ORGANISATIONAL CONTROL IN UNIVERSITY MANAGEMENT

A Multiparadigm Approach

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BY

ENELI KINDSIKO
University of Tartu, Estonia

emerald PUBLISHING

United Kingdom – North America – Japan
India – Malaysia – China

Emerald Publishing Limited
Howard House, Wagon Lane, Bingley BD16 1WA, UK

First edition 2018

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 978-1-78756-674-3 (Print)
ISBN: 978-1-78756-671-2 (Online)
ISBN: 978-1-78756-673-6 (Epub)

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ISO 14001

INVESTOR IN PEOPLE

To all of those who are not afraid of another perspective [...].

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work was supported by the Estonian Ministry of Education and Research [grant number IUT20-49].

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Eneli Kindsiko is a Research Fellow and Lecturer at the School of Economics and Business Administration, University of Tartu, Estonia. She holds a BA in Philosophy and a double MA in Philosophy and Economics. She received her PhD in Economics and Business Administration in 2014 from the University of Tartu, and the milestones of her thesis were established during her stay as a Visiting Doctoral Student at the Manchester Business School, UK. She has participated in many international and international research projects covering the topics of entrepreneurship in gentrified areas, learning culture and research career. The recent project she led dealt with mapping the career of doctoral holders in Estonia.

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INTRODUCTION

Why is change management in universities, but also in other organisations as deciding over an elephant? The reason is simple! We all have heard of an old Indian fable of the blind men and an elephant, where six blind men who have never seen an actual elephant have to explain what an elephant is merely by touching one part of the animal. Their partial experience or perspective results in claiming that an elephant is like a wall (a man who touched a side of an elephant) or a snake (a man who touched the trunk of an elephant) and so on. Often change initiatives tend to be managed in a same way – different parties tend to gain access to different perspectives. The objective of this book is to show how we could overcome such narrowness.

This book is structured over three interconnected approaches: multiparadigm review (drawing an elephant), multiparadigm research (deciding over an elephant) and metaparadigm theory building (seeing an elephant). First of the mentioned chapters will draw a multiparadigm review on a specific organisational matter – organisational control. Much of the management literature tends to be rather sterile

in terms of appreciating complexity and conflicting perspectives. But let's start from the harsh facts:

> *There were about 28 100 active scholarly peer-reviewed English-language journals in late 2014 (plus a further 6 450 non-English-language journals), collectively publishing about 2.5 million articles a year. (Ware & Mabe, 2015, p. 6)*

That said, we are often faced with a need to navigate in existing enormous stock of literature. What I have noticed at least in management literature – since the end of the 1970s, after every decade or so there is a small wave of academic writings that tend to tidy up rather messy piles of management treatises out there. Burrell and Morgan in 1979 signposted the framework of sociological paradigms; in 1991, Hassard applied their framework to explore how the work in a Fire Service is organised; in 1997, Hatch (later editions with Cunliffe) structured organisation theory around modern, symbolic and postmodern perspectives; in 1999, Lewis and Grimes showed how to build novel theory from multiple paradigms and so on. I claim that considering the rate of expansion of academic writings, there is a cyclical need for such kind of structuring in organisation studies.

Born (1943, p. 44), the Nobel Prize winner in physics in 1954, once reflected how 'there is no philosophical high-road in science, with epistemological signposts'. Such a remark makes a clear statement how science should never be orthodoxy, where scientists just need to follow the pre-determined signposts to reach the pre-supposed solutions. Yet for a long time in the history of science, it is what has been practiced. For a long time, basic assumptions from the natural sciences were merely transformed and adapted into the practice of social sciences without any reflection over the mismatch between the object of study and respective scientific practices.

Rosenberg (2005) has captured the essence of every scientific activity, seeing science as a response to our need to understand the world. Similarly, in organisation science, in our attempt to understand the nature of a certain organisational aspect it is impossible to leave out the groundings of our notions of how the world is and what can be known about it. Therefore, Hazlett, McAdam, and Gallagher (2005, p. 33) have stated the scientific community 'is characterised by the unified acceptance of a belief system framework (the paradigm) that guides the members in doing what they do'.

This book will start by reminding the usefulness of acknowledging paradigms or perspectives. For this, I will make practical use of philosophy of science. In the simplest terms, philosophy can be defined as a way of 'seeing' the world in general or specifically, to conceive one's own subject matter. Overall, philosophy of science as 'the study of systematic processes through which human beings attempt to understand the world' has the power to improve our understanding of research efforts also in the study of organisations (Behling, 1978, p. 193). This being so, philosophy of science seeks to bring forward the prescriptions or rules that ought to accompany a proper argument in a scholarly communication. It will take its point of departure from the works of Kuhn (1962, 1970, 1982), who literally set the scene for reflecting on what scientists do and how scientific knowledge is being developed. Notions such as 'paradigm' and 'incommensurability' between paradigms are notions popularised by Kuhn and spread around across different scientific disciplines. The mentioned shift in understanding emerged when scientists started to take notice of how science, as such, is not a homogeneous field of activities and interests.

Organisation studies, like any other field, are 'paradigmatically anchored' (Gioia & Pitre, 1990, p. 585). In fact, the mentioned authors note (p. 586) that for a long time

organisation studies have been dominated by the modernist assumption that the nature of organisational phenomena is 'out there', waiting to be studied, which means that organisational scientists tend to operate using a predominantly deductive approach to theory building, setting up hypotheses appropriate for the organisational world and in the end, testing them against hypothesis-driven data through statistical analyses. Hence, it becomes clear how such dominating paradigms can act as orthodoxies in organisation science (Morgan, 1980) and to be situated in a particular paradigm means to look at the world in a particular way (Burrell & Morgan, 1979).

The motivation for the research on control emerges from Eilon (1971, p. 1), who highlights that 'decision making and problems of management are not an invention of our present age; they have always been, and will always remain, part of human experience', since it is in human nature to manage one's environment and seek to control the prospects of the future. Hence, control phenomenon is inevitably present in every organised activity. Considering all that was mentioned above, this book will seek to fill the gap of misrepresentation of organisational control in management studies. As such, it is put forward the claim that organisational control in a natural organisational environment most often reflects situations of complexity and paradox managing, yet scholarly literature is remarkably overbalanced towards single-paradigm strategies. In addition, although the term 'control' has been used in academic spheres across the world, it has rarely been systematically conceptualised. What can be witnessed in literature is that control is often seen as 'a collection of separate and specialist functions' (Beer, 1995, p. 382). It is a sad fact that while most management problems today involve multilevel phenomena, most management research in academic literature often still uses a single level of analysis (Hitt, Beamish,

Jackson, & Mathieu, 2007, p. 1385). Koontz has described the situation as 'the management theory jungle', or even 'confused and destructive jungle warfare', which to a large extent is caused by the unwillingness or perhaps even inability of management theorists to understand each other (1961, pp. 185, 175). Hence, the theoretical focus of this book is to uncover how the parts of single perspectives about control in organisation work together to explain the diversity of the control phenomenon itself.

In order to achieve the stated end, different conceptualisations of organisational control will be clustered around three paradigms: modern,[1] symbolic[2] and postmodern.[3] The choice of labels attached to a paradigm follows terms most used in scholarly literature and in textbooks. For example, a well-known book in organisation studies by Hatch and Cunliffe focuses on modern, symbolic and postmodern perspectives (1997/2013). Every single paradigm discussed above can be characterised through three grounding assumptions: ontology, epistemology and methodology. The set of grounding assumptions about the nature of a certain phenomenon (ontology) always determine and embody a variety of assumptions regarding the nature of knowledge (epistemology) we might gain, and methods to obtain knowledge (methodology) about the respective phenomenon (Morgan & Smircich, 1980, p. 491). Such an approach allows for a more holistic image of organisational control than an attempt to list all the single (and often competing) theories one by one.

In this book, a paradigm will be defined as a set of coherent philosophical assumptions that manifest in recognised scientific achievements and influence acknowledged practices of problem-solutions. This being so, a paradigm allows the encapsulation of all the single theories of organisational control that share the same set of root assumptions, in addition to approving similar ways of thinking about and approaching

one's subject matter. In sum, Chapter 1 will 'draw an elephant' by pulling together different perspectives on organisational control.

Chapter 2 applies the paradigms in practice – I will engage in empirical research in higher education institution management as to prove how practical the multiparadigm approach can be. University management was chosen as the research topic as during the past decades, universities as organisations have gone through remarkable changes that are still ongoing. The shift from elite education to mass education has brought great changes to the way universities work today, some even referring to the reborn Fordist style of 'McUniversities', where comparability and standardisation at all levels has become the core of higher education institution management (Parker & Jary, 1995). With increasing participation numbers from students, which is often not proportionally supported by an increase in financing, it has brought new practices into university management. Gioia and Thomas (1996, p. 370) have described how the higher education arena today looks increasingly like a competitive marketplace, forcing universities to take up management practices that have been (and still are) relatively unfamiliar to the academic mindset. 'Performance management', 'managerialism' and 'entrepreneurialism' are just some of the new forces that are contributing to the transformation of universities today and have resulted higher education functioning more and more like an industry (Waeraas & Solbakk, 2008, p. 450) and universities are forced to 'think and act' like business organisations.

This book will address the implementation of a major management reform (with the aim of being better prepared for the future changes in the higher education arena) in a large and public university, namely the University of Tartu has to face the above-mentioned pressures present in higher

education in general; however, with an academic heritage of almost 400 years, obligations towards its history can make any major change a sensitive issue. It is during the change implementation processes when different facets of organisational control start to emerge and with this in mind, universities tend to be an interesting research site. Traditional tensions between the academic and the administrative communities, the relatively autonomous power of single units and faculties, the interests of the external parties and funding institutions (including ministries) all play a part in key decision-making. As such, using an old university as a research site is also relevant at the international level, since long-established universities are expected to be conservative, yet from another aspect they should strive for innovation and change for the sake of society.

Universities are important research objects with respect to organisational control for several reasons. First, it is obvious that university management has the ability and bears an obligation to shape the quality of higher education of the respective country. Second, as universities in many countries are one of the oldest organisations, some having history and traditions back to the Middle Ages, they carry a heavy 'baggage of preset arrangements' (e.g. gap between the so-called academic and practical rigour) that make controlling them in the present-day environment rather challenging. Third, universities tend to be large-scale organisations, thus the complexity of organisational control behind them is beyond the common sense understanding. The fact how every large change initiative reflects a clash of different perspectives is also the reason why the Chapter 2 is conceptualised as 'deciding over an elephant'.

Chapter 3 will bring us closer to 'seeing an elephant'. I will use the insights from Chapters 1 and 2 to craft a logical framework that helps to understand the conflicting forces that

control change initiatives, namely, the interaction between sensemaking, sensegiving, sensekeeping and sensebreaking. The framework or conceptual schema offered at the end of the book truly sets out a proposition that one should not neglect the value of seeing multiple perspectives.

NOTES

1. Some authors prefer to address the notion 'modern paradigm' (e.g. Hatch & Cunliffe, 1997/2013), and some speak of the 'functionalist paradigm' (e.g. Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Gioia & Pitre, 1990). Since both refer to the same phenomenon, in this book the notion of modern paradigm will be used.

2. In a similar vein to the above footnote, as some authors prefer to address the notion 'symbolic paradigm' (e.g. Hatch & Cunliffe, 1997/2013), and some speak of the 'interpretive paradigm' (e.g. Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Duberley, Johnson, & Cassell, 2012), the notion of symbolic paradigm is employed.

3. Although also the postmodern label has different synonyms, still in the literature the 'postmodern' label can be regarded as the most common.

CHAPTER 1

MULTIPARADIGM REVIEW OF ORGANISATIONAL CONTROL: DRAWING AN ELEPHANT

THE CONCEPT OF A PARADIGM IN SOCIAL SCIENCES AND THE NEED TO SYSTEMISE EXISTING TREATISES ON CONTROL

Science as a practice relies strongly on social approval. The word 'science' emerged in the English language during the Middle Ages by way of French, and was soon given a connotation of accurate and systemised knowledge. Being most often dated back to Aristotelian thinking of knowledge by the early Latin translators, one was claimed to have reached scientific knowledge when he was able to prove that he had arrived at it demonstratively – most often through an exercise of deductive logic. With the growing discoveries in physics during the nineteenth century, the word 'science' started quickly to lose its previous common meaning – science was now to be dominantly related to natural and physical sciences (Ross, 1962). The reason behind the latter emerges from the

belief that by their nature and through the experimental methods natural and physical sciences manage to offer 'an objective way of looking at the world' (Hassard, Kelemen, & Cox, 2008, p. 17).

Yet a book by Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962), anchored 'Truth' into a new meaning. Truth, instead of being external to human activities and just 'out there', is more and more accepted as basing itself as 'a matter of community acceptance' (Goles & Hirschheim, 2000, p. 251) or 'a process of consensus formation' (Anderson, 1983, p. 25), resulting scientific practices to be a matter of good persuasion rather than proof. According to Kuhn (1962), science as a social convention bases itself on paradigms – 'universally recognized scientific achievements that for a time provide model problems and solutions to a community of practitioners' (p. viii).

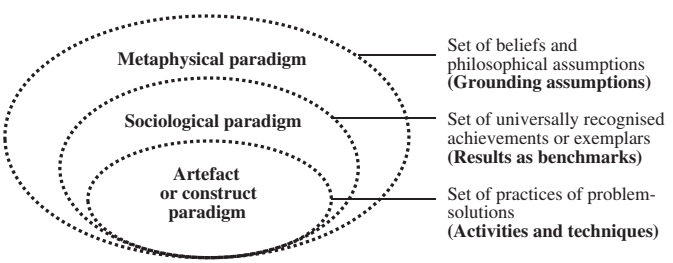
Kuhn ushered, in a remarkable new understanding, of how scientific communities work, but overall, tackles the grand question, what is science as such? He himself sees science as a social activity. By the definition, the production of knowledge in scientific communities needs the acceptance from the community or as Cuff, Payne, Francis, Hustler and Sharrock, (1984, p. 191) put it, 'scientists are socialised into particular academic cultures', where they develop a commitment to particular ways of viewing and approaching their subject matter. To take a note from Ritzer (1975, p. 166), paradigms are most of all useful heuristic services for understanding the nature of a particular science. Authors such as Pfeffer (1993) have even gone so far that to state how paradigm purity might be even a sign of scientific maturity within a particular field of study (Hassard et al., 2008, p. 1). In fact, Pfeffer (1993) has stated how fragmentation of organisational sciences is a severe threat to the growth of the field and the consensus about grounding assumptions within

a paradigm is essential to the meaningful development of a strong paradigm.

With the help of Masterman (1970), it is possible to identify three main groups of understandings of the notion of a paradigm. First of all, a paradigm might be interpreted as a set of beliefs about one's subject matter. Masterman (1970, p. 59) has called this notion a metaphysical paradigm, since it aims to represent kind of a global perspective or worldview. Thus, a paradigm is a construct that comprises a specific set of philosophical assumptions (Mingers, 2003, p. 559). The second understanding sees paradigm as a sociological paradigm – paradigm as universally recognised achievements or exemplars. Third, artefact or construct paradigm, which most of all reflects science as puzzle-solving activities, instruments and tools that are considered valid scientific rigor. All the listed types of paradigms can be seen as having different scopes where broader ones comprise narrower ones (see Figure 1.1).

For the current book, the author will seek to comprise all the mentioned three understandings of a paradigm, since in reality all these levels of paradigms are tightly interconnected.

Figure 1.1. Nesting of Paradigms.



Source: Compiled by the author.

Hence, the definition of a paradigm might be stated as *a set of coherent philosophical assumptions that manifest in recognised scientific achievements and influence acknowledged practices of problem solutions*.

The growing dissatisfaction with the dominant, modernist orthodoxy proposed by natural sciences on social sciences came clearly apparent during the 1970s (Willmott, 1993a, p. 681) and can be witnessed in the works of Silverman (1969, 1978). While Kuhn (1962) described science as the competition of the fittest paradigms (e.g. the shift from the Ptolemaic model to the Copernican, and further to Newton's paradigm), where scientists act like puzzle solvers, Silverman (1969, 1978) took another point of departure and stated how puzzle solving in natural and social sciences is completely different. The most obvious difference being the object of study itself. Refuting the idea that social and natural sciences could always be approached with the same dominant orthodoxies in research, Silverman (1978, p. 126) builds his logic on the fact that social sciences seek to understand action and behaviour, and while doing so, individual action can never be separated from the wider context.

Considering the differences between the natural and social sciences, it is unrealistic to expect that the natural science paradigms should perfectly manage to explain highly complex and constantly changing organisational realities, or to make meaningful predictions on individual behaviour (Griffiths, 1999). Acknowledging this, some authors such as Koontz (1961), Scott (1961), Silverman (1969), Effrat (1972) and Ritzer (1975) have fostered a debate on suitable paradigms for social sciences and made clear attempts to develop a typology of paradigms existing in social sciences. Still, through reflections over the 'critical mass' or root assumptions within a paradigm (that differentiates paradigms from each other) did not emerge until Burrell and Morgan's

book *Sociological Paradigms and Organisational Analysis* (1979). As Jackson and Carter (1991, p. 109) have stated, Burrell and Morgan (1979) set to provide a framework which would clarify the complex relationship between 'competing claims about organisations'. Markedly, they managed to show how studies in social sciences are not competing with each other as who is closer to the truth, but instead, existing studies, representing different scholarly communities, have different perspective and understanding of the research phenomena. That said, depending on the community, one can develop vastly different assumption, approaches and assessment criteria.

Across the decades, there have been great debates over the basic assumptions that are the cornerstone of the paradigm and ultimately allow us to differentiate between the paradigms. Burrell and Morgan (1979), who took that social theory can be conceived in terms of the nature of social sciences and the nature of the society based their work on four assumptions – ontology (assumptions which concern the very essence of the phenomena under investigation), epistemology (assumptions about the grounds of knowledge), methodology (assumptions about obtaining knowledge about the social world) and human nature (assumptions with regard to the relationship between human beings and their environment). The first three – ontology, epistemology and methodology – are widely used notions from the philosophy of science that have proved to be very useful for organising dimensions of research. Depending on what kind of worldviews ontological assumptions reflect, one may witness a wide spectrum of groundings for knowledge about the social world, debating between whether and to what extent can human beings achieve adequate knowledge that is independent of their own subjective construction (Morgan & Smircich, 1980). In a similar vein, as objectivists require

Table 1.1. A Schema for Analysing Assumptions about the Nature of Social Science.

The Subjectivist Approach to Social Science		The Subjective–Objective Dimension		The Objectivist Approach to Social Science
Nominalism	←	ONTOLOGY	→	Realism
Anti-positivism	←	EPISTEMOLOGY	→	Positivism
Voluntarism	←	HUMAN NATURE	→	Determinism
Idiographic	←	METHODOLOGY	→	Nomothetic

Source: Adapted from Burrell and Morgan (1979, p. 3).

science to be based on methods that are grounded on publicly observable and replicable facts, subjectivists believe that the essential characteristic of human behaviour lies in its subjective meaningfulness and therefore social sciences cannot neglect the aspects of meaning and purpose in human behaviour (Diesing, 1966). Setting the basic assumptions into the classical polarised subjective–objective continuum, Burrell and Morgan (1979) propose a schema (Table 1.1).

According to Burrell and Morgan (1979), ontological assumptions may vary from one extreme to another, from nominalist to realist approach. Nominalism stating how the external world is negotiated without any certainty of anything besides the structures of our individual cognition (hence, in science universally valid claims or knowledge is considered as too bold a statement), and realism proposing that the social world exists independently of human beings and has a reality of its own (the aim of science is to develop objective and universal claims of how things are). This kind of

opposing view of the relationship between the human being and the world presents great differences how scientist perceives the object of study, including whether the researcher and the study can or should be independent from each other.

As ontology reflects the views how scientists conceive the world, differences here also imply different grounds for claiming knowledge about those worlds (Morgan & Smircich, 1980, p. 493). As for the dualistic continuum in epistemology, positivist epistemology has been grounded in natural sciences for a long time. A positivistic understanding asserts that 'the growth of knowledge is essentially a cumulative process in which new insights are added to the existing stock of knowledge and false hypothesis eliminated' (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p. 5). As a contrast, a subjectivist view of reality (of the world) or anti-positivist view would stress that the world is socially constructed (Morgan & Smircich, 1980), rather than objectively determined (Noor, 2008, p. 1602). From the latter, it follows that anti-positivists reject the belief that science could ever state to have been gained objective knowledge of any kind (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p. 5), and that any knowledge developed from the study is highly dependent on the unique context that the research initially emerged from.

Dimension of human nature in Burrell and Morgan's (1979) understanding reflects the exact relationship between the human being and the reality – whether the human being is determined by their environment or has the free will to act voluntarily, metaphorically set, human beings as 'mere puppets' or 'free agents'. In conducting research, it makes a great difference whether we believe that human behaviour can be easily manipulated and studied (e.g. conducting enough surveys on work satisfaction, analysing the results and offering ways to improve the satisfaction), or human behaviour is so complex that at all times, we can never claim full knowledge,

but also, human behaviour has an effect on the research as well (e.g. work satisfaction is deeply individual assessment, influenced by endless factors and is rarely the same today as it was perhaps yesterday).

A subjective approach to social science in methodological assumptions follows an idiographic perspective with a belief that one can understand the social world via obtaining first-hand knowledge of the subject under investigation while in contrast, a nomothetic perspective emphasises to base research upon systematic protocol and technique (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p. 6). As an idiographic approach shows a tendency to specify one's subject matter, nomothetic approach seeks to generalise one's subject matter in order to provide law-like generalisations to the whole population.

Table 1.2 strives to illustrate the mentioned dimensions of research or assumptions by making brief connections to organisational control.

Burrell and Morgan (1979) crossed basic assumptions from the philosophy of science with those about the nature of society. As nature of science was seen through a subjective–objective dimension, assumptions about the nature of society are regarded as a debate between regulation and radical change. Regulation, referring to the underlying unity and cohesiveness in society, in contrast to radical change, which seeks to emancipate human beings from the oppressing structures of the modern society (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p. 17). Hence, inevitably Burrell and Morgan (1979) end up with four distinct paradigms (shown via Figure 1.2) which are the functionalist (objective-regulation), the interpretive (subjective-regulation), the radical humanist (subjective-radical change) and the radical structuralist (objective-radical change) paradigm.

The functionalist paradigm has been considered by many social scientists as orthodoxy, some authors such as Willmott (1990, p. 44) would even label it as 'an intellectual

Table 1.2. Basic Assumptions or Dimensions of Research, Differentiated by the Approach to the Research.

Assumptions (or Dimensions of Research)	The Subjectivist Approach to Organisational Control	The Objectivist Approach to Organisational Control
Ontology	**Nominalism**	**Realism**
(The nature of the research object)	There is no universal organisational control, it is merely an abstract concept. Furthermore, organisational control is a social matter and social reality is always relative	Assumes rationality in human behaviour. Such rationality can be studied by a researcher via hypothesis testing. Organisational control and other social matters exist separate of individual human beings, thus are approachable in the same way as research objects in natural sciences
Epistemology	**Anti-positivism**	**Positivism**
(The knowledge of the research object)	Denial of universal knowledge. All knowledge of organisational control is particular and bound by uniqueness of the context. Here also the researcher is non-independent from the knowledge production process (e.g. organisational aspects such as	The belief in achieving valid and generalised knowledge of individual behaviour by collecting enough observations and developing patterns. Research is designed so that it was strictly independent from the researcher, and the new

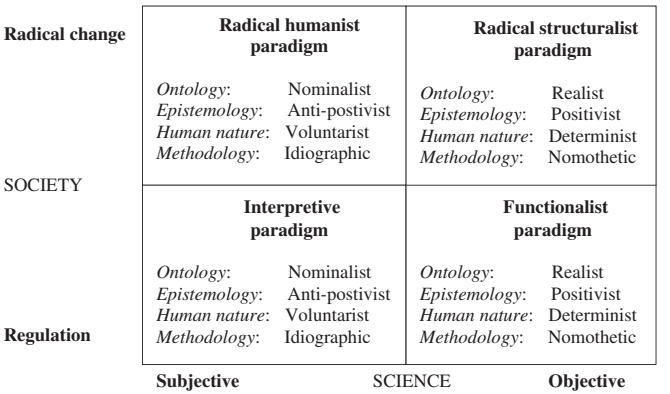
Table 1.2. (*Continued*)

Assumptions (or Dimensions of Research)	The Subjectivist Approach to Organisational Control	The Objectivist Approach to Organisational Control
	meanings, symbols, identities are uniquely connected to the establishment of organisational control)	knowledge will be used to affect organisational arrangements (e.g. through annual work satisfaction surveys, management strives to gain universal knowledge of whether everything is still 'under the control')
Methodology	**Idiographic**	**Nomothetic**
(Approaching the research object)	The aim of the research is to discover uniqueness of individual experiences of organisational control. Thus, great efforts are given to the study of individual experiences. High dependence on inductive reasoning, detailed and mostly qualitative descriptions of the context (e.g. studying the individual experiences of the work satisfaction by unstructured interviews)	The aim of the research is to find regularities in human behaviour to produce law-like generalisations about organisational control. High dependence on deductive, mostly quantifiable reasoning and pre-set hypotheses from the previous literature (e.g. conducting online-based survey with pre-set and closed questions on the work satisfaction)

Human nature	Voluntarism	Determinism
(The nature of human being as an object of study)	Individuals in an organisation have an effect on established control systems. Thus, organisational control is never solely a managerial product, but is established and continuously transformed by interaction between management and employees	Individuals in an organisation are considered as passive bystanders and determined by their environment. By studying the regularities in their behaviour it is not only possible to predict future activities, but also to manipulate and fashion their behaviour into alignment with organisational goals

Source: Compiled by the author.

Figure 1.2. Four Paradigms for the Analysis of Social Theory.



Source: Adapted from Burrell and Morgan (1979, p. 22).

imperialism' in the history of science. While taking its point of departure from an objective-regulation understanding of science and society, it claims to provide rational explanations to social affairs (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p. 26). On the basis of ontology, the functionalist paradigm follows a realist approach, which regards the reality to be external to the individual. This being so, epistemological assumption is grounded upon positivist approach, stating that objective knowledge can be acquired (by adequate procedures and regulations) and does not have to be gained by first-hand experience. Also, it is easy to see how the functionalist paradigm approaches human nature as determined in a relationship between human being and the world human being is considered to be just a passive bystander. The above-mentioned assumptions concerning ontology, epistemology and human nature methodologically reflect a nomothetic approach to

science, that is, the aim is to develop general laws about one's research phenomena. At the society level, the functionalist paradigm is supposed to support regulation or the concern to generate explanations of one's subject matter with the utmost degree of unity and cohesiveness. In sum, the functionalist paradigm approaches organisations and individual organisational phenomena such as entities in natural sciences, whereby observation and information accumulation is intended to develop generalisable, objective and value-free knowledge.

Although at the scientific level the radical structuralist paradigm has many of the same qualities as the functionalist paradigm – realist, positivist, determinist and nomothetic – at society level it supports radical change. Hence, it strives to bring out the modes of domination and structures that limit the human being from developing oneself (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). Therefore, still seeing organisational entities (including human behaviour) as passive or reactive and reality as 'existing on its own account independently of the way it is perceived' (Morgan, 1980, p. 609), radical structuralism tries to bring out the tensions that these existing social structures reflect.

The radical humanist paradigm supports an ontologically nominalist understanding of reality. Compared to the functionalist and radical structuralist paradigms, it sees organisational phenomena not as 'given' to the researcher, but as the 'product of one's mind' and 'the product of individual cognition' (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p. 2). From this, epistemologically radical humanists follow the anti-positivist view, which sees the grounds of knowledge as emerging from the many interpretations that social phenomena reflect. Combining the mentioned ontological and epistemological standpoints it is easy to see how radical humanists, compared to functionalists and radical structuralists, see the researcher as an active and not passive participant when making sense of organisational phenomena. Hence, human nature is considered as not being

determined by forces 'out there', but has the 'free will' to create its own environment (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p. 2). For this reason, methodologically, radical humanists seek to specify themselves by understanding the meanings of subjective social phenomena and never strive for developing generalisable laws and theories just for the sake of scientific rigor. Since at the societal level the paradigm takes a radical approach, it aims not only to bring out the dominating social structures (as common to radical structuralists), but to release the human being from the constraints that these structures can bring.

Lastly, the interpretive paradigm has the same scientific level assumptions as radical humanist paradigm – nominalism, anti-positivism, voluntarism and idiographic – yet at a societal level, the interpretive paradigm proposes regulation instead of radical change. In doing so, it seeks to understand the nature of social phenomena at the level of subjective experience, since it rejects the view of organisational constructs existing independently 'of the minds of individuals':

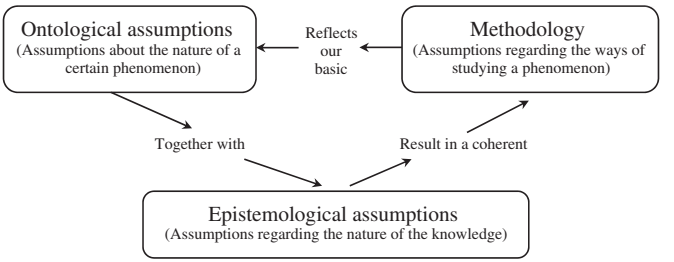
> *It emphasises that the social world is no more than the subjective construction of individual human beings who, through the development and use of common language and the interactions of everyday life, may create and sustain a social world of intersubjectively shared meaning. The social world is thus of an essentially intangible nature and is in a continuous process of reaffirmation or change. (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p. 260)*

After Burrell and Morgan (1979), scholars have sought to identify the roots of differences between the paradigms. Since every paradigm is grounded on fundamentally different

assumptions, they have different ways of approaching organisational phenomena (Gioia & Pitre, 1990, pp. 584–585). Still, as a rebuttal to Burrell and Morgan (1979), I find that human nature is not to be regarded as an equal status assumption in line with ontology, epistemology and methodology, since by its essence, all references to human nature seem to be already implied in ontological assumptions. As an illustration, in ontology and according to the nominalist understanding, it would be coherent to state how an individual has free agency in their environment, since it is the individual who takes part in the negotiation process of the external world. In a similar vein, the realist understanding of the world incorporates the understanding of the human being as determined creature – external realities, including social structures are seen fixed and not something an individual has the ability to create, hence an individual is already perceived as determined by the world into which they are born. Therefore, in this book, with guiding support from Morgan and Smircich (1980), a paradigm can be characterised through three fundamental assumptions about the nature of organisational phenomena: ontology, epistemology and methodology, excluding assumptions regarding human nature.

By focusing on different stances of reasoning, ontology, epistemology and methodology lay down the fundamentals of any scientific research. Thus, understanding of basic assumptions will be needed for making theoretically informed choices within any kind of scientific research (Cunliffe, 2011). The set of grounding assumptions about the nature of certain phenomena (ontology) always determines and embodies a variety of assumptions regarding the nature of knowledge (epistemology) and the nature of ways of studying those phenomena (methodology) (Gioia & Pitre, 1990; Morgan & Smircich, 1980). Figure 1.3 demonstrates how interconnected

Figure 1.3. The Triangle of Assumptions.



Source: Compiled by the author.

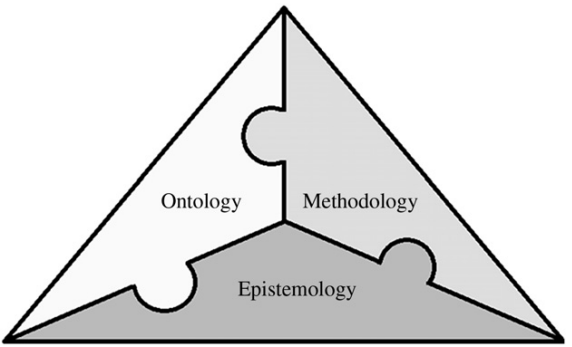
ontology, epistemology and methodology are. By taking notice of one, we inevitably make some reference to the other(s).

Morgan (1990, p. 27) has described the skills of a scientist as intellectual craftsmanship, where the quality of craftsmanship does not depend only on knowing one's tools (methods), but also on the understanding of the material (organisational phenomena). What should be kept in mind and is stated by Morgan and Smircich (1980): pure choice of method does not guarantee its adequacy. Setting method as a driving force in a study reduces social research to a mere technique (Cunliffe, 2011, p. 647). In fact,

> *the choice and adequacy of a method embodies a variety of assumptions regarding the nature of knowledge and the methods through which that knowledge can be obtained, as well as a set of root assumptions about the nature of the phenomena to be investigated. (Morgan & Smircich, 1980, p. 491)*

All in all, it means that any sort of qualitative or quantitative work in organisation science should be situated within a

Figure 1.4. A Puzzle of Assumptions.



Source: Compiled by the author.

broader philosophical framework consisting of a coherent set of assumptions about the nature of reality, knowledge and an adequate methodology. Approached by a metaphor (Figure 1.4), grounding assumptions work like a three-pieced puzzle – eliminating one piece and the puzzle is not coherent, but all pieces together constitute a whole picture of an understanding of one's research matter.

For organising existing treatises on organisational control it means that when exploring a specific paradigm (e.g. the modernist paradigm), the interconnection of these three assumptions allows not only viewing the similarities between treatises done within the same paradigm, but also addresses the differences between different paradigms.

Positioning these three grounding assumptions with respect to Burrell and Morgan's (1979) 2×2 matrix (recall Figure 1.2), I would join two paradigms – radical humanist and radical structuralist – under the label of the postmodern paradigm. The justification emerges from the postmodern paradigm reflecting some assumptions both from the

subjective and objective side of science. From the ontological side, postmodernism is realist, yet differs from the modernist paradigm, as it refers to local realism and objectivity, while modernist ontology claims universal realism and objectivity. According to the modernist paradigm, it is possible to reach one and only truth by adopting proper scientific techniques, yet the postmodern paradigm would claim that any claim of truth can be only made to be valid on local grounds, that is, objective truth that is valid only for a specific community or population, perhaps also valid only at a specific point of time. In a similar vein, postmodern epistemology reflects a dualistic positivist–anti-positivist coexistence, since the knowledge is objective, but again, objective for a specific population or community; at a universal level, the knowledge appears relative. Lastly, methodologically, the postmodern paradigm connects induction (as focusing on specific cases only) with deduction (as generalisations to be valid for a specific population at a specific point in time only). Table 1.3 summarises the most important points from the previous discussions.

Table 1.3. Three Paradigms with Corresponding Orientation and Assumptions.

Assumptions	Paradigm		
	Modernism	**Symbolism**	**Postmodernism**
Ontology	Realist	Nominalist	Realist–nominalist
Epistemology	Positivist	Anti-positivist	Positivist–anti-positivist
Methodology	Nomothetic	Idiographic	Nomothetic–idiographic

Source: Compiled by the author.

The assumptions listed in Table 1.3 will be the basis for the categorisation of treatises on organisational control in scholarly literature. In the next section, all of the mentioned paradigms are addressed by signposting exemplar studies on organisational control.

The etymology of the word 'control' brings us back to the Latin *contra* (opposite) and *rotulus* (a script) and refers to the opposition of two poles: a 'rôle' denotes a role-player, someone, who acts according to a script, and 'contre-rôle' indicates someone who monitors the role-player's compliance (Macintosh & Quattrone, 2010, p. 5). It clearly shows how the original meaning of control refers to control as a social phenomenon – someone playing the role according to the script. Some authors such as Hughes (1958, p. 78) have even stated how organisations, in order to control, need 'a social license'. Such license implies that control in the organisational arena is highly dependent on the interaction between individuals or groups of individuals. That said, control is ultimately a complicated matter, since it involves the reaction of human beings, whose behaviour is difficult to predict (Anthony, 1988, p. 10). Above all, control is an extensive term, so it is obvious that control phenomenon in organisations can be attached to endless fields of activities:

> *Whenever people join forces in the name of organized action, structures of control can be found in the midst of whatever efficiency, effectiveness, or coordination they achieve. (Jermier, 1998, p. 235)*

There is general support for the claim that as control mechanisms carry information processing properties (e.g. organisational routines and norms regulate relationships between individuals and groups), they also develop incentives and disincentives for organisational members to fashion their actions so that

they be fit for organisational objectives (Turner & Makhija, 2006). Similarly, some authors refer to control as the mediator, through which managers seek to align employee capabilities, activities and performance with organisational goals and aspirations (Cyert & March, 1963; Merchant, 1985; Sitkin, Cardinal, & Bijlsma-Frankema, 2010), taking control merely as a means to an end (Shewart, 1931), while others see control as a sum of interpersonal influence relations in an organisation (McGregor, 1960; Tannenbaum, 1968). Therefore, it can be seen how the word 'control' may be assigned different meanings. Furthermore, any paradigmatic language has an important role in shaping such interpretive frames of reference (Astley & Zammuto, 1992, p. 445). In order to identify the variety of interpretations behind control phenomenon, it is useful to examine how control has been conceptualised in scholarly literature (see Tables 1.4–1.6).

A review of the literature indicates how control is most of all related to power – the same hint emerged also from the etymological origin of the word 'control'. The relationship between power and control reflects different ways how individuals or groups of individuals align others or are aligned by others in workplace setting:

- How to gain control and engineer the behaviour of people to be aligned with organisational objectives? (modernist paradigm).
- How control manifests in practice – control as a lived narrative in worklife (symbolic paradigm).
- What are the perceived consequences of control and how to resist oppressive organisational affairs? (postmodern paradigm).

The core of the problem with control-related literature results from much of the literature being fragmented and treats

Table 1.4. Some Exemplar References to Organisational Control (Modernist Paradigm).

Reference to Control/Author(s)	Perspective on Control
'The art of management has been defined as knowing exactly what you want men to do, and then seeing that they do it in the best and cheapest way.' (Taylor, 1911, p. 21) '[…] control consists of verifying whether everything occurs in conformity with the plan adopted, the instructions issued and principles established.' (Fayol, 1949, p. 107) 'Control is the function of constraining and regulating action in accordance with the requirements of a plan for the accomplishment of an objective.' (Davis, 1957, p. 637) 'Control is the process of checking to determine whether or not plans are being adhered to, whether or not progress is being made toward the objectives and goals, and acting if necessary to correct any deviations. The essence of control is action which adjusts performance to predetermined standards if deviations occur […].' (Haimann, 1962, p. 487) '[…] the power to control or influence the other resides in control over the things he values, which may range all the way from oil resources to ego-support, depending upon the relation in question.' (Emerson, 1962, p. 32)	*Focus: How to gain control and engineer the behaviour of people to be aligned with organisational objectives?* • Control through planning • Control through objectives • Control through performance • Control through efficiency • Control through resource dependence • Control through intentional regulation • Control through constraints, etc.

Table 1.4. (*Continued*)

Reference to Control/Author(s)	Perspective on Control
'[…] control is any process in which a person or group of persons or organisation of persons determines, that is, intentionally effects, the behaviour of another person, group, or organisation.' (Tannenbaum, 1968, p. 5)	
'[...]subunits will possess relatively more power to the extent they provide resources for the organization and to the extent that the resources provided are critical, important, or valued by the organization.' (Salancik & Pfeffer, 1974, p. 455)	
'Control is a cybernetic, regulatory process that directs or constrains an iterative activity to some standard or purpose.' (Green & Welsh, 1988, p. 291)	
'Control mechanisms are designed to make situations behave according to certain desired performance criteria.' (Beer, 1995, p. 300)	
'[…] any process whereby managers direct attention, motivate, and encourage organisational members to act in ways desirable to achieving the organisation`s objectives.' (Cardinal, Sitkin, & Long, 2010, pp. 56–57)	
'The more critical and the less substitutable the resources subordinates use to derive their contributions are to management's ability to achieve defined goals, the higher the employee power, and with it the degree of managerial dependence, will be. As a response, managerial dependence will trigger actions such as management control to ensure that goals are achieved.' (Brettel & Voss, 2013, p. 412)	

Source: Author's analysis based on the listed resources.

Table 1.5. Some Exemplar References to Organisational Control (Symbolic Paradigm).

Reference to Control/Author(s)	Perspective on Control
'Control is a prominent process within organisations, but it is accomplished by relationships, not by people (Weick, 1969, p. 37). Control is not a cause of an action […] Control is an effect of action. Actions create relationships that then become binding and releasing.' (Weick, 1995, p. 167) '[…] the ways that organisations convince members to act in the best interests of the system rather than work toward self-interests. Through this process, the individual becomes identified with the system rather than simply working within it.' (Gossett, 2006, pp. 381–382) 'Different discourses, language games, and metaphors talk different realities into existence; they become a major source of organizational change and development.' (Kornberger, Clegg, & Carter, 2006, p. 14) 'Access to a speech community is controlled by the ingroup members, and in order to be accepted into the group, a newcomer will have to undergo a process of socialisation, which involves the learning of collective norms and practices, as well as the acquisition of the group speech.' (Tange & Lauring, 2009, p. 220) '[...] identity is a driver for behaviour; consequently it is the basis of control.' (George & Qian, 2010, p. 167)	*Focus: How control manifests in practice – control as a lived narrative in work life?* • Relationships are that control, not people • Control through language • Control through identity and identification • Communicative practices as means of control • Narratives as means of control in the midst of change initiatives • Control and sensemaking

Table 1.5. (*Continued*)

Reference to Control/Author(s)	Perspective on Control
'Culture can be experienced in a controlling manner because the words used to describe it, when voiced in specific social contexts, cue the presence of particular rules that restrict the process of organizational enactment.' (Long & Mills, 2010, p. 329) '[…] the social and technical systems of management control can best be understood as interrelated systems that will involve experimentation and adaptation over time in response to local contexts.' (Sharpe, 2006, p. 338) '[…] the concepts of animation and control can describe the different ways in which heterogeneous parties interact in ongoing, "ordinary" sensemaking processes over extended periods of time.' (Maitlis, 2005, p. 44) 'The significance of storylines or narratives to effecting organizational change cannot be underestimated for they convey the prevailing or intended rationales supporting change or stability.' (Grant & Marshak, 2011, p. 216) '[…] peer reviewing contributes to the understanding of how it can be that organizations seem to be efficiently controlled despite the limited efficiency of traditional means of control, and despite the fact that much of the power over core operations has moved from formal managers to employees in complex organizations.' (Rennstam & Kärreman, 2014, p. 40)	• Culture as means of control • Control through organisational talk • Organisational narratives as control • Peer reviewing as control, etc.

Source: Author's analysis based on the listed resources.

Table 1.6. Some Exemplar References to Organisational Control (Postmodern Paradigm).

Reference to Control/Author(s)	Perspective on Control
'To say that an organization, or any other analytic unit, is gendered means that advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine.' (Acker, 1990, p. 146) 'The shape of resistance shifts constantly, not only because resistance is inherently polysemic/[…]/and responsive to varied forces/[…]/, but also because it is tailored to particular audiences.' (Ashcraft, 2005, p. 86) '[…] organizational control is accomplished through the self-positioning of employees within managerially inspired discourses about work and organization with which they may become more or less identified and committed.' (Alvesson & Willmott, 2001, p. 2) '[…] predominantly an activity carried out by a powerful social group that orchestrates and exercises definitional and executive authority over other social groups within an organisation.' (Kärreman & Alvesson, 2004, p. 152) 'Any attempt to analyse the impact of organizational discourse on individual subjectivity must take into account the possibility that subjects actively take part in their own self-construction and that this construction is produced in social interaction.' (Bergström & Knights, 2006, p. 351)	*Focus: What are the perceived consequences of control and how to resist oppressive organisational affairs?* • Perceiving control as a source of domination, exploitation and subjection • Resistance to professional identity threats • Control through authority and domination • Control as a struggle over power/knowledge • Resisting control by deconstructing the

Table 1.6. (*Continued*)

Reference to Control/Author(s)	Perspective on Control
'[…] control as neither inflicted by the powerful on the powerless, as in bureaucratic control, nor democratised, as in concertive control – which are the prototypical controls in cognitive and job design research – but as a web that trapped everyone alike' (Michel, 2012, p. 355)/ '[…]/Embodied controls might be less visible because they influence workers' conduct only indirectly and unobtrusively; they manifest as regular business activity that guides participants' actions.' (p. 328)	dominating discourses or self-constructing new ones • Gendered accounts of control • Embodied control • Control through surveillance as means to social sorting • Identity regulation as control, etc.
'Social media, by facilitating visible text, can be viewed as an inherently discursive space where individuals are able to put forth arguments and engage in public deliberation (Treem & Leonardi, 2012, p. 175)/[…]/Individuals or groups in the organization who are able to shape Discourse and participation in this space will wield power over the narrative around how the social media ought to be used and, in so doing, will perhaps be able to control the larger Discourse that controls perception in the organization.' (p. 177)	
'The variety of surveillance techniques involving obtrusive and non-obtrusive measures, in which monitoring, recording, counting, and categorizing of people, referred to as social ordering, have affected the identity of individuals as workers, hospital patients, citizens, refugees, students, prison inmates, travelers, and neighborhood residents.' (Zureik, 2003, p. 42)	

Source: Author's analysis based on the listed resources.

control among many, often even minor aspect of management. Organisation is a complex system that comprises of a large number of entities that represent a high level of nonlinear interactivity (Richardson & Cilliers, 2001, p. 8). Yet as an object of study, Gilpin and Murphy (2008) have pointed how traditionally control has been approached by setting up linear cause-and-effect relationships. This chapter proposes the idea that control studies in organisation have to reflect the complex realities, and never strive for singular perspectives. Organisations face paradoxes, which are often a result of the coexistence of multiple paradigms over the same phenomena. Such paradoxes are witnessed in organisations every day – tensions between control and flexibility, stability and change, collaboration and competition and so on. A large part of manager's work in a natural organisational environment most often reflects situations of paradox managing, yet the scholarly literature on organisation studies is remarkably overbalanced towards single-paradigm strategies. Similarly, managers who are not able to question existing assumptions, meanings and relations are not flexible enough to face the complexity of organisational realities in a turbulent environment.

Given these points, theoretical treatises on control should also incorporate such inner conflict and contradictions together with multiple perspectives. As witnessed from Tables 1.4–1.6, understanding of organisational control varied from seeing it as engineering individual behaviour in alignment with organisational purposes, treating control as manifesting within and determined by the established relationships and commonly held organisational symbols such as culture, identity and values, but also exploring the effects of such 'social' and symbolic control on individuals as they often institutionalise individual behaviour in ways that might not even be noticed by the subjects themselves. The essential

differences between these three perspectives on organisational control give further confirmation how there is a need for developing a theoretical framework on organisational control that incorporates the above-mentioned different viewpoints at the same time.

EXPLORING PARADIGMS ON ORGANISATIONAL CONTROL

The intellectual and philosophical roadmap outlined in previous sections was needed in order to prepare the reader with a preliminary understanding of how these three paradigms have evolved and most of all, how they are position in their approach to the complexity of organisational control.

The modernist paradigm, being most of all concerned with closed-loop control or cybernetic systems, interprets organisation, but also organisational control as deterministic systems that can be understood with great predictive power, but also engineered in a desirable fashion by acquiring enough information. Pondy and Mitroff (1979) have pointed out how a large part of studies on organisations tend to simplify themselves to considering organisations to be cybernetic and closed systems, thus neglecting the influence introduced by complex contextual factors.

The symbolic paradigm has emerged as a reaction to the modernist approach to organisational phenomena. Stating that organisations as socio-cultural systems are more complex than modernists suppose, they face a high degree of complexity and uncertainty from the attempts of interpreting human behaviour in social organisations. Not believing in one and the right way of understanding organisational matters, proponents of the symbolic paradigm seek to appreciate and accommodate alternative interpretations.

Postmodernism embraces pluralism and polyvocality, following critical discursive thinking it aims to illustrate how, despite our efforts we are often incapable of reaching the ultimate truth, because there is none. Instead, there are temporally bound local truths, and this being so, whenever we face oppressive and emancipating (organisational) arrangements, it is our task to question them and trace their historical dependencies as it allows freeing the subject from the unjustified restrictions.

Modernist Paradigm on Control

Modernism follows the rationale that organisations are established and managed first and foremost because of their instrumental benefits – organisations enable 'gain' from individuals working together (Donaldson, 1985, 2005). That said, modernism has been evolving by primarily taking a manager's perspective. Most of the seminal management treatises (including literature on control) tend to address managerial priorities and problems (Burrell & Morgan, 1979) and seek to generate systematic investigations leading to possible solutions. Such managerial perspective on organisational control is recorded by Hawes (1992, p. 41):

> *To manage scientifically is to control the necessary variables (i.e. individual subjects and organizational structures) in ways that allow for prediction (i.e. projecting individual and organisational goals and objectives) and explanation (i.e. justifications for what went wrong and what is to be done about it).*

This quote illustrates possibly the most orthodox understanding of organisational control – a purposeful process that strives to fashion all aspects of organisational life.

Next, a detailed investigation of grounding assumption will be undertaken. Acknowledging basic assumptions allows the exploration of how the modernist paradigm defines the essence of organisational control (ontology), what can be considered as valid knowledge of organisational control (epistemology) and how research on organisational control should be designed and carried out (methodology).

Ontology

From the ontological dimension, modernism represents realist understanding, the objective view that the world is independent from the human being, the belief that the object of study is waiting 'out there' to be studied and can easily be manipulated by human beings when the chosen methods are adequate (Anthony, 1965). Drawing from these remarks, modernism sees control as a mechanism of strategy implication with underlying belief that physical and social environment around us should be controlled in the most efficient and beneficial way to the organisation.

Modernism holds the view how different individuals in the organisation have different interests, therefore organisational control serves to narrow down the variety of individual behaviours in order to fulfil organisational goals. This being so, most modernist authors will agree that the main function of control is 'to fashion activities in accordance with expectations' (Das & Teng, 1998, p. 493). For example, Ouchi has stated how the 'design of organisational control mechanisms must focus on the problems of achieving cooperation among individuals who hold partially divergent objectives' (1979, p. 845). Hatch (1997, p. 328) has highlighted how modernist control theories concentrate on mechanisms for controlling behaviour in order to 'ensure that self-interest is minimised and organisational interests are served by the activities occurring within, and on behalf of the organisation'. Eisenhardt

(1985, p. 137) similarly argues that the purpose of control is to offer measures and rewards that individuals would want to pursue a common interest instead of their self-interests.

The existence of any organisation rests on an individual or a group of people seek to attain a certain objective, for example to manufacture products or provide services (Eilon, 1971, p. 11). It is the very essence of organisations to have organised behaviour, yet in reality individuals show much broader spectrum of behaviour patterns, and control systems are there to 'help circumscribe idiosyncratic behaviours and keep them conformant with the rational plan of the organisation' (Tannenbaum, 1962, p. 237). This being so, it can be said that control is referential as it 'restricts the point of view to fixed interactions and observational points' (Cooper & Burrell, 1988, p. 93). All in all, organisations have the power to establish various rules, chains of command and other beneficial artificial structures designed to constrain members' actions (Gossett, 2006, p. 381).

Modernism presents control most often through a cybernetic form of control, that is, via application of systems theory by outlining the achievement of control through setting up standards, monitoring behaviour or outcomes and giving feedback (Hatch, 1997; Hofstede, 1978). It brings in the viewpoint that Alvesson and Willmott (2002, p. 620) have labelled as 'a bureaucratic-engineering approach'. Even though newer advancements in the respective paradigm have appeared (e.g. agency theory), core assumptions still remain. Social phenomena such as behaviour, or the outcome of this behaviour, can be manipulated and controlled by gathering enough understanding about the processes through which human beings react to certain kinds of settings (e.g. increase in wages, improvement in working conditions and supportive organisation culture). Most importantly, although the modernist paradigm treats informal social systems as important

as formal social systems, it still ascribes that by studying these informal social arrangements, such as values and beliefs, one is able to shape them in a preferable fashion and managers take the role of such 'social engineers'.

Epistemology

Ramström (1967, p. 55) outlines how the traditional modernist understanding of control indicates various kinds of actions needed in order to affect the behaviour of the controlled entities. As such, ontologically, the modernist paradigm takes reactive approach: individuals, groups and organisation are seen as reacting to external forces (realism) and epistemologically scholars aim explain and predict the social world by looking for regularities and causal relationships across individual and group-based behaviour (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p. 5). Therefore, getting to know your environment by gathering as much information as possible will make up a basic point for the epistemological assumptions (positivism). Modernism takes after positivist epistemology and treats management, including organisational control, as a 'branch of engineering' (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002, p. 621), reflecting movement towards progress.

Modernist epistemology borrows a great deal from building analogies between social life and organic life (Radcliffe-Brown, 1935, p. 394). Interpreting organic life as a set of units that are arranged in a meaningful structure or system with specific functions, the modernist paradigm sees control as a medium for accomplishing the same in an organisational setting. This being so, modernist epistemology builds on 'verification, knowledge cumulating, search for scientific method, division into dependent and independent variables, search for mathematical modelling and quantificational methodology' (Sulkowski, 2010, p. 109). Such a functional vision of

organisational arrangements captures an individual in terms of *homo oeconomicus* (Sulkowski, 2010) and all the knowledge gained about the organisational control will be based on the assumption that human beings (most of the time) act rationally, as *homo economicus*.

Methodology

The modernist perspective indicates the understanding that knowledge about the world can be obtained objectively, that is, through independent observation and by identifying generalisable laws and principles in a systematic manner (nomothetic approach), thus also basing all methodological attempts on 'systematic protocol and technique' (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p. 6). The most evident example of this nomothetic tendency can be seen in the works of von Bertalanffy (1968) as he sought to explain social phenomena through general laws and principles. Proposing systems thinking, von Bertalanffy (1968) aimed to demonstrate how all things are related in a systematic way (Hatch, 1997). Seeing organisation as a system is one of the essential beliefs of the modernist paradigm. Such a systematic or cybernetics model of control takes its point of departure from the belief that organisations work like systems and, as systems, organisations are determined to be functional and purposeful. For this reason, control serves to guarantee that the predetermined and desired levels of performance are achieved, and when important discrepancies are noticed in the process, adjustments will be made in order to continue towards achieving the goal. Again, the process-oriented nature of organisational control can be witnessed.

The cybernetic mode of understanding dates back to the works of Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) mathematician Wiener (1961), who interprets control in a manner suitable for the natural sciences, such as physics and biology.

Wiener himself defined cybernetics as the scientific field of study of control and communication theory of both animal and machine (1961, p. 11) as both animals and machines are conceived to be teleological systems, that is, systems that embody a goal. In management, it was Beer (1959a, 1959b) who applied cybernetics in order to explain how organisations work. Beer (1959b, p. 2) defined cybernetics as 'the science of control'. Therefore, modernism holds belief and trust in observation, descriptive and standardised measures as mostly used in natural sciences (Hatch, 1997).

To illustrate the above-mentioned research practises, an exemplar study on organisational control can be addressed. To date, the most dominating research on control under the modernist paradigm was conducted by Ouchi during the 1970s as he studied numerous managers and employees in retail department stores, mostly by questionnaires (with over 2,000 individuals taking part). Accepting the belief that knowledge about the world can be obtained objectively, together with March and Simon (1958), Ouchi (1978) has demonstrated that there are two phenomena in organisation, which can actually be controlled: behaviour and the after effects of that behaviour, that is to say, outputs which result from behaviour. Having stated that, both of the alternatives incorporate specific conditions when either of these modes of control are fit for application: the ability to measure outputs and the knowledge of the transformation process (task programmability). The mode of control depends on whether and how well behaviour can be benchmarked or set outputs to some desired exemplar. The organisational control model of Ouchi and his colleagues is presented in Figure 1.5.

In the case of work tasks that are easily understood and programmable, the nature of the processes is perfectly

Figure 1.5. Choice of Organisational Control Mode.

Availability of output measures	Knowledge of the transformation process (task programmability): Perfect	Knowledge of the transformation process (task programmability): Imperfect
High	Behaviour or output measurement *(Apollo programme)*	Output measurement *(Women's boutique)*
Low	Behaviour measurement *(Tin can plant)*	Ritual or ceremonial control, 'input' control *(Research laboratory)*

Source: Adapted from Ouchi (1979).

understood (Turner & Makhija, 2006, p. 200), it is also easy to achieve the desired result. When this happens, behaviour control can be appropriate: a manager can easily survey employee's behaviour at work while fulfilling the task. An example being a tin can plant, where processes are usually running with great certainty about what is to be done and when it should happen. Such process or behaviour-based control mechanism presupposes that the knowledge that is needed in order to carry out a given task or set of tasks is highly specialised (Turner & Makhija, 2006, p. 201). If it is easy to measure outputs (e.g. in a women's hair salon or some other service organisation), but not the process how one should get to the desired outcomes, output-based control might be suitable (Ouchi, 1979). If neither behaviour nor output can be measured well and knowledge of the transformation process is imperfect, ritual or ceremonial (sometimes referred to as 'input' or 'personnel' control, since you seek to recruit the right people) are fit for purpose. For example, much of the recruitment in higher education and also in information technology organisations is based on such input or personnel control.

It should be noted how behaviour control tends to be well-suited as local control mechanism, yet has great probability to fail as organisation-wide control mechanism (Ouchi & Maguire, 1975), since 'behaviour control will have poor transmittal qualities through organisational levels' (Ouchi, 1977, p. 175). As an illustration, a CEO who does not know the local conditions and the peculiarities of its many subunits has little knowledge what constitutes 'proper' or 'desirable' behaviour in the respective subunit. From this point of view, it is easy to discern an interesting paradox of control. In large and multitier organisations, it is the interest of the top managers to apply output control organisation wide in order to make the monitoring comparable across the management levels, yet local managers might prefer behaviour control. The question here is whether and how easy it is to interpret one mode of control into another?

A further line of thought questions the naive presumption that modes of control operate in isolation. Instead, authors such as Brettel and Voss (2013) aver that modes of control in reality tend to form packages or combinations. Nevertheless, whether behaviour or output control should be applied in isolation or in combination, it becomes clear the modernist paradigm makes a bold statement that behaviour can and should be regulated like any other organisational entity. In conclusion, it is worth noting that in case of modernism, we are most of all focused on the ways that organisations convince members to act and behave in the best interests of the organisation rather than working towards self-interests (Gossett, 2006), making organisational control systems consisting of procedures and regularities that use information to maintain or alter patterns in organisational activity (Simons, 1987). That said, in methodological steps taken by researchers adopting the modernist paradigm with nomothetic approach treat both organisational members and states of affairs in general as

easily manipulated and transformed. Most often the mainstream of suitable methods here focuses on quantitative approach – working with structured questionnaires and preferably large numerical datasets.

Symbolic Paradigm on Control

In scholarly thought, many of the debates have concentrated on either modernism or postmodernism paradigms, leaving the symbolic paradigm in an awkward position between the 'modern-postmodern sandwich'. It was Turner, who in 1971 approached organisations promoting the study of the 'lived experience of organisational actors' (Hatch & Yanov, 2003, p. 72). Turner (1971, p. vii) signposted the need for

> *discovering the way in which people in industry define their life-positions, with learning the sets of symbolism which they adopt in their definitions, and with examining the collective or organisational consequences of these views which they hold of themselves.*

The conscious origins of the symbolic paradigm emerge from Blumer (1969/1986), who put forward the notion of symbolic interactionism. Symbolic interactionism focuses on the idea that meanings as social creations are 'formed in and through the defining activities of people as they interact' (Blumer, 1969/1986, p. 5). In a similar fashion, Waterman (1990, p. 41) discerned how individuals tend to 'structure the unknown'. In doing so, they strive to 'comprehend, understand, explain, attribute, extrapolate, and predict' (Starbuck & Milliken, 1988, p. 51), that is, they engage into organising the social world around them.

Ontology

As a contrast to modernism, where uncertainty is to be reduced at any cost, the symbolic paradigm suggests that we should understand and confront uncertainty in organisations (Morgan, 1990). Control in the symbolic paradigm strives to see how individuals actually make sense of this uncertainty through the cognitive mapping of one's environment. Where modernism sees organisation as a system that is more important than the individual, the symbolic perspective brings the focus back to the person and the relationships between the person and their environment. It sees control not as 'a cause of an action', but as 'an effect of action', since 'actions create relationships that then become binding or releasing' (Weick, 1995, p. 167). That said, Weick (1969, p. 37) sees control as based on relationships, people being merely the medium through which these relationships become actualised. Contrasting this ontological belief with that from the modernist paradigm, while the latter took a manager's perspective, the symbolic paradigm addresses the overall subject or organisational member, both individually and collectively. But most importantly, as compared to the modernist paradigm, here the focus is on how organisational control is not merely an artificial construct proposed by the managers, but an organisational phenomenon that is lived, mutually created and recreated by the interaction of individuals or groups of individuals.

In fact, Weick indicates the ontological core of symbolism as it proposes to notice how 'human *creates*[1] the environment to which the system then adapts', and the individuals do not merely react to an environment, they enact it (Weick, 1969, p. 64). Or, in case of organisational control, people enact the environment that seeks to constrain them. Therefore, as an opposition to the modernist reactive approach to control, symbolism engages co-actively. This point is illustrated

by Kunda (2006, p. 21) as he notes that organisational members are

> *active participants in the shaping of themselves and of others. They may – at various times – accept, deny, react, reshape, rethink, acquiesce, rebel, conform, and define and redefine the demands and their response. In other words, they create themselves within the constraints imposed on them.*

As such, ontologically, the symbolic paradigm posits the belief that the world and all within are socially constructed and thus control in organisations may be perceived as 'reciprocal interaction' (Thomas, Clark, & Gioia, 1993, p. 240), and that the only way to improve ability to control is to recognise that control is manifest in 'selective adaptation to human nature rather than in attempting to make human nature conform to our wishes' (McGregor, 1960, p. 11).

Epistemology

The symbolic paradigm seeks to understand and explain the world mostly from the point of view of the individual directly involved in the social process (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p. 227). It is the exploration of deeply individual experiences, gathering an insider's view that grounds the core of epistemological commitment within the symbolic paradigm. That said, as epistemology focuses on the grounds of knowledge, the symbolic paradigm looks at the phenomenon of knowledge, or rather the phenomenon of understanding and misunderstanding concerning language (Gadamer, 2006). Following Gadamer's (2006, p. 19) line of thought, language can work as a purposeful regulation and control mechanism: language, as a centrally shaped communication system has the ability to show matters in a specific suggestive light. It further means

that every (organisational) language is highly context-based. Quoting Gadamer (2006, p. 25):

> *Language is such that, whatever particular meaning a word may possess, words do not have a single unchanging meaning; rather, they possess a fluctuating range of meaning, and precisely this fluctuation constitutes the peculiar risk of speaking. Only in the process of speaking, as we speak further, as we build up the fabric of a linguistic context, do we come to fix the meanings in the moments of meaning of our speaking, only in this way do we mutually agree on what we mean.*

The symbolic paradigm not only sees the development of knowledge, but also the development of understanding of control, as socially defined. This suggests that as we construct organisation symbolically (Morgan, 1990, p. 19), control phenomenon should also be seen as a symbolic construction. For this reason, the symbolic perspective takes as a central assumption that any sort of data are unable to speak alone and often need to be spoken for, but furthermore, data presentation can never be separated from interpretation (Kärreman & Alvesson, 2004, p. 155). To illustrate this point, it is not sufficient enough that managers pick out the best or the most efficient mode of control, but they also need the knowledge regarding employee's perception or understanding of that mode of control.

Authors such as Turner and Makhija (2006, p. 198) have addressed how organisational control mechanisms carry the power of influencing organisations' knowledge management by affecting the ways how knowledge is acquired, disseminated and most of all interpreted. Thus, the symbolic paradigm carries anti-positivist epistemology, that is, we cannot

gain knowledge merely by observing social arrangements (common to positivist understanding in the modernist paradigm) from distance, but we need to understand and interpret organisational conversations over organisational control, we need an insider's view in order to produce meaningful knowledge of how organisational control actually works.

Methodology

Symbolism mostly addresses scientific inquiry that scientist bases on textual data rather than numerical data, seeking to analyse these data within their textual form instead of converting them into a numerical mode for analysis, but most of all, aims to understand the meaning of human action (Schwand, 2001), and tries to ask open questions as they appear in context rather than seeking to test a pre-determined hypotheses (Carter & Little, 2007, p. 1316). These remarks support both ontological and epistemological commitments discussed in the previous sections. Ontological commitment in the symbolic paradigm understands organisational control as a manifestation of human relations with the organisation, the epistemological point of view regards how any sort of knowledge of such relations emerges from language in practice, thus methodologically we need to gain an insider's view and abandon the modernist criteria that the researcher should be independent and distant from the research.

Above all, the symbolic paradigm can be found particularly useful for explaining the rapid changes during the last decades. As Kärreman and Alvesson (2004) have identified, socio-economic changes (expansion of the service sector and knowledge-intensive work, the rise of consumer economy, etc.) have transformed organisational practices. It is not to say that traditional modes of control disappeared as the world changed, but instead, new forms of organising added complimentary modes of control (Kärreman & Alvesson,

2004, p. 151) and it is the task of the organisation to tailor its own suitable control mechanisms. From a methodological stance, it means that idiographic methodologies will be found most suitable supplementing views; focusing on the peculiarities of the research problem and learning from the uniqueness of the situation rather than seeking to draw generalisations. Seeing organisations as interpretation systems allows a better understanding of the complex operating environments organisations face, hence in turn implicating the complexity of appropriate control mechanisms.

Postmodern Paradigm on Control

In addition to the cybernetic and bureaucratic understanding of organisational control found in modernism, and interpretive organisational control witnessed within symbolism, the postmodern paradigm in turn allows the opening of another facet of organisational control. Postmodernism is most of all interested in seemingly hidden, though equally powerful manifestations of sophisticated forms of organisational control. For example, while in the modernist paradigm organisational control is often equated with the direct observation and evaluation of individual behaviour or outcome of that behaviour, the postmodern understanding incorporates relatively collective and passive forms of control, where it is often not a manager who controls, but the social order within the organisation (Schutz, 2004), whether it be the disciplining control of co-workers, informal groupings, embodied and gendered accounts of organisational arrangements, the invisible and intense control by the anonymous 'many' brought by the social media and so on.

The most famous interpretation of control under the postmodernist paradigm emerges from the idea of Panopticon;

an idea from the philosopher Bentham (1995/1787) of a ring-shaped building with an inspection or guard tower at its centre. Being an architectural novelty of its time, the design of Panopticon strived to change the very idea of controlling the behaviour of an individual. As a circular building with an inspection tower at the centre, it was designed so that the prisoners would not see the guards in the inspection tower, but they themselves being visible to the guards at all times. As King (2001, p. 41) has noted, Panopticon's most important feature is that its inmates are 'constantly visible', using direct control, since the inmates do not know when they are being watched and who is watching them. A vast amount of similar forms of control are applied every day, both outside and at the workplaces.

Seeing the idea of the Panoptic type of control being applicable to a wide spectrum of institutions is the reason why Panopticon caught the eye of postmodernist thinkers. Though, it was not before Foucault (1995/1975) that the idea of Panopticon became significant among organisational scholars. The significance of Panopticism as a form of control is that it works as a disciplinary mechanism (King, 2001). Interpreting Panopticon as a generalisable model of functioning or a way of defining power relations, Foucault (1995/1975) sees the traces of the Panoptic way of arrangements at the very essence of any kind of institutionalising practices. These days the notion of Panopticon has been accommodated to explain the revolution of information and communications technology by creating a notion of 'cybernetic capitalism' (Robins & Webster, 1988) or 'electronic panopticism' (Lyon, 1994; Lianos & Douglas, 2000; Sewell & Wilkinson, 1992). As King (2001, p. 48) has stressed:

> *The inspection principle is the Panopticon, and it is a principle that is very much alive today. It may be*

> *seen in security cameras, in the magnetic strips on the back of credit cards, and in the slew of advertisements seen in cyberspace. The transferability of the Panopticon is of equal importance. The Panopticon was a design initially proposed for a prison, but not meant solely as a penal architecture. It must be remembered not as a prison, but as an idea employable in many environments. These two aspects are central to the panoptic model and invest in it immense power.*

Furthermore, Lianos and Douglas (2000, p. 262) even stated how the era of 'electronic panopticon' has remarkably changed our perception of trust and control:

> *The turnstile, the credit card and the password can be taken to represent a process, which has put all access on to an automated basis. The need to build up relations of trust is reduced, almost eliminated. Either the card giving access to money or information is technically valid, or it is not. Social control is taken out of interpersonal interaction and handed over to an automated basis. No more need for negotiation of personal ties, no need for polished social skills, no need to demonstrate ethical probity, the new social divisions are defined by having or not having the right mechanical means of identification at each level. Automated access replaces personal trust [...].*

The intensity of control that the use of information and communication technology plays in our everyday activities has made organisational scholars notice how an 'electronic path or fingerprint' is left behind by almost every individual.

A path that is beyond any imaginative level of Bentham's original notion of Panopticon.

What is of primary importance, as indicated by Lianos (2010, p. 76) is how 'social control has largely become a private affair', since 'mutually enforced cultural values' have been replaced with 'private, individual adherence to specific settings of behaviour that are socially validated by an institutional rubber stamp'. Lianos (2010) suggests viewing society as based on three key notions of control: 'privatisation', 'dangerisation' and 'periopticity'. Privatisation refers to control as surveillance which is an increasingly individual experience, dangerisation describes the widespread anxiety that the intensity of surveillance society has brought on people, and periopticism refers to the phenomena that instead of a single inspection tower proposed by Bentham, there exists often numerous institutional inspection towers so that it is not even possible to state who exactly is in control, but what is clear is that you are under intense surveillance most of the time.

The idea of constant control in a perioptic mode captures perfectly the influence of technology as means of control. Social media, surveillance cameras, log books covering web usage, digital door cards and so on are all means of building up control systems in a perioptic, postmodern style. By putting forward the idea of periopticon, Lianos (2010) sought to describe the mode of control we are most often witnessing in today's societies and organisations which adequately illustrates the core of organisational control according to the postmodern paradigm.

Ontology

Ontologically, postmodernism treats the world both as 'out there' and as a creation of our cognition. With this in mind, the postmodern paradigm stands in sharp contrast with the modernist paradigm as it sees the latter as 'intellectual

imperialism that ignores the fundamental uncontrollability of meaning' (Parker, 1992, p. 3). Understanding that meanings (e.g. identity, values and culture) in organisational spheres cannot be controlled in a bureaucratic fashion as supposed by the modernist perspective, postmodernism develops a fundamentally different ontological commitment. It conceives organisational realities as social realities, not as objective and independent from the individual, but as a text to be read over and over again, since every organisational text represents some kind of narrative of the organisational world (Chan & Garrick, 2002). Since the postmodernist paradigm seeks to examine the ways realities and identities are constructed via the use of language (Hatch, 1997), it is evident that the human being can be at the same time as a passive bystander as social structures are created and enforced (by others) upon them, but at the same time he or she can also be an active participant while deconstructing or constructing realities. Postmodernism abandons any attempt to represent the object of study exactly as it is, since it rejects the possibility of true representation or simply truth in general (Rosenau, 1992), truth is more bound to the situational constraints: truth for one group of people may not be true for another, something that is true today, may not be so tomorrow. Hence, postmodernist ontology is an odd combination of objectivity bound by subjectivity.

Postmodernism starts to look at the outcome of control relations. Power/knowledge networks, resistance and domination/emancipation are representative themes at the very core of the postmodern debate on control. Postmodernism strives to change existing management practices and organisational arrangements through analysing the past regularities that have resulted today in various 'patterns of relations of domination' (Delbridge, 2010, p. 88). From the ontological assumption, it means that organisational control is not

considered to be static and fixed, but a manifestation of some historical development and by exploring these developments it is possible to resist or transform existing control mechanisms.

Epistemology

Postmodern epistemological commitment follows the belief that the world builds on our shared language and our knowledge of the world emerges through the particular forms of discourse our language creates (Hassard, 1996, p. 47). Thus, according to Chan and Garrick (2002, p. 689) the postmodern paradigm holds that 'language transforms everything, and most significantly, truth into a large linguistic convention', where truth becomes a mere effect of a discourse. As epistemology is concerned with the grounds of knowledge, the above-mentioned statements denote how knowledge is bound by the contextuality of language. Organisational speech and language has the ability to create and recreate such knowledge.

Hekman (1983, p. 99) has addressed how epistemological standpoints within the postmodern paradigm work as a complimentary relationship between positivism and anti-positivism, or as 'two sides of a same coin'. It treats knowledge as being developed by influences from environment that are processed and given meanings by individuals, and finally, thrown back into the environment. This being so, that which once was considered objective, through subjective processing will again become objective knowledge. In order to deconstruct or critique something one needs to understand both the 'big and small' picture, understand social phenomena both through objective and subjective measures and developments. Such a statement captures the core of the Foucauldian understanding of control. Foucault was concerned with the past, that is, how manifestations of control mechanisms today have developed so as to bring out

how such developments have been suppressing the human being as a subject (Lianos, 2003). In a similar vein, the postmodern perspective is not that interested in processes or agents, per se, but focuses on the outcome, whether it is emancipation of employees, resistance to existing arrangements and so on. Such historically developed 'hidden aspects' of power (Delbridge, 2010) manifest in organisational discourses since they tend to both enable and strain individual action in organisational settings. From the more practical level, the epistemological commitment of postmodernism strives to uncover the origins and manifestations of knowledge from the organisational texts in order to resist or propose fundamental alternations in the existing control mechanisms of an organisation. For example, by deconstructing the line of argumentation or rationale hidden behind performance-based assessment in universities, it is possible to foster a critical discussion over the justifiability of such a control mechanism over the academic profession and academic work as it poses a threat to alienate the true essence of academic values. Yet it should be noted, how in the case of postmodernism it is not tangible outcomes that are the ultimate target of such critique and resistance, but fostering discussions so to raise awareness and knowledge of the socially important matters that otherwise would be silenced or left ungratefully unnoticed.

Methodology

According to Kilduff and Mehra (1997), the aim of postmodern methodology is to challenge dominant and oppressive forms of knowledge by hearing voices of people that have not been represented in the dominant organisational discourse. This indicates a remarkably different understanding of organisation in general. To bring an example from postmodern thinking of the very essence of organisations:

> *Organisations of any size are dynamic constellations, dynamic systems that simultaneously tend both to cohere and to fly apart. Organisations are the results of efforts to resolve pivotal paradoxes. Their resolutions, of course, can never be finalised and completed. Eventually the paradoxes are somehow deconstructed and enfolded back into their historical contexts. One interest of postmodernism is with the construction and deconstruction of cultural paradoxes around which organising takes place, organising that demonstrates the dynamic presence of both power and control. (Hawes, 1992, p. 41)*

The stress on the 'dynamic presence of both power and control' becomes the core of the postmodern paradigm. Here it is possible to see the differences between the three grand paradigms. As the modernist perspective on organisational control sought to predict organisational affairs, symbolic lenses focused on understanding how the relationships within the organisation manifest as a controlling mechanism itself, and postmodern paradigm is most of all interested in organisational tensions and not in organising and systemising social entities. That said, postmodern methodology is concerned with finding the 'voices' that have not been at the forefront. With respect to organisational control, it seeks to open the hidden layers of organisational control and employs rather non-mainstream approaches to research.

A good illustration of postmodern study is that of Sotirin and Gottfried (1999) as they studied secretarial bitching as a communicative practice and a particular form of organisational control. In the study, the researchers applied interviews and accompanied secretaries during their everyday work routine. The study is markedly distanced from the criteria set by

the modernist paradigm: that the study should be independent from the researcher. Where modernist methodological commitment would demand strict objectivity and independence together with the replicability of the study, postmodernism abandons such restrictions and strives to gain novel insights of the research phenomena by studying the uniqueness of the context and allowing the researcher to be interconnected to the study itself. With this in mind, postmodern methodologies are predominantly the reflections of the specific researcher who is never a mere bystander to the study. In general, it is a highly common feature of postmodern studies that they tend to be time consuming, for example, long ethnographic studies.

It should be noted that there are often great difficulties in drawing distinct boundaries between methodologies from the symbolic and postmodern paradigms. Both strive to gain an insider's view, capturing the uniqueness of the participant's experience. Yet a difference does emerge mostly from symbolic methodologies being more descriptive and striving to explain and understand, whereas postmodernism from the start focuses on tensions and seeks to be critical and sceptical, with the aim of deconstructing (the reasons and justifications behind) existing patterns. All in all, postmodern methodology addresses organisational control as a particular manifestation of tension(s), seeks to delineate their inherent contradictions and polarities. Therefore, a large amount of postmodern treatises dealing with organisational control focus on themes such as resistance, domination, emancipation, alienation, suppression, institutionalisation, genderisation and so on.

Summation

As the most orthodox and with longest history, the modernist paradigm defines organisational control through formal, rational principles that are exercised in a machine-like instrumental

manner, 'engineering' human behaviour in organisations to be fit for purpose. It takes a grounding assumption that individuals are rational, hence their behaviour can be predicted with great probability as long as enough information and knowledge can be accumulated.

In contrast, the symbolic paradigm neglects the logical and appreciates the affective side of control (Sitkin et al., 2010, p. 35), which interprets the human being as more irrational than rational. Interpreting the relationship between the human being and the world as proactive and nominalist, the symbolic paradigm denies the possibility of producing close-to-truth knowledge by discovering universally valid regularities or patterns behind the social arrangements. For this reason, the symbolic understanding of control is bound by subjectivity. To be more precise, if one strives to understand existing control mechanisms of an organisation, they can achieve this only by 'occupying the frame of reference of the participant in action' (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p. 5), that is, to take an insider's perspective of things.

In stark contrast to the above-mentioned paradigms stands postmodernism. By its eclectic nature, postmodernism strives to adopt a critical eye on existing and often subordinating discursive practices in organisational settings. It sees control as manifesting in a perioptic mode, creating a non-stop feeling of 'you are being watched, but don't know where, when and by whom', and this raises the need for increased self-control at all times. Thus, postmodernism seeks to investigate organisational phenomena such as control by challenging 'methods, theories, ideas, interactions and realities' (Taboli, Pourkiani, & Ahmadzadeh, 2013, p. 1200).

All of the core ideas from this chapter are gathered into a Table 1.7.

Table 1.7. Summation of the Main Elements behind the Paradigms.

Criteria	Paradigm		
	Modernism	**Symbolism**	**Postmodernism**
Ontology	Realism	Nominalism	Realism–nominalism
Control systems are […]	Cybernetic/bureaucratic	Interpretive	Perioptic
Nature of organisation*	Economic, objectively given, can be known. Created by the market sector and economy*	Socially created, intrasubjective perception, known in a limited degree. The net of meanings created by communication, interaction and sensemaking processes in groups*	A development of historical power/ knowledge discursive ties that for long have claimed authority over the subject
Human being in organisations	*Homo oeconomicus*, individual interest, functional dependencies*	Organisation members enter into complex social interdependencies,* that might not always be rational	Human being is suppressed and alienated from the subjective self
Epistemology	Positivism	Anti-positivism	Positivism–anti-positivism
Approach to knowledge	Search for objective knowledge, free of values*	Search for sensemaking	Knowledge manifests through polyvocality – there is no truth, but truths

Methodology	Nomothetic	Idiographic	Nomothetic–idiographic
Scientist's approach to researched reality*	Objective, external perspective (outsider)*	Participant in the researched phenomena and processes (insider)*	Eclectic, destructive and resisting towards existing arrangements (intruder)
Research objectives*	Generalisation, verifying, analysis, predicting and change programming*	Understanding, description, synthesis, changes stimulation*	Uncovering, criticising, change and resistance demanding
Preferred methodology*	Predicates based on abstract notion systems*	Descriptive and explanatory or understanding (hermeneutic)*	Destructive, sceptical and critical
Preferred method*	Standardised methods, quantitative, structured*	Non-standardised methods, qualitative, not structured*	Deconstruction and intuition-based interpretation

Source: Compiled by the author, with some adaptions from Sułkowski (2010) (marked with '*')

THE COMPLEXITY OF ORGANISATIONAL CONTROL IN UNIVERSITY MANAGEMENT

Universities, as they are known today – autonomous, permanent and corporate institutions of higher learning – emerged in Europe during the twelfth century onwards (Perkin, 2007, p. 159), yet most discussed changes have taken place right after World War II. That being said, inevitably, the environment surrounding universities as organisations is embedded into a broader and rather complex set of social, economic, political and institutional developments (Sousa, Nijs, & Hendriks, 2010). Clark (1983), but also Parker and Jary (1995) have classified changes or trends in higher education as being three-layered: national-structural, organisational and professional-subjective (see Table 1.8).

At the national-structural level, globally most evident is the move from elite specialisation to 'Fordist' mass production arrangement, where comparability and standardisation at all levels are central to university management (Parker & Jary, 1995, p. 321). Borrowing operating modes from the business sector and profit-oriented organisations, such a strive for standardised arrangements has been labelled by Ritzer (1993) as the 'McDonaldisation' of society, which in turn refers to the transformation of universities from knowledge generators and facilitators to rational service organisations (Nadolny & Ryan, 2013). In the higher education context, McDonaldisation is most often seen as reborn Taylorism, where human initiative is replaced with measurable processes in which every single task is broken down into finite parts (Nadolny & Ryan, 2013).

All in all, public universities as public sector organisations are increasingly encouraged to adopt management practices, employment patterns, organisational forms, efficiency and accountability principles, in addition to value for money

Table 1.8. The Layers of Change Affecting Higher Education Institutions.

The Layer of Change	Manifestation
National-structural	External processes, e.g. structure and policy changes in higher education, universally applicable to all higher education institutions: rise in student numbers, application of external monitoring and assessments, influence from university ranking tables, overall McDonaldisation of society
Organisational	Internal processes, e.g. emphasis on marketing, being market-driven, moving towards performance-related pay and casualised workforce, computerisation and standardisation of processes, McUniversities
Professional-subjective	Changes at the individual level, e.g. increased pressures to publish for your own, departmental or institutional gain, and coping with less personalised teaching practices (assembly line production of education)

Source: Composed by the author, based on Parker and Jary (1995).

concepts more commonly associated with private businesses or industry (Bobe & Taylor, 2010; Davies & Thomas, 2002; Deem, 1998, 2004; Yokojama, 2006). Authors such as Slaughter and Leslie (1997) have labelled such market-like behaviours as academic capitalism. This being so, there have been discussions as to whether management systems suitable for private corporations are fit for purpose of managing universities (Bobe & Taylor, 2010, p. 5). For example, Lodahl and Gordon (1972) have even pointed out how universities, in order to implement changes, cannot take university as a single item: universities

must take notice not only of differences between the disciplines, but also the different ways in which departments operate.

Another dominant factor shaping higher education institution functioning from the 1950s onwards is the change in access modes and the increasing participation in higher education. Between 1950 and 1970, the higher education landscape witnessed an extremely rapid expansion (Meyer, Ramirez, Rubinson, & Boli-Bennet, 1977). The growth in access to higher education carries important effects both to the nature and functions of higher education (Trow, 2007) and universities. According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) around 48% of women and 32% of men will complete tertiary education (bachelor's degree) during their lifetime (OECD, 2013, p. 57). It has been conceded how the expansion in student numbers has led to an increasing diversity regarding students' motives, talents and job prospects (Teichler, 2004, p. 8). In order to go deeper into the matter, Trow (1974) has differentiated three phases of higher education development regarding enrolment numbers and its effect on higher education institution functioning (see Table 1.9). According to Trow (1974, 2007) in the instance of the elite access model, enrolment is less or equal to 15%, the mass enrolment model facilitates between 16% and 50%, and the universal access model brings enrolment rates up to 50%. Perhaps the most important change such developments have brought is the perception of higher education: starting from being a privilege it has moved to a right and has today even turned into an obligation. Interpreting higher education as an obligation carries a great burden to the organisational (and also the professional-subjective) level. Faced with great variety among enrolled student base, universities are forced to rearrange themselves into a 'market model' in order to cover an

Table 1.9. Forms of Higher Education by Participation Rate.

Characteristics	Forms of Higher Education by Participation Rate		
	Elite	**Mass**	**Universal**
Participation rate of relevant age group	0–15%	16–50%	Over 50%
Attitudes to access	*Privilege* of birth and/or talent	*Right* for those with certain qualifications	*Obligation* of the skilled working, middle and upper classes
Functions of higher education	Shaping mind and character of ruling class; preparation for elite roles	Transmission of skills; preparation for broader range of technical and economic elite roles	Adaptation of 'whole population' to rapid social and technological change
Institutional characteristics	Homogeneous with high and common standards; small residential communities; clear and impermeable boundaries	Comprehensive with more diverse standards; 'cities of intellect' – mixed residential/commuting; boundaries fuzzy and permeable	Great diversity with no common model; aggregates of people enrolled but many rarely on campus. Boundaries weak or non-existent

Table 1.9. (*Continued*)

Characteristics	Forms of Higher Education by Participation Rate		
	Elite	**Mass**	**Universal**
Forms of academic administration	Part-time academics who are 'amateurs at administration'; elected/appointed for limited periods	Former academics, now full-time administrators plus large and growing bureaucracy	More specialist full-time professionals. Managerial techniques imported from outside academe
Internal governance	Senior professors	Professors and junior staff with increasing influence from students	Breakdown of consensus making institutional governance insoluble; decision-making flows into hands of political authority
Influence(s) to organisational control in universities	Academic community has the highest power and control	Parallel coexistence of administrative and academic power	Administrative (including external parties) units have the highest power and control

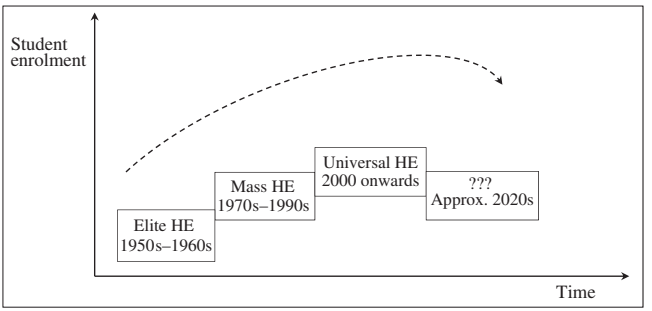
Source: Adapted from Brennan (2004) and Trow (1974, 2007).

increasingly wide spectrum of expectations from different stakeholders (Craig & Amernic, 2002, p. 121).

Agreeing with general movement phases of higher education due to an increase in student numbers there is a new and alarming trend that has received little attention (Grob & Wolter, 2007; Kwiek, 2013; Vincent-Lancrin, 2008): the demographic tendencies of many countries start to transform the future of the higher education landscape. Of course, rising and falling student numbers vary across the globe, yet the demographic situation of many countries may cause anxiety regarding the future functioning modes of higher education institutions. In some countries such as Japan, Korea and former socialist republics, the population is rapidly ageing (Vincent-Lancrin, 2008, p. 42) and birth rates continue to be low. Kwiek (2013) points out that the highest shrinking in student populations in Europe is occurring in post-communist countries: Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, Slovakia, Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia. The most dramatic drops to take place in Poland, when compared to 2011 where Poland had 338 post-secondary educational institutions, by 2025 only 50 are expected to be left (Kowalewski, 2016, p. 21). Looking forward, due to an expected decrease in student numbers, universities in the abovementioned countries and regions (including Estonia) will enter a new phase of development, and most importantly it would be naive to expect moving in reverse mode back to previous states of being – to elite status of universities – but to a phase with less students, yet very high participation rate in higher education. All in all, it will implicate smaller groups of students, though they will have very diverse backgrounds: preparation, motivation, expectations and so on (Figure 1.6).

The demographic state of a country will ultimately affect the financial side of universities: ageing populations demand more resources to be put aside for pensions, such as health care and other ageing-related challenges, which might lead to

Figure 1.6. Expansion of Higher Education (HE) and Corresponding Developmental Phases after World War II.



Source: Compiled by the author.

less public expenditure allocated to universities (Vincent-Lancrin, 2008, p. 53). Thus, as Grob and Wolter (2007, p. 17) point out, now and in the future, education systems are forced to demonstrate that they are able to deal with decreasing resources, without sacrificing efficiency. That said, one must bear in mind that as higher education is considered to be an obligation and not a privilege or a right anymore. It means that a small number of enrolments after World War II during 1950s and 1970s meant relatively homogeneous students, grouped by talent base (the so-called elite) – today, student numbers may be decreasing, but the heterogeneity will increase.

The reason why organisational control becomes relevant in light of these national-structural level changes in the higher education sector stems from the academic communities that make up the core of the 'academic production system' traditionally enjoying a high degree of autonomy and freedom. Parker and Jary (1995, p. 324) note how traditionally, 'members with high task variety and decision-making autonomy are not easily monitored and controlled', and in universities, global changes are seen as 'weakening

professional control structures'. As several authors (Altbach, 2010; Deem, 1998) have reflected, as the expansion of the higher education sector is due to an increase in demand for higher education, the pressure to justify one's eligibility for public funds has turned into a difficult competition. All in all, it reflects such university management modes where universities are seen as means of mass consumption of higher education in a fast-track mode. In order to achieve such a mission, in a similar fashion to the business model of fast-food chains, universities are nowadays increasingly relying on a flexible, casual workforce in addition to a highly rationalised and standardised service (higher education) delivery (Nadolny & Ryan, 2013).

Moving on to profession-related and subjective level changes, McDonaldisation presents a severe threat to everyday university practices: new administrative control systems and management ideals are seen as a potential threat to the traditional academic profession-related control structures. Parker and Jary (1995, p. 324) would even state that from the day the label 'manager' entered universities, the traditional language of academics started to change by giving higher importance to the process of management in universities and legitimising the activities of 'administrators' as key decision-makers, those who previously fulfilled the supportive role became key-players, who direct and control academic professionals.

National-structural level changes surpass the organisational level and also have a tangible effect at an individual or professional level. The topicality of these issues has been addressed by Deem already a decade ago (1998, p. 47):

> *until quite recently, the notion that the activities and cultures of universities either required managing or were, in any meaningful sense, 'managed', would*

> *have been regarded as heretical. Universities were perceived as communities of scholars researching and teaching together in collegial ways; those running universities were regarded as academic leaders rather than as managers or chief executives.*

This extract provides an adequate illustration of why organisational control in relation to university management is more complex than in an average profit-oriented business organisation. With decreasing public finance to be expected (national-structural level), universities strive for more efficient operating modes (organisational level), that ultimately question the academic profession regardless of its long and distinct heritage (professional-subjective level). By combining Parker and Jary's (1995) levels of analysis with illustrative examples of what has changed in the essence of universities, Table 1.10 was created.

From the national-structural level, traditional universities were mostly concerned with how they were perceived as compared to other universities. Such competition today is perhaps even more acute, but universities today also have to compete with all other organisations, for example, with private business courting students and teachers away to work for them. Emerging from this, a typical student is far from what they used to be. Instead of 18–25-year-olds, we find so-called life learners, who take up university education as a supplement to their full-time work. From the side of the organisation, quality benchmarks have been transforming the traditional peer-review practice; accountability is no longer solely internal business, but increasingly dependent on external parties.

Organisational level influences have made a pronounced transformation in finance schemes (from public subsidiary to portfolio-management), processes and practices (delivery of knowledge and courses). In general, the focus has moved from an institutional-centric to a market-centric

Table 1.10. The Essence of the Traditional University and the New University.

Level of Analysis	Traditional University	New University
National-structural level	Competition: other universities	Competition: everywhere
	Peer-review	Quality 'kite marks'
	18–25-year-old audience	Lifelong learner
	Terminal degree	Lifelong learner
Organisational level	Public subsidy	Portfolio management
	Delivery in the classroom	Delivery everywhere
	Technology as an expense	Technology as market differentiation
	Institutional-centric	Market-centric
	Take what is offered	Courses on demand
	Academic calendar	Year-round campus
	Multicultural	Global
	Diversity as problem	Diversity as strength
	Process-compliant	Outcome-driven
	Producer of knowledge	Agent of learning
	Organised by subjects	Organised by solutions
Professional-subjective level	Student as apprentice scholar	Learner as customer (and producer)
	Teacher as director of learning	Teacher as facilitator of learning
	Academic as 'jack of all trades'	Academic as specialist

Source: Compiled by the author based on McCaffery (2010, p. 31) and Parker and Jary (1995).

organisation, from a multicultural to a global organisation and from a process-compliant to an outcome-driven organisation and so on.

The professional-subjective level reflects most of the changes in the identity of a student and an academic employee. Traditionally, a student was seen as an apprentice scholar, yet today a student is most often equated as being a customer (or a producer of publications, work, etc.). In a similar vein, the role of a teacher has gone through an identity change. The teacher as director of learning has been transformed to merely facilitate the learning process in the university; today they are perceived more as a 'specialist' rather than a 'jack of all trades' (or rather, people with expertise in everything, but specialised in nothing).

Hofstede (1978) has highlighted how in case of universities control matters turn out to be uniquely difficult and complex, as, in universities power is widely distributed among different groups who usually hold very different objectives. By complexity of control, Hofstede points out the powerful effect of various stakeholders in the university. Compared to a regular business-oriented organisation, a university has to balance activities between academic and administrative communities, all having an effect on the establishment of organisational control. That said, organisational control in a university is highly multidimensional, as the decision-making is often politically laden and full of negotiations between different stakeholders.

Starting from the national-structural level of analysis, Thorn and Soo (2006) identify the most evident expectancies towards universities. In line with the traditional functions of advanced level teaching and research, universities are supposed to carry a third mission as entrepreneurs who contribute to the social and economic development of the country. As Thorn and Soo (2006, p. 3) continue, since researchers

tend to gather around universities, public funding agencies have great expectations of putting such quantities of researchers to productive use. These macro-level influences have been and continue to transform existing practices within the university.

Moving to organisational level complexities, university management is an interesting subject matter because, in universities, management responsibilities are often fulfilled by people who are academics themselves. Academics in universities are expected to be both managers and academic leaders (Barry, Chandler, & Clark, 2001, p. 89). Such manager-academics in universities often have little or no training in management, as such. This state of affairs, which has been termed 'home-grown managers' (Deem & Brehony, 2005, p. 221), can be labelled a 'hybridisation of managerial processes' (Deem, 1998, p. 53). The spectrum of responsibilities that academics in management roles may cover is wide: roles may range from being heads of departments (responsible for performance management and quality control of teaching and research), faculty deans (responsible for the financial accountability of faculty departments) and members of senior management teams, such as Pro-Vice Chancellors and Vice Chancellors, determining the strategic orientation of their universities (Deem & Brehony, 2005). In light of these general trends in the higher education sector, Deem (1998) has pointed out how the greatest pressure regarding control emerges on the managerial side. As heads of departments (often being teaching academics themselves), due to the limitations in resources, have to put increasing pressure on their academic colleagues to produce high quality teaching and research. Deem (1998, p. 52) even goes as far as stating that 'control and regulation of academic labour seem to have replaced collegiality, trust and professional discretion'.

Furthermore, a manager's work in academia is often different from managing retail or industrial production (Deem, 2004). Differences become evident when focusing at the loyalty of the employees. Dating back to the 1970s, Moodie and Eustace (1974), and also in the late 1990s, Henkel (1997), have brought out how in academia loyalty tends to be more connected to the academic unit and subject, or discipline, not so much to the interests of the university as a whole. The same idea is expressed by Parker and Jary (1995, p. 328) as they declare how 'professional academic does not necessarily want to please their management because they gain status from their relationships with their students and other academics inside and outside their organisation'.

Finally, at the professional-subjective level, the increased need for accountability, which has in turn been incorporated into everyday practices by performance measurements, has in fact turned into a situation of paradox management. According to Lundvall (1992), inward orientation of universities with respect to performance measures regarding hiring and promotion rules (high dependence on publications) is in conflict and does not recognise the value of university-business collaboration, that is national-structural level expectancy towards universities contributing to the development of national economies. To explain the problem further, academics today are most of all assessed and promoted by their ability to publish in academic journals, yet some studies reveal how only about 20% of academics who cite actually read the original work they just cited (Simkin & Roychowdhury, 2003), thus the impact of the academic articles outside the academic system can be rather low.

In the end, such conflicting expectations start to manifest in the everyday life of academic communities as they have to struggle with justifying their existence to conflicting stakeholders and respective measures of performance. Overall, these complexities

provide the ideal grounds for examining the coexistence of different paradigms of control. For this reason, manifestations of organisational control in university will be investigated through modernist, symbolic and postmodern lenses.

The Modernist Paradigm on Control in Higher Education Institution Management

Looking at the control issue in university management through the national-structural level of influences, the focus of control centres around efficient resource management. Paradoxically, with access to higher education being broader than ever, many countries with ageing populations and low birth rates are facing a shortfall in student numbers, and public spending on higher education at some point will start to resemble the costs needed for maintaining the elderly population.

Researchers point out the continuous efforts carried out by managerialism in universities for better resource allocation. As universities are facing increased external pressures for developing better performance indicators, it is reshaping the environment where the processes of teaching and research have to take place (Dill, 1999). National-structural level influences as a control mechanism emerge most crucially through the notion of accountability, which has been defined by Dill (1999, p. 128) as structural adaptions within universities 'needed to adjust to a new, more competitive environment'. In case of state financed universities, operating on public funds, they are under pressure to be accountable for the money spent, thus also fostering a belief that 'academic quality cannot be guaranteed if it is exclusively reliant on academic, self-regulation' (McCaffery, 2010, p. 20). This being so, the national-structural level strives for accountability at an organisational or institutional level is internalised by

developing different performance indicators that should guarantee better budget allocations. Thus, ultimately modernist control mechanisms strive to engineer the behaviour of academic communities so that it is easily measurable and moreover, accountable to external (often governmental) parties. Thorn and Soo (2006, p. 12) illustrate such a tendency with competition-based research funding, which is supposed to foster researchers to be more productive in order to gain funding for their activities.

An additional aspect, but also one of the most evident, is that modern control devices are new employment practices that university managements facilitate around the world. All for the purpose of gaining more flexibility and assuring lower costs (Altbach, 1997). A high proportion of short-term contracts, usually filled by postgraduates, tutorial assistants, overseas colleagues and so on, are seen as a clear way to efficiency, since this kind of just-in-time and casualised labour supply is much more likely to be amendable to the 'needs of the client' as their employment position is a flexible solution for the organisation (Parker & Jary, 1995).

Adding here the unfavourable wage-differential emerging from the rigid academic hierarchy (Altbach, 1997; Thorn & Soo, 2006), where in some countries, the wages are more tied to status and position rather than productivity. Altbach (1997, p. 322), commenting on the North American academic system, has described the situation as implementing some sort of academic 'caste system', with

> *the tenured Brahmins at the top and the lower castes occupying subservient positions. The part-timers are equivalent to the Untouchables, relegated to do the work that others do not wish to do and denied the possibility of joining the privileged [...] Part-time faculty have been part of academic landscape for a*

> *long time, and they are a rapidly growing segment of the academic labour force. Hired to teach a specific course or two, provided no benefits, often given no office space, and expected simply to show up to teach a class, part-timers are the* ronin *of traditional Japan – the masterless samurai who travelled the countryside offering their services and hoping to be chosen as apprentices. These* ronin *have all the qualifications of samurai; they lack only a sponsor (permanent employer).*

Such a metaphor, of 'academic samurais', captures the employment patterns that seem to emerge by modernist control mechanisms and continue to transform the nature of the academic profession. Although Altbach's colourful illustration was published back in 1997, it seems to be frighteningly valid also today.

The Symbolic Paradigm on Control in University Management

The symbolic paradigm, interpreting organisations as social constructs, is ontologically coactive. That is, since organisational realities and social entities are artificial creations, it is the active interaction between an individual and these social constructs that matter. For this reason, control in organisations is not a reactive relationship between the 'role-player' and 'script writer' (as in modernism), but a coactive creation and recreation of social arrangements. But more interestingly, the symbolic approach embraces the view that control works through relationships, not people. People are to be seen merely as mediators or carriers of relationships. Control as basing on relationships is well witnessed in a classic understanding of how universities work. Traditionally, the university as an

organisation has been described as a decentralised and loosely coupled organisation, where academic personnel can enjoy a significant degree of autonomy and where the quality of teaching and research is based and maintained principally by reliance on shared norms and disciplinary traditions (Clark, 1983). Thus, the most widely represented ideal of universities is depicted in 'social imagery as Ivory-Towers' (Barry et al., 2001, p. 88), where relationships determine the overall order within the organisation.

In the case of universities, relationships start to work as control mechanisms most of all through discipline-based cultures as they form the basis of their members' identity (Mendoza, 2007). Although the symbolic paradigm shares the modern view of how social arrangements (e.g. culture) control individuals in an organisational setting, it is in great doubt that it could be controlled in a way that the modernist perspective implies (Hatch, 1997). A shift from academic autonomy to managerial prerogative has often been interpreted as the most worrisome effect on academic identity as academics are seen to lose control over their work, but furthermore, academic work as such becomes more intense, incorporating lower morale and transforming academics into being merely of instrumental value to the institution (Kolsaker, 2008). All in all, the symbolic paradigm highlights the difficulties in controlling the tensions brought by the fundamental changes in traditional academic identities.

The Postmodern Paradigm on Control in Higher Education Institution Management

A university is perceived to be a highly normalising institution which seeks to discipline and regulate specific discourses (Laurence, 2009), and some would even see universities as

'cultural prisons' (Hackney, 1999, p. 978), determined to incorporate some sort of 'audit culture' (Shore & Wright, 1999, p. 557). Seeing universities as disciplinary institutions reveals the institutionalising side of organisational control. The postmodern paradigm is most of all interested in whether and to what extent do such attempts of normalising and institutionalising of individual behaviour alienate individuals from their distinct identity.

Starting from the national-structural and organisational level changes in university management, postmodernism is mostly interested in what effect such macro- and meso-level changes have on the distinct identity of those most affected. Taking after Parker and Jary (1995, p. 325), the assumption stemming from McDonaldisation is that the 'desired practices need to be encouraged through visible and bureaucratically administered rewards and punishments', so that control and monitoring, audit and reporting tasks previously undertaken by the academics themselves are now made centrally and visibly manageable from the highest administrative levels. As such, academics might be seen as emancipated from their work, as 'quality then becomes a property (or more correctly, a label) bestowed by others, and not one that an individual or professional group can make autonomous decisions about' (Parker & Jary, 1995, p. 325). These remarks bring forward the question of how the academic communities reflect the loss of the sole autonomy with regard to the assessments over the quality of their work? Barry et al. (2001) have pointed out how in light of high internal demands (increased workloads due to growth in student numbers, etc.), academics tend to feel more difficulties in dealing with monitoring through external peer review addressing their teaching and research. Similar findings are offered by Deem (2004), who after implementing a cross-institutional study among academics in the United Kingdom, reflected how the external audit of teaching and research tends to have a significant effect on the climate

of higher education, furthermore, it has changed the way academics are managed. The pressures from external monitoring and control have been illustrated: academics need to put on a good show, while 'jumping through hoops' as 'funding comes increasingly to rely on a good review' (Barry et al., 2001, p. 92). Thus, universities are more inclined to be transformed into academic production lines operating in McUniversity mode (Parker & Jary, 1995), where performance measures like publication ranking lists manifest themselves as a system of disciplinary surveillance and control (Harley & Lee, 1997).

At the same time, centralised and standardised control mechanisms, working in the Panoptic style proposed by Bentham (1995/1787) and popularised by Foucault (1995/1975) have been reconceptualised by the academics themselves. Panopticon, being most of all a behavioural device, has internalised disciplines in a way that academics know what they have to do and they seek to find the most efficient ways to do it: multiauthored publications, crafting departmental lists of journals and organising conferences, turning a single piece of research into several publications and so on (Parker & Jary, 1995). Building on these remarks, it can be said that the postmodern facet of organisational control reflects a high degree of struggle and ambiguity as on the one hand, the implementation of external assessment as a control mechanism manifests as a disciplining discourse, yet on the other, academic communities have the power to set up so-called counter-discourses. Essentially, such struggles and oppositions are the core elements of organisational control in the university:

> *Another way of understanding the postmodern university is to see its maze of major fault lines: student versus faculty, professors versus non-professorial teaching staff, academics versus*

> *administration, full-time versus part-time, humanists versus scientists, research versus teaching, production versus consumption of knowledge, liberal education versus vocational training, radical thought versus conservative practice. (Kavanagh, 2009, p. 586)*

Taking all this into consideration, universities seem to control the access of individuals to various types of discourses (Manuel & Llamas, 2006, p. 670). Above all, a major source of complexities, in respect of a university as an organisation, emerges from the historical management of universities; management that for a long time enjoyed the power within academic communities to decide over their own arrangements, which is now supposed to work together with the administrative power:

> *Two generations ago, universities were self-governing collegial communities of scholars [...] Today, universities operate as professional bureaucracies [...] External intrusion has become a daily fact of life, university departments have become 'basic units' and 'cost centres'; and 'central services' administration now consumes well over one-third of the average university budget. More than that, universities have acquired the typical organisational panoply – the mission statement, the guiding principles and strategic plan, the corporate brand, etc. characteristically associated with that of contemporary private sector enterprise. (McCaffery, 2010, p. 22)*

Prasad and Prasad (2000, p. 387) have highlighted how organisational control is both the process of tightening the iron cage and patterns of workplace resistance (or rather,

stretching the iron cage) to it. Thus, it becomes clear how the modernist paradigm focused on constraining individualistic behaviour in organisations, but postmodernism promotes a critical eye towards the effects of such activities, focusing on the resistance. The intense attention on academic resistance to managerialism and related practices in university management mostly emerges from – being trained to possess a critical mind – academic personnel are unlikely to passively accept changes that seem to deteriorate traditional academic practices (Anderson, 2008). For example, there is a growing support from several studies that apply postmodern lenses to exploring the roots of growing resistance in academia, for example, Thomas and Davies (2005) have addressed how academics everyday at the micro-level struggle to control the forced changes in their identities. Yet, contrary to widely spread understanding of resistance as organised, collective and macro-level efforts such as strikes and riots, resistance at the micro-level is witnessed as everyday practice (Anderson, 2008). The latter form of resistance might be labelled a discursive resistance as it focuses on the process of how employees daily confront 'the ways their subjectivities are constituted with managerialist discourses' (Anderson, 2008, p. 255). Furthermore, such resistance is packed with hidden transcripts, where discursive resistance is spoken behind the back of the dominant, instead of keeping it in open interaction between the dominant and subordinated (Scott, 1990). Also Prasad and Prasad (2000) have confirmed how control and domination in organisations are being resisted by employees both at formal and informal levels in frequently unexpected ways. For example, academic communities reflect and disseminate the (negative) talk over the managerialism both at the formal (e.g. in academic journal articles) and informal (e.g. in coffee rooms and between colleagues) levels.

It has been delineated how organisational control tends to get resisted most often when it starts to enter the domains of employee's thoughts, emotional spheres, values and when it begins threatening identities (Casey, 1995; Kunda, 1992; Parker, 2000; Westwood & Johnston, 2011; Willmott, 1993b). Such an idea is clearly presented by Parker and Jary (1995, p. 319) as they warn how current tendencies in higher education institution management seem to disproportionally increase the amount of power given to the administrative management and at the same time diminish the autonomy of professional academics.

Table 1.11 summarises the complexity of control in university management, by approaching them through modernist, symbolic and postmodern lenses.

Summation

The reflection from scientific communities over their own activities has been relatively different throughout time. As Jackson and Carter (1991) have noted, the pre-paradigm era in science was mostly dominated by dual thinking where any kind of knowledge was either science or non-science. But furthermore, true knowledge was understood to be based on facts and claiming objective truth, whereas knowledge produced by subjectivity, for example myth, opinions, value and norms, was considered as non-science (Jackson & Carter, 1991, p. 112). With Kuhn (1962), science became an object of study in itself. Anchoring paradigmatic thinking into science gave way to a whole new sphere of debates about the essence of science and the practice of science. Grasping scientists as puzzle-solvers with tacit knowledge about adequate methods and solutions to acceptable scientific problem setups, Kuhnian understanding managed to explain the need for acknowledging paradigms in science. According to Effrat (1972, pp. 8–9), paradigms are to be seen playing a central

Table 1.11. Multiparadigm Essence of Organisational Control in University Management.

Paradigm	Level of Analysis		
	National-structural Level	**Organisational-level**	**Professional-subjective Level**
Modernist paradigm	(Academic) accountability: outward-oriented expectations; academic quality no longer to be reliant on academic self-regulation	Performance indicators: publication rankings, citations, student feedback systems, etc.	Engineering academic identity: the decline of the traditional understanding of the academic profession, multiplicity of roles and expectations from different stakeholders
Symbolic paradigm	Redefining the university's role in the society. Making sense of new realities in teaching modes, university management, academic career, the image of an academic profession in society, etc.	Performance indicators, through entering local discourses are adapted and redefined	Redefining (academic) identity in the changing environment, including the changing role of academic profession

Postmodern paradigm	Resistance (to accountability and managerialism). McUniversity and academic assembly lines	Routine resistance at workplace. Dissonance in expectations. Us vs Them – Administration vs academic professionals, students vs lecturers, academia vs practice, etc.	Resisting discourses that undermine and transform traditional academic identities

Sources: Compiled by the author based on Dill (1999), Zumeta (1998), Kogan and Teichler (2007), Deem (1998), Barry et al. (2001), Mendoza (2007), Macfarlane (2005), Kolsaker (2008), Craig and Amernic (2002), Hackney (1999), Shore and Wright (1999), Parker and Jary (1995), Altbach (1997), Prasad and Prasad (2000) and McCaffery (2010).

role in structuring scientific activity, since they allow the conceptualisation of the research phenomena in the first place.

McKie (2001, p. 81) has identified a painful truth about the long-standing influence of natural sciences on the practice of social sciences: the rigidity and the quantitative bias of the natural sciences have in some ways 'retarded' the social sciences. Also, Morgan and Smircich (1980, p. 499) state, organisation studies (and any other discipline in social sciences) would be 'better served' if researchers reflected more over the beliefs and assumptions they bring to their subject of study. That we can differentiate between disciplines give rise to the notion that they must have some distinct grounding assumptions and it is reckless to believe in 'one-size-fits-all' assumptions.

Aiming to systemise existing treatises of control through three grand paradigms (modernism, symbolism and post-modernism), this book laid down the logics for analysing assumptions about the nature of organisational control and applies it to reveal the complexities of organisational control in universities.

University management is dominantly seen as governed by 'bureaucratic and inflexible public sector management rules' (Thorn & Soo, 2006, p. 18). In the light of mass education, managerialism and other popularised trends in the higher education sector and university management, the phenomenon of control starts to manifest itself in a multifaceted fashion. The modernist understanding of control reflects high degrees of standardisation, turning academic work into an assembly line production and giving rise to labels like McUniversity. At the same time, the symbolic paradigm allows an insight into how academic communities interpret and negotiate new practices that have emerged and transformed the way universities and academic personnel seek to make sense of and redefine traditional identities in the midst

of new environments. Finally, the postmodern paradigm seeks to display how the members of universities try to deconstruct and resist existing strategies of domination and the perceived tendency of turning universities into academic production lines.

NOTE

1. Italicisation in original.