental studies located, investigated the effect on a decision-making team's performance of providing it with an input-output device through which team members systematically fed in their assessments of team performance and satisfaction, and received ongoing information about overall team ratings of these criteria.

Conclusion

Because the field of organisational behaviour is diverse, and the resources available to it in New Zealand are slender, the contributions located in this study are widely scattered. Nevertheless, the volume of research completed since 1970 is not unimpressive, and in the author's view may surprise even some of those who have contributed to it. The range of journals available for publication of organisational research is wide, and most of them are published overseas. Without any professional body or specific publication in New Zealand

in the organisational behaviour area, keeping track of contributions is difficult.

As stated in the introduction, New Zealand studies have tended to make little impact at international level in terms of theory development, though many useful derivative and supportive contributions have been made. Given the resource base, this is doubtless inevitable. There is a surprising absence of published research in the key areas of personnel psychology, ergonomics and group dynamics, though undoubtedly some student theses in these areas are available. It may also be that good work is being done in organisational settings, but if so it continues to go unreported. On the other hand, there is a richness in the wide range of perspectives being used in New Zealand research, a strong interest in keeping research focussed on the reality of work rather than the abstraction of theory, and an enlivening curiosity to understand special features of our own, New Zealand environment and behaviour. Our own development of organisational behaviour has been more descriptive than conceptual, more qualitative than quantitative, more sensitive to individual differences of person and occupation than sweeping in scope. These are features well worth preserving, celebrating, and promoting. What is needed most, perhaps, is a greater awareness of the importance of organisational behaviour by relevant University departments, and a greater awareness of common interests and ongoing initiatives within New Zealand amongst organisational behaviour practitioners themselves. If this review has done anything towards either of these objectives, it has been well worth while.

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