EXECUTIVES, CHANGE AND STRESS

By

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ABSTRACT

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There were three primary goals of this research: to identify the system-wide variables that affect how executives view organizational change; to identify the nature and the causes of executive stress; and, to explore the relationship between executive stress and organizational change. In order to examine several conceptually limited, yet competing approaches to the problems of executive behavior during periods of organization change, an exploratory study was undertaken to view more fully the entire process.

More specifically, top level administrative (career service levels 19-21) and political (elected and appointed) executives in Michigan were studied as they approached the development of a Career Executive Service for the state. Fifty executives were randomly chosen and personal interviews were conducted in April and May, 1979. Two and three way contingency tables were used to analyze the data.

The pro change executive was characterized as being mobile, possessing a M.A./Ph.D., more people oriented in their organizational concerns, and more systematic in their planning. The anti change executive, on the other hand, possessed either a B.S./B.A. or LLD/M.D. degree, was less mobile, more task oriented, and more intuitive in their planning approach. While the older executive who possessed

B.A./B.S. or LLD/M.D. degrees were anti-change, the older executive with a M.A./Ph.D. degree was positively oriented toward change. The mid-life group (41-50 years old) were most resistent toward change. It was impossible to specify either a life cycle or a generational explanation based on cross sectional analysis.

The stressful executive was found to be the Type A person who is mobile, reports more stressful personal habits, greater general job tensions, and external sources of stress. The low stress executive was characterized as being a Type B person, less mobile, reporting fewer signs of personally stressful habits, less bothered by job tensions, and internal sources of stress.

The relationship between stress and attitudes toward the Executive Service was conceptualized as a quasi-equilibrium model. While some of the stress indicators such as general job tensions, clarity of goals, and personal habits were negatively related to attitudes toward the Executive Service, (H stress → anti Executive Service), the stressful person (young, mobile, Type A) was positively related to attitudes toward change (H stress → pro Executive Service). While the exact nature of these findings will require further analysis over time, it was suggested here that the adoption of the Executive Service might be viewed as a way to reduce stress by giving the executive more flexibility and additional management tools. The stressful person, then, is responding to a stressful situation--the present Civil Service system.

It's always something.

- Roseanne Roseannadana
Saturday Night Live
TV show, 1979

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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FOREWORD

The following statement was used to begin my thank-you notes to each of the subjects interviewed in this study.

> Do you believe that absolutely everything can be expressed scientifically?
>
> Yes, it would be possible, but it would make no sense. It would be description without meaning--as if you described a Beethoven Symphony as variations in wave pressures.
>
> - A. Einstein

The goal of this research enterprise has been from the outset to combine both science and art in organizing, analyzing, and reporting the opinions and ideas of fifty public executives. While I have worked for integration and theoretical speculation, this study represents their time, their insights, and their candidness.

The reader, therefore, will be struck by both the expansiveness of the perspectives suggested here and the tentativeness of the findings. This research is designed to combine several perspectives developed in prior research efforts in order to move toward a holistic approach to the problem of executive leadership during change. The goal is to identify variables, to make propositions, and to suggest areas of further investigation. Because of the comprehensiveness of the approach and the nature of the people who participated, the findings are of necessity exploratory. In short, this research is designed to ask more questions than it answers.

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I find it both useful and necessary to briefly outline the more personal reasons that I approach this topic at this time; to make clear my own normative biases. First, because I see the inevitability of instability and change in government institutions, as well as in the larger society of the future, I feel a certain responsibility toward that future. Hence, my "liberal bias," identified by some of my subjects despite my best efforts to mask it. Change, evidently, is a liberal perspective. Perhaps, however, Gouldner describes it better in his new book, The Future of Intellectuals and the Rise of the New Class, where he sees the New Class as divided between humanist and scientific intellectuals, united in their "ingestion of a common culture of critical discourse--a mentality that questions all authority and tends to dissolve ties to the classes and established institutions." He further states that this new class is egalitarian when it comes to redistributing wealth, but decidedly elitist in their convictions that "they alone, as the best and the brightest, are properly equipped to rule." So, be that as it may, I do have a feeling of responsibility.

Second, as a political scientist trained in the discipline of power and competition, I have seen that competition drives promising young scientists into early deaths due to heart attacks and suicides, as well as into unproductive, and at times, dysfunctional behaviors. The growth in the scope of the discipline, the sophistication of the methodology and the seriousness of the societal questions being addressed, have all gone to create a state of instability and change within the discipline. From this perspective, my interest in this topic is a morale crusade.

Finally, because I am a Type A person* who has been immersed in the stress and ambiguities of graduate education, I wanted to study this topic to help me grapple with my own adult development. Meeting these people with power, prestige, money, influence, and talking with them about their own doubts and problems has had immeasurable impact on my own ability to successfully weather what Levinson calls my "early adult years."

As a facilitator, I have learned that the most useful kind of feedback to send is specific. Therefore I would like to acknowledge the contributions that the following people made toward the successful completion of this project.

- 1977-78 NASPAA/NaCo Fellowship Committee, and more specifically, Alma Beals and Joe Robertson for judging this a worthy endeavor, having faith during a dark January, being patient with the many delays, and making the funds available.

- Irving Shapiro for your letter of "clout" and compassion for the problems of applied research.

- The other NASPAA/NaCo Fellows for our informal communication which helped me develop a network of colleagues who share an interest in personnel and the commitment to applied research, at times despite our various institutional and environmental constraints.

- The executives for their time, their interest, their cooperation, their frankness, their skepticism, and their concern.

- Chuck Cnudde for meeting me half way, trying to understand my perspective, giving me room when I needed it and support when I needed that to keep me calm.

- Ada Finifter for your high standards of professionalism and model of excellence, as well as your vast reserve of experience with survey work.

- Terry Moe for pushing me toward theoretical considerations and providing a pessimistic world view to refute.

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*A Type A person can be described as seeking to do more and more in less and less time, exhibiting an incessant sense of time urgency.

- Bob Golembiewski--more than anyone else, you brought me confidence in the appropriateness of the enterprise, a belief in humanity, and personal support and enthusiasm when I was discouraged. Also, you taught me the importance of loving my manuscript.

- Katherine for holding my hand and battling the university bureaucracy.

- Becca Martin for patience, skill, and support in the data analysis--and a cool head. You helped me learn so much.

- Pat Willerton for your interest and concern which created a wonderful climate for exchange and criticisms as well as a professional relationship which I will never take for granted.

- Debbie Moe, Jan Rogers, Mike Davis--as friends, sounding boards and colleagues.

- Rachel Cotter as a constant reminder that there is a future;

  and, finally,

- Paulette Pitrak without whom there would be no study.

CHAPTER I

A THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION TO CHANGE

Government officials,* particularly top-level executives, have long suffered under the scrutiny of public opinion and mythology. Among the "myths" which have been perpetuated are: government service is the "second choice" of careers for the really "promising" young person who would naturally prefer the glamour, excitement, and financial rewards of the private sector; government executives are lazy, wasteful, and incompetent; government officials are all corrupt and dishonest. Many of these myths endure because of the almost daily sensationalized reports of waste, corruption or inefficiency which are often attributed (accurately or not) to the top-level leaders of public organizations by both the media and the public.

What system elements contribute to this image? Perhaps the foremost determinant of government leadership is the merit personnel system. This system, begun almost 100 years in this country, has evolved into a non-responsive personnel management system on several levels for the executive. In terms of personal growth and development, the merit system presents few incentives for, and many obstacles to, mobility. The penalties in the form of lost retirement benefits, the lack of flexibility to

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*"Government officials" and "executives" in this study refer to state government officials, particularly those in Michigan.

pursue educational or different work experiences, and the inability to move downward voluntarily without loss of status and effectiveness (vis-à-vis peers) all assist the retardation of personal growth among top executives. Beyond the personal consequences for career, these executives also suffer under the management realities of the merit system. It has become difficult to motivate the government worker under a personnel system which lacks differential rewards, penalty mechanisms, or sufficient incentives to attract specialized technical personnel to government service. Hence, the lower level workers are often not responsive to executive direction, resulting in a leadership void.

Beyond <u>how</u> these executives do their job, the scope of <u>what</u> they do also presents major problems and areas of misunderstanding in public opinion. Unlike corporations, public organizations have their goals and their budgets determined externally by the legislature. Because of the highly political motivations and lack of technical expertise in the legislature, public organizations are often faced with, at best, vague mandates, and, at worst, conflicting goals with no priorities. Moreover, the goals are constantly in flux according to political necessities, making planning and evaluation virtually impossible. This is compounded by the political nature of the appointed department head's job, as he/she relates to the career civil servant, often in an atmosphere of mistrust or conflict. As suggested above, the goal-oriented management techniques or business such as MBO are extremely difficult to successfully implement in public organizations. The public manager, because of the system, is left with a void of management tools, having to rely on an adherence to the rules, narrow technical loyalties, and authority by virtue of position in order to move his/her organization with the times.

If we accept this analysis of the state of government organizations, how then, can we (the public) expect these executives to address the need for planned organization change in an effective and efficient manner? Bureaucracy as a form of organization has consistently been characterized as rigid, inflexible, and unresponsive. Resistance to organizational change has always been a problem for the innovative executive, who faces not only structural and attitudinal hindrances from below and around him/her, but also the personal threat and fear of risk taking which accompany the decision to make changes in the public arena of the executive suite. Little is known about what leads executives to a specific strategy or decision to make changes within their organization. Some say it is organizational survival and growth; others offer self-interest, power motivation or need for affiliation; still another group proposes an explanation based on external pressures. Implicit in all of these ideas is the notion of stress--the forces within the system which move the organization or the person to a state of disequilibrium.

Executive stress has become the subject of a great deal of popular speculation and interest. For the public sector executive, the forces of the merit system and the political nature of the goals present special cases of internal and external stress. Any effort toward planned change will come into immediate conflict with these two structures in government organizations. How the executive moderates these conflicts during change is tempered by his/her age, education, mobility patterns and personality characteristics on an individual level. As he/she moves to the working group level, the norms that structure the relationships with other executives, and the opportunities for developing crucial subordinates help to determine the nature of the executive's response. The type of organization, the planning style, and the task versus people orientation of the executive will also provide a map for the person as they develop a coherent approach to the problems of change within their organization. Finally, the support or the opposition from the political environment for specific changes can help not only to increase the legitimacy of the proposition but also to encourage the provision of additional resources.

Executives, Stress and Change

This research seeks to examine the nature of stress among public sector executives and to explore the role that stress plays in the willingness to make planned organizational changes. Specifically, the state of Michigan has been considering, for six years, an Executive Service proposal for its senior level executives which would increase the flexibility of top level managers in their promotional and performance evaluation considerations. This proposal has received a great deal of attention recently and the formal plan took effect on October 1, 1979. This study investigates the top three levels of executives (appointed department heads and career bureaucrats) in order to determine their attitudes toward the Executive Service proposal before it took effect, and to examine the relationships between these attitudes and stress. The goals for this research are as follows:

a. to identify the system-wide variables that affect how executives view organizational change;

b. to identify the nature and the causes of executive stress; and

c. to explore the relationships between executive stress and organizational changes.

As suggested above, the forces which exist that create stress for the executive, as well as the mechanisms for control, are found throughout the system. Figure 1 suggests the levels of analysis employed here.

Each chapter of this presentation is organized to reflect the levels of analysis suggested here: individual, group, organization, and state. The remainder of this chapter deals with the theories of planned organizational change on each of these levels. Chapter II focuses on the executive and stress from a conceptual or theoretical perspective. Chapter III presents the methodology employed here, while Chapter IV reports the findings. Finally, Chapter V offers conclusions in the form of policy and research recommendations.

The Focus: Planned Organizational Change

There are at least three general types of organizational change suggested in the literature:

a. normal or natural change: resulting from the day-to-day attempts of members to pressure the steady state of equilibrium of the system.

b. induced or planned change: by which the members consciously try to induce a new equilibrium range.

c. unplanned change or crisis: when equilibrium is suddenly, violently disrupted characterized by clear goals and objectives as well as relationships, communication, and feedback being tuned up to meet the situation.[1]

While many managers and executives testify to their own willingness and ability to deal with both normal and crisis changes, the processes of planned organizational change are widely misunderstood. "Executives these days continue to assume that organizational change can be brought about simply by developing and formally adopting a rational plan."[2] All

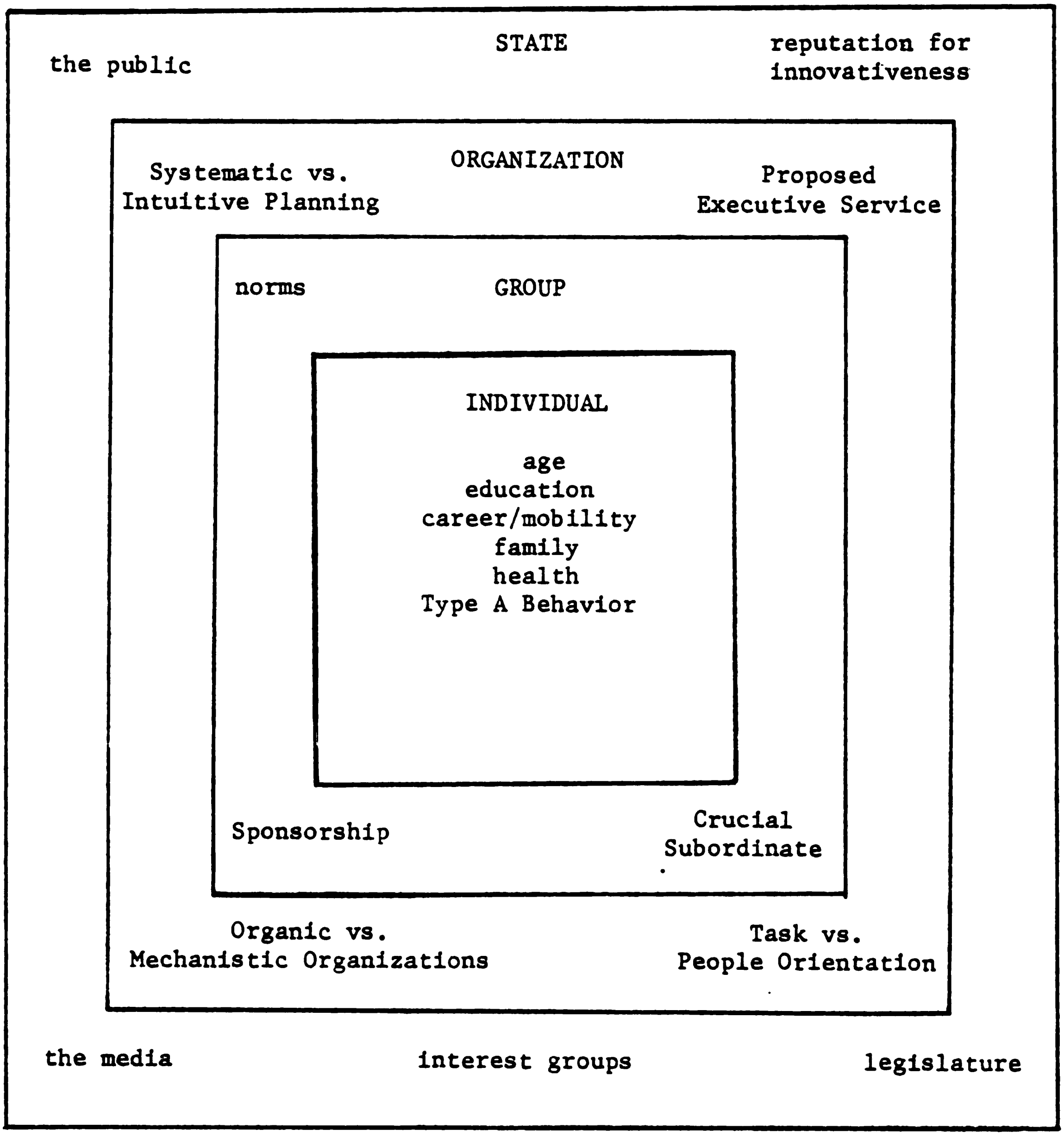

Fig. 1. Factors Contributing to Executive Stress and Organization Change

of the literature about change, however, indicates that the majority of organizations require additional actions to overcome the resistance and create successful, long-term change.

Because there is a virtual maze of theoretical and conceptual approaches to planned change, I have chosen to organize each section of this chapter as follows: individual, group, organizational, and state analysis. After each approach is briefly described, implications for this study are discussed.

Individual Theoretical Foundations

Because this research focuses on individual personal interviews, the data can be most closely analyzed from individual or self theories of change. The type of assumptions which are suggested in this approach include:

a. individual change will lead to system change
b. individuals change over time during normal adult development
c. individual change levels can be arranged in a hierarchy and differ in degree of difficulty to change
d. individuals, during adult development, will be more willing to change at different ages.

The first two assumptions are found in the work of Ziller on personal change, and the last two are presented by the work of Ericksen and Levinson on adult development.

Robert Ziller has proposed a general theory of personal change based on the extensive theoretical and empirical research on individual and social change.[3] The central component of this theory is a hierarchy of potentially changeable personal characteristics, which can be described as follows:

TABLE 1

COMPONENTS OF THEORY OF PERSONAL CHANGE*

Components	Difficulty to Change
Self-concepts	most
Roles	↑
Behaviors	
Values	↓
Attitudes	least

*Source: Ziller, p. 34

The hierarchical arrangement is based on the definitions and the method of measurement of each component usually used in the experimental literature. While attitudes are usually described in a vague manner such as "predispositions to behave,"[4] or, a "state of readiness for motive arousal,"[5] Ziller defines an attitude as a "self-reported public statement of the person's disposition at that point in time to behave in a certain way."[6] Because attitudes are usually made public, there is an element of expectation between self and other. Values, defined as a cluster of attitudes, are also measured by public self-reports. Hollander suggests that values are a higher level of abstraction, making attitudes more susceptible to change.[7]

A behavior differs from an attitude and value in that the former occurs in the context of a situation while the latter occurs in response to a question. A behavior, then, is "a response in relation to a situation as a stimulus."[8] Behaviors which are associated with the particular place in a social relationship, (i.e., boss, scientist, etc.) come to be expected by other persons in the social system and are called roles. "In some sense, a role assumes a degree of commitment to a social relationship,"[9] and is governed by norms. In entering into a social relationship, the person makes an implicit agreement to not only behave in a certain way, but also to signal other social system members before they change their behaviors. This introduces the element of trust which reinforces the stability and predictability within the social unit. We will return to these ideas in the section on group level analysis in this chapter and the next.

Finally, self-concept, the individual's perception of his/her worth, can be described as evolving with the context of experiences with objects, persons, and other concepts. While self-concept is more difficult than attitudes to measure, it emerges as the highest priority and crucial construct in social psychological theories of behavior change. The social nature of the self is emphasized in this element with its inherent conflicts between self and significant others. These conflicts stem from competing needs for independence and dependence, autonomy and mutuality, self-orientation and other-orientations.[10] Wilkins, et al., found that a person with low self-esteem is field dependent, that is, he/she does not possess a well-developed conceptual buffer for evaluative stimuli.[11] Limited by environmental circumstances, the low self esteem person is more inclined toward oscillation and inconsistency. Self-concept is important during change because of its stability; while capable of change and responsiveness to long-term situational changes, there is a significant lag time between the introduction of change and the alteration of self-concept.

Ziller goes on to outline several assumptions which surround his theory of personal change.

a. The five components of the change system are assumed to constitute a hierarchy of difficulty to change, ranging from attitudes (least difficult) to self-concept (most difficult).

b. The relative difficulty of change of the components is in part attributed to the relative commitment associated with each level. Self-other orientations, which are associated stability, regularity and consistency of personal behavior, are designed to function rapidly under conditions of limited time and stress. In short, they serve as a subsystem of reference which facilitates adaptation. Attitudes are subject to the most rapid change.

c. If one of the components is changed, a state of disequilibrium is caused within the system. During this imbalance, there is a tendency for the components lower in the hierarchy to change in a way to render other components congruent. It is likewise assumed that a change in a lower component will press for higher component change, but at a differential time rate. Also, if more than one of the components are changed, the state of equilibrium will vary in relation to the pattern of changed components.[12]

The logical extension of these concepts and assumptions would indicate that because the greatest equilibrium is created by modifying those higher components of the system, the optimal strategy of personal change is to change the self-concept.[13] The problem of defining self-concept as the most crucial component of the system is that it is both most resistant and requires greatest time for change.

In summary, the self-concept is seen here as the mediating construct by which the individual maintains stability yet permits adaptability of the personal system through social monitoring procedures. Stability is reached through a congruence between the phenomenal field of experience and the conceptual structure of the self. Rogers notes that this congruence represents freedom from internal strain and anxiety.[14] The self-concept, in turn, has also been found to act as a regulator of behavior particularly in critical or novel situations.[15]

Combining the theories of attitude change, value change, behavior modification, role theory and self-system into a more general theory of personal change, Ziller presents an alternative to the micro theories which emanate from a few basic constructs such as attitudes or roles.

. . . .

Closely related to the Ziller theory of personal change are the developmental theories suggested in the work of Ericksen and Levinson. In its broadest conceptualization, developmental theories posit that a person, during the normal life processes, goes through stages which are seen as an interaction with what society expects of him/her and what he/she is. The changes in behavior and personality patterns, particularly at any one point in time, are the result of evaluating many atlernative choices. If the individual does not conform to environmental pressures, feelings of inadequacy and tension can result. In short, these theories propose that there is an intricate balance between the individual's maturation and society's expectation of that individual.

As Levinson points out in his most current work on the adult life cycle, <u>The Seasons of a Man's Life</u>, that while a great deal of data have been collected on adulthood (i.e., statistics on marriage, death, health, illness, life expectancy, occupation, income and life events), while "the basic developmental principles of adult life remain an enigma."[16] Ericksen, who has had enormous influence on the humanities and the social sciences, provides the first conceptualization of adult development. After the publication of his first book, <u>Childhood and Society</u>, he primarily devoted his work to the study of adult development, using a biographical method in combination with historical-sociological-psychological modes of analysis.[17] Chronological stages of development are interrelated to social development through ego identity as suggested below:

TABLE 2

ERICKSEN'S STAGES OF MAN*

Chronological Stages	Ericksen's Characterization
oral-sensory	basic trust vs. mistrust
muscular-anal	autonomy vs. shame, doubt
locomotor-genital	initiative vs. guilt
latency	industry vs. inferiority
puberty and adolescence	identity vs. role confusion
young adulthood (20's)	intimacy vs. isolation
adulthood (40's)	generativity vs. stagnation
maturity (60's)	ego integrity vs. despair

*Source: Childhood and Society (2nd ed., 1963).

Ericksen stresses the importance of good parent-child interaction which builds basic trust, essential to becoming a mature personality. It is during adolescence that one develops a definition of self which entails the integration of all other changes: integration of emerging cognitive abilities and potentials for action; synthesis within self of new values and purposes; capacity to live with aggression, instinct and fantasy; and, moving away from a simple mirror view of self to a more autonomous individual sense of identity, which merges uniqueness and independence with interdependence and solidarity. The notion of identity is central in understanding the relation between self and society at any age. Identity is made up of a person's feelings about self (personality) and how personal self-esteem relates to estimates of self by significant others in the social context (roles). Any major dislocation of a person from his/her social matrix could result in identity crisis. Ericksen's adult stage, called the "mature personality" can be compared to Freud's levels of analysis as follows:

TABLE 3

THE MATURE PERSONALITY

Ericksen	Freud
Clear and continuing sense of who one is and what one's goals are	ego identity
Ability and interest in relating closely in both the physical and psychological sense	intimacy
Ability and desire to be productive and to nurture and devote one's self to others as to children and productive work	generativity
An overarching acceptance of and satisfaction in one's life	ego integrity

It should be clear to the reader that these adult development theorists share with Ziller the primacy of the concept of self and identity.

This is, in summary, a stage theory with presumed timing or schedule of change. Ericksen links the adult stages of intimacy with heterosexual love and marriage, generativity with parenthood, and integrity with aging. For the student of change, this model of development presents some serious obstacles. Roles are determined by societal norms. To change behaviors, then, a person must act in a manner that is beyond the boundaries of his/her role--in a deviant manner. Society finds this behavior unacceptable and it is punished which can lead the individual to feelings of inadequacy and tension; in short, identity problems.

Levinson's work presents an extension of these theoretical foundations in a more intuitively derived, metaphorical sense of what the life cycle is about. He postulates that life cycles evolve through a sequence of eras, each lasting a-proximately twenty-five years. There is overlap among the eras, so that as a new era approaches, the previous one is being terminated. The sequence goes as follows.

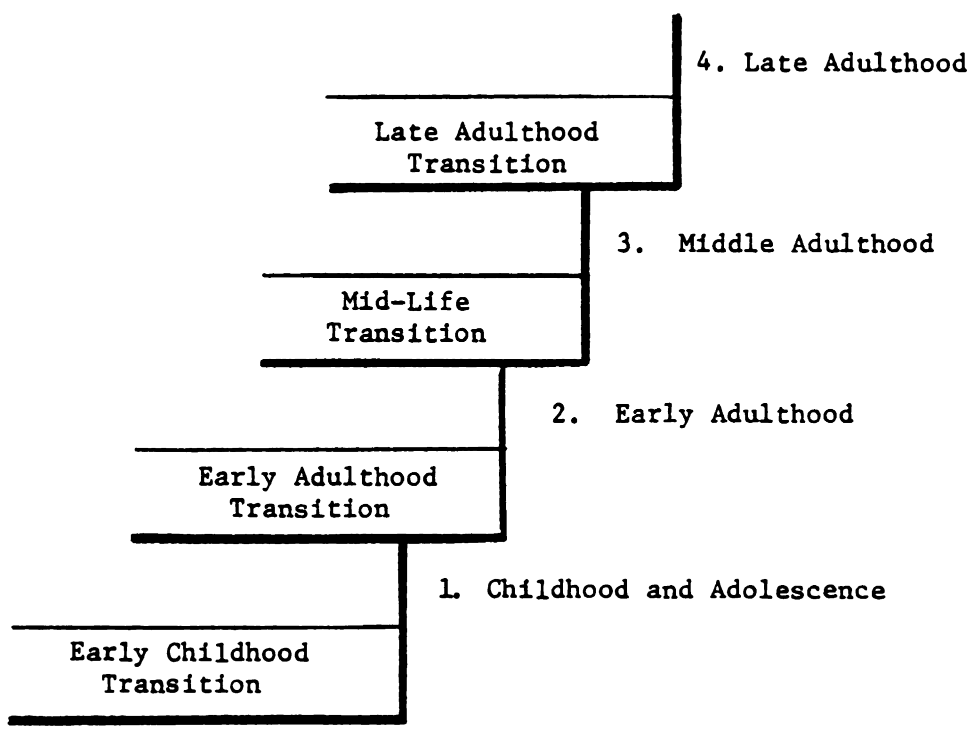

Fig. 2. Levinson's Eras of Life Cycle (Source: Levinson, The Seasons of a Man's Life, p. 20).

Levinson suggests that these eras provide a framework within which developmental periods and concrete processes of living take place. "The developmental periods give a finer picture of the dramatic events and the details of living; the eras give an overview of the life cycle as a whole."[18]

Each of the eras is briefly reviewed here.

1. Pre-adulthood: During this period one ordinarily lives within the family (or equivalent social unit), which provides protection, socialization, and support of growth. Adolescence is the culmination of the pre-adult era. The early adult transition (17-22) is, like all the cross-era transitions, a crucial turning point in the life cycle. While terminating his pre-adult self, at the same time he is starting to form his first adult self and making choices about his initial membership in the adult world.*

2. Early Adulthood: This era may be the most dramatic of all eras. By age 20 most of the mental and bodily characteristics are at their peak levels, which is maintained until roughly age 40. This time is the era of greatest contradiction and stress. With his instinctual drives at their height, he seeks personal gratification, while being at the same time troubled with the childhood conflicts regarding such gratification.

During his 20's a man makes his first major choices that define his place in the adult world (marriage, occupation, style of living).

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*Since Levinson studies all males, the gender identification in this section is male.

"Early adulthood is the time to pay his dues and make his essential contributions to the survival of the species."[19] In short, early adulthood is distinguished by its fullness of energy, capability, and potential, as well as external pressures. "Personal drives and societal requirements are powerfully intermeshed, at times reinforcing each other and at times in stark contradiction."[20]

3. Middle Adulthood: A highly defined transition at mid-life emerged in the course of Levinson's research which was conducted on men age 35-45. There are at least three schematic perspectives which come into play during this era. First, there are changes in biological and psychological functioning. A special illness, accident or defect may force him to restrict himself. Instinctual energies pass their maximal level so that although the man still has his youthful drives (lustful passion, capacity for anger and moral indignation, ambition), he suffers less from the "tyranny of these drives." This reduction in drives allows a man to enrich his life, allowing him to improve the quality of love relationships, share a greater capacity for intimacy, and become a more responsive friend. If early adulthood is characterized by strength, quickness, endurance, and output, middle adulthood is characterized by wisdom, judiciousness, unsentimental compassion, breath of perspective, tragic sense. It has been suggested that experiences with one's mortality are at the core of mid-life crisis. It is inevitable, then, that a man may experience some crisis and despair. "At their best, the new roles have great personal and social value; at their worst, they are a means of saving face and keeping busy, but contribute little to self or society and are a tragic waste of human life."[21]

Second, middle adulthood also involves a sequence of generation, as a man struggles to work out his own individual meaning in the face of his experience with changing generations. Ericksen's stage of adulthood called "generativity or stagnation" is closely associated with mid-life transition. As a man passes 40, he is asked to assume responsibility for a new generation of adults, and in doing so, finding new ways to combine authority and mutuality accepting responsibility and leadership, yet taking the new generation seriously by inviting them to participate and fostering their growth.

The final perspective on middle adulthood is the evolution of careers and enterprises. It is in this perspective that we find questions of self progress such as "What have I done?" and "Of what value is my life to society, to other people, to myself?" It is in mid-life that one must deal with the desparity between what he is and what he has dreamed of becoming. If a man has succeeded he must consider the meaning and value of his success. If a man has failed, he must come to terms with it, develop a new set of choices and rebuild his life. Levinson found that many men find their lives relatively satisfactory in some respects and disappointing or destructive in others. While a culminating event frequently plays an important part in the mid-life transition (i.e., promotion or failure at work, major difficulties or satisfactions in family life, personal illness, death of loved one), the man is not simply reacting to external situations; he is reappraising his life.

4. Late Adulthood: Again, in this period, a man is faced with the reality of bodily decline. There is increased death and serious illness among friends and colleagues, as well as a decrease in vigor and

capacity. He is likely to experience at least one serious illness or impairment, and receive one message from his body as well as doctor, to make major changes in his mode of living. This is compounded by the cultural definition of the age, which is referred to as "elderly," "senior citizen," or "golden years." The threshold of this period brings the anticipation of a total loss of youth, of vitality, of life.

This stage compared to Ericksen's "integrity vs. despair" stage. Feeling that he has completed the major part of his life work, his contribution to society and own immortality completed, he now becomes more involved with gaining a sense of integrity of his whole life--not just his virtue or achievement. "If he succeeds he can live without bitterness or despair during late adulthood."[22]

Levinson says that in late adulthood, "A man can no longer occupy the center stage of his world."[23] The movement from center stage can be traumatic--a man receives less recognition, authority, and power. Citing such examples as Mao Tse-tung, Churchill, Gandhi, and DeGaulle, he warns against retaining power well into late adulthood. "He tends to be an isolated leader, in poor touch with his followers, and overly idealized or hated by them."[24]

In summary, Levinson has developed a schema for analyzing the four primary eras of adult development. This evolutionary process takes place within the life structure of an individual's adult years. There are three perspectives on life structure suggested in this work:

a. <u>the individual and his sociocultural world</u>: includes class, religion, ethnicity, family, political system, occupational structure, social movements and institutions, economy and political climate; affected by: massive events (wars, depressions) and more particularly work, family and community life.

b. the individual and self: includes wishes, conflicts, anxieties, fantasies, moral values, ideas, talents, skills, character traits, modes of feeling, thought, and action; part is conscious and much is unconscious

c. individual participation is his world: relationships and roles, resources and constraints, transactions

This points to a theoretical and conceptual framework that encompasses both self and society in an equal manner.

> We need to take seriously the idea of adult development--that there is some underlying order in the life cycle--and the idea of adult socialization--that the self exists within a world and its evolution is intimately bound together with that world.[25]

. . . .

The first level of analysis suggested in this section focuses on the importance of individuals in planned organizational change. Two related frameworks were reviewed and each offers some potentially significant implications for the analysis of this research effort.

Ziller suggests a framework for personal change, arranging the potentially changeable characteristics in a hierarchy from attitude (least difficult) to self concept (most difficult). He further determined that for change to be the most enduring it is the self-concept level which must be affected. This becomes important for the student of planned change because of the increased resistance a change proposal faces as it moves up the personal change hierarchy.

Several specific implications for this study can be seen in Ziller's work.

I-a. Survey results will reflect most accurately the attitude level which, it should be remembered, is most easily adjusted in times of threat to self concept. This research represents two potential threats: the subject of the potential introduction of the Executive Service and the interview situation itself which asks the subject for personal information. Moreover, the question used during the interview addressed the other levels of the hierarchy which allow for only primitive inferences to be made about behaviors, roles, and self-concepts. For instance, questions about desired characteristics and suggestions about their replacements could be used to describe ideal roles and self concept.

I-b. The planned change intervention examined here represents serious threats by specific ideas about the proposal, while values which are threatened include the belief that "the present system is good," "that there is no need to increase the number of people interested in executive employment," etc. The behavioral changes suggested are toward efficiency and competitiveness, as well as the possible loss of security. Role relationships, particularly between the executive and his/her boss (the evaluator) will be altered. Finally, the changes implied here have questions of personal competence and effectiveness at their root. Hence, it is entirely appropriate that the Ziller theory of personal change serves as a framework to examine the threats to self which may arise during this planned organization intervention.

I-c. Finally, since the Executive Service propositions represent a threat to all levels of the personal change system, it is important to examine the nature of the resistance in order to better predict the type of intervention suggested, as well as the probability of its success. Because this change threatens not only the way executives do things, but also questions their very ability and competence to maintain their position, a self concept based long-term intervention may be suggested.

The work of Ericksen and Levinson represent a slightly different, but equally compelling framework. During interaction with society, a person goes through several developmental processes which could affect his/her willingness and ability to address change. The implications for this particular study include the following:

I-d. People may differ on how they view change depending on the constraints imposed by their particular stage of adult development. Persons in young adulthood are characterized by their strength, quickness, endurance, and output, while also experiencing the most contradiction and stress. As the mid-life era evolves, the drives of youth and the self-centered striving for a place in society is replaced by a more reflective and more cooperative mode of behavior. Finally, in late adulthood, the need for integrity of the whole life becomes predominant. Each of these eras pose different needs which will produce differential approaches or motivations toward planned change on an individual level.

I-e. Although younger adults are more likely to embrace change, they are also more prone to stress. This is particularly significant to the theoretical relationships being examined here between the levels of stress and the willingness to make organizational changes.

Group Theoretical Foundations

Moving our analysis to a more complex level, the group literature presents several conceptually and theoretically significant variables. A group could be described as two or more persons interacting in a stable or predictable manner who share the same common perceptions, ideology, values, beliefs and norms which contribute to the predictability. There are at least two groups suggested in the subjects of this research project: the group of top executives within the individual departments (sixteen departments), and the group composed of the department heads acting as advisors to the governor (one group). At times of organizational change, the cohesiveness of the group which is ensured by conformity to group norms plays a crucial role in the support or resistance to the plan.

Group cohesiveness. Group cohesiveness is the attraction of the group for its members. High cohesion seems to stem from two sources. Sometimes it is due to the ability of cohesive groups to reduce members' anxiety, making cohesion itself the goal. In other cases, cohesiveness is an effort to obtain sources of satisfaction for other needs of group members. Modern interest in cohesion in work groups began with the Hawthorne experiments which were preformed in the era of scientific management when the employee was typically seen as a machine responding to the prod of finaicial incentives.[26] The results of the original experiments supported the notion that despite carefully calculated incentives and demands of supervisors, employees responded primarily to their fellow person. People at work are not economic animals, but social ones.

These early studies were the basis of Schachter's theory of affiliative satisfaction in groups.[27] He found that highly cohesive groups with positive norms can cause a significant increase in group production, while a highly cohesive group with negative norms can bring about a significant decrease under conditions of mild anxiety. His conclusions broadened and modified Mayo's ideas that the existence of group cohesiveness was an indication of organizational health and well being. Schachter's work concludes that such groupings may, in fact, be symptomatic of organizational and individual problems, resulting in high levels of employee anxiety.

Seashore conducted another study of a private company which focused on the relationship between work group cohesiveness and various measures of anxiety and productivity.[28] The researchers constructed an "index of cohesiveness" which was then correlated with measures of anxiety, perceived company "supportiveness," and productivity. They found that members of highly cohesive groups were much less anxious and tense than members of low-cohesive groups. Productivity was affected in two ways: less variability in actual productivity within high cohesive groups, and, actual levels of production (high/low) depending upon whether the high cohesive group members had a favorable attitude toward the company.

There is at least one other perspective on group cohesiveness which could potentially be relevant here. Cohesion may be the result of coalition forming to maximize a member's advantage in competing with other groups and individuals for scarce resources such as facilities, equipment, favorable budgetary considerations, prestige, autonomy. The conflict is seen not as a conflict among their individual efforts to satisfy needs, but by movement to satisfy group needs. Exchange theory, then, sets out to explain group behavior in terms of rewards and costs incurred in the interaction.[29] Rewards are the payoffs which emerge from the interaction; any behavior that adds to the gratification of a person's needs constitutes a reward as far as that person is concerned. Cost is a broad term which encompasses fatigue, anxiety, loss of status, and punishment, as well as the value of the rewards which the members miss by not participating in other exchanges (opportunity costs). An outcome is defined as rewards minus costs; if positive, the interaction is said to yield a profit; if negative, a loss. The fact that a person profits from an interaction does not necessarily mean that he/she <u>likes</u> his/her partner in the interaction. For attaction to develop, it is necessary for the outcome to exceed some minimal level of expectation.

There is an enormous literature on each of these theories which leaves, however, the nature of the basis for initial choices unclear. Emphasis has shifted to the processes through which coalitions go to arrive at a stable form. Thibaut and Kelly using triads (the smallest group in which a coalition can be formed) found four types of relationships which can develop among members.[31] <u>Solidarity</u> is established when the two most active members give a high degree of support to each other. <u>Conflicting</u> relationships result when the two most active members give each other little support. A _dominant_ pattern is suggested when the most active member gives little support but receives a great deal from the second most active. Finally, _contending_ activity is found when the most active member gives much support but receives little from the second most active. Thibaut and Kelly indicate that contending, dominant and conflicting patterns are essentially unstable and are eventually transformed to the solidarity form. Dominance and contention, where one member supports another but receives nothing in return, shift primarily to the conflicting patterns as the supportive participants cease the unrewarding behaviors. The conflicting patterns are also unstable, resulting in the long-run in members leaving the situation and shifting toward solidarity formation through a gradual mutual increase in supportive actions or in one of the conflicting members joining with the least active member in a solidarity pattern.

Norms. Norms are the agreed upon standards through which the group exercises control over its members. They make explicit the forms of behavior appropriate for members of the system. Because they refer to behavior which is expected and sanctioned by the system, they have a specific _ought_ or _must_ quality. While nonconformity to norms is often not formally punishable, the group usually is able to effectively punish violators and to reward conformers, using cooperations, prestige, and friendship as rewards, while withholding them as punishments.

Norms are a group product and may not be necessarily identical with the privately held values of a representative sample of the individuals in the group. Their general functions are to tie people into the system so they remain within it and carry out their role asignments. Katz and Kahn outline two more specific functions of norms: providing a cognitive map for members which facilitates their work in the system and their adjustment to it, and, the moral and social justification for system activities.[32]

Blau's study of a local office of the state employment agency illustrates the role these norms play in group performance.[33] The emphasis on the numerical accounting of job performance (i.e., number of clients interviewed, number of referrals, number of actual hired, etc.) led to illicit practices such as saving the "best" cases for themselves by the caseworkers. The two sections of the office varied markedly in competitiveness, with section A being far more competitive than section B. Blau attributed the differences to three factors. First, the less competitive employees were primarily secure high seniority employees and thus less concerned with impressing their supervisors. The other group was made up of employees who were subject to layoff. Second, the employees in group B all shared a common code of professional practice because they were all educated during a period which stressed the quality of counseling services rather than the number of placements, which is what was rewarded. The norm of this group against competition punished those in favor of the higher principle of service to the client. Section A had no such norm. Finally, Blau considers the effect of supervisory treatment of the quantitative data. The supervisor of section A emphasized how good the work was, while supervisor B placed less emphasis on production and graded employees leniently. The behavior of the supervisor and his/her emphasis on certain aspects of the job is crucial to the development of norms and to their content.

Moreover, the highly competitive group was actually the less productive of the two. Individual high producers within the group A were found to spend a great deal of time in interpersonal negotiations in attempts to obtain information about openings which other interviewers in the section were hoarding. Further, anxiety was lower in the highly cohesive, non-competitive section B.

Norms become important when they act as a source of both individual and group resistance to change, because they often substitute for thinking.

> By hanging out a "do not disturb" sign over established rules, customs, and procedures, the group may influence an individual to oppose changes he would rationally support. To the group members, the organization's penalty for resisting the change may seem far less severe than the group's probable penalty for opposing its norms.[34]

While in most cases norms are not static but change in response to a variety of pressures, occasionally, resistance <u>becomes</u> the norm. Changes imposed on the work group by management or an outside change agent are often met with resistance due to the unfamiliarity of the outsider to the group norms. Miner concludes from his review of the literature that:

> where group members feel a strong sense of belonging, evidence a desire to remain in the group, and perceive their group as superior to others, resistance to change is likely to be considerable . . . this is particularly true if the manager in charge of the group is himself predisposed to resist change and tends to be somewhat dogmatic.[35]

<u>Conformity</u>. One of the most widely established findings in group dynamics is the fact that opinions change when individuals become members of groups. The classic study was conducted by Sherif, comparing

individual and group judgments about the autokinetic effect.[36] Because there was no objective actuality of the phenomena, consensus became essential because it was the only reality. The pressure to conform to peer estimates even when they run contrary to the facts, was demonstrated by the extremely influential series of studies by Asch.[37] In experiments matching the length of vertical lines, he found that a subject, after hearing phoney "evidence" which contradicts the evidence of his/her senses, will go along with the phoney consensus. The importance of communication is obvious.

Conformity, then, is the act of conceding to group pressures. Milgram's study on obedience to authority highlights the need to judge conformity against the perspective of a conflict between what the individual (free from the group pressures) knows to be correct or right, and what the group imposes on him/her.[38] There are two different kinds of conformity:

a. movement conformity: the individual modifies or changes his/her own ideas about correct behavior to match those around him/her

b. congruence conformity: the individual merely implements values which he/she already holds through the acceptance of group norms.[39]

Resistance to organizational change would clearly be more closely associated with movement conformity.

There are three basic ways in which conformity can be inducted. Deviance discomfort illustrated by a study by Asch described above. The students involved were strangers, their interactions were limited to reporting their judgments, and the likelihood that they would interact after the experimental session was small. Although subjects averaged less than 1% errors under control conditions, they went along with their peers in 36.8% of the trials. While members of the majority did not try to influence the subject, the people went along with their judgment citing three basic reasons: denied evidence from senses and accepted the judgment of the majority as correct, not wanting to "spoil the experiment," and the rest assumed there was something wrong with themselves, so they went along to hide a personal deficiency. These findings highlight the two ways in which we determine the "rightness" and "wrongness" of something. We can rely on empirical validation (the evidence of our senses, or social validation (what other people tell us is right). Asch suggests that employees judging norms of the workplace can only determine the "rightness" or "wrongness" of the norm through social validation.

The second basic process of conformity is enforcement, which involves overt attempts to alter behavior of others toward the prescribed group norms through rewards and punishment. Returning again to the Thibaut and Kelly research and to the work of Litterer,[40] there are four conceptually sequential activities involved in enforcement:

a. education: initiating the new member by demonstrating[27] (verbally or nonverbally) appropriate behaviors.

b. surveillance: closely related to reward and punishment, the determination of whether norms are adopted. Prescriptive norms need a minimum amount of surveillance because performance of required behavior (good) is overt; proscriptive norms, on the other hand, require continual surveillance because members are unlikely to bring examples of punishable behaviors to the group.

c. warning: when member is altered to inappropriate behaviors usually through the use of increase communication directed toward them.

d. reward or punishment: two levels: whether employer augments (rewards) or diminishes (punishes) need satisfaction; both are derived from internal systems (interaction with peers within work group) or external systems (management of the organization).

The third source of conformity, internalization, results from the integration of the group norms into the individual's own value system. Compliance is no longer a matter of reward or punishment. Rather actions are performed because they are "right," as far as the individual is concerned. When one relates this source to the work of Ziller cited in the first section of this chapter, it is easy to see why this is the most difficult factor to deal with. After a norm is internalized, the chance of modifying an individual's behavior by reward and punishment is reduced. Any changes require a carefully thought out and extremely difficult process of altering the basic value systems of the individual, for the norm has become an integral part of the value system.

Why, then, do some individuals not conform to group norms? Three basic factors related to the nature of the individual affects the likelihood that he/she will conform to group norms. Research has shown that the strength of affiliative needs seems to be a function of the level of threat perceived by the individual. When a person feels insecure and threatened, the price of conformity is small compared to the benefit of reduced anxiety. The prestige of the individual also seems to be related although cause and effect are hard to determine. Extreme low prestige and high prestige are both associated with independent, both groups having more ability to deviate from the norms of the group. Finally, the amount of counterpower he/she can wield allows certain deviants, because of their formal rank or position to have the ability to exercise control over group members.

. . . .

The second theoretical level of analysis which has been reviewed here is group analysis. The literature of group dynamics is extensive and, for the most part, done at a considerably more detailed level than is suggested here. This report seeks to explore three areas of group research which may be relevant to this project and which present the following implications:

I-g. Highly cohesive groups experience lower stress and anxiety. The amount of inter-group competition and threat experienced by members of the groups suggested here (the departmental and the advisors to the governor) could be positively related with the stress measures. The Executive Service proposal may present particular threats because it could result in the breakdown of highly cohesive groups, thus increasing flexibility but decreasing productivity.

I-h. Organizations which show solidarity patterns of group processes may be both harder to change and less stressful than organizations exhibiting more competitive patterns of behavior (conflicting, dominant, or contending). More competitive behaviors may be the long-term result of the flexibility created by the Executive Service, resulting in a certain amount of instability within the executive level of these departments. Additionally, the level of group processes presently engaged in will affect the nature of their response toward proposals for change.

I-i. The nature of the Executive Service proposal potentially presents severe role conflict among top executives due to the dual nature of the role: (a) as the rewarder and punisher of nonconformity and (b) as a member of the Executive Service. The high status of these people, which would normally aid their ability deviate from old norms and establish new patterns of behavior, may not aid this specific organizational intervention because all of the people involved are of high status in their organization.

Organizational Theoretical Foundations

McKelvey and Kilman define an organization as a "purposeful system containing one or more conditionally autonomous purposeful subsystems."[41] The emphasis on purposefulness (the ability to exercise will or conscious choice) highlights the essential characteristics of an organization:

a. their intent, if not actual ability, to pursue specified objectives

b. their rights, if not actual ability, to constrain the autonomy of their subunits to varying degrees

c. the capacity, if not the actual ability, of their subunits to act purposefully.[42]

This definition sets organizations apart from other social systems which do not have the right or power to decide on overall objectives, or to condition the autonomy of their various subunits, and, it sets organizations apart from individuals who do not have purposeful subsystems.

This definition is a synthesis of two perspectives on organizations. The rational model emphasizes how and why managers should condition their autonomous subordinates (both as groups and individuals) toward the goals of the organization. Because subgroups have autonomy to pursue their own goals, their actions need to be conditioned to some extent to avoid anarchy and loss of organizational effectiveness. The natural systems model, on the other hand, recognizes the forces and energies in the organization which flow from the natural tendencies of individuals and groups to meet their needs and seek their own autonomy. Subunits, in this perspective, exercise power and are important to organizational effectiveness. When the organization faces frequent changes and uncertain task environment, the subunits are more quick and accurate to respond to environmental changes, than is the unit as a whole.

It is natural, due both to the focus of this study and the nature of the other theoretical frameworks suggested here, that the orientation of this section be toward natural system theories or explanations. We are interested in examining what organizational variables impinge on the willingness of executives to make organizational changes. As seen in the earlier sections of this paper, individual perspectives such as personal change hierarchies and adult development cycles, as well as the group activities of conformity to norms and cohesion can affect the phenomena. There are two additional frameworks which will be discussed in this section: organic versus mechanistic systems and the open system model utilizing role analysis.

Organic versus mechanistic systems. Burns and Stalker, in The Management of Innovation, examined twenty industrial firms in Britain to see how the patterns of management processes were related to the external organizational environment, most particularly to the rates of change in scientific techniques and markets.[43] They found that there were two primary systems developed: one in which novelty and unfamiliarity in both market situation and technical information were the accepted order of things; the other, which applies to a relatively stable commercial and technical environment. In short, their study emphasized the information processing aspects of organizations by focusing on the predictability of environmental demands. This led Burns and Stalker to view the management system as dependent upon certain extrinsic factors which were usually related to the environmental uncertainty.

> These extrinsic factors are all, in our view, identifiable as different rates of technical or market changes. By change we mean the appearance of novelties: i.e., new scientific discoveries or technical inventions, and requirements for products of a kind not previously available or demanded.[44]

This finding led Burns and Stalker to develop two divergent systems of management practices as suggested in Table 4.

In their famous study of Scottish firms entering their electronic fields, they found that the unstructured and highly dynamic environment of the organic model often created widespread anxiety and insecurity among the old-style managers whose whole political and status system was threatened. When the organization faces an unpredictable environment, it is unable to develop standardized structures and procedures since each problem is unique and cannot be handled by pre-established methods. It requires a new and unique pattern of action to remain successful. It should be remembered that Burns and Stalker do not try to classify management systems as "pure" types, finding that most organizations fall somewhere in the middle. Organizations are seen as moving back and forth

TABLE 4

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ORGANIC AND MECHANISTIC SYSTEMS OF MANAGEMENT*

	Organic	Mechanistic
1.	The contributive nature of special knowledge and experience to the common task of the concern	the specialized differentiation of functions, to which the problems and tasks facing the concern as a whole are broken down
2.	the "realistic" nature of the individual task which is seen as set by the total situation of the concern	the abstract nature of each task, which is pursued with techniques and purposes more or less distinct from those of the concern as a whole
3.	the adjustment and continual redefinition of individual tasks through interaction with others	the use of the formal hierarchy for coordination
4.	the shedding of responsibility as a limited field of rights, obligations and methods	the precise definition of rights, obligations and technical methods attached to each functional role
5.	the growth of commitment to the concern beyond any technical definition	the translation of right, obligations and methods into the responsibilities of a functional position
6.	a network structure of control, authority and communications	hierarchic structure of control, authority and communications
7.	omniscience no longer imputed to the head of the concern; knowledge about the technical or commercial nature of the present task may be located anywhere in the network	a reinforcement of the hierarchic structure by the location of knowledge of actualities exclusively at the top of the hierarchy
8.	a lateral rather than a vertical direction of communication through the organization; also,	a tendency for interaction between members of the concern to be vertical; i.e., between

TABLE 4 (continued)

	Organic	Mechanistic
	a communication between people of different rank, resembling consultation rather than command	superior and subordinate
9.	a content of communication which consists of information and advice rather than instructions and decisions	a tendency for operations and working behavior to be governed by the instructions and decisions issues by superiors
10.	commitment to the concern's task and to the "technoligical ethos" of material progress and expansion is more highly valued than loyalty and obedience	insistence on loyalty to the concern and obedience to superiors as a condition of membership
11.	importance and prestige attach to affiliations and expertise, valid in the industrial, technical and commercial environments outside the firm	a greater importance and prestige attached to internal (local) rather than to general (cosmopolitan) knowledge, experience and skills

Source: The Management of Innovation, p. 101.

along a continuum over time. Under stable conditions, mechanistic organizations face relatively little uncertainty and thus can evolve highly efficient static structures and standardized procedures for dealing with their problems.

Aiken and Hage adopted the Burns and Stalker model to examine several variables of the organic organization in order to test whether they were associated with varying rates of innovation.[45] They directed their attention to the more general variables that can be applied across all kinds of organizations, addressing items number 1, 3, 6, 8, 11 (Table 4) which "repeat the essential ideas contained in the other characteristics or are less central to the description of the organic organization."[46] The basic findings of the empirical evidence on organizational innovation reinforces two themes: innovation often fails because the organization lacks the characteristics that facilitate change, and, these characteristics are related together in some sort of system of variables. Hence, the innovative organization of the past is likely to be innovative in the present and in the future.

Studying sixteen health and welfare organizations in a mid-western city interviews were conducted of 520 staff members. Their findings support the idea that the organic organization has characteristics which facilitate innovation. Most specifically, diversity of occupations, high involvement in professional associations, high intensity of scheduled communications, and high intensity of unscheduled communications with those of higher status, both within and between departments, were highly related to the degree of innovation.

In summary, this approach to organizations focuses on structural or environmental variables which affect the success of change programs.

It seeks to explain the change phenomena by focusing on the structural constraints which are logically derived from the environmental demands on the organization. While two ideal models were identified, Burns and Stalker found that most organizations are located in the middle of the continuum and are shifting over time due to the demands for innovation and change.

Open organizations and role theory. Katz and Kahn, in the Social Psychology of Organizations, define an organization as an open, dynamic system characterized by a continuing process of input, transformations, and output.[47] The essential characteristic of the open systems organization is its boundaries which are determined by the relationships and patterns of behaviors which carry out through the cycle. Given this type of organization theory, the crucial unit of analysis becomes not the individual person alone (focal person), but the role set. A person is a member of the focal person's role set by virtue of the work-flow structure, technology, authority structure, or as a friend. It is the role message sent to the focal person by these people which are the role expectations (the prescriptions and proscriptions held by the members of the role set). Role expectations are what define, for the focal person, what are the appropriate role behaviors (behaviors which are system relevant and which are performed by a person who is accepted by others as a member of the system). The following figure outlines the Katz and Kahn formulation of these relationships (Fig. 3).

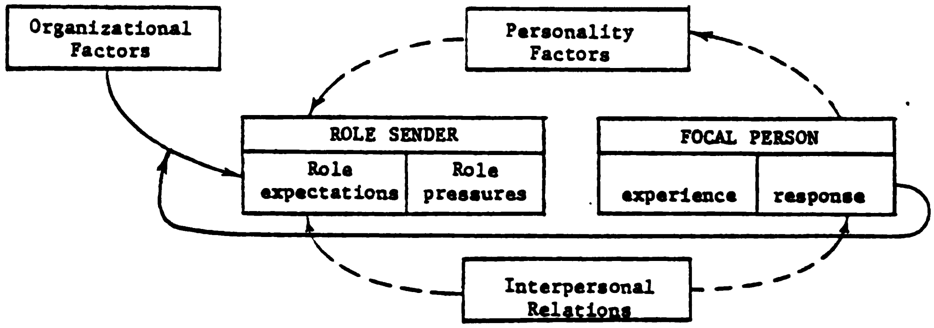

Fig. 3. Kahn's Theoretical Model of Role Relationships (Source: Katz and Kahn, Social Psychology of Organizations, p.

In its broadest representation, role "theory"* represents a particular viewpoint regarding the components which influence human behavior. Individuals occupy many positions in society, the performance of which is determined by social norms, demands, and rules; the role performance of others; those who observe and react to the performance; and, the individual's own capabilities and personality (cognitive limits). Essentially, role theory assumes that performance is the result of social prescriptions and behaviors of others that create variations in performance which are expressed within the framework created by these factors.

> This emphasis on the controlling power of one's immediate social environment--past and present--reflects a doctrine of limited social determinism.[48]

The determining factors can be studied in the context of many different settings including formal organizations. Biddle gives a complete

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*"The role field exhibits much speculation and there are certainly hypotheses and theories about particular aspects of the subject, but there is not one grand theory" (Biddle, p. 14).

discussion of the history of role theory development, citing the work as early as pre-1900 by James (1890), Durkhein (1893), and Binet (1900) and moving through Mayo, Roethlesberger and Dixon (1939), Allport (1934), Sherif (1936), Festinger (1950), Homans (1950), Merton (1951), Newcomb (1947, 1950), Asch (1952), Bales and Slater (1955), Patsons (1951), Cattell (1957), Gouldner (1957, 1960), and Thibaut and Kelley (1959).[49] Biddle observes that there appear to be more theories today that

a. consist of but one or a few hypotheses,
b. concern a delimited, as opposed to a broad range of inquiry
c. articulate causal relations self-consciously and with attempted exactness, and,
d. assert hypotheses formally.[50]

Also many of these theories are difficult to test empirically. Increasingly there have been attempts to tie hypotheses to factual information in order to facilitate testing.

While the discussion of roles as means of understanding complex organizations is fully covered in Katz and Kahn, Kahn, et al. lay the groundwork for understanding how roles, through the forces of conflict and ambiguity, can be used to examine organizational change.[51] Combining the results of two massive surveys, including 322 questions about job, roles and stress, plus 23 standardized and two new personality inventories, this research was designed to determine the prevalence of role conflict (the extent to which role pressures give rise to forces within a person) and role ambiguity conditions, as well as their distributions in organizations and in the population at large. It was also designed to trace the effects of conflict and ambiguity by exploring the extent to which they are found in industrial positions, identifying the kinds of situations which are characterized by a high degree of conflict or ambiguity, determining the association between such conditions and several broad criteria of personal adjustment and effectiveness, and examining the extent to which such effects are modified by certain characteristics of the individual and of his/her interpersonal relations.

Role conflict and ambiguity can be viewed as a kind of inadequate role sending. They tend to pose for the individual special problems of adjustment.

> How a person reacts depends on (a) personality (a set of predispositions formed throughout his/her previous life history) and (b) contemporaneous relationships (with the members of his/her role set).[52]

Both are conditioned by the particular coping patterns used by the individual. To understand conflict and ambiguity, two assumptions were made: to determine the likelihood and nature of set role pressures, the expectations of the sender must be examined separately from the focal person, and, that the total pattern of expectations and pressures be examined. That "total pattern" is examined by focusing on three areas of influence: organizational antecedents of roles, personality factors, and interpersonal relations.

Three sources of role ambiguity are cited in this research: the complexity of modern organizations, the increased rate of organizational change (growth, technological and personnel), and a managerial philosophy which restricts the flow of information. The emotional consequences of this ambiguity leads to increased emotional tension and decreased job satisfaction, sense of futility, and loss of self-confidence. The cause of ambiguity is the discrepancy between the information available and information required for role behavior.

There are two other areas of the Kahn treatment which deserve special discussion in this presentation as they relate to the preceding section: boundary roles and innovation roles. Essential to understanding the effects of conflict between and within organizations is the concept of boundary positions. While it is rare for a person not to have at least occasional job-related contacts with people outside his/her work unit, positions vary considerably with respect to "boundary relevance." There are two major dimensions of boundary relevance: the amount of time a person spends in business contacts outside people of his/her work unit and the importance of business contacts to the person's effective performance on the job. It is these boundary positions which constitute a major battleground of intergroup conflict.

> The occupant of a boundary position between two conflicting groups finds that the incompatible expectations of role senders are focused on him, and to the general effect of intergroup conflict are added the stresses of conflict within the role.[53]

Generally, stresses at the boundaries have as a central element problems of power and misunderstanding. Because the focal person has little formal power over role senders outside his/her work unit, a person at the boundary has a reduced ability to guarantee that the performance of these outsiders will be as he/she needs and wishes. To compensate, this boundary position person must rely on affective bonds of trust, respect and liking which he/she can generate.

> But these bonds are unusually difficult to create and maintain at the boundary. For the outsider, the failing of a person's unit are all too easily identified as failures of the person, thus weakening their affective bonds with him. In a similar manner, the deficiencies of people outside the unit of the boundary person are often taken as deficiencies on his part by members of his own unit.[54]

Kahn found that crossing company boundaries was associated with experienced tensions and that the relationship is curvilinear; greatest tension was experienced by those who have discontinuous contacts outside the organization. They propose that positions which require extra-organizational contacts on a continuous basis build special facilities or some other organizational acknowledgment of boundary difficulties which render them less painful. It is the highly boundary relevant position of political executive which is the focus of this research.

Rules oriented behavior, necessarily based on the requirements of the past, may not be suited to changing conditions. Merton discusses the processes whereby "efficient" bureaucracy may, in the face of change, limit its own adaptability.[55] Kahn views the innovation role as "representing its own patterned organizational deviance."[56] The persons who fill these organizationally created "change" roles must become change-oriented, yet in doing so, such persons are likely to find themselves at loggerheads with the remainder of the organization--often including the largest and most powerful structures. The sorts of innovation and change expectations that often accompany both elected and appointed political leaders as they take command of their organizations can lead to this organizational resistance. Two types of role conflict in particular emerge as characteristics of the high conflict, innovative role:

a. <u>interpersonal conflict</u>: fought out around his/her proposals for innovation, a kind of continuing battle of new guard versus old guard

b. <u>intra-role conflict</u>: stems from his/her engagement and commitment to the creative, nonroutine aspects of his/her job and the corresponding disinterest and disdain for the routine or uncreative demands placed upon him/her.[57]

The individual experiences a conflict between the interpersonal and intrarole requirements, both legitimate and unavoidable, "but only one truly ego satisfying."[57]

In summary, Hickson suggests that role theory may be the key to understanding the various perspectives on organizations.

> Theory has converged upon the specificity (or provisions) or role prescriptions and its obverse, the range of legitimate discretion.[59]

The different organization theories can be placed on a continuum that is represented by the criticisms and advocacy of alternative ways of specifying role behaviors. Interestingly, he also suggests some relationship between role specificity (formalization of role requirements) and innovation:

> . . . If innovation is associated with low specificity, then the underlying individual creativity must not only survive conditions of anxiety and power conflict but even derive stimulation from them.[60]

The role concept, then, is an extremely useful tool for examining the interface between the individual and the organization.

. . . .

This section has examined two system approaches to the study of organizations, one emphasizing the structures and environmental constraints, and the other primarily concerned with interpersonal relationships as expressed through organizational roles. Again, there are several interesting propositions that emerge from this research.

I-j. The nature of the task specification (goals) as they come from the environment plays a major role in determining the structure organizations. On one hand, many public bureaucracies have stable tasks (licensing, transfer payments, collecting taxes, for example), while others, at least hypothetically, have a more dynamic environment (i.e., social services, police, etc.). The approach that the individual executive takes toward change may be a function of the task requirements and environmental pressures.

I-k. There is some notion of a continuum of organizational systems, which change over time. The accurate diagnosis of the system characteristics is essential for successful change interventions. This also is suggestive of a contingency approach to leadership which will be discussed in Chapter II.

I-l. Boundary roles are most often associated with conflict and stress. The focus of this study is on top level executives who spend a great deal of their time in inter-group, inter-organization and inter-state work, suggesting that they may be more prone to conflict and stress which are externally based.

I-m. If people who are routinely on the boundary develop special facilities within their organizations to reduce conflict and stress, then the norms and group conformity pressures may reflect these environmental situations.

I-n. If one accpets the view that innovation roles are "patterned organizational deviance," the forces toward conformity may be strong. The conflict that can develop here is directly related to the levels of personal change and self concept of the innovator, as suggested in Section 1 of this chapter.

Innovation and State Government

The final level of analysis suggested in this research focuses on the relationship of the government sector to the task of innovation in society. This, obviously, is the most distant portion of the analysis from the data which were collected here. Still, there are at least two ideas which deserve special attention at this point, based on the response of the subjects: diffusion of innovation among states and the differences between the public and private sectors.

Diffusion of innovation among states. On the macro-level, the change phenomena is often viewed in terms of innovation. Zaltman and Lin consider an innovation to be "any idea, practice, or material artifact perceived to be new by the relevant unit of adoption."[61] The adopted unit may vary from a single individual, to a city or a legislature. This is essentially an expanded version of the Rogers and Shoemaker conceptualization:

> An innovation is an idea, practice, or object perceived as new by the individual. It matters little, as far as human behavior is concerned, whether or not an idea is "objectively" new as measured by the lapse of time since its first use or discovery . . . if the idea seems new and different to the individual, it is an innovation.[62]

The existing knowledge about innovation rests more on discussion and speculation than it does on concrete evidence. There are several attributes of innovations which have been widely discussed and deserve at least brief attention here. They are summarized in Table 5.

What elements contribute to a high probability of adoptation to an innovation? Because of the perceived greater long-term value of a durable good, the extra costs are often psychologically prorated over a

TABLE 5

CHARACTERISTICS OF INNOVATIONS

Characteristic	Description/dimension	Relationship to Innovation
Cost	1. financial--initial and continuing 2. social-ridicule, ostracisms or or exclusions from relevant reference group	1. more expensive--more favorable 2. low and high status--minimal social costs
Return on Investment	long/short term gratification	more modern society (class, education, income, achievement motivation, cosmo-politan) longer payoff times are tolerated
Efficiency	1. time saving 2. avoidance of discomfort	often the goal
Risk and uncertanity	consequence of a wrong decision	political risk--opportunity for the opposition due to loss of reputation/position
Communicability	1. ease and effectiveness 2. clarity of results 3. obstacles	1. greater--wider dissemination 2. causality and validity 3. system imposed cultural norms of communication
Compatibility	similarity of innovation to alternatives; pervasiveness--requirements for change of social system	may result in supplement, complement, or replacement; the greater--the slower will be acceptance
Complexity	1. contain complex ideas 2. actual complex implementation process	complex ideas but simple application will facilitate greater acceptance
Perceived Relative Advantage (including over present practice)	1. critical attributes 2. visibility 3. demonstration	the greater the number of critical attributes and the more obvious--more likely to be accepted
Terminality	a specific point in time beyond which the adoption is less rewarding, useful, or even impossible	the fewer the terminals, the more likely to adopt
Reversability	the degree and ease with which the status quo can be reinstated	the more reversible the innovation -- more preferred

TABLE 5: (cont.)

Characteristic	Description/Dimension	Relationship to Innovation
Divisibility	ability to try to implementation on a limited basis	the more limited the trial basis--the easier it is to return to the status quo
Commitment	attitudinal and behavioral acceptance	most favorable when partial behavior change can precede attitude change
Publicness vs. Privateness	1. size of the decision making body 2. number of gatekeepers	fewer number of decision makers--more likely to be adopted
Number of Nodes	Places in the social system through which innovation passes	fewer better
Ego Invovement	extent to which a person's beliefs and values are affected by innovation	high ego involvement--difficult to accept new ideas

Taken from Zaltman and Lin

long period of time, which makes the incremental costs appear smaller. Both high status (by virtue of their social credits) and low status (because they have little to lose) people are more likely to be innovative. Likewise, people and societies which are higher in class, education, income, achievement motivation, and cosmopolitanness are more likely to allocate resources to projects with a slower rate of return on the investment. When political risks are involved, consideration focuses on the opportunity for the opposition inherent in proposed innovation, and the risk it involves vis-à-vis the official's reputation or position. The ease and effectiveness of communication, aided by clarity of results and visibility, constitute a major thrust in the diffusion process. Finally, notions of the attractiveness of alternatives and the perceived advantages stress the need for simple and clear applications of innovation to the social structure. In fact, if an innovation is easy to use, but possesses complex ideas, it will be preferred over the innovation which is conceptually easy to understand, but is complex in its usage. These findings have come primarily from studies on agricultural, health and educational innovations such as Rogers (1962), Barnett (1968), Becker (1969), and Rogers and Shoemaker (1971). Zaltman and Lin also suggest several additional dimensions from studies in family planning, consumer products, political participation and scientific communications.

Notions of terminality are common among innovators, and represent a time and frequency dimension of change. Some innovations have only one or a few terminals, while others have many. There is a tendency to promote adoption by presenting one or a few terminal images. When a number of alternative innovations is high, the more reversiable ones are likely to be adopted first. The more limited the basis of implementation (smaller the amount of resources committed), the more easily the status quo can be reinstated.

Finally, in terms of attitudinal and behavioral changes, the most favorable condition for adoption and diffusion, according to Zaltman and Lin, is when at least a partial behavioral change can precede attitudinal change. Based on years of classic studies on ego involvement, it can be suggested that the more ego involvement a person has, the more difficult it is to accept an opposing message and the more readily accepted the message will be if it is viewed as closer to his/her own position.[63]

Walker points to the relative lack of attention to the diffusion of innovation process in political science, which has arisen not so much from the essential nature of the political phenomena, but rather from the "prevailing division of labor among scholarly disciplines in American universities."[64] Diffusion theory has been concentrated primarily in geography, sociology, and economics. His own work on diffusion of innovation among states, along with the research by Gray,[65] constitute perhaps the clearest approach to this problem which is available in political science.

Assuming that pioneering states, which adopt innovations more easily, gain their reputations because of the speed with which they accept new programs, Walker examined 88 different program adoptions. Each state received a score for the time which elapsed between the first acceptance and its own acceptance of the program. The larger the innovation score, the faster the state has been, on average, in responding to new ideas or policies. Part of the composite innovation score is shown in Table 6.

TABLE 6

COMPOSITE INNOVATION SCORES FOR THE AMERICAN STATES

State	Innovation Score
New York	.656
Massachusetts	.629
California	.604
New Jersey	.585
Michigan	.575
Connecticut	.568
Pennsylvania	.560
Oregon	.555

Source: Walker

Walker does point out that this is a crude measure of a high complex process with an enormous number of idiosyncratic influences. What is important for this study is the relative ranking of Michigan among states. While Walker was interested more closely in legislative enactments as policy outputs, the development of an alternative career service system for top state executives could also be viewed as a state innovation. Moreover, only California and Rhode Island have adopted similar Career Executive Systems on the state level which makes this program in Michigan very progressive by comparison to the other states.

Obviously some of the indicators of this progressive nature which Walker points out are present in Michigan. For instance, Walker cites evidence that the larger, the more wealthy, and more industrialized states adopt programs more rapidly. Additionally, fairly strong relationships were found between the innovation scores and the value added by manufacturing, average per acre farm, the size of the urban population and the average per capita income. One particular indicator of wealth which is of interest here can be seen in Table 7 which lists the 1978 Fortune "500" corporations in Michigan. With twenty-one of the Fortune "500" home based in Michigan there can be real questions raised as to the relative power of state government versus corporate interests, as well as the impact of corporate interests on public policy choices.*

Likewise, Walker also found that the median educational attainment was not a good indicator because the highly industrial states with large urban concentrations of poorly educated, lower class residents living primarily in the inner city, are characterized by great inequalities of social status and attainment. This could be related to the type of programs which receive the largest budget appropriations--the Departments of Education and Social Services. We will return to the notions of allocation of resources and the public/private interface in part two of this section.

Beyond the inter-state comparisons, Walker talks of the Simon,[66] Cyert and March,[67] and Lindblom[68] models of decision making which have at least some relevance to this study. With the emphasis on limited time, limited energy, limited ability to process information, the decision maker is left to find alternatives that "preserve whatever values are important to him . . . he satisfices or chooses a course of

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*For instance, with four major auto industries (1, 3, 10, 109) two other major producers of trucks (193 and 131) and two major food producers (175 and 451) which rely heavily on the trucking system, is it any wonder that the Transportation department is #3 among state agencies based on budget? Additionally, public and urban transit systems have only become a part of this department recently with it constituting only .2% of the 1978 budget ($3,609,100 out of $1,476,528,590).

TABLE 7

MICHIGAN FORTUNE "500" CORPORATIONS

"500" Rank	Corporation	Sales ($000)	Employees
1	General Motors (Detroit)	63,211,100	839,000
3	Ford Motor (Dearborn)	42,784,100	506,531
10	Chrysler (Highland Park)	16,340,700	157,958
27	Dow Chemical (Midland)	6,887,623	53,500
75	Bendix (Southfield)	3,625,500	76,000
109	American Motors (Southfield)	2,585,428	25,517
118	Burroughs (Detroit)	2,422,311	54,638
131	Freuchauf (Detroit)	2,244,513	36,125
141	Whirlpool (Benton Harbor)	2,082,882	22,285
175	Kellogg (Battle Creek)	1,690,600	20,905
193	Clarke Equipment (Buchanan)	1,503,292	21,517
211	Upjohn (Kalamazoo)	1,328,551	19,920
306	Tecumseh Products (Tecumseh)	770,382	10,436
319	Ex-Cell-O (Troy)	729,792	14,250
340	McLouth Steel (Detroit)	677,849	6,070
375	Masco (Taylor)	585,660	8,200
383	Federal-Mongul (Southfield)	568,606	13,966
423	Hoover Universal (Saline)	497,892	8,376
435	Dow Corning (Midland)	479,049	4,630
451	Gerber Products (Fremont)	443,078	8,795
491	Federick and Herrud (Detroit)	394,761	2,250

Source: Fortune, May 7, 1979, 99(9): 270-89.

action which seems satisfactory under the circumstances.[69] They go on to show that the decision maker replaces the confusion of reality with his/her own abstract, highly simplified world containing only a few major variables. "Hence, if we wish to predict the decision maker's behavior, we should try to discover the rules of thumb, or 'heuristics' as they are sometimes called, which shape his judgment."[70] Moreover, the rule of thumb suggested by Walker is analogy--"look for an analogy between the situation you are dealing with with some other situation perhaps in some other state, where the problem has been successfully resolved."[71] This presents a number of interesting implications for the particular innovation under study which will be summarized at the end of this section.

The public vs. the private sector. This research, which has as its focus state government in Michigan, makes some assumptions about the qualitative and quantitative differences discussed below, and in part on the classic definition of politics. If politics is defined as the authoritative allocation of scarce resources and values in society, then it is all together logical to assume that there are certain functions of society, certain allocation processes, which are better served through governmental (authoritative) institutions. Moreover, implicit in this view is the idea that there are some sort of collective (societal) values and priorities which should be part of the process. All of this points to the need for at least two sectors in society--a public (collective) and private (self-interested) sector. Democratic theory would suggest that these sectors be somehow differentiated. It is, therefore, important to consider the findings of this study from the perspective of the ability of government (state) sector organizations to act in an efficient and competitive manner against the private sector monopolization of resources. Several specific comparisons of the private and the public sector are suggested below.

First, Golembiewski describes the enormous amount of variety of individuals and groups in each organization with different and often mutually exclusive sets of interests, reward structures, and values in the public sector.[72] This can be seen not only as the agencies executives work with legislators, but also in conflicting interests among the agencies; for instance, the goal of social services programs to provide welfare payments and the goal of the labor department to provide jobs for the poor. Even within agencies, the demands of unique interest groups compete for resources such as found among those who want mental health funds spent on integrating clients back into the community and those who want to improve institutional conditions. Corson and Paul talk of the commitment of high level administrators to programs which may inhibit or destroy executive direction, rendering the chain of command useless.[73] Through their unwillingness (or inability) to develop detailed policy guidelines and their desire to increase their own influence, legislators contribute to the enormous discretion and the contradictory nature of policy goals. Interest groups as well play a major role in the forces toward disequilibrium and narrowly defined changes. Giblin notes that while private organizations are also faced with fundamental differences in the values, reward and interest structure (i.e., management vs. labor), "these problems do appear, by comparison to be less intense in the private sector. They also appear to take on less complex forms."[74]

Second, since the first Hoover Commission there has been a recognition of the problems of long-range planning in the public sector. Both the short-lived majorities of politicans and the yearly budget cycles of the agencies contribute to the inability of government organizations to develop effective long-term planned change programs. Most agencies, despite attempts by MBO-like management plans and PPB-like budgeting procedures, tend to neglect long-term impacts. Again, while long-term planning is always problemmatic for the private firm, the successful corporation always has a planned, coordinated program for future resource needs and investments.

The crisis atmosphere of public policy making provides a third area of contrast. Because public institutions are always first to feel the external pressures from special interest groups as well as economic and natural disasters (unemployment, depression, floods, drought, etc.) as well as a new class of man-made natural problems (nuclear accidents and pollution), the force to action often comes in the form of a crisis. While, as it was noted earlier, a crisis does promote clear lines of communication and the "team" effort mode of management, it has far more serious implications for the nature of planned change. Under such conditions, organizations may place even greater emphasis on procedural regularities and caution, tending to isolate and defend itself. Relying largely on past practices, managers often are unwilling and unable to distinguish between constructive long-term planning and personal threat. While the external environment of the business world does present pressures on the firm, they do not present moral or legal responsibilities nor are they so publicly exposed. It seems safe to assume that the relationship between the individual consumer and the corporate president is somewhat different than that of the voter or service recipient and the department head or elected official.

Fourth, public sector programs have long been characterized by static organizational style, low propensity for program change, and general ineffectiveness which makes most of them poor candidates for successful changes. A great deal of this style is probably related to the minutia of detailed rules and regulations which connote bureaucracy. Because public organizations are generally characterized by bureaucratic structures and modes of behaviors, most of them tend to function relatively ineffectively.

Finally, there is one other facet of government organization which is particularly important here. It is widely accepted that most civil service systems represent a major barrier to achieving greater organizational effectiveness.[75] It has a multifaceted and very negative impact on public organization's ability to adopt long-term change programs. The system undermines the public administrator's responsibility to manage his/her organization, by limiting his/her ability to hire the people wanted on all but the highest level. His/she is left with no sanctions to bring against poor performance, and no rewards to bestow for outstanding performance. In a sense, it creates a vacuum of motivational techniques for the public manager. He/she must deal with organizations that virtually are 100% "unionized" up to the department head. Management techniques which utilize performance appraisal and goal setting are virtually doomed from the beginning because of positive reinforcement tools which perpetuate the norms of lower performance. In short, because of the Civil Service system and its impact on motivational tools, there is substantial reason to believe that there is a difference between private and public management. Simple adaptations of private sector management techniques will often be unsuccessful; mofication to the special circumstances is required.

The differences between the private and public sector cannot be minimized in the development of effective management techniques, particularly in terms of institutional impacts. Peter Drucker writes,

> These "public service" institutions are the real growth of the modern society. . . . But the service institution is in a fundamentally different "business" from business. It is different in its purpose. It has different values. It needs different objectives.[76]

Bowers notes that differences between private and public sectors involve how the issues of people, purpose, and organization are managed.[77] More specifically, Bowers says that the public manager more frequently

a. deals with definitions of goals or purposes that are set by external organizations such as legislatures or agencies at many other levels of government;

b. operate within structures mandated or designated by external actions;

c. work with people whose career and even immediate job performance are beyond the present management's control or even ability to influence; and,

d. face the need to achieve their goals in brief time frames due to short lived political majorities and abbreviated tenure of political appointees.[78]

These differences make planned organizational change in the public sector much more "chancy, more complex."[79]

. . . .

The final part of this review has focused on the fourth level of analysis suggested here: innovation and state government. Again, there are certain implications for this research:

I-o. Because Michigan is relatively high in innovation, it will be more likely to adopt the Executive Service. The familiarity with the California, Oregon, and federal plan could be a good indicator of innovative analogy. Likewise, the risk involved in the Michigan plan is higher because there are so few examples to learn from.

I-p. The success of the Michigan program could provide the impetus and/or model needed to encourage other states to adopt this plan. Proponents of this idea, therefore, should both analyze carefully and take the needed steps to aid successful implementation.

I-q. Personal attitudes and values of political elites, due to the nature of the satisficing model, make up a major component of their decision rules. It is, therefore, appropriate and important to view the attitudes gathered here as indicators of the decision rules which will affect the implementation of this program.

I-r. The nature of the inter-state relationships as indicated by knowledge of other state personnel practices, membership and participation in professional associations, and multi-state training programs, willingness to participate in intergovernmental personnel sharing programs, and general attitude toward the status of Michigan among states, could also be good indicators of the perceived innovativeness of the administrative decision maker.

I-s. There are sufficient organizational differences between public and private sector organizations to distinguish between public and private management. Moreover, if the public organizations are to maintain their viability as allocators of resources and values in a changing and complex technical society, the ability to implement successful long-term change programs is essential. This will require different techniques and approaches toward management which are specifically designed for the external and internal forces within public organizations.

Conclusions

If there is one impression the reader should be left with at this point it is that the planning of change is a very complex process. It requires an understanding of the individual personal change structure to reach those levels of awareness which will require the longest effort and which are most important to insure the long-term stability of the change. But this structure does not exist in a vacuum, and, at the minimum, can be greatly affected by the stage of adult development a person is experiencing. Each stage brings with it different self and role expectations, as well as different fundamental questions of worth and self-concept. Much of adult development is reinforced through the social group structure, with one primary group being the work group.

To establish a place where individual development can be realized, groups are formed, bounded together by rules of behavior, rewards for conformity, and sanctions against nonconformity. The more the individual, in the course of his or her job, goes beyond the boundaries of group or organization, the more role ambiguity and conflict are created.

The person who seeks to bring about change and innovation faces both negative group sanctions, and also a struggle with mechanistics, organizational structures, bounded by rules, prescriptions, and resource limitations. In seeking to move mechanistics organizations to more organically defined structures, the differences between private and public organizations begin to emerge. The role of the "bureaucrat's" mentality that characterizes many public organizations may not only be inefficient (in a short-term sense) for the organization, but may ultimately allow them to fall prey to other organizational forms which are better able to meet the demands of complexity and innovation. Real questions could be raised as to the appropriate unit for the allocation of scarce resources and values in society.

Obviously what is suggested here is a holistic, dynamic systems approach to the study of organization change. This sort of perspective allows us to better identify those "slack resources" in the system (human energy, compassion, times, positive values, organizational structures, sympathetic norms, political support) which can be used to initiate and reinforce change programs. In a sense, it is identifying counterforces which can be used to disrupt the equilibrium and to provide a way to evaluate the long-term system-wide impacts.

Levin offers the classic statement on equilibrium problems or what he calls "quasi-stationary equilibrium."[80] The fundamental argument of this theory is variable interaction, the basic assumption of which is that by changing one of the behavioral determinants, others may also change. "The level of equilibrium readjustment is determined by the magnitude of the initial change and the magnitude of the ensuing change."[81] Change is viewed as a dynamic balance of forces working in opposite directions in any given situation as suggested below in Table 8.

TABLE 8

LEWIN'S EQUILIBRIUM THEORY

Pressures to Change	Resistance to Change
Changing Environments:	Resistance by Individuals:
a. knowledge explosion	a. habit
b. rapid product obsolescence	b. selective perception and retention
Changing Nature of the Work Force	Resistance by Organizations:
a. decreasing age	a. stability of system
b. quality of work life	b. sunk costs
c. humanistic values	c. resource limitations
	d. interorganizational agreements

There are two ways in which this quasi-equilibrium can be changed: by adding forces in the desired direction, or by diminishing opposing forces. While each of these approaches may result in change to some new level, the secondary effects can be quite different. "In the former, the process of the new level would be accomplished by a state of relatively low tension."[82] Because increased tensions above a certain level will likely be accompanied by higher aggressiveness, higher emotionality and lower constructiveness, the second approach will be preferable to the high pressure method.

While this research project does not specifically examine change interventions per se, focusing instead on the "map" needed to begin what

Lewin calls unfreezing processes, notions of stress and tension are directly related to this process. Stress is defined in this research as a movement away from equilibrium. All the measures of stress used here were designed to indicate a person has gone beyond the "normal" range of behaviors and developed indicators of stress. Each of these measures addresses some aspect of the system which directly affects the equilibrium: job role, status, norms, task environment, health, personality of the participant and so forth.

Moreover, equilibrium is an important concept as it relates to executives. First, one of the functions of the executive is to both maintain stability and encourage creativity in the organization. This could easily be viewed as moderating the strain and forces of the force field. Second, in terms of the individual development, the willingness of these executives to accept personal change (as would be the result of the Executive Service) can be tied into the personal equilibrium of the developmental process. Finally, the contingency theory of leadership, which will be suggested in Chapter II, is a dynamic theory which emphasizes the multivariate nature of the role in attempting to understand how leadership is exercised under varying conditions (equilibrium levels) and in specific circumstances.

Finally, the proposed Executive Service presents some interesting problems regarding equilibrium. While it is designed to increase flexibility of the organization, it really is decreasing the stability by making top leadership positions more flexible. For the individual executive, it represents the potentials for growth, development, and challenge, as well as the threat of demotion, financial loss, reduced security, and transfer to an unwanted position. Finally, for the subordinates, it represents both an increased probability that they will be promoted to the executive level and a decrease in the stability of the superiors who may be serving as their mentors.

The general hypothesis suggested in this research is, what conditions lead an executive to be favorable toward a proposed organizational change and how are they effected by stress. By establishing the profile of a stressful executive through the examination of a number of theoretically significant indicators of stress, we can begin to explore the attitudes toward change and how they are affected by stress. Because a wide range of stress indicators are examined here, we are able to see the relationship between the forces of disequilibrium on all levels of the executive system. Chapter II investigates the system in which executives operate in order to describe the forces that come into conflict with the forces of change.

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[77]D. Bowers, J. Franklin and P. Recoulle, "Matching Problems, Processes, and Interventions in Organizational Development; A Systematic Approach," Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, October-December 1975, pp. 391-409.

[78]Ibid., p. 406.

[79]R. Golembiewski, Public Administration: As A Developing Discipline?: Organization Development as One of a Future Family of Mini-Paradigms. New York: Marcel-Dekker, 1977), p. 371.

[80]K. Lewin, A Dynamic Theory of Personality (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1935).

[81]J. Hunt, The Restless Organization (Sydney: Wiley and Sons Australasia Pty. Ltd., 1972), p. 306.

[82]Lewin, Personality, p. 67.

CHAPTER II

A THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION TO EXECUTIVES AND STRESS*

Introduction

The focus of this study is the individual public executive. Chapter I highlighted how the individual affects and is affected by the change phenomena. It dealt not only with the personal adjustments required during change, but also the group supports and the organizational impacts of individual change. Finally, it was suggested that the responsibility for successful planned change, which often belongs to the executive, may be crucial in maintaining the viability of the public sector of society in a time of rapid, complex change.

Again in this chapter on executives and stress, it is necessary to return to the four levels of analysis from Chapter I. There are two particular reasons for this approach. First because all the subjects here are top level executives, there is reason to believe that they will

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*Executive is defined here to include the following groups: elected administrative officials (Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, and Attorney General), appointed administrative officials (department heads), and the top three levels of the career merit empoyees (21-19). Further explanation of sampling can be found in Chapter III. It should be noted here that executives were chosen because of their status or formal designation, rather than by functional considerations. Also, although only three people in my sample obtained their job through direct election, I feel that the title "political elite" also pertains here given the high status and leadership positions in public organizations which these people head.

have particularly great power to influence the task of change. When Hage and Dewar compared the effect of elite values versus organizational structures in predicting innovation in sixteen city health and welfare agencies, they found that value expectations are better predictors than are the structural variables.[1] The values of the leader were as good a predictor of the 1964-67 organizational performance measures, relative to the rate of program innovation. The zero-order correlations between the elite values and structural variables (decentralization, complexity, formalization) were uniformally small (<.20). Hage and Dewar go on to conclude:

> Apparently the reasons for the effectiveness of elite values in predicting innovation derive from influences other than the structural arrangements. This is an important finding! Since elite values were independent of three structural variables and since their effects on change were undiminished when the structural variables were controlled, then they may indeed represent a guiding force in the organization, which can change its direction, set policy, and introduce change irrespective of the structural constraints built into the operations of the organization.[2]

Elites and their values, then, are not totally determined by the kind of organization they lead, but they are capable of manipulating their organization, at least for innovation.

Second, one of the most researched and least understood variables in management is leadership. A leader, in Bennis' terms, is a person with power over others who exercises this power for the purpose of influencing their behavior. Clearly the executive must perform a mix of internal (physical and organizational conditions under which the work unit operates) and external (concerned with his/her unit's relationships to their system or subsystem) activities if his/her unit is to perform well. Both aspects of leadership performance by executives are of concern here particularly as they relate to planned organizational change. A brief history of the study of leadership will show the reader why a contingency approach is most appropriate for the study of executives and their behavior during organizational change.

The Study of Leadership

The earliest approach to leadership concentrated on the characteristics of leaders, implying that "leadership ability" is derived from personality characteristics which are either inherited or acquired at a young age. This approach grew out of Carlyle's "great man" theory.[3] Great man theory held that progress is the result of the individual efforts and accomplishments of a few great men who have some special combination of personal traits which makes them ideally suited for leadership. This approach was limited in its application and accuracy, leading to a more specific focus on single traits.

The trait theory persisted for fifty years with researchers first investigating one trait, then another, then patterns of traits, searching for the key characteristics which would identify leaders. There are two excellent summaries of this research in Stogdill[4] and Gibb.[5] Even though Stogdill's review may appear to support trait theory, examination of the extent to which traits differ depending on the situation led him to conclude that it would be more useful to consider leadership as a relationship between people in particular social situations, than as a set of characteristics held by the leader.

As trait theory proved empirically unproductive, interest centered around the relationship between leader behavior and work group performance and satisfaction, in an attempt to explain leadership on the basis of what leaders do. Substantial research has been based on the assumption that behavior patterns, observable by others, make up leadership style. This approach was advanced partially as a result of a new approach to the study of leadership initiated by Lewin at the Group Dynamics Center at MIT, and, partially as a result of the human relations research initiated by Roethlisberger and Mayo at Harvard in the late 1920s. The Lippitt and White,[6], Ohio State,[7] and Michigan[8] studies are three of the historically most important leadership studies of organization behavior. Their influence is still strongly felt in the current status of leadership studies.

While a large number of studies was undertaken to compare the effects of style on subordinate satisfaction, no single leadership style emerged as universally best. For example, in one study, consideration (concern for people) was negatively related to performance ratings of the leader by his superior,[9] and in another, initiating (concern for task) structure was associated with decreased subordinate satisfaction, increased grievances, and turnovers.[10] It would appear that the effects of consideration and initiating structures are situation specific.[11]

Several important conclusions are drawn from the research on consideration and structure. First, measures of these variables do appear to reflect fundamental aspects of leadership behavior that can influence both the satisfaction and performance of subordinates. Second, they are independent aspects. This is a marked contrast to, for instance, Tannenbaum and Schmidt's[12] democratic-authoritarian continuum in which the manager's authority is seen as diminishing as he/she becomes more concerned with subordinates. Finally, however adequate consideration and structure may be, they are far from the whole story in effective management.

Group theories of leadership based on Homan's exchange theory have also influenced the behavioral approach.[13] Barnard applied this idea to organization theory forty years earlier when he said that the leader provides more benefits/rewards than burdens/costs for followers.[14] There must be a positive exchange between the leader and the follower in order for group goals to be met. Hollander and Julian articulated a social exchange view of leadership.[15] These findings were, however, tempered by the facts that there are many other variables in the leadership process (i.e., leader traits and situational variables) which contribute to a full understanding of the exchange process which were not adequately examined.

Behavioral scientists have long recognized the importance of situational factors in explaining leader and organization effectiveness. Stogdill, in his review of leadership studies cited earlier, concludes that the traits and skills required in a leader are largely determined by the situation in which they are exercised. Tannenbaum and Schmidt also conclude that "effective leadership depends on the leader, the followers, the situation, and the interrelationships between them."[16] Despite this general acceptance of the importance of the situational dimensions of leader effectiveness, there have been only a few attempts to establish control for such factors. This brings us to the most current conceptualization of the leadership phenomena.

Perhaps the most sophisticated, yet practical, of the new research approaches to leadership is that of Vroom and Yetton who developed a model explicitly to help managers deal with practical, real-life problems.[17] Like the early contingency theories, it assumes that different situations call for different actions. Unlike the early models, however, it attempts to spell out in very concrete terms all the situational possibilities and all the acceptable response alternatives. It is less concerned with how the situational variables are organized than with how they are recognized, and once recognized, what courses of action they require. In essence, the Vroom-Yetton model provides a taxonomy of problem types, a procedure for identifying the particular problem with the scheme, and a set of behavior alternatives for each problem. It is the focus of this research project to develop a set of variables surrounding the organizational change process which could be organized in a similar manner.

The latest model contains five leadership styles, seven situational dimensions, fourteen problem types, and seven decision rules. The leadership styles and the situational dimensions are of two types:

a. the way in which problems affect the quality and acceptance of a decision, and,

b. the way in which the problem affects the degree of participation.

The seven situational dimensions are stated in the form of yes-no questions and the answers can easily and quickly diagnose the situation for the leader.

Vroom has used a self-report and standardized problem method of testing his model on over a thousand managers going through training and development programs. One of the major conclusions drawn from this data is that there are bigger differences <u>within</u> managers than there are between managers.[18] The managers report using all styles, depending on the situation, a finding which has implications for contingency management. If it is true, it means that managers can adapt; they are not so set in one style that they cannot change when confronted with another situation.

While it is still too early to evaluate the Vroom-Yetton model as an aid to managerial decision making, even if it proves wrong in many of its predictions, this model is a distinct improvement over most other theories in the industrial organizational field because it is precise enough to allow for rigorous testing of its predictions. Also, since it is based almost entirely on available empirical evidence rather than a set of theoretically derived constraints it can be easily changed in light of new evidence. From a practical standpoint, the prescriptions are sufficiently explicit to be applied readily to the "real world." The implications for change are enormous--leaders can lead change rather than react to it. Beyond that, leaders will be able to more clearly identify alternative methods of obtaining organizational acceptance and employee satisfaction with change through the use of this type of model.

. . . .

This research can be seen, then, as the exploratory investigation to determine the potentially relevant contingencies which affect how executives manage change. Seven specific research questions are developed which relate to not only the important factors of leadership (interpersonal relations, task, organization environment, personal characteristics, and external environment), but also the four levels of analysis suggested in Chapter I. The table below will illustrate this relationship.

TABLE 8

THEORETICAL RELATIONSHIPS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Research Question	Leadership Variable (contingency)	Level of Analysis (Chapter 1)
1. Who are these executives?	personal characteristics	individual
2. How do off-the-job variables affect executive job performance?	family health	individual
3. How pervasive is Type A behavior?	Type A Behavior	individual
4. How do these executives describe their interpersonal relationships within the work environment?	subordinates sponsorship ideal characteristics	group
5. How do these executives describe their work environment?	environment goals style	organization
6. How is the proposal for the Senior Career Service viewed by these Executives?	Task	organization
7. What do these executives view as the role of state government in change in Michigan?	external environment	state

The goal is to get a reasonably comprehensive overview of the dynamics which affect the executive's response to change. As suggested in Chapter 1, because of the assumptions of quasi-equilibrium within the system, we are specifically interested in the strains or tensions created (or which are already present) which affect executive action. For the individual, these system strains can be examined in terms of the creation of stress reactions. The following discussion and all the empirical measures used in this research focus on the stress created in each of these contingencies, most specifically as they relate to the task of implementing a Career Senior Service for the state of Michigan. Sections II-V of this chapter are devoted to reviewing the relevant literatures of each of the levels of analysis, suggesting some propositions based on the research questions above. Part VI returns to the notion of system equilibrium and change suggested in Chapter I, this time focusing on equilibrium as conceptualized as stress.

Individual Theoretical Foundations

The major emphasis in the personal change framework and the adult development literature is on the importance of experiences with objects, persons and other concepts. Because attitudes and values are public proclamations, they are constantly modified, based on our perceptions of others' reactions. Likewise, behavior and roles are even more directly related to commitments made to social relationships based on norms which have been developed through experiences in the social situation. Finally, the self-concept is constantly evolving due to conflict between self and significant others. Indeed, Ziller found self-concept to be crucial in the effective conceptual evaluation of the stimuli of experiences.

The adult development literature, with its life cycle perspective, allows the researcher to examine the life experiences of a person to see the crucial influences. Choices which are made in each era become important as they guide experiences. For instance, the person who made the first major career choice in his/her 20s by choosing government service and subsequently spends thirty years working his/her way up in the organization, may face different developmental opportunities and experiences than the person who chooses government service later in his/her adult development after exposure to alternative careers and organizations. The quality and kind of experience the latter may have had in other work situations influences not only what he/she brings to government (i.e., attitudes, knowledge, skill, alternative perspectives), but also his successful intergration into government institutions.

Additionally, the life cycle conceptualization helps to bring considerations of personal struggle with self-concept, goals, needs, and relationships more into focus. Changes in biological and the associated psychological functions require attitudinal and behavioral changes in a somewhat regular pattern during the course of adult life. How well a person adjusts to these changes determines to a large extent his/her ability to meet the challenges and remain a creative, contributing member of the organization and society, or to seek ways of "saving face and keeping busy, but contributing little to self or society . . . a tragic waste of human life."[19]

It is appropriate here that we begin our study by questioning who are these executives, what are their off-the-job experiences and personal behavior patterns which determine their life experiences. This section is divided into three parts according to the first three research questions, with propositions suggested at the end of each question.

Who Are These Executives?

Vance Packard, in The Pyramid Climbers, wrote that there are four basic types of people who do not survive the climb up the pyramid of organizations: women, those with no college degree, the non-WASP, and blacks or other color-minorities.[20] The collection of demographic data such as sex, race and education can highlight the progress that has been experienced in the 1950s. Beyond this sort of baseline measure, at least three demographic variables deserve special attention here: education, career perspective and mobility, and age.

Education. Educational background has a definite impact on the executive's approach to management. There has long been the belief that, in the private sector, one can be a highly successful executive without a college education. Among those executives are self-educated people or people whose education is of a special sort; that is, it is not formally recognized or accredited, but is gives them the "equivalent of college training" experience.[21] Despite this, the day of the top executive without formal education is on the wane in the private sector. This is generally attributed to both individual financial ability and drive, and the increasing complexity of the national and international economic system, growth in the size of today's organizations, and the advanced technology which demands more education than in the past.

There is an increasing emphasis on mix of technical and management (T/M) education. In the past, corporate structures rewarded technical competence and loyalty in their promotional patterns. The T/M mix was about 90-10. More recently, however, "the corporation must grow managerially just to stand still economically."[22] There has been a shift toward managerial skills in the 1970s, which has been accompanied by the growth of the university MBA programs. While public sector growth has also spawned the increased number of MPA programs, it is unclear how many of these people have made it to the upper executive level.

Also, the professional degrees which emphasize administrative-management skills (MBA and MPA) probably develop different skills and perspectives than do more narrowly technical programs (MSW, law degrees, engineering, medical). Swope notes that the curriculum that a student chooses will ultimately affect his/her style when he/she becomes an executive.[23] While selection of a discipline in undergraduate school is due, in large part, to natural inclinations and talents, "the particular discipline he selects will have an indelible effect on his future outlook" as a result of graduate education. Swope suggests the following sort of effects:

TABLE 9

EFFECTS OF LIBERAL ARTS VS. TECHNICAL COLLEGE

Liberal Arts	Technical
1. used to solving problems involving broad questions and intangible factors	1. used to solving problems having to do with more precise, tangible factors
2. more articulate, orally and in writing	2. less articulate, orally and in writing
3. express themselves better with words	3. express themselves better numbers
4. communicate with subordinate largely verbal	4. communication with subordinate largely through sketches, tables, and graphs

Related to the technical side of this dichotomy, Rothman and Percucci examined the effect of knowledge obsolescence as it is particularly experienced by those with technical training.[24] Since knowledge obsolescence comes from the two general conditions of the sheer volume of new knowledge produced and the severing of ties with formalized, continuous sources of knowledge (i.e., the university), which occurs when professional practice is begun, two kinds of obsolescence occurs:

a. loss of once held knowledge

b. failure to become familiar with and knowledgeable about new knowledge in one's professional field.[25]

They conclude that it is clear that the level of technical responsibility is directly related to recruitment for administration from the ranks of those who have "suffered deterioration of previously held knowledge and that such non-technical duties foster further knowledge loss through disuse."[26]

While an undergraduate education may not be oriented toward any one career, graduate education almost invariably is. If, for example, a technical undergraduate degree is extended through graduate school, the technical orientation becomes more pronounced. If a graduate business education is acquired in addition to an undergraduate technical degree, it will tend to modify the student's technical orientation and broaden his/her economic outlook. Likewise, if a liberal arts undergraduate degree is topped by a graduate administrative degree it will make for better comprehension of economics, organization, and management, modifying the more general liberal arts orientation. The important functioning of purely technical educations for top business executives can be seen in the following passage from Peckman:

> . . . Hitherto it [the corporation] has been essentially and unavoidably occupied with internal problems which have to do with survival, success, and growth. Now, however, such a corporation has to be concerned with a different kind of problem. What is its relationship to the human individuals who go to make up its impressive and complicated structure? What are its responsibilities toward its personnel, their happiness, their loyalty, their sense of achievement, their quality as human beings? And another question. What is the relation of the great business corporation, with its wealth, its power, its technical and organizational mastery, to the rest of society.[27]

To a very real extent these are also the sorts of questions that face public administrators as they face the 1980s: questions of humanity, organizational responsibility, and power. Additionally, broader perspectives will be needed to face the new changes required by the goal of limited growth. The education of these executives is of particular significance as it affects their ability to both use more sophisticated technical knowledge and information, and, maintain broader perspectives on organizational and societal impacts of policy choices.*

Mobility. Probably the most common perspective used to study executives is that of mobility and career. If the pre-1960s was

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*It should be noted here as well that those executives without college educations have been found to have a more limited outlook which leads to possible resentment about not having a degree as well as resenting those who do. "They are continually, overtly or by implication, reminding others (particularly those with degree) how successful they have been and how a college education is unimportant . . . typically they are found in mid-management group; they rarely achieve top level success because of limited outlook and ability, not because of their lack of education.[28]

characterized by loyalty being the primary criteria for advancement, the 1960s and the 1970s saw the rise, at least in the private sector, of the mobile executive. Mobility places a premium upon individuality, independence, and self-assertiveness, relying on individual resources to determine worth and promotability. Two types of executives, then, are commonly found in the 1970s complex private organization.

The insider is the one company person who has spent all or more of his/her career in a single corporation; in short, the traditional business executive. While the insider route to the top has long been the most popular, it is no longer the fastest, safest, most glamorous or exciting. Based on what Barnard saw as the requirements for the executive to manage "only what is thoroughly known to them"[29] they emphasize getting work done rather than developing talented people. The rule here becomes never appear to be self-serving even though you must be to succeed. Furthermore, the application of effort does not predict upward mobility. The route to the top is a function of demand and skill.

The mobile executive, on the other hand, utilizes mobility to breed competence. Time and experience can be compressed in a world where most jobs can be mastered in 1.5-2 years (after that requiring minimum effort) and where every job has 20% that counts for 80%. The mobile executive route is the product of several routes with two crucial performance tests: middle management (where an imbalance in the T/M mix can result in shelf sitting) and corporate Vice President. This sector of the population represents one of the most, if not the most, geographically and hierarchically mobile.

> At least one out of five executives moves each year geographically, as does one out of four managers. In a period of 20 years, the future president moves geographically at least six times and sometimes as many as ten. For every geographical move, the mobile executive will move about three times within the corporation. He will move laterally at least once for every two upward moves and moves out of his technical or functional area at least once for every three moves of any type. The probability of more geographic moves increases with the number of hierarchical moves, and conversely the probability of moving hierarchically increases, with geographic movement . . . for the mobile executive, the relevant question is not whether he will move but when and where he will move next.[30]

This sort of career perspective has obvious implications for how work is accomplished under his/her direction. For the mobile executive, the crucial knowledge is obtained by mapping--studying the expectations of the work group and arranging his/her objectives based upon a scale of relative degrees of value. The crucial problem during this arrival stage is not simply what is important to whom, but when it is important. Once he/she has mapped and ascertained the maze of values, he/she can then proceed to execute their objectives. The style of the mobile executive could be characterized as a rhythm of coming on slowly, performing quickly after achieving rapport, and departing gradually and cleanly.

This rapid lateral and vertical mobility produces an alertness which is the key to success. Jennings finds that the single reason for excluding people from the upward race is because they are slow learners. By contrast, fast learners can:

a. learn without having to be taught

b. draw valid conclusions from inadequate sets of facts

c. react quickly to impending danger

d. keep an eye on the main chance

e. are so organized emotionally that he/she can acknowledge the known and adjust him/herself to the unknown with minimum feelings of insecurity and anxiety.[31]

In short, the successful private executive is mobility directed (having the highest form of achievement to become and remain mobile) and mobility bright (knowledgeable about the ways of mobility).

It should also be recognized here that mobility brings high risks because decisions are based necessarily on uncertainty. A typical decision is based upon 10% of the facts that would be available to you if you had twice the time. The hallmark of the intelligent mind, then, is the ability to produce decisions whose consequences are anticipated. In doing this, the mobile executive becomes known by how well he/she can utilize the shelf-sitter.

> He is not enamoured with the trappings of authority and salary and does not seek salary and authority. He goes for influence and power.[32]

Mobility and ambiguity often become nearly synonymous leading to mobility fatigue. The key symptom of this is a bitter, almost vindictive attitude toward anyone or anything that smacks of change. Jennings suggests there are two different reasons for this. A developmental gap occurs when your mobility is faster than your competence, not allowing you to really master the requirements of the previous position and receive performance evaluation. Mobility fatigue can also be caused by mobility gap where you develop much faster than your mobility.

In summary, the old practice of breeding insiders has a boomerang effect because they want to stay long after they should leave. This is supported by the traditional notion that leaving the top job before retirement is a sign of failure, incompetence of weakness. Jennings posits that strategic thinking has replaced reasoning by principles and the form of organization that works one day may not the next. What is required is innovative organizing. "By not being moved to develop their talents, men will become only what their limited experiences and opportunities allow."[33] The career centered executive, on the other hand, defers to what the job will do for him/her, where it will take him/her and how fast. Careers extend far beyond the boundaries of any single organization and are rooted in the philosophical convictions that he/she should find and use every opportunity that is legal and fair to better him/herself.

Career perspectives. Closely associated with the kind of mobility suggested in Jennings' work is the importance of the concept of career in understanding executive motivation and functioning. Van Maanen suggests that there are two primary reasons to study careers.[34] First, the career concept is central to a concern for individual identity. This is highlighted by Ericksen's classic statement, "identity is never gained once and for all, but is achieved continuously over a lifetime."[35] Second, Van Maanen suggests that research into the working and nature of complex organizations cannot be understood until we have a rudimentary conception of the values, beliefs, and behavior styles of the people located in various positions. Marvick goes on to say that it is career orientation, rather than goal incorporation, class solidarity, or working group solidarity that determines "why personal interests tend to preoccupy administrative and policy making employees who work in the setting of higher bureaucracy."[36]

A career orientation, according to Marvick, means one of two things: commitment to a routinized life plan of work, or refusal to make such a commitment. Both laypeople (generalist) and experts (specialist) who chose commitment tend to pursue place-bounded or skill-bounded careers. On the other hand, either laypeople or experts can choose to refuse to commit themselves unequivocally to any routinized career plan. In doing so, they accept the role of free-agent. The importance of career, then, becomes not as the only mechanism guiding behavior in organizational settings, but as it relates to securing professionalized behavior--"the kind of behavior which higher bureaucracy needs."[37]

Career commitment implies a willingness to be rules-oriented so far as one's career development and job performance are concerned. If one abides by the rules understood to govern career development in the organization one has chosen, one's personal career is expected to take care of itself. This is not to suggest that this always takes place as the result of a conscious decision. Marvick suggests that some people drift from job to job, finding sooner or later, that the drifting has precluded some alternatives and virtually committed them to a particular career line.

> Most people do not enjoy constant worrying about the business of making their own careers. They commit themselves to their life work as a means of setting doubts about careers, letting career development be taken care of on terms fixed by the organization employing them.[38]

Commitment allows the person to become pre-occupied with immediate job considerations. For the expert, it means daily gratification from the use of their expertise. For laypeople, it means a sense of gratification from working in a certain kind of place. In short, for those who chose commitment, the on-the-job considerations become the ends in themselves.

Refusal to make a commitment implies that one prefers to remain goal-oriented respecting one's own career development. It implies that one is unwilling (or unable) to accept the set of rules and standards of conduct in exchange for which one's career will routinely be taken care of. Those who choose this route enjoy the challenge of fashioning a career for themselves. Career remains the main preoccupation, with the means-ends reversed; specific job considerations are the means to the career development end. Marvick calls the committed careerist the professional and the uncommitted, the politicized on the basis of their career orientations.

One obviously appropriate indicator which has been associated with career orientation is time in service. Hall and Schneider examined the relationship between tenure job challenge, self-image, need importance, and satisfaction.[39] They found that length of service leads to identity in single organization careers for the following reasons:

> a. over time a person's character, values, self-image, may change to make the organization seem more attractive
>
> b. turnover of less committed people results in a self-selection
>
> c. the accumulation of a large number of positive and rewarding experiences.[40]

All of these combine to increase identity investment due to the declining numbers of outside opportunities as one gets older, and during the dissonance reducing process of assuring oneself that he/she has chosen his/her commitments wisely.

> The dynamics of identification are different, then, in the two types of systems. In the <u>single organization career</u> the

> person is able to satisfy his needs for security and affiliation by remaining in one organization without necessarily frustrating his higher order needs; both his career and his organization identity are threatened by a move.
>
> In the multi-organization career, on the other hand, the person is forced to move to find growth, opportunity, regardless of his need for security. Here the professional must choose between being a local or a cosmopolitan, and those who stay put, that is locals, are those who place less value on self-fulfillment.[41]

Why is this career orientation of executives significant for public organizations? Weber suggested that career lines within the bureaucracy are enfunctional; that is, they are constructed in a rationality relating efficiency to production.[42] Members are freed from institutional policies and in-fighting because they are recruited, rewarded, and promoted in terms of universally applied rules. Loyalty is to the organization. Blau[43] and Dalton[44] suggest that rather than remaining impersonal in their relationships with one another, they develop and maintain complex networks of interpersonal communication and influence through which they "humanize" their work setting. They may attempt thus to subvert the "formal bureaucratic" career line structure in order to gain a competitive advantage. In practice, then, bureaucratic careers are determined in part by the official criterion for advancement, and in part by the subltles of unsanctioned negotiations between members. As a new member is socialized into the work role and develops an understanding of the mechanisms (official and unofficial) by which careers are advanced, they may be more willing to take the unappealing work assignment with the understanding that it is a necessary step toward a favored position.

In summary, for the committed professional contributions of their work are dependent upon the degree to which the organization caters to their interest and keeps them preoccupied. For the uncommitted, highly politicized behavior will result from conscious and deliberate negotiations benefitting both the person and the organization. The importance of these career orientations for the successful implementation of an Executive Service is discussed in the propositions at the end of this section.

Age. Finally, there is at least limited speculation about the effects of age upon executive behavior. Pellegrin reports contrasting perspectives on career success based on age.[45] Throughout his research executives consistently emphasized that their conceptions of desirable goals had changed through time:

> . . . when he begins his career, he was naive concerning the "real" satisfactions to be derived from work and the achievement of high occupational status and that he had developed a "proper" perspective only after years of employment and advancement up the executive ladder.[46]

At the beginning of the career, men tend to give high priority to money, prestige, power. As careers advance priorities changed to emphasize sense of personal accomplishment, feeling independent and secure, pride in helping others, and living up to expectations of superiors, subordinates, colleagues and the public. While these findings are clearly in line with the adult development literature cited in Chapter I, Pellegrin offers one particularly interesting explanation. In verbalizing his conception of success, he may be indicating his adherence to the canons of a "human relations-minded world" which holds those expectations of his behavior. It is clear that expectations, particularly in the public sector, reinforce expressions of satisfaction with job accomplishment and "developing" young people, rather than the accumulation of material rewards.

Wynia, in his article on executive development, found that in the federal career service, individualism is often looked upon as threatening, revolutionary in a negative sense and anti-organization to say the least.[47] Again, a difference was found among the age cohorts. The young seemed to the older executives far too radical for asking for human rights, such as equal treatment, participation in the decision making process, and impartial panels to hear labor disputes. The older, entrenched bureaucrats see the young as "troublemakers," interested only in "destroying the system." They experience deep concern that the younger descendants might destroy their "inner circle" which have protected and promoted them to positions of power and prestige.

The final article which addresses the importance of age for executive development, by Golembiewski, examined the effects of mid-life transition and mid-career crisis. After a thoughtful treatment of the causes and texture of the mid-life transition based, in part on the work of Levinson, he concludes, "the mid-life transition is not merely with us; it is with us in significant sense for the first time, despite the fact that people patently have lived through their 40's for many generations past."[48] Four features of life in the 1970s have contributed to the "epidemic" proportions of the phenomenon.

a. <u>increased masses</u>: more people in this age bracket are alive now due to the relatively recent (in generations) increase in life spans and the corresponding higher proportion of live births that survive beyond their 40's. Additionally, because fewer people are preoccupied with basic survival needs, more people have "free time" which requires new skills.

b. instability in society: Clearly this transition is easier to negotiate when society and technology are stable. The increased pace and instability of social and technological change adds to the essence of the mid-life transition which is learning to accept and deal with being out of control of some life forces.

c. lack of role and status boundaries: Because of the increased speed of social change with its freedom of opportunity to choose among alternative life styles, fewer people are role and status bounded, the danger of an overabundance of options is also present. "Abundant choices can dramatically heighten the cost of failure to take adequate advantages of them."

d. aspiration gap: "People have substantially raised their expectations about what is acceptable to them as persons and to the societies of which they are a part. This can be seen organizationally in both the phenomena of dramatic mid-life career changes among "successful" executives and in the 'blue-collar blues' of the worker."[49]

He calls for organizational awareness of the impact of the mid-life transition for its employees by developing a more "clear ethical and economic sense of costs/benefits of aiding their members through transition."[50] Reduced productivity as a result of the mid-life crisis can seriously inhibit any sense of dynamic organization. Personnel practices should increasingly be devoted to continuous checks on career progress versus individual needs. Specific organizational policies can be developed which recognize the rhythms of the life cycle.

Although there seems to be little relevant management literature which addresses the importance of executive age and its effects on work performance, it appears that this may be more related to the "newness" of the theoretical approach rather than its "importance." Long-term, panel sample projects will be needed to confirm what is known about age and work performance. It is sufficient here to suggest that there is compelling evidence that adult development cycles may be crucial to an understanding of and training for productivity of executives in the future.

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Research question 1, "Who are these executives" suggests several plausible theoretical perspectives including the influence of education on behavior, mobility patterns of the "insider" versus the "mobile" executive, the "professional" versus "politicized" career approach, and finally, the importance of the life cycle development. Several interesting propositions for this study are suggested here.

II-a. Despite affirmative action programs, the race and sex composition of the state executive will reflect persistent patterns of under-representation.

II-b. Executives will differ in their approach to problems based, in part, on different educational perspective. Those with technical training run a far higher risk of obsolescence without sufficient in-service training to update knowledge. Additionally, educational differences, particularly between those without college educations versus those with graduate degrees, may cause hostility and/or suspicion toward younger, more educated subordinates and peers.

II-c. The "mobile" executive because of his/her short tenure in position, lack of commitment to the individual organization, self-interest orientation and their emphasis on personal growth leading to competence are the most likely to support and develop organizational change programs. Their greater acceptance of risk makes them more likely to encourage innovative organizing.

II-d. The "insider" whose career is predicated on rules-orientations, organizational loyalty, hierarchical promotional arrangements, and place-bound mobility is less likely to support and/or initiate organizational change. Any changes in the reward or status structure of employment practices will be particularly threatening to the person who has built his/her whole career in one organization. Likewise, the insider will resist the Career Executive Service plan because of the lack of protection or stability of employment, as well as the potential for loss status.

II-e. The long-term impact of the implementation of the Career Executive Service system should be analyzed from the perspective of moving from "professional" career orientations to "politicized" career orientations among top public executives and its effect on stability in government.

II-f. Bureaucratic structures, rules, or norms of behavior in public sector organizations encourage the professional, insider executive rather than the mobile, politicized executive which more often characterizes private organizations.

II-g. There are differences in style, perspective, and willingness to make changes which are the result of different positions in the adult life cycle. A career system for public executives should recognize the mid-life transition process in order to support executive functioning during the process. Greater productivity and lower attrition rates may accrue to the organization as a result.

How Do Off-the-Job Variables Affect Executive Performance?

Persistent in virtually all of the executive literature is the fact that executive success has its price. Disruptions in family life and marriages, as well as stress-related physical problems accompany the rise to the top of the organizational ladder. The mobile executive is particularly faced with the impact of career decisions on personal life. The frequent long distance moves required by mobility disrupt social relationships, school careers, community activities, which are all arranged to maintain and enhance the executive's position in the corporation. Friends are chosen for career value, most specifically seen in the relationships of the wife (most often male executives) and the other executives' wives. The executive group thrives on intimacy rather than privacy, making every aspect of life subject to rumor. In short, it is life in a fishbowl. This section briefly examines the impact of executive life on personal relationships and health.

Family. In a 320-page report to new governors prepared by the National Governors Association, they found that after "dealing with the legislature," the next four most frequently listed "difficult and demanding aspects of their job were particularly related to family life; interference with family life, ceremonial demands on time, invasion of privacy, and simply the hours."[51] Every spouse differs in his/her ability to tolerate or negotiate the stresses created by executive employment. Both family and job create powerful demands on the executive's energy which can create serious problems as well as a great deal of anxiety. Several specific problems have been identified.

a. long hours: Executives not only work longer hours than subordinates (57-60 hours a week) but they bring work home at night. The Executive Life survey also found that they entertained at least once a week and worked at night three times a week (once at office and twice at home).[52] This was the "normal" load. During conventions, trips or emergencies they put in between 70-80 hours a week.

b. business travel: Many executives spend as much as 2/3 of their time away from home, and most spend at least 2-3 days a month away.

c. relocation: As discussed earlier in this chapter, frequent long distance moves are often required for mobility and career advancement. This movement can be even harder on spouses' children because of their reliance on neighbors, friends, and home for satisfaction. This has also become a paramount problem facing the new two career marriages.

d. inadequacy feelings: Because the spouses are frequently expected to meet the demands of running a household and raising a family virtually unsupported and unrecognized, they often feel inadequate in terms of the changing status and position. Also, because executives are pampered at their work, they often expect to be pampered at home, leading them to put special pressures on their families. Finally, often as the executive goes out to the work world with its varied stimulation and excitement, the spouse is left to grow and develop at a slower rate.

e. sex relationships: It is well known that job tensions can have a direct impact on the quality of a person's sex life. Not only in terms of attention, tenderness, and understanding (which needs time and attention), but also problems of impotency, premature ejaculation, and frigidity are linked to job pressures.

f. public expectation of spouse: Often companies look carefully at the wife before hiring or promoting the husband, using social settings to "screen her." They are often expected not to express their personality and independence, to move without complaint, to be cheerful and gracious no matter what the demands made of them, to accept long hours, express proper political and economic attitudes, run the home like a branch office, drop her old friends as the executive moves up, and change her personality and habits to fit into the job.[53]

In short, the demands of the executive life place special strain and stress on the personal lives of the families.

Health. Perhaps the person most closely associated with the physical impact of stress is Hans Selye. He defines stress as a "nonspecific response of the body to any demand made on it."[54] The initial response to any kind of stress is alarm. It is followed by resistance, a chemical rallying of the body's defenses, causing a battle between the body and the mind (the source of stress). If the threat is prolonged, an exhaustion of resources sets in, as the defense system gradually wears down. Selye calls this the General Adaptation Syndrome. The following table suggests several common diseases and disorders which are positively related to stress in many cases.

TABLE 10

STRESS RELATED DISEASES

Body System Affected	Disease/Disorder
I. Cardiovascular System	heart attack hypertension angina arrhythmia migrane
II. Digestive System and Related Organs	ulcers colitis constipation diarrhea diabetes
III. Immunity Screen	infections allergies auto-immunity cancer
IV. Skeletal-Muscular System	backache tension headache arthritis accident prone-ness

Source: McQuade

Stress is not only a killer, but it also is drastically wearing. Selye goes on to say that while different people have different capacities to withstand stress, after the adaptation energy is used up, there is no known way to replenish it. Comparing it to the nation's oil deposits, once a woman or man has burned it up, it's gone--and so, soon, is the person. A consuming, competitive career leads the person to spend the adaptive energy faster and age faster. "Coffee and Dexedrine don't add to the reserve--they just let you use it up faster."[55]

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Obviously the main focus of this study is not on the personal lives and health of public executives. I am neither a therapist nor a physician. It is, however, important to examine at least superficially the significance of these variables for executive careers. Two more propositions are suggested from this research question.

II-h. The family life of the public executive is both affected by and affects the job requirements and demands. Likewise, the family can provide a great source of relaxation and pressure reduction.

II-i. Indications of health problems can provide a good indirect measure of excessive executive stress.

<u>How Prevalent Is Type A Behavior Among These Executives?</u>

Given the increase in the number of executive suicides, heart attacks, and strokes, leading to an early exit from organizations, the effect of stress on the executive must be examined in human resource terms. Based on research on heart attack victims, Friedman and Rosenman found that whenever any person feels within him/herself a chronic sense of time urgency and exhibits excessive competitive drive, he/she invariably shows the Type A Behavior pattern.[56]

> Type A behavior is an action-emotion complex that can be observed in any person who is aggressively involved in a chronic, incessant struggle to achieve more and more in less and less time, and if required to do so, against the opposing efforts of other persons . . . for a Type A behavior to explode into being, the environmental challenge must always serve as the fuse of this explosion.[57]

At least one-half of the people who get heart attacks and coronary artery disease can be linked to none of the known and suspected causative factors--smoking, diet, exercise, other contributing diseases, etc. The other factor at work is the Type A Behavior.

> In the absence of Type A behavior patterns, coronary heart disease, almost never occurs before seventy years of age, regardless of the fatty foods eaten, the cigarettes smoked, or the lack of exercise. But when this behavior is present, coronary heart disease can erupt easily in one's thirties and forties.[58]

Many of the dynamic elements of Type A Behavior are encouraged and valued by both executive training and development programs, as well as the political arena. The costs of this emphasis could prove to be even greater in the future.

This behavior exists in different degrees in different individuals and, is extremely common among urban Americans of virtually every class and occupation. In a study of 150 San Francisco industrial and commercial executives, only 5% of their friends thought that their heart attack was caused by ingestion of fatty foods, smoking or failure to exercise. Seventy per cent believed that indulging in "excessive competitive drive and meeting deadlines" was the outstanding characteristic exhibited by their friends. Finally, in a long-term project by the Western Collaborative Study Group (sponsored by such industrial interests as Standard Oil, Kaiser Industries, Safeway Stores, United Airlines, and Lockheed Airlines, with a sample of 3,500 men), Friedman and Rosenman found that the most pronounced danger sign over the ten years of the study was the presence of Type A Behavior. If a subject exhibited this pattern in 1960, he was almost three times more likely than a Type B person to get coronary disease in the subsequent decade.

Again, there have been several attempts to examine this relationship between stress and disease. William Henry of the University of Chicago says that men in the 30-40 year old range view their outer world primarily as "achievement demanding."

> As they look at the outer world, the first thing that occurs to them is the notion that it is a world which is going to ask of them one thing--and that is accomplishment. They further argue that if they act acquisitively and assertively and follow the cues which that outer world provides for them, they are going to be successful.[59]

Focusing primarily on the outer world, they do not pay adequate attention to their own feelings and their intimate relationships. Clearly this is consistent with the development theories on this period of adult life. As a result, Dr. Henry contends, they subsequently have difficulties in their forties and fifties.

Measuring health and fitness among 235 managers from twelve different companies over three years, Cunningham and Rechnitzer further refine the categories suggested by the original work ranging from high Type A (A_1) to low Type B (B_4).[60] They state that although they found 27% Type A_1 frequency in their sample, this has increased significantly since 1960-61, now suggesting that Type A_1 as high as 75%. This is due, they suggest, to greater socioeconomic pressures and the general increase in Type A Behavior in industrial society. The highest percentage of the extreme Type A's were found in the age group 36-55 years of age--important and active years for many issues of job and career. They reported higher blood pressures, higher cholesterol, and triglyceride levels, and were less likely to participate in exercise. Conclusions were that only the extreme Type A's were significantly different on coronary risk.

The reader may wonder why Type A behavior is treated separately from health problems. Several aspects of this variable lead to separate recognition. First, this behavior causes physiological responses rather than being a result of physiological states as are the diseases. Second, Type A Behavior can be observed and measured behaviorally. Also, because it is a behavior syndrome it is a variable which can be socially or personally manipulated, unlike other physiological reactions to stress. Finally, because it is an organizationally and societally valued behavior syndrome, it is more probable that respondents will confirm this behavior if it exists. It provides, therefore, an important early indicator of potential physiological problems which are directly related to job demands.

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This research question highlights a socially rewarded and physiologically damaging behavior called Type A Behavior. Again, an important proposition for this research project is suggested here.

II-j. Because of the personal and public expectations which surround executive status in organzations, Type A Behavior will be prevalent in this sample. Moreover, the increased competitiveness which may result from the Career Executive Service system (due to unstable job tenure and yearly performance appraisals) could serve to increase this behavior among public executives, potentially creating serious side effects.

Conclusions

This section of Chapter II focused on the individual level explanations of executive behavior. While race and sex composition of the executive sector may not have significantly changed despite Affirmative Action, increased educational levels have caused greater disparity between the layperson (generalist) and the expert (specialist) administrator. Different educational backgrounds suggest different approaches to management style as well as career orientations.

Mobility patterns of the insider (up the same organization) and the mobile executive (up and across several organizations) have serious implications not only for organizational functioning, but for the personal stress levels of the executives. The rules orientation of the insider supports organizational stability and the loyalty criteria for promotion. It is their behavior which typifies the traditional view of the executive as a skilled, hard worker rather than as a developing person. The mobile executive, on the other hand, typifies the self-interested, career rather than organizationally loyal, and rapid geographic and hierarchial mobility path. The mobile executive is seen as more willing to take risk and try new or innovative programs which promise individual rewards.

Closely associated with mobility are the two major career perspectives highlighted here: the professional and politicized career. Again, each career perspective has implications for the change phenomena. The professional is less likely to adopt to change because of the threat to personal security and organization structure. The politicized executive is more likely to encourage change for the same reason as the mobile executive--to promote personal growth opportunities. The mobility preferences and and career pattern choices made by an executive usually early in his/her career can have major influence on the reasons and direction of the executive response to change.

We then turned our attention briefly to the effects of family and health on executive performance. Great demands and strains are routinely created in the personal lives of the executive from the nature of their work. Likewise, family pressures can overlap into the world of work, causing reduced productivity. The executive's health is also directly related to excessive demands. Many common disease and disorders are proven to be stress related and their onset also can reduce (or even totally eliminate) the contributions of skilled, experienced executives. In short, both personal family and health problems can have an effect on both executive job performance and ability to adopt and lead organizational change.

Finally, the presence of Type A Behavior has been found to be the best predictor of heart attack and heart disease. It is of particular interest here because it represents organizationally and societally valued behavior. Additionally, its fast paced, competitive driven nature is often found to be associated with high mobility, politicized career perspectives and innovative roles. The great energy and high activity associated with this behavior syndrome,while benefitting the short-term goals of innovation and change, may in the long run be dysfunctional to not only the individual but, also to the organization.

Group Theoretical Foundations

The effects of norm oriented conformity in group settings has special importance at the top of organizations. To insure a smooth transition and efficient service delivery during periods of organizational change, executives must be socialized into the modes of top leadership. Beyond insuring stability, the infusion of new executives into top management positions in a regular manner adds to the organic, dynamic ability of the organization to respond to complex, changing environments.

Implicit in the literature on group conformity and norms is the idea that these behaviors are learned and, that they must be rewarded in order to insure their continuance. On the executive level, the norms of group behavior determine many of the crucial aspects of information transmittal by subordinates: what information should be brought to the chief Executive's attention, what form is preferred (verbal, written, graphic) and even more importantly, how bad a situation has to get in order to make it known to the top. In many respects it is the decision to bring new information, to break with the conformity of old thought patterns and processes, that triggers the movement toward change. The effective utilization of subordinates, then, becomes a matter that no executive can afford to ignore. To a real extent, the quality of the subordinate action determines the quality of the executive leadership.

Perhaps the best known work on the executive and the group is Barnard's <u>The Functions of the Executive</u>.[61] The informal organization, "the aggregate of personal contacts and interactions and the associated groups of people"[62] creates the conditions which "necessarily precede formal organization."[63] This style of interaction in groups has two primary consequences:

a. it establishes certain attitudes, understandings, customs and habits, and,

b. it creates the conditions under which formal organization may arise.

The informal organization is necessary to the operation of formal organization as a means of communication, of cohesion, and of protecting the integrity of the individual.[64] Moreover, Barnard goes on to say that the executive function of maintaining the organization is made up of three essential aspects: providing the system of communication, promoting the securing of essential efforts, and, formulating and defining purpose. These are, for Barnard, interpersonal systems. For the chief executive these functions are most closely exhibited in the executive group at the top of the formal organization.

As stated in Chapter I, there are at least two groups which are potentially represented in the sample of executives in this study: those department heads who constitute the executive group to the governor representing the various departments, and, the top level administrators within each of the departments who work with the director to form the executive group. In this section, the nature of the crucial subordinate (the person who is most likely to enter into the executive arena) will be examined, the importance of this sponsor relationship for the chief executive, and the ideal characteristics of the people who rise to this level as an indicator of the norms of executive behavior patterns.

How Do Executives Describe Their Interpersonal Relationships Within the Job Context?

A 1961 study done at Michigan State University of sixty-four businesses in eighteen industries found that there were four basic requirements to "satisfy the boss," as seen in Table 11. These prescriptions seem much more likely to characterize the "shelf sitting insider" than the mobile executive of the 1970s.

TABLE 11

"HOW TO SATISFY THE BOSS"

1. Be dedicated.
2. Be loyal
    a. rescue the boss from his own mistakes
    b. maintain the authority he has granted you
    c. be satisfied with your role of subordinate
    d. project the image of the boss he desires
    e. be properly predictable in your behavior.
3. Be adaptable.
4. Be quietly deferential.

Source: Packard, 111

As was suggested in the preceding section, loyalty is no longer the test for mobility in the private sector. Rather, we have entered into a career-centered period, with individuality, independence and self-assertiveness being premium qualities. The mobile executive, by taking the crucial subordinate assignment, such as "assistant to," seeks visibility (the ability of the aspirant to see the top of the corporation) and exposure (the position of being seen by the people above), breaking with the prescriptions above. In the corporate world, project management has been found to provide a great deal of mobility. The objective is to pick off the next major problem before it becomes generalized to the condition of corporate crisis. Because people in motion have little respect for position and title, they tend to relate more directly to the activity that proceeds from that position.[65] Luck, then, "is not as vital to success as is aggressive manipulation and exploitation of opportunities."[66]

There are two kinds of subordinates: supplementary and complementary. The supplementary executive's skills enhance his/her boss, similar to the model suggested above. Of more importance is the complementary subordinate who provides a balance of knowledges and skills to the boss' skills. He/she fills in the superior's deficiencies and overcomes the weaknesses. Both of these people can become crucial subordinates to their superior because he/she needs them about as much or more than they need him/her. What identifies a crucial subordinate is sequential mobility:

> . . . his mobile superior moves and he takes his place or goes with him. If this happens once, the event approximates coincidence. If it happens twice, the subordinate could be crucial to his superior. If it happens three times, the superior needs the subordinate badly for maintaining his high level of effectiveness and upward mobility. Crucial subordinates may follow one superior all the way to the top.[67]

The important point here is, that the crucial subordinate, during this sequential mobility, advances more swiftly than normal. Success, then, becomes a "relationship among people," and in the era of mobility, evaluation of executives is on the consequences of their behavior, not on personality. The fastest route to the top is to become a crucial subordinate to a mobile executive, to keep the superior, and to get out from under if he/her upward mobility becomes permanently arrested.

For the superior, the choice of a crucial subordinate takes the form of sponsorship: the capacity and willingness to vouch for, be responsible for, and answer for the subordinate in higher councils. Executives are judged by their ability to judge others and to set up, where appropriate, a mutually protective relationships of trust against bad exposure. As irrational or emotional as this may be, trust has tremendous career-pulling power and represents an outstanding quality of the person on the move. There are four conditions of trust:

a. accessibility: take in ideas easily and give them out freely

b. availability: always being there when needed

c. predictability: good judgment and thoroughness

d. loyalty: unswerving support

Trust is a very private condition between two people, while loyalty can extend to groups, organizations, and societies. Mobility has decreased the value of loyalty and increased the worth of other values. More emphasis is now put on attentiveness to the superior--"A superior should never be the first to inform a subordinate of the superior's problem."[68] And the benefits to the subordinate? "It is easier to appear and act bright when the authority environment is supportive."[69] It is the trust relationship that develops between sponsor and the crucial subordinate that tends to minimize or excuse bad performance by encouraging rescue behavior. The rescue (a matter of mutual protection) can take the form of a prevention, a remedy, or a camouflauge. Achieving this sort of understanding calls for maintaining, if not enhancing, the emphasis on face-to-face relationships.

What is important here is that "no one goes to the top rapidly without a sponsor."[70] What about the role of the political executive? Often department heads who are temporary in their organization are viewed as vulnerable or outsiders from the beginning. In order for them to develop these mutually protective relationships based on trust within their work groups it is inevitable that they will need to bring in "their own" people as they enter the organization.

The reader may be wondering at this point what the sponsor-crucial subordinate relationship has to do with the executive's response to change. The particular organizational change which is under study here is the implementation of a Career Executive Service for the state of Michigan. While this personnel system will be examined more closely in the following section on the organizational perspective, there are three relevant points to be made at this time.

First, one of the major advantages cited during the debate about the potentials for a career service is its usefulness in developing executive talent. It has been suggested that by moving government employment toward a "career concept" similar to that of the British system, long-term commitments to government service by top level administrators will be probable. This is an attempt to provide for the long-term organizational needs of a large and continual supply of trained, skilled executives. The sponsorship system which has emerged as the major means of mobility in the private setting also seeks to develop executive talent for future needs. The question then becomes (1) is there a sponsorship system at work in the public sector, (2) would a sponsorship system benefit the public sector, and, (3) is the sponsorship system a viable alternative or a complimentary part of the Career Executive System?

Second, the sponsorship system has at its core trust. The Career Service program, has in the ideal performance, evaluation procedures to provide the basis of employment. The proposal for Michigan, on the other hand, has a recommendation for performance evaluation processes, but the terms of employment set out in the contract are mutually agreed upon. It seems clear, then, that this notion of trust becomes crucial to understanding those who resist the plan because they do not trust their superiors to be objective in their appraisal. Beyond this, there also are substantial reasons to believe that the quality of trust that could be built between political appointed department heads and Career Executives could be seriously strained.

Related to this, finally, is the notion of trust, and rescue behavior as a group norm. If this is an accurate description of the interpersonal relationships among the executive group, then it seems obvious that threats to this trust are likely to cause stress in the individual. It could be threatening from the perspective of a greater probability of exposing mistakes among the executives. Yearly rotation or mobility of executives could make it difficult for them to build and maintain these relationships and to hide mistakes.

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Related to the idea of developing future executives through the sponsorship system, are the kinds of characteristics which are preferred by group members. One need not read Dressing for Success to realize that probably nowhere else in the world is there more idealization of personal qualities than among executives.

> The bosses of successful companies are inexorably described as being "firm," "youthful," "decisive," "determined to call

> the tune." With equal predictability, the heads of failed or unexciting companies are called "staid," "aging," long-serving."[71]

Perhaps the primary reason that personal characteristics became important in considering executive development is the role of reputation.

> Anybody who had made an attempt to raise money for a new project will know it. What counts more than anything else is the <u>mana</u> of the executive responsible. It is even more important than the glamour (in good times) or the security (in bad ones) of the industry concerned. It is certainly more important than the figures and the analyses.[72]

This is also very important in the public sector. As Wildavsky reminds us in the <u>Politics of the Budgetary Process</u>, there are prescribed role expectations on the part of participants. For the bureaucrat, those prescriptions rely heavily on his/her reputation--for honesty, for good information, for commitment to agency rather than self. In fact, it is often said that the test of power in Washington is the ability to get emergency funds from the Congress on short notice.

It has been found that experienced executives have a high ability to accept the organizational restraints imposed upon them. Executives interviewed by Argyris understood the need for "unfavorable decisions" and discretionary limits imposed by superiors and the system.[73] They recognize "the rules of the game" and are willing to abide by them and accept the consequences. While they tend to adapt to the restraint imposed by the system when necessary, they also had the ability to use the system to advantage. By employing techniques that circumvent the chain of command, he/she gets around the rule without leaving evidence that could be used against him/her.

Fritz Marx suggests that the mind of the "career man" is as much a matter of the dual nature of the task as it is personal characteristics. While his/her primary task is to provide professional competence in administration, he/she must also recognize that final decisions are a product of not only administrative criteria, but also the value judgments of elected officials, representing "the will of the community."[74]

> Thus the management of public affairs is characterized by two functional structures. Its conduct is the joint yet divided responsibility of chosen representatives of the people, on the one hand, and of appointed administrative officials on the other.

While contributing their competence and skill to the community, the specific goals of the bureaucrat are not set by them. They must act as advisors to the elected and are not free to substitute their own view for the "common good" for policy commitments. It is this relationship that in many ways, shapes the "mind of the career man," according to Marx. It is these characteristics which have come to typify the government bureaucrat:

a. <u>inflexibility</u>: To the politician, administration is the vehicle meant to carry out goals with the least delay. For the administrator, whose tenure is secure and much longer than the politician's, the concern is with the proper use of administration. "He wants to do the 'right'--that is, 'right' from the expert's point of view." Things are done "the" way, procedures applied uniformly, precedents honored and innovation is thwarted. Those who come to the administration with fresh ideas often find themselves resentful and defensive.

b. narrowness: The educational preparation for the public service, which has had a long tradition of emphasis on the technology of public administration has produced people who are easily assimilated into the technical aspects of the job but who find the political responsibilities unclear. "His professional rationality appears to him as the practice of virtue. Conversely, the political rationality of policy makers seems somehow compromised by the shadow of vice."[77]

c. specialization: The world of the politician promotes a generalist approach due to the myriad of special interests and constituency demands. "Even in its broadest view, administration is specialization."[78] The highly specialized language alone often leads to misunderstanding. Beyond that, specialization encourages the preoccupation with pieces--segments, techniques, processes, or functions. This preoccupation results in resistance to any attempt to move toward the general.

d. integrity: A source of great strength during the environmental struggles, the administrator responds to the demands to be responsive as well as responsible. It is his/her official duty to shape his/her actions so "they comply with the commands of lay and the maxims of the public ethics."[79] Integrity provides the stamina to resist influence from the environment.

e. spirit: Energy and achievement are the hallmarks of good administration and are closely associated with public spirit. Implicit in this is the need for devoting one's self to all the publics, and not become subservient to any one public.

These characteristics--inflexibility, narrowness, specialization, integrity, breadth and spirit--have come to symbolize the career public servant. Because of the political constraints on administrative behavior which arise out of the separation of powers system, the type of executive which is attracted to public service stands in marked contrast to the business executive. Also, it could be suggested that this political advisor role of the career public servant requires exceptional interpersonal and communication skills, with relatively less emphasis on task or goal-oriented behaviors. We will again return to this notion of people versus task orientations when we discuss the organization environment and leadership style in the next section.

One further note should be made concerning the relationship between subordinate relationships and personal characteristics. At the executive level, where frequent interpersonal contact is the rule, the personal characteristics of the executive determine to a great extent the quality of his/her relationships with subordinates. For the supplementary subordinate, having a sponsor who is strong in interpersonal skills, but weak on technical skills, will probably orient the subordinate's development toward the technical requirements of the job. Likewise, for the complementary subordinate, the dominant personality characteristics and style will often come to characterize the subordinate as well. Moreover, if a true sponsor-subordinate relationship exists, the sponsor will seek out, encourage and develop those "ideal" qualities in his/her subordinates. In short, personal characteristics often are important predictors of style and value among executives which can have important consequences for the introduction of new ideas.

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This section seeks to examine how executive norms of behavior are transmitted and how conformity is insured across time. The sponsor-subordinate relationship has become the primary route to the top of the corporation. Of particular importance in this relationship is trust and its effect on performance; it can be used to inspire greater work or to hide incompetence. What is important is that without the interpersonal trust, the competitive behavior which brings people to the top cannot be channeled into constructive, team oriented performance, and may revert to suspicion and anxiety. Finally, by examining the ideal characteristics of executives, we can begin to understand the values and norms which goven the executive group.

There are several propositions relevant to this research project suggested here.

II-k. One indication of a mobile executive is his/her development of crucial subordinates, either complementary or supplementary.

II-l. Referring back to the adult development literature, it is all together natural in the developmental process for the executive in the mid-adult years to identify, encourage and sponsor a younger executive in the early stages of his/her career. This is a time of great questioning of the younger generation--their abilities, their philosophies, their skills by the older executives. The tension (generativity vs. stagnation) can have consequences on the ability of the executive to be a sponsor and on the nature of the relationship.

II-m. The interpersonal trust relationship which is part of the crucial subordinate-sponsor relationship could be strained by the development of a more individually-oriented Career Executive Service, with its potential for yearly change. On the other hand, it may be that the Career Service may provide the needed flexibility to make sponsorship systems viable in the public service.

II-n. The ideal characteristics of executives can be used to indicate a range of probable behavioral norms within public organizations, as well as indicating the relative importance of people versus task oriented perspectives.

Organizational Theoretical Perspectives

The "organic" organization of Burns and Stalker, which can partially be viewed through role theory as suggested by Katz and Kahn, relies heavily on the leader's ability to be concerned with both the demands of goal and task achievement and the needs of individual employees simultaneously. For the executive there are many appropriate styles or approaches to this dual responsibility, all of which go into creating a particular management climate within the organzation. The degree to which subordinate participation is encouraged and the level of control exercised by executives sets the boundaries of acceptable behaviors, as well as suggests appropriate methods which can be utilized in the introduction of change. For instance, when there is a climate of mutual problem solving and open exchange of opinions, the probability that new ideas can be openly expressed and debated is increased and the range of alternatives is widened. Likewise, if exchange is encouraged but then never acted on, the perceived likelihood of defeat will discourage the introduction of new ideas.

Suggestions of organizational change obviously range in their complexity and their depth of intervention into the workings of the organization. Much of the literature on organizational change focuses on general discussions of the effects of change or is developed around an intervention program aimed at leadership development, decision making, skills or goal setting. In order to elicit clear responses from subjects concerning their reactions to organizational change, this research effort looks most closely at the potential for the development of a Career Executive Service in the state of Michigan. While not requiring a total organizational effort, the kind of executive leadership that is developed, the potential for subordinates to rise to the top (hence a potential motivator), and the long-term prospects for stability all make this program of particular interest. Beyond that, the Career Executive Service is an extremely innovative program in state personnel systems with California and Oregon being the only other states with such a program. Therefore, this organizational change cannot be understood by the executives in a comparative or adaptive way as suggested by Walker, but rather through an experimental or innovative manner.

This section will address two research questions: how do these executives describe their work environment and how is the proposal for the Executive Service viewed?

How Do These Executives Describe Their Work Environment?

"Without a doubt, the most comprehensive O.D. design is based on Robert Blake and Jane Mouton's managerial grid."[80] Through the use of the managerial grid, a person can examine his/her own managerial style as it relates to "concern for people" and "concern for production," resulting in the following descriptions:

TABLE 12

BLAKE AND MOUTON'S MANAGERIAL GRID

1. 1,1 Manager has minimum concern both for people and production (impoverished management)
2. 1,9 manager has thoughtful attention to the needs of people and helps induce a comfortable, friendly, but slow-paced tempo at work (country club management)
3. 5,5 manager trades off satisfactory morale for satisfactory output (middle of the road management)
4. 9,1 manager seeks high levels of efficiency in operation by arrangment of work so that human elements interfere in a minimum degree (task management)
5. 9,9 manager seeks significant accomplishment at work through committed people whose independence rests on relationships of trust and respect (team management)

Source: Golembiewski, Renewing, 191.

Developed for use as the introductory exercise to elicit how managers think they manage, the grid is a diagnostic tool which allows the participant to receive feedback during the course of role playing and team building efforts, concerning the nature of their managerial style.

The importance of this approach to organizational analysis comes in its emphasis on managerial style rather than on personal behavior characteristics. This is consistent with the findings of the leadership literature that it is not personal traits that determine successful leadership alone but that successful leadership is determined more by the relationship between subordinate and superior which is expressed in a particular situation. By emphasizing both a "concern for people" and "concern for production," this approach allows the participant to analyze the mix of technical and human skills and beliefs that typify his/her management behavior and approach to problems. In a sense, this "typical behavior" style could be used as a decision rule when choosing some alternative (when there is one) managerial strategies in the Vroom and Yetton decision tree.

It should be emphasized that the grid exercise which was used in this research is intended to "prime the pump" and is "not expected to produce immediate effects in organizations."[81] It is part of a six phase development program. There are, however, several particularly relevant aspects of this approach to organization change for our problem. First, building team support and trust, through the use of grid development and feedback, are considered basic structural requirements for successful long-term change. It allows for going beyond the group into the organization and to develop a plan of action based on social science. Second, this strategy begins with key members of top management who then select "diagonal slices" of their personnel for training. This provides both the opportunity for development of crucial subordinates and encouragement needed for the integration of "political" executives with career people in the pursuit of common problem areas. Third, grid development, because it cuts across status distinctions emphasizing functional roles, encourages organic organizational models, as outlined in Chapter I. The person interested in moving mechanistic organizations to more innovative organic structures could use this comprehensive developmental approach, which seeks to reconcile the human relations specialist of the 1950s with the psychologically distant task specialist of the 1960s. It provides, then, the technology for planned organizational change.

It is important to note here that this approach is consistent with the contingency theory of leadership. As managers gain more experience and get more confidence in using the grid system, they recognize that:

a. managerial styles represent responses to the situation and change accordingly.

b. managers frequently use a number of different styles.

c. the style your boss uses affects your own adaptation. For example, if your boss is a task specialist, you have to do more human relations work.

d. The grid provides a very useful framework for discussing the performance of subordinates.[82]

It is particularly appropriate to use this strategy in this research project for several reasons. First, preliminary measurement of different managerial styles will give us an idea about what sorts of strategies will be invoked to either resist or support change. For instance, the task specialist (9,1) may be more likely to suggest that efficiency may be aided or impeded, that special skills or technical expertise is needed when developing future executives, or that their job is so technically specialized that they cannot be replaced or rotated without serious programmatic consequences.

Second, the grid development approach can be used as a base line measure to evaluate the needs and potential directions of subordinate development. If one accepts the premises of open, organic organizations, it is just as important to match technical job requirements as it is to choose executives with compatable managerial styles. This becomes particularly important during the management of change due to the need for a coordinated, team-based effort.

. . . .

Notions of management style can direct the researchers' attention to broad areas of concern for people or task. Within these styles, however, there are several approaches to the use of information during decision making. Whether an executive prefers systematic or intuitive decision making becomes organizationally relevant when it affects how information is organized and presented and what strategies are adopted by subordinates in the pursuit of the task or goal.

McKenney and Kern distinguish between two modes of problem solving: systematic and intuitive. The difference is primarily related to the mode of planning preferred.[83] Each cognitive style is summarized in Table 13.

Some individuals employ a specific methodology to structure their response to a problem by explicitly defining <u>how</u> they will approach it. Systematic thinkers spend major time in laying out the constraints of the problem, selecting and then implementing a strategy. Analysis comes sequentially by working through each step with increased refinement. This mode of response is marked by several distinctive features, including: a conscious awareness of where any substep fits within the overall plan; an orderly sequence of search and analysis; and, the justification of a solution largely in terms of method.[84] Because each

TABLE 13

CHARACTERISTICS OF EACH MODE OF COGNITIVE STYLE

Systematic thinkers tend to:

a. look for methods and make a plan for solving a problem
b. are very conscious of their approach
c. defend the quality of a solution largely in terms of the method
d. define the specific constraints of the problem early in the process
e. move through a process of increasing refinement of analysis
f. conduct an ordered search for additional information
g. complete any discrete steps in analysis that they set out on

Intutitive thinkers tend to:

a. keep the overall problem continuously in mind
b. redefine the problem frequently as they proceed
c. rely on unverbalized cures, even hunches
d. defend a solution in terms of "fit"
e. consider a number of alternatives and options simultaneously
f. explore and abandon alternatives quickly

Source: Van Maanen, Org. Careers, p. 99.

can be specified in advance, the process is mainly computational or analytic. "In a sense, the methodology guarantees the solution."[85] For the systematic thinker, because the problem is defined and methods chosen, the process can be broken down into discrete substeps--the plan provides the framework for fitting them together. They are much more likely to verbalize the problem. The conscious understanding of what he/she is trying to do and of the direction of his/her analysis leads to processing of only data that is likely to be relevant--the plan itself screens out the noise and wasted effort. The value of the plan, then, can be determined by reviewing the methodology.

The intuitive style, on the other hand, lacks conscious definition and visible structure, relying heavily on nonverbalized responses.

The guiding principles of this pattern of thinking is a continuous global sense of the whole problem. The intuitive relates the steps in his/her analysis to the overall problem as he/she proceeds, allowing them to work with much more ambiguity in the problem. The response to a problem is characterized by an initial scanning over a range of ideas and information developing a sense of the issues and testing out some concepts well before he/she even defines the problem per se. While this search is not random, "it is hardly planned."[86] He/she draws tentative conclusions from each initial analysis and, in the process of fitting them together, defines the "real problem." It is at that point that this executive can articulate a systematic plan. The intuitive's rationale is more one of "let's see what I can get out of this."[87] Relying primarily on "feel" and cues, his/her reference point has to be sensitized to the overall implications of the problem and an awareness of the meaning of each stage of the process. The executive evaluates a wide range of information, discarding the unpromising quickly. Because of the lack of exhaustive review, this style typically does not verbalize his/her problem solving.

> He operates almost at the fringe of consciousness, running quickly and lightly over a wide range of ideas, but unable to pause and bring information into more conscious awareness when he hits on some worthwhile line of exploration. It is in this way that his strategy, with its potentially high fraction of false starts, redundancy, and dead ends can be successful.[18]

Van Maanen has found that each type prefers different careers, performs differently on complex problem tests (in terms of process, approach, and even of language, rather than in terms of answers) and shows marked personality traits. Systematic thinkers are very effective in structuring problems by developing methods and are attracted to careers in engineering, production, management science and administration. On the other hand, intuitives prefer open-ended jobs where they can create solutions out of non-structured, ill-defined, or ambiguous situations. They prefer such careers as librarians, psychologists, lawyers, journalists and advertisers.

In an experimental setting of MBA students, each of whom had a distinctive style, the types of problems preferred and the approach were measured.

> The systematics tended to choose problems that had a clear structure, solved them in a manner that was deliberate, sequential in thought and consciously organized. The intuitives, by contrast, preferred open-ended problems that had no one "right answer." They tended to think aloud, to look for an organizing idea or approach, to shift from one topic to another, and to base answers on their own feelings rather than on external validity such as logic.

In this research, responses to a range of suggested organization personnel changes and specifically to the Career Executive Service were examined in terms of systematic versus intuitive style. It should be noted that completely accurate measurement of this decision mode can only be made through analysis over time of the actual response to change. It is suggested here that interview responses can be rough estimators of these tendencies.

The importance of rationality in innovation is suggested in Burns and Stalker's <u>The Management of Innovation</u> cited in Chapter I. Without making the step of abandoning the belief that man's behavior must be rationally motivated, they state that:

> The one constant element of all the studies of the 20 concerns was the extraordinary importance ascribed to the personal qualities of the managing director of the plant. In many firms, almost every interview would contain references to the "outstanding personality," the "flair," "the wisdom," the "tremendous personal courage," even the "genius" of the managing director and the all important part he played in the success of the firm.[90]

It should be noted that most of the twenty concerns were in the electronic industry, making many of the respondents scientists, engineers and technicans who normally take a pragmatic view of life. Also, because "extraordinary" was used to define a phenomena which was, at the same time "the one constant element," intuitive cognitive style may be predictable, and as important as the traditionally valued rational style.

. . . .

This research question addresses the nature of the organizational environment which will affect the kind and quality of the executive response to change. Blake and Mouton have suggested that organization climates are best defined in terms of a predominant concern for either people or task. The grid development approach provides a systematic method to not only determine what style is present, but also to develop a program of change based on feedback and team building.

Beyond the concern for people versus task orientations, this section also has suggested that the clear understanding of the executive's response to change needs to address how problems are defined and solutions structured for organizational response. The systematic thinker is more likely to adopt a plan which can be broken down into and evaluated by sub-units. The intuitive thinker is more likely to keep the overall problem in mind and prefer solutions that are defined in terms of their "fit." Each style has implications for the way it utilizes information and their subordinates as well as for the way that responses to change are structured.

Again, several relevant propositions are suggested for this study.

II-o. Grid development can provide a baseline measurement for analyzing managerial skills and beliefs in the executive. Each style on the grid will tend to structure the response to change around different variables, most specifically, concern for people impacts and concern for task impacts.

II-p. Systematic and intuitive decision making can be defined in terms of the approach to planning. Systematic thinkers, with their reliance on structural problems and methodologically derived solutions will tend to be less stressful. Intuitive thinkers on the other hand, preferring a less structured more ambiguous, highly changeable response to a problem will tend to be less stressful. Moreover, systematic thinkers are more likely to be found in mechanistic organizations while intuitive thinkers are more frequently characteristic of organic organizations.

II-q. There is nothing in the literature to suggest that either systematic or intuitive styles will be more positive toward organizational change. It is a measurement of an approach to a process, and not an outcome that is of interest here.

II-r. The systematic or intuitive approach to decision making may be a function of the educational background of the subject. Those with technical or law backgrounds are more likely to be systematic, while those trained in the social sciences or liberal arts are more likely to adopt intuitive approaches to planning.

How Do These Executives View The Proposal for a Career Executive Service?

It is difficult to begin any empirical examination of the organizational change phenomena without focusing on a specific range of proposals. It is important to specify an activity that can be conceptually identified and operationally defined in the mind of the subject. Also, as contingency theory tells us, the specific change activity will effect the strategies and decision processes which are preferred. In this sense, this research project can most accurately delineate the executive's reaction to the Executive Service proposal. It would, then, be presumptuous to generalize to a more broad range view of organizational change as a result of the findings of this study.

The 1883 Pendleton Act, which established the civil service system in this country, did not contain a provision for limiting outside recruitment to the lowest grade as was suggested by its developer Senator George Pendleton. The Senate acted to establish a system of competitive examinations which has encouraged lateral entry to the intermediate and top grades. Because of the freedom of mobility between the public and private sector there always remained the question of how the "career concept could be implanted in government if many employees did not spend all or the major part of their lives in the public employ. It was suggested that government employment was a mere episode, not a career, for many."[91]

Additionally, there has been much concern over the issue of "rank in the man" or "rank in the job," with the later traditionally preferred in U.S. practice. "The Pendleton Act had set this precedent by its emphasis on 'practical tests', which was fully in line with the American preference for pragmatism."[92] These two personnel systems are often seen as antagonistic. Personal rank gives attention to the individual, his/her qualifications, title, status as suggested in the British Civil Service or the U.S. Foreign Service. Job oriented classification makes distinctions in job levels with little regard to persons filling them as seen in the U.S. and Canadian Civil Service. Table 14 briefly contrasts staffing systems as outlined by the Civil Service Commission.

It was the second Hoover Commision's recommendations concerning a "Senior Civil Service" which focused attention on a career service system for the upper levels of the federal civil service in this country. As much as anything, these recommendations to the Eisenhower administration reflected the frustration of an "outsider" political executive with the reluctant career bureaucrats. It sought to increase the flexibility with which federal executives could be assigned and reassigned among the top career positions. At the base was the concern for achieving a marked improvement in the breadth and level of competence of higher level merit officials by providing not only the incentives needed to attract high quality career people to the federal service and retain them, but also the means to "select-out" those with lesser abilities. Specifically,

TABLE 14

CONTRASTING STAFFING PATTERNS

Career Staffing System	Program Staffing System
Recruitment for a life-time career, generally at a young age and prior to the acquisition of substantial work experience	Recruitment for specific jobs of persons who are already qualified by training and experience
Selection standards that attempt to measure the long range potential rather than the capacity for immediate high production	Selection standards primarily based on the specific job to be filled
Appointment with career tenure	Appointment with job tenure
An aim of developing personnel by training and assignment to equip them for future utilization	Training primarily related to requirements of specific duties of the job
Advancement on a competitive but orderly basis with the result that a substantially homogeneous group is maintained and a significant correlation between age and rank results	Advancement on a job opportunity basis with emphasis on job qualifications rather than service merit or seniority
Very limited if any appointments above the entrance level	Appointments made at all levels
To the above list can be added:	
A compensation and retirement plan based on the expectancy of a lifetime career	A compensation and retirement plan adapted to temporary employment
Reliance on motivation based on loyalty to the organization and career aspirations	Reliance upon motivation based on attachment to program objectives

Source: U.S. Civil Service Commission, Career Staffing, 1956, p. 6.

the report found that the difficulties experienced in filling political executive positions and keeping them filled could be traced to:

a. the scarcity of persons possessing the requisite combination of abilities

b. the absence of any place in American life where the capacities required of political executives are systematically developed

c. the disadvantages in private careers that are suffered by those who shuttle back and forth between public office and private life

d. the psychological and financial barriers that must be surmounted by those who leave private life for the insecurity and limited salaries of public appointed offices.[93]

It should be briefly noted that this report, prepared in 1953, was written before the advent of widespread graduate training in public administration (MPA programs). While this has made an enormous impact on the technical skills and training of entry level administrative personnel, the systematic development of experienced public executives has seemingly lagged behind the private sector. Hence, the current renewed interest in career systems.

The benefit for incumbent career officials include increased recognition, greater prestige, broadened career opportunities, more challenging assignments, increased pay, and clear recognition of the non-political character of their service.[94] David and Pollack go on to conclude that, despite these incentives there was considerable lack of support for this system due primarily to "the caution with which any group is likely to receive external proposals for the reorganization of its lives and fortunes.[95] This resistance can be focused on the conditions of entrance, and, more specifically, on the unknown degree of rigor which will result in failure or expulsion from the Service.

Likewise, the conditions of promotion are expected to include periodic performance appraisals which would be submitted to the Senior Civil Service Board for its evaluation. The person again faces the reality of being dropped from the service, or "selected out" through repeated failure to gain promotion. It is unclear what the effects on individuals are of the potentialities for reassignment or what will motivate the reassignment portion of the proposal.

> The career Civil servant thus seems to be told that while flexibility in reassignment is a major purpose of the plan, this purpose will not be carried out across agency lines if it becomes irksome, and the major objectives will be flexibility of reassignment within departments and agencies. At the same time, it seems clear that the success of the plan would be measured in part by its ability to achieve a considerable number of reassignments when new programs must be staffed or when agency heads are attempting to realign their top career staffs after a change in administration.[96]

At a minimum, it can be seen that this plan would introduce a "number of new hazards to career security in connection with the selection, promotion and reassignment process."[97] It is important, then, to insure the valence of the motivators offered for the participants. For instance, while greater opportunities for useful and satisfying careers may be a particularly good incentive for the mobile executive, the insider may be more likely to respond to compensation in the form of pay and retirement privileges. They further note that one group of employees, the younger executives with excellent qualifications who find themselves in situations where promotion prospects are poor, are most likely to be favorable to this type of system.

The department heads, although the plan does not directly affect their pay, rank or status, may be affected as well in their ability to administer programs and conduct agency operations. Their support for the system can probably be traced to their need for a group of competent, tested, career subordinates "who would be politically neutral and who would carry out effectively established departmental policies."[98] Additionally, political appointee department heads will be able to move top career employees to new assignments with more ease. David and Pollack express concern about the development of a dual personnel system: those in the senior civil service and those who are not. Because these people would still interact and work together on a regular basis, it is possible that "the group outside the Senior Civil Service would take on some of the characteristics of a group of second class citizens, although some of them might for a time draw higher pay and other wise out-rank members of the Senior Civil Service."[99]

Finally, David and Pollack briefly regard the consequences of this proposal for the President. The President, as chief administrator, is concerned with the effectiveness of the whole executive branch and with the qualifications and performance of the career executive and staffing problems which arise when it is necessary to move quickly to create new programs. Moreover, the President has the need to develop top level executives who have a broad understanding of over-all government goals, who have the capacity to serve the public rather than special interest groups, who have a deep sense of responsibility, and who are responsive to program objectives of the administration. Despite the obvious advantages cited above, some feel that this proposal presents several potential problems for the President. Most serious among these problems is the danger of an elite corp mentality developing among the members of the Senior Civil Service. While this could have marked advantages in terms of the stability and expertise of managerial judgment, it will not respond to his/her views and may limit his/her freedom of action.

The feasibility of the proposal for the different groups as outlined above is also applicable to the state level. Each group of executives has several reasons to favor or oppose the development of the Executive Service based on its own motivations, needs, career patterns, and decision styles. This research project seeks to specifically elicit the reasons for support or opposition of the proposal and examine the relationship between these attitudes and the stress of the executive job. By examining the contingencies which affect how executive leadership is exercised in this situation in Michigan, we cannot only develop a clear strategy to insure the successful implementation but also begin to develop a theoretical framework within which other organizational changes interventions can be examined.

. . . .

In his January 1979 State of the State Message, Governor William G. Milliken of Michigan again reaffirmed his support for the Executive Service system as it is developed by the Department of Civil Service.

> Under this concept, a limited number of top management classified positions could be filled from a single applicant pool. Additionally, tenure in the executive service [will] be limited and salary levels set commensurate with performance levels. Members of the executive service would be classified employees with full civil service protection except that continued tenure within the service itself would not be guaranteed. This concept has been used successfully in several other states and was recently adopted at the federal level as a part of the federal reorganization plan.
>
> I continue to believe that [the] Executive Service should be implemented in Michigan, although I believe it should be limited in terms of the number of positions affected.

> I once again call upon the Department of Civil Service to implement Executive Service contracts for upper management positions.[100]

After six years of support for this program which included the development of both a special "blue ribbon" committee of leading citizens to examine the program and make recommendations (chaired by John Hanna, past MSU president), as well as an early attempt to establish an Executive Assessment Program, the Department of Civil Service drew up a formal proposal for the Michigan Career Executive Service on May 2, 1979. After analysis of written comments and meetings with affected personnel, a second draft of the program was prepared and circulated July 18, 1979. The following table (15) will outline the major provisions in a comparative manner.

There are several aspects of Proposal I which deserve special attention. First, while the Hoover Commission stressed the importance of performance-based appraisals to be examined by a neutral third party group, the Senior Civil Board, Proposal I, while encouraging performance appraisal systems, did little to insure the neutrality of the evaluation process. The memorandum of understanding is signed by the incumbent and the supervisor describing the terms of employment mutually agreed to. At the end of a year, each party must consent to renewal of the agreement. If either party does not renew the incumbent leaves the position and the decision can only be reviewed under Section 33 of the Rules and the Grievance and Appeal Procedures based on "legal protection against discrimination or partisan considerations." Additionally, an incumbent can be removed for cause at other times during the year. The Department of Civil Service will be establishing pay ranges, developing and

TABLE 15

PROPOSALS I AND II, MICHIGAN CAREER EXECUTIVE SERVICE PLAN

Hoover Recommendations	Phase I (May, 1979)	Phase II (July, 1979)
1. personal rank and status	Section 2-01/4: "the nature of the work, rather than the classification level will determine whether a position belongs in the S.E."	Section 7-01: "positions in the classified E.S. shall be filled by persons qualified under these regulations."
2. flexibility	Section 1-02: "The E.S. concepts and practices permit greater flexibility in the assignment of persons to executive level positions. By making the process more flexible, department directors will have greater latitude in selecting employees to fill key positions and in organizing and assigning executive personnel. They will also have a more effective way to make executives accountable for carrying out the policies and programs of the department."	Section 1-02: same
	Section 3-01: "The classification and pay range structure shall be developed so as to provide maximum flexibility in assigning and reassigning executive personnel."	Section 3-01: same
3. Obligation to serve	No provision	No provision
4. Political	Section 7-02: ". . . the decisions not to renew the agreement may only be appealed	Section 7-02: same

TABLE 15 (continued)

Hoover Recommendations	Phase I (May, 1979)	Phase II (July, 1979)
	under Section 33 of the Rules and the Grievance and Appeal Procedures, based on legal protections against discrimination or partisan considerations."	Section 7-03: "No person occupying a position in the E.S. shall be represented by, hold office in, or be a member of any employee organization which is, or seeks to become, pursuant to the provisions of the C.S. Commission's Employee Relations Policy, the exclusive or recognized representative of state classified employees."
5. Compensation	Section 4-01: "The department of Civil Service shall establish a pay range for each level in the E.S. The step in the range at which an incumbent is paid shall be based on the nature of the assignments and performance in the job as determined by the appointing authority."	Section 4-01: "The Department of Civil Service shall establish a pay range for the E.S. The rate of pay within the range at which at incumbent is paid shall be based on the nature of the assignments and performance in the job as determined by the appointing authority."
	Section 4: "The assignment of steps in the pay range should reflect the organizational hierarchy and the relative value of assigned responsibilities. Staff positions at level I typically shall be assigned to steps 1-22; steps 23, 24, and 25 shall be reserved for approved exceptions. At Level II, incumbents who are Assistant Bureau directors shall in general, be paid at no	Section 4-02: "The pay range will not have specified steps, but only have minimum and maximum rates with control points. The assignment of a salary rate may be at any rate between minimum and maximum, but shall reflect the organizational hierarchy and relative value of assigned responsibilities, and the performance of the executive, subject to the following limitations."

TABLE 15 (continued)

Hoover Recommendations	Phase I (May, 1979)	Phase II (July, 1979)
	more than step 20; steps 21 and 22 will be assigned on an exception basis."	Section 4-03: "General increases ordered by the Civil Service Commission to be effective October 1 of each year shall apply automatically only to the pay range and control points, but not to individual salaries. Individual salaries amy be adjusted at the end of the first year for agreements of more than one year duration. Any adjustments shall be based upon the incumbent's performance on the jo- during the previous year and upon the responsibilities, goals, and objectives set for the following year.
	Section 4-03: At the end of one year the salary may be adjusted upward, or may remain unchanged, except for general increases approved by the commission depending upon the incumbent's performance on the job during the previous year and upon the responsibilities, goals, and objectives set for the following year."	
	Section 4-05:"The pay ranges assigned to levels in the E.S. may differ from the amounts paid to corresponding levels in the current levels. The Commission may in the future develop a fringe benefit package for the E.S. which differs from that of the remainder of the classified service."	Section 4-05: "The state personnel director, in accordance with procedures determined by the Commission, shall make recommendations on pay and fringe benefits for the classified E.S.
6. Senior Civil	Section 5-01: "The state personnel director shall develop and administer a selection process which is in accord with the commission's rule and policy criteria for competitive examinations."	Section 5-01: same

TABLE 15 (continued)

Hoover Recommendations	Phase I (May, 1979)	Phase II (July, 1979)
	Section 10-01: "The State Personnel Director shall administer the Career E.S."	Section 10-01: same
7. Training	Section 6-01: "The state personnel director shall assist agencies in determining and meeting training needs relating to the E.S., and shall provide guidance and assistance in developing appropriate systems of performance evaluations."	Section 6-01: "The state personnel director shall assist agencies in determining and meeting training needs relating to the E.S."
. . . .	. . . .	. . . .
<u>Additional Features</u>		
8. Classification	Section 3-01: A classification and pay range structure shall be developed so as to provide maximum flexibility . . . shall consist of two levels as follows:	Section 3-01: same
	a. the first includes staff positions which are organizationally part of the top executive structure with regular participation in matters affecting policy, requiring access to some confidential information as other positions in the E.S.	
	b. the second level includes positions which have responsibility for planning, directing, and executing major programs in a	same

TABLE 15 (continued)

Hoover Recommendations	Phase I (May, 1979)	Phase II (July, 1979)
	state agency. These positions are assistant bureau director, bureau director, and deputy director and their equivalents in the original structure."	
9. Performance	Section 4-04: "In order to base pay on performance, it shall be necessary for each department to develop a program or other system suitable to guage an incumbent's performance. The evaluation systems may vary in structure and form depending upon the nature and type of work assigned to the position and the mission of the agency."	Section 4-04: "Prior to an appointment to a position in the Classified E.S. the appointing authority shall establish standards against which the performance of the incumbent shall be measured. These shall be based on merit, efficiency, fitness, effectiveness, and agency goals. The evaluation shall take into account such factors as: a. improvements in efficiency, productivity, and quality of work or service b. cost efficiency c. other indications of the effectiveness, productivity and performance quality of the employees for whom the executive is responsible e. meeting affirmative action and equal employment opportunity goals

TABLE 15 (continued)

Hoover Recommendations	Phase I (May, 1979)	Phase II (July, 1979)
		These standards shall be used by the appointing authority in determining pay for performance and retention in the Classified E.S."
10 Selection process	Section 5-01: ". . . criteria for competitive examination. The results of such process will be compiled into an employment list of candidates who shall be certified to vacancies in the E.S. All appointments to the E.S. will be made from the pool of candidates on the employment list."	Section 5-01: ". . . criteria for competitive examinations. The result of such a process will be assembled into a single statewise promotional and open competitive list of candidates. This list shall be certified to vacancies in the E.S. or appropriate lists may be used also to fill state Executive I vacancies upon approval of the state personnel director. Persons occupying a position which is converted to the Classified E.S. shall not be required to take an additional examination for the class and are serving a probationary period. All other appointments to Classified E.S. will be certified from the employment list. Names for state executives' vacancies will be certified from broad groups on relative qualifications as measured by the

TABLE 15 (continued)

Hoover Recommendations	Phase I (May, 1979)	Phase II (July, 1979)
		exam. The examination will be designed to assess candidate's possession of pertinent knowledge, skills, and abilities. If a department can conclusively demonstrate that no qualified candidates are available for a particular vacancy, the state personnel director shall take whatever action is necessary to supplement the list.
11. Memorandum of Agreement	Section 7-01: "At the beginning of an assignment to an executive level position, the incumbent and the supervisor shall sign a memorandum of understanding" on a form designed and prescribed by the state personnel director. This document shall describe the terms of employment agreed upon between the executive and the supervisor. The memorandum shall be in effect for a period of one year."	Section 7-01: Positions in the E.S. shall be filled by persons qualified under these regulations pursuant to a classified E.S. Memorandum of Understanding which meets the requirements of the state personnel director. Such appointments shall be made for periods of 12, 18 or 24 months as agreed upon between the appointing authority and the executive. Partial year agreements may be approved for departmental reorganizations or special assignments."
12. Standing	Section 9-01: "Executive level positions currently occupied shall be governed by current rules, regulations, and	Section 9-01: "Executive level positions currently occupied shall be governed by current rules, regulations,

TABLE 15 (continued)

Hoover Recommendations	Phase I (May, 1979)	Phase II (July, 1979)
	practices until they become vacant, or unless the current incumbent wishes to have the position converted to the E.S."	and practices until they become vacant, or unless the current incumbent agrees to enter the E.S."
13. Advisory Committee	Section 10-02: "An Advisory committee may establish to review matters related to the administration of the E.S."	Section 10-02: same--except "shall be".

TABLE 16

CLASSIFIED EXECUTIVE SERVICE MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING

Department: ____________________ Name of Person: ____________________

Organizational Title: ___________ Present Class: ______________________

Classified Executive Service Title: ___________________________________

I. An agreement between (appointee) and (employer), appointing authority of the (department). It is understood that this document constitutes the agreement between the above-mentioned parties, establishing the terms and conditions of employment in the specific Classified Executive Service position, and the duties and responsibilities of that position.

I, (appointee), agree to assume the position of _______________, carrying the Classified Executive Service title of ___________________, performing the duties and responsibilities as spelled out in Section II of this document. I further state that I have read, understand and agree to the conditions of employment in this Memorandum of Understanding.

I understand that all details of my occupancy of this position will be governed by the Classified Executive SErvice Regulations and all the pertinent rules, regulations and procedures of the Michigan Department of Civil Service. I have received a copy of the Classified Executive Service Regulations.

I, (appointing authority), representing and signing for the (department), agree to emplly (appointee) in the position of ____________ and carrying the Classified Executive Service designation of ____________ for a period beginning ___________ and terminating _____________ at a salary of _______________, as governed by the Classified Executive Service Regulations.

I further agree that any evaluation of the (appointee's) performance will be based upon the assigned duties and responsibilities as mutually agreed upon in Section II of this document and the agreed upon performance standards.

I agree to abide by the Regulations of the Classified Executive Service, and all Civil Service Rules, Regulations and Procedures which are otherwise applicable to positions in the Classified Executive Service.

Both parties agree that the appointing authority may transfer the appointee during the course of this agreement year for legitimate reorganizational or other departmental needs and enter into a new mutually acceptable agreement.

II. Duties and Responsibilities

The following constitutes the duties and responsibilities of the herein described Classified Executive SErvice position as mutually agreed upon by the parties.

I have read the agreement and signify my acceptance to the terms and conditions as stated by signing below:

____
(name)

____
(date)

I have read the agreement and signify the acceptance of the (department) of the terms and conditions stated by signinf below:

____
(name)

____
(department)

____
(date)

____
(signature of intermediate supervisor if applicable)

III. This agreement does not become final and binding upon the parties until it is approved by the State Personnel Director.

______________________________ (date)	Approved ______________________________
	Disapproved ______________________________
______________________________ Classified Executive Service Position No.	Approving Official ______________________________

TABLE 17

PROPOSED SALARY RANGES FOR
CAREER EXECUTIVE SERVICE

May, 1979				
	I		II	
Step	Hourly	Annual	Hourly	Annual
1	$10.10	$21,088.80	$13.59	$28,375.92
2	10.35	21,610.80	13.93	29,085.84
3	10.61	22,153.68	14.28	29,816.64
4	10.88	22,717.44	14.64	30,568.32
5	11.15	23,281.20	15.01	31,340.88
6	11.43	23,865.84	15.39	32,134.32
7	11.72	24,471.36	15.77	32,927.76
8	12.01	25,076.88	16.16	33,742.08
9	12.31	25,350.56	16.97	35,433.36
10	12.62	26,018.72	17.39	36,310.32
11	12.94	27,018.72	17.39	36,310.32
12	13.26	27,686.88	17.82	37,208.16
13	13.59	28,375.92	18.72	38,147.76
14	13.93	29,085.84	18.73	39,108.24
15	14.28	29,816.64	19.20	40,089.60
16	14.64	30,568.32	19.68	41,091.84
17	15.01	31,340.88	20.17	42,114.96
18	15.39	32,134.32	20.67	43,158.96
19	15.77	32,927.76	21.19	44,244.72
20	16.16	33,742.08	21.72	45,351.36
21	16.56	34,577.28	22.26	46.478.88
22	16.97	34,433.36	22.82	47,648.16
23	17.39	36,310.32		
24	17.82	37,208.16		
25	18.27	38,147.76		

TABLE 18

SALARY RANGE FOR CLASSIFIED EXECUTIVE SERVICE

July, 1979

There shall be one salary range for the Classified Executive Service which shall include several control points. The control point is, in effect, the normal maximum for a specified group of positions. An employee may be paid anywhere between the minimum of the range and the appropriate control point. Payment beyond the control point shall require prior aurhorization by the State Personnel Director.

The salary range and the control points are as follows:

Rates Effective 10/1/79

Hourly	Annual	
$11.81	$24,659.28	Minimum of the range
19.50	40,716.00	Control point for State Executive I
22.50	46,980.00	Control point for Bureau Chiefs and principal Assistant Bureau Chiefs (State Executive II)
24.00	50,112.00	Control point for Deputy Directors for principal departments (State Executive II)
26.00	54,288.00	Control point for Attorneys
38.00	79,344.00	Control point for Physicians and Psychiatrists
42.44	88,614.72	Maximum

administering the selection process, and attending to all training needs. Whether the department of Civil Service is a neutral third party force, whose decisions would be respected by incumbent and supervisors alike, is certainly questionable. In Phase II of the program development, both the criteria for evaluation and the mandate to tie the memorandum of understanding (see sample, Table 16) to evaluation were made explicit. The Department of Civil Service still retains the position of developing the program and evaluating the executives' performance, with no neutral third party board established.

Second, as the reader can see in Table 16, salary scales have been established to allow the executive to elicit the economic incentives to join this program. Generally, a pay increase of $500-$1,000 yearly is what has been suggested as an inducement in Proposal I. On the other hand, if one is "selected out," the proposal guarantees their employment with the state at no lower than a 15 for State Executive II, and 13 for State Executive I levels. How does this cost compare with the benefits? A potential loss of $13,000 could ensue to the executive. Additionally, when you combine this potential loss with the rule that retirement pay is based on the last pay levels in the service, there are serious short-term financial losses as well as the potential for substantially heightened and a much broader range of pay. This most clearly represents the reliance of the development on economic incentives to encourage people to join. There has been no effort made to include (or substitute) fringe benefits for wages in this plan, although a new system of compensations could be developed under this program.

Finally, this proposal for organizational change has the classic incremental implementation strategy based on standing. This method was also used in California in its own development of a Career Senior Service. What is important here is that older executives will not be forced to give up their standing, hence, reducing the threat to their careers. The younger executives, however, will be faced with a more significant career decision. Here, the relative positive and negative views of the proposal have more overtly behavioral overtones.

In short, the Michigan Plan Phase II is remarkably flexible and open in many respects. Less reliance was placed on exact scales and levels, and more placed on the nature of the job performance. Also, Phase II made substantial progress toward eleviating the problem in the initial proposal. A note of interest: the interviews in this study were conducted during the actual circulation of the original memo. Many reactions of people interviewed post-memo (after May 2) may reflect the nature of the first proposal.

. . . .

In summary, two research questions have been proposed to examine the organizational level impacts of the planned change. Blake and Mouton suggest that leaders really have two major sets of concern for production and for people. The degree to which one concern is more pronounced than the other varies across organizational settings. No matter which concern is prevalent, however, there are also two cognitive styles which can be used to address organizational decision making on either dimension. Systematic thinkers rely on logic, rules, plans and methods to determine solutions to organizational problems, while intuitive thinkers are more likely to be flexible, experimental and global in their perspective. The reaction to organizational change, then, could be conceptualized as having several dimensions: its treatment and organization of information and its emphasis on people vs. task impacts.

In order to focus the comments of these executives more narrowly, the development of a Senior Career Service was chosen to be the specific change task. Dating from the Hoover Commission in the 1950s, this career oriented approach to executive selection and development has resurfaced lately on both the federal and state levels. Both the general concept and the specific proposal for Michigan presents several interesting propositions for this study.

II-s. Both attitudes toward the proposed Executive Service and different stress producing factor will be related to the individual executive's task versus people orientation. Those who are more people oriented will be more likely to examine the interpersonal aspects of the Executive Service proposal and report more internal (to the organization) stress. Likewise, the task oriented executive will be aware of the policy level implications of the Executive Service and will report more external orientations.

II-t. Career orientations, age, and education, would seem particularly influential in the decision about the Executive Service for the executives, given the nature of the program impact.

Innovation and the Government

In Chapter I we suggest that Michigan has been classified as an innovative state based on its adaption of new programs. The role of the governmental executives in this process is of special importance due to the strong influence of decision makers' values on the outcomes. Moreover, certain types of executives (i.e., those who are better educated, affiliated with professional associations, etc.) are more likely candidates for the rule of analogy based on their experiences and their knowledge.

We also briefly proposed that public sector executives are different from private sector executives by virtue primarily of organizational and environmental constraints. It is, of course, unclear whether this is a result of a self-selection process or of learned behaviors developed during the organizational socialization process. What is of interest here is how those differences can result in the application of inappropriate management strategies for planned change which have been developed and evaluated in private settings. This section looks at three areas of executive behavior and development as it relates to innovation and public versus private sector orientations.

What Do These Executives View As The Role Of State Government in Society?

There are at least three other current versions of the Senior Executive Service plan now in operation in the U.S.: Oregon, California, and the federal program. The Oregon proposal to expand the state's unclassified service to include more upper management positions was approved in 1977. Their new system has more than 500 positions, more than half of which were previously classified. Citing the standard reasons for flexibility and recognition of special career needs, they also felt that this would be an excellent way to strengthen the special identity and self-image of this group. Incentives built into this system included a special compensation plan for the Executive Service, a special fringe benefit package,* and a career development plan including leave with pay.[101]

The federal plan comes from the Federal Personnel Management Project of the President's Reorganization Project. Two similar proposals had been sent to Congress (1970 and 1974) and both failed. The Carter plan offers approximately 8,000 high level managers the option to join the SES, where they trade job security for opportunities at bigger money, accelerated promotions, and interdepartmental transfers. Of a total 9,000 persons SES, a maximum of 10% can be political appointees. Additionally, about 72,000 mid-level managers and supervisors will be granted or denied merit increases based on performance rather than seniority.[102] The primary opposition comes from those who fear the proposal will

> replace the current body of "dedicated, talented professionals" with a gaggle of political hacks who "lack experience in public policy making and managing large organizations," "will be tempted to use their power to serve special interests" and "are ill-qualified to assess the competence of career subordinates."[103]

Additionally, there have been serious concerns from EEO officials about the effects of this plan on opportunities for females and

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*Includes: life insurance, disability income protection, annual physical exam, a planned fitness program and a deferred compensation program.

minorities. Because the "best and brightest" candidates are those who possess the best relative set of credentials (experience, expertise, education), the ability of those who have been excluded in the past will again be hurt. Howard concluded that the new system would

> not only omit priority concerns of minorities and women, but they also rest too heavily on a theoretical foundation which in itself buttresses the entrenched position of white, male, minority elite.[104]

This situation is amplified because of the large number of current civil service executives who would automatically be eligible who are predominately white males. The counterclaim made by the Carter administration and specifically, CSC Chair Campbell, is that the provisions for lateral entry of qualified persons from the outside will actually accelerate the process.

Of perhaps the most interest here is the California experience which has had a Senior Career Service since 1963. This early program adoption with the result of concern in the late 1950s and early 1960s with the increased rigidity of the Civil Service Merit system which was "creating career management indifference to change at a time when governmental programs needs were becoming increasingly complex and dynamic."[105] The unprecedented action taken by the State Personnel Board was designed to be exclusively for the highest ranking civil service officials "to encourage managerial responsiveness to program innovation while retaining traditional safeguards against patronage or spoil system administration."[106]

The Board eliminated the traditional classification framework, established five salary levels and presented five significantly different levels of managerial responsibility. A "key position" plan was used to identify those positions which were relatively stable by the nature of their duties. Salary scales were put on differential maximum rates of pay and were based on a sliding scale of time served at a given level. The ranges were broadened from 20% to 30% spread. A computerized data bank helped to streamline selection procedures and can be used to conduct searches for position candidates.

What is the status of this program? CEA positions constitute only about one-half percent of the state's 100,000 civil service employees, generally confined to program managers, division chiefs, and higher level administrators. During the ten years from 1963-1973, only 25 individuals were removed from CEA positions, "despite major changes in program direction and an abrupt transition from a liberal Democratic administration to a conservative Republican one."[107]

The specifics of the California implementation process are important here because of their potential influence on the Michigan plan. Milliken formed an advisory committee as did the California Group, but it was done during the extensive pre-plan work, instead of after the problems arose. They turned their recommendations over to the Department of Civil Service. The use of prestigious individuals on such a committee has been shown to be positively related with a more positive approach to change. This is particularly true on the executive level--although they are not usually impressed with power, the uniqueness of the program with limited numbers chosen to receive special recognition will create the proper atmosphere to elicit high level support. In the Michigan case, the presence of John Hanna on the committee represented a serious commitment to the program in the eyes of many officials.

It is also obvious from comparing the initial California plan with the new Michigan proposal, a more liberal approach was used to develop the plan. It could be that the long-term evaluation of the California program provided the decision makers with sufficient confidence in the program to take a bigger risk. On the other hand, the more risky approach, may, in the short-run, have more resistance which could ultimately hurt the long-term survival. Already the Michigan State Employees Association (MSEA) has filed a legal action against the proposal because they too feel the plan is unconstitutional just as the AFL-CIO did in California. It appears, then, that Michigan may be facing similar opposition patterns. Through the systematic study of the introduction and implementation of this program, we can begin to expand Walker's ideas about differential innovation experiences across states. Careful attention to the initial projects can greatly aid subsequent innovation projects in other states.

. . . .

> . . . to the patriotic American . . . if democratic, political philosophy means anything at all, then enlightened management can be considered under the head of democratic philosophy applied to the work situation.[108]

In Chapter I we suggested that in order for the public sector of society to remain competitive in the authoritative allocation of resources, executive leadership must be developed to its fullest potential including making provisions for the on-going, systematic training of future executives.

> The shape and style of the future organization will be determined by the individual who fills the executive position within

> those organizations. Only with imaginative and innovative leadership can we expect to see any challenge to a bureaucratic system which leaves much to be desired. Developing "free thinking," innovative government executives who aren't constantly plagued with the fear of "rocking the boat" is today's greatest challenge to public administrators. The future executive must be able and willing to challenge old methods, old regulations, and no longer useful theories. If organizations are to change, if institutions are to survive, the individual and particularly executives must be made aware of changes needed in personal attitudes, awareness levels, communication processes, social problems.[109]

Throughout this chapter we have discussed the current knowledge and theory about executives--who they are, how they relate to subordinates, organizations and political environments, and the task of change. Much of this literature has come from personal accounts, case studies, observational studies and a limited amount of empirical work conducted primarily on private sector executives. The question then, for this research, becomes is there a difference between public and private sector executives?

There are several interesting empirical studies which have sought to directly measure this difference. In an early study (1950s) of the achievement, affiliation, and power motivations of 100 business and 147 federal government executives, Guyot found that government bureaucrats were higher on achievement ("the Protestant ethic," a desire to accomplish something as an end in itself, a concern with standards of performance) motivation while business executives are higher in affiliation motivation (concerned with the acceptance or rejection by others; "the organization man").[110] The distinction between the power motivation (desire to dominate or influence others) was too small to be significant. He goes on to say that while the popular image of the government employee is made up of two opposing elements [(1) laziness and incompetence, and (2) malevolence and an attempt to control the lives of individuals], his findings suggest that element number 1 is not as characteristic as commonly thought and element number 2 is no more enticing in the government than it is in business.

Brown compared business and public school administrators on personal and organizational characteristics.[111] The two groups differed significantly with business administrators showing a higher risk propensity, achievement motivation, and initiative and perceiving risk as rewarding and considering their organizations open and democratic. Business administrators scored higher on all the personal and organization variables except for the need for security where they were lower. Brown goes on to state that because intelligence and self-assurance scores differed very little between the two groups, it could be attributed not to innate capabilities, but to the organization climates or ideologies which have socialized them differently.

This is related to the study done by Grupp and Richards about job satisfaction. Here again we find a pattern which minimizes the risk taking abilities of government bureaucrats. When asked, "What are the things you like about working for the state government" and comparing them to private sector research data, the following relationship was found, as suggested in Table 19. In general, they found that state executives were more satisfied with their job and that this satisfaction is associated with age, years of state employment, hierarchial level, salary and career speed.

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*Interestingly, power motivation was highest among salesmen.

TABLE 19

OCCUPATIONAL VALUES PRIZED BY STATE, FEDERAL, AND BUSINESS EXECUTIVES (in percentages)

Occupational Value	State	Federal	Business
1. security, stability, protection, benefits	32	11	4
2. do work that is worthwhile, useful, constructive	29	20	9
3. sense of challenge, overcoming obstacles keeping goals ahead	23	20	13
4. interest, enjoyment, satisfaction, pleasure though doing work one is interested in, wants to do, likes to do	12	63	41
5. high or good financial reward	5	20	25
N =	1,703	272	284

Source: Grugg and Richards, p. 3.

In a more recent study of 5,203 corporate, government, and public interest elites, Dye and Pickering found that career patterns between each group differed sharply. The average corporate elite held 11.1 authoritative positions in his/her lifetime; the average public interest elite, 10.7; and, the average government elite, 7.0. Government leaders tend to gain their experience in the government or public interest positions, with only one-fourth of top government elites holding any top positions in the corporate world. Furthermore, the findings of several excellent social background studies of political decision makers (Mathews; Stanley, Mann and Boig; Warner and Abegglin; and Hacker) were confirmed in this study.

> Top business executives and political decision makers are atypical of the American public. They are recruited from the well-educated, prestigiously employed, older, successful, affluent, urban, white Anglo Saxon, upper and upper-middle class, male population of the nation.[112]

. . . .

If we accept, then, that the environmental and institutional forces upon the public organization provide several dysfunctional motivators for the public sector executive, it is important to examine briefly the milieu provided by public expectations. It is clear from the empirical studies of public attitudes toward public and private executives that there is a wide discrepancy in public expectations. The stereotypes held by "outsiders" regarding the leadership of both organizations appears to be quite similar to the view ascribed to them in the empirical and theoretical literature focusing on actual corporate role performers. In one study, undergraduate students were asked to rank thirty traits and behavior patterns chosen from previously published research concerning executive role performance.[113] Another study used the results of a pool taken in 1969 and 1970 by Mike Rowan in several states.[114] The specific question was: "If you were to see a TV program about a candidate running for Governor, what would you like to know or feel about him?" While the results are not exactly comparable, they do highlight the differences in the commonly held images of leaders (see Table 18).

What is important about this comparison is that the relative emphasis was put on doing the job. While the business executive is idealized to be a leader of people toward a goal (i.e., acquire confidence of others, responsible, coordinate, communicate creativity), the

TABLE 20

PUBLIC VERSUS PRIVATE SECTOR EXECUTIVE IMAGES

Stereotype of the Corporate Executive*		Valued Qualities of the Government Executive**	
1. ability to acquire the confidence of others	1.44	1. that he is honest, a man of conviction	47%
2. willingness to accept responsibility	1.48	2. that he is a hard worker	27%
3. possession of self-confidence	1.55	3. that he is an understanding, compasionate man	14%
4. a strong desire to succeed	1.58	4. that he is capable, qualified	9%
5. ability to coordinate the efforts of others	1.66	5. that he is a good person, familistic, warm	7%
6. ability to communicate ideas clearly	1.68	6. that he is a leader, bold	5%
7. desire for creativity in	1.75	7. that he is bright, intelligent man	4%
8. an attractive personal appearance	1.88	8. that he is a man who perceives vital issues	3%
9. a high degree of native intelligence	1.95	9. no response	8%

Source: Alluto, p. 619.

Source: Schwartz, p. 5.

*Reported by mean; 1 = very important
**Reported by percentage

image of the political executive is of a "good person" (i.e., honest, conviction, understanding, compassionate, good, familistic, warm). Ethical and moral considerations, then played a much larger role in the world of the public executive. Honesty, for instance, ranked number 1 for the public executive, while it ranked 19th for the business person's list of attributes. Why this general lack of emphasis on general policy aspects of the political executive's job?

Price suggests three traditional prejudices that have marked the American view of administrative leadership. First, we have a prejudice against hierarchy, against rank and titles. The frontier democracy dogma found it "impossible to admit that general adminsitration requires any talent that the average citizen could not supply, but such ideas yielded to the special mysteries of the professions and sciences."[115] In an effort to protect standards against corruption or politics, these professionals have been moved to the non-scientist administrator with broad policy interests. This has had a twin effect on public executives.

a. administrators, in order to justify a professional and career status for themselves, were forced to develop various aspects of management into specialized techniques

b. emphasis was placed on developing their particular specialty rather than their utility to the central purpose of administration: the development and execution of policy.[116]

Those who wanted to strengthen the career service emphasized management specialties because they could be defended as semi-scientific and "hence, non-policy forming and non-political. Administration became the victim of its own defense mechanisms."[117] In the end, the management specialist cannot stay out of policy issues; personnel practices and budgeting are political activities.

Second, Price outlines the prejudice against admitting the corporate nature of the administrative service. Career Service can help keep the flexibility in policy attitudes by an interchange at all levels with private careers.

> In short, in a time when the major business corporations and virtually all other major institutions in society (including universities) have come to put great stress on the planned recruitment and training of top talent and an effective long-term tenure, we force the civil service to ignore the elements of continuity and corporate spirit that are essential in order to retain most of the best men it gets.[118]

This lack of continuity has had serious impact on our ability to coordinate policy. Outsiders can analyze scientific problems and managerial procedures: both can be defined as separate problems. What is needed, however, is both an understanding of the substantive aspects of policy, and also "an appreciation of the subtle interconnections of various parts of the government."[119]

Finally, Price suggests that we believe government work must not offer us the same attractive material rewards as private careers. This way of thinking is obsolete no matter what your view of government. It is absurb to expect maximum effort from a person who runs a government program by contracting with corporate leaders who, in turn, use government funds to pay higher salaries for less work. In fact, because department head salaries are set by the legislature while bureaucratic executives' salaries are part of merit pay plans, many times appointed leaders have to supervise workers in government who make more than them. Price goes on to conclude:

> The administrator of the future, for all his concern for policy, can never forget the other aspects of his job, which is to

> organize, coordinate complex and dynamic system to carry out policy decisions that are made by others.[120]

. . . .

The final research question seeks to address the fundamental role of state government in society. Returning to the idea of differential innovative rates among state governments, the case is made for the innovativeness of Michigan. By examining the experiences of Oregon, the federal government, and especially California, we can begin to see how innovation is shared, and, how planning and implementation problems could be avoided in Michigan.

We also returned to the idea of fundamental differences between the public and private sectors. Several empirical studies illustrated the fundamental nature of some of those differences. In summary, private sector executives were seen to have clearer goal (profit), flexibility in their approach, drive and competitiveness, mobility and instability of tenure. Moreover, control of resources in private organizations--human and financial--is more centralized and less influenced by external forces. The public executives face unclear, conflicting and/or changing goals, pressures from many publics (and the related public criticisms), a greater concern for sensitivity toward people, relatively immobile, rigid, rule-oriented bureaucratic structures and stable tenure. In terms of stress, it could be then concluded that the public sector executive who expresses signs of stress may be the result of different forces. There then are two questions suggested: is it a self-selecting or learned behavior process which determines these differences, and, can the government keep up with industry in the competition for scarce resources? Again several research propositions are posed.

II-u. Michigan, by use of analogy, can avoid some of the problems, as well as the slower developmental process of the California program. Moreover, the primary resistors and their strategies will be similar in Michigan (i.e., public union disapproval and general passive approach by department heads).

II-v. Public and private sector executives do differ in their approach to problems and the constraints within which they operate. The dysfunctional nature of several aspects of public organizations may tend to preclude any real effectiveness and efficiency. Management techniques, therefore, could be developed and tailored to the specific needs of the public sector.

Conclusions: Executives, Stress and Change

Chapter II has focused on the qualities and forces of executive life. Because we are interested in how executives affect a change in their organizations, we have examined not only the organizational requirements of executive leadership, but also the personal milieu of talents, interests, needs and skills which go into shaping the particular style of leadership preferred. More specifically, we have focused on the problemmatic aspects of executive life: the personal demands of career mobility and aspirations; the role of competition from crucial subordinates to augment job skills and knowledge, and, the assurance of unity of executive direction; the need to balance concern for people with concern for production through an orderly problem solving approach which can be either systematically or intuitively based; the pervasive influence of external stimuli on organization performance--the public, press, legislature; and finally, the role of leadership among states in innovation with its risk of public failure. It is a movement toward change and adaptation, and, a need to insure stability and continuity. This research seeks to examine how all of these forces on executives are expressed in the experienced stress of their jobs and their reaction to planned organization change.

These conclusions have been prepared to give the reader a way of organizing the literature reviewed in both Chapters I and II. The first section is devoted to recapping two broad perspectives on executive life: the positive and the negative portraits of executive stress. The second section elaborates on the importance of stress as an organizationally relevant variable as it relates to the executive's ability to lead change.

The Emotional World the Executive

The literature reviewed in these chapters suggests at least two primary views of executive life. It has been shown that the executive's influence, responsibility and sheer presence has an important impact on the direction of the organization. The emphasis in this first perspective is on the unique contribution of executive leadership.

> Because the chief executive is at the apex of the organization pyramid and has ultimate responsibility for the organization's actions, he has more influence upon it than any other individual . . . the personality, temperament, and background of the top executive have a basic effect.[121]

Swope offers a broad view of the characteristics through which executives filter their environment.

The executive's ego and decision making ability combine to give him/her the confidence "to overcome obstacles, to force progress over resistance to change."[122] Decisions can be made deliberately or as a result of temperamental processes, but they are made. "He isn't appalled by the thought that he might make a mistake which could have a considerable adverse effect on the organization and result in personal criticisms."[123] His/her position in center stage also plays on that important egoistic nature to increase his/her confidence.

Not only is the executive a strong-willed decision maker, he/she is also an action-oriented person who enjoys seeing projects, programs and plans set in motion and likes to be recognized for those successes. There is nothing that provokes him/her more than a standstill situation which can, if it lasts too long, lead to articulated anger in the form of sharp and pithy phrases. The problem which arises, however, is that he/she may be so action oriented that he/she is less interested in the planning function. Their forte is more likely to be the art of persuasion and control of subordinate action. They spend a great deal of time analyzing his/her subordinate's make-up until he/she becomes thoroughly familiar with their needs, moods, personalities, and habits in order to maximize the effectiveness of their communications. He/she knows how to get subordinates to accomplish the results needed by applying different incentives and strokes for each. The clarity of communication, based on this knowledge, is a key characteristic of executive action.

> He may drive, lead or use a combination of both techniques: but, indoing so, he infuses a propelling force into the group. . . . This is expected of him. He didn't rise through the organization and arrive at the top by succumbing to inertia and resistance in the face of change.[124]

Although frequently demanding, the executive is also human. Aware of the depth of their decions (their effect on large sums of money, the lives of others, or security of the country), they do worry about the consequences particularly for those closest to them--their subordinates. A primary concern is the individual who, for whatever reason, is not performing up to standard. Demotions or discharges usually come only after a long series of alternative possibilities are explored. "He has to grapple with the question of balance between humane treatment of the individual and the basic demands of the organization--often an extremely difficult problem."[125] Often he/she cannot express the reasons behind the actions taken without publicly embarassing the subordinate, so the executive suffers from unfair criticisms. This requires a firm mental discipline which is also displayed in the executive's ability to deal with a series of complex problems, shifting concentration from one subject to another with little visible disturbance or confusion. Finally, the resiliency of the executive allows him to overcome disappointments quickly and to move to the next problem.

> He isn't the kind of individual who breaks down under the stresses and strains that come with the top administrator's responsibilities. Rather, his resiliency helps lead the organization through its difficult periods.[126]

The executive is a motivated individual, aspiring to achieve. While the potential sources of this motivation are many, it is unlikely that it is a simple, single element. Whatever the source of motivation, it serves to make the executive confident in his/her ability to direct and control. "He believes he can do the job as well or better than anybody else."[127] The motivation to achieve leads the executive to be a perfectionist, demanding careful work, thorough investigation of problems, and organized recommendations. The approach may be systematic or intuitive and the preference seems related to his/her background and temperament.

Finally, executives display a wide epicurean range of interests outside of the immediate confines of the organization. Their interests span from sports to writing to studying history, to activity in church affairs and community activities. "They read extensively and have a lively concern about what is going on around them in the world."[128]

Where does stress fit into this view of executive behavior? Perhaps the best known scholar of the stress phenomena, Hans Seyle, presents eloquent evidence that stress can be used positively to increase performance. The executive here builds on his/her experiences, self-confidence, and sensitivity to develop a network of controlled communications and coordinated strategies to deal with the "non-specific response to any demand placed on" the person. From this perspective, what is important is not to avoid stress, but to "learn to recognize our typical response to stress and then to try to moderate our lives in accordance with it."[129] Subordinates are oriented to recognize and respond to their bosses' problems, and to take care of the problem before it becomes one. Information is presented and plans developed around the preferred modes of problem solving. Finally, for the executive who leads his/her organization in innovation, stress is used to insure thoroughness, perfect timing, and the extra energy to respond to the resistances which come from the environment.

Jennings offers an interesting scenerio for this executive who finds him/herself under stress. He finds that there are four recognizable signs of a person under stress:

a. heightened event awareness: the "world" begins to be defined by a certain problem

b. heightened tendency to filter: all communication, whether related or not, begins to be interpreted as it reflects on the problem; clearly this leads to misinterpreting and paranoia

c. focus on constraints: in order to defend one's actions, increased attention is given to why a problem can't be solved, the difficulty of the task, the shortness of time, the unpopularity of the decision, etc.

d. decrease in energy reserve: stress related fatigue

Obviously, for Seyle, if the person understands these signs, he/she will be able to control his behavior and direct the stress into positive avenues. The executive under the stress effect can be greatly affected by the quality and the direction of the organization's response to the problem. The steps are the result, according to Jennings, of a loss of self-confidence. It is common, in fact, to observe what he calls the "boom-boom" effect--one mistake is followed closely by another, committed more from ego rather than intelligence. For Jennings, the difference between stress and competence is self confidence which comes from not only personal traits, but also from support systems which arise from the organizational and the external environment. Positive experiences with one's colleagues, subordinates, politicians, public, and family all provide the executive with the ability to turn negative stress into what Seyle calls eustress, or positive stress.

As stated earlier, there are two views of the role of stress in executive life. Levinson, perhaps the most articulate spokesperson for the other perspective, writes that:

> Businessmen, particularly executives, don't like to use the word, "mental health." To them it seems to connote "pure

> thoughts" or "clean living" or some other state of sanitized existence. Besides, to profess an interest in mental health is almost like admitting one has a mental problem. Perish the thought!
>
> Executives would rather talk about stress. Everybody agrees that every human being experiences stress. Furthermore, almost everyone thinks stress is something bad that results from the obvious pressures . . . since most such pressure comes from outside the person, a man does not admit anything negative about himself if he is interested in preventing it.[130]

There is a good deal of confusion about the stress of the executive role. The healthy executive simply does not break down from overwork because long before this, the natural release mechanisms in every person begin to operate and he/she slows down or shifts the burden to others. But for some executives, encountering a special stress (or a series of stresors), unbearably intensifies the conflict withim him/herself and between self and environment. Levinson has identified several situations which may lead to stress having dysfunctional consequences.

First, the general strain of simply being successful imposes heavy stresses for anyone. Often the "normal pressures" for the executive on the rise can provide the ideal climate for internal conflict.

> . . . evoking an image of intense loneliness in high place, of strain that always increases with each step up the ladder, of the importance of life itself in the single-minded drive for success, and finally, when age imposes retirement from work, a picture of stagnation, futility, purposelessness.[131]

Superimposed on these pressures are the stresses which are particular to the individual's organization. Consider, for instance, the situation of the executive who faces several turnovers in the chief executive position (three times in two years, one related to a death), senior staff resignations or early retirements (two due to deaths) over management policies, and a rate of "reorganization plans" that has become the butt of executive jokes. ("When a new organization chart comes out we look at not only the date, but the time!") The particular management one of this case combines to present special pressures which serve to provoke the sense of personal threat and which will require special time and energy to insure adequate adjustments.

Closely related to the stress of success, is what Levinson points to as promotion neurosis which is generally characterized by a great anxiety, psychosomatic symptoms and emotional conflict. He finds this occurs most often when engineers and scientists are forced into executive positions. Often the preferred mode of behavior, the belief in people as tools and the restriction of one's attention to observable facts, do not combine to create successful leadership. Moreover, the civil service system often can only provide rewards in the form of status and more money through promotion to executive positions. Meritorious scientific work is not allowed to compete in its own sphere for recognition.

> Given administrative responsibilities, the scientist in particular may feel he has lost palpable contact with the forces of life, and is being asked to lead a vicarious existence, through his subordinates.[132]

Promotion neurosis can also be the result of rapid mobility. "Indeed, the further and the faster an executive moves up, i.e., "the more successful he is, the greater the likelihood of mental difficulties."[133] The rebuilding of roots for both the executive and his/her family provides a great sense of insecurity and loss. Marriages subject to such strain often fall apart, adding to the pressures on the executive.

Third, Levinson points to the male climateric (or male menopause, mid-life crisis) as a particularly profound cause of executive stress. In many cases the foundation of this problem comes from the popular belief that after forty an employee's productivity is usually decreased. Noticing that his/her children have left home, that women (or men) don't find them so attractive, that his/her work is uninteresting, the executive can react by expressing "constant anxiety, fear, helplessness, even developing severe emotional depression, and occasionally suicidal tendencies."[134] Sometimes this results in a rebellion against all his/her standards of values: decisions go unmade at the office, marital infidelities occur, abrupt career changes result. Additionally, physiological reactions set in, most commonly in the form of heart trouble or stomach ulcers.

All of this begins early ine one's life. If, in their thirties they gave too much attention to their careers at the expense of introspection and relationships the mid-life crisis is much more difficult. In the forties they begin to look at themselves and their relationships, as well as to raise questions about the ways of the world. In their fifties executives become more concerned about their more deeply personal goals and objectives. The difficulty comes when they are unable to give up their entrenched work goals, when "for their own psychological sake, they have to re-establish those relationships in order to adapt to the aging process and prospective retirement."[135]

Approaching retirement is also looked upon with more pressure than the strain of success in some cases. For those executives who pride themselves on achievement, work, and never taking a vacation, the slowdown at age sixty-five can create terrible tensions. A classic story illustrates this point:

> A Connecticut executive due to retire at the end of the year was told by his physician that he would shortly die of an incurable but relatively painless disease. The reaction was one of relief: he would die in harness--a far more preferable end to him than "the hell on earth of retirement."[136]

Finally, Levinson briefly addresses two additional sources of executive stress. First, the inadequate personality is marked by erratic performance. Even moderate responsibility paralyzes him/her, hence most of his/her efforts go into rationalizing actions (never into evaluating them). This results in an inability to develop in the job. Second, "battle fatigue" can result from keeping executives too long on the job after he/she begins to show the signs of the stress effect. Some feel that the executive in this position should be given the same load so that his/her confidence will not be undermined. The danger, however, of not lightening the load is that by inaction, the person may break down.

In summary, while many of the characteristics which mark the successful executive have the potential for creating stress, often these forces are rechanneled into positive behaviors. As the executive rises to the top of the organization, relationships with crucial subordinates are developed, based on trust, that can moderate the effects of increased responsibility. Over the course of a career the executive develops certain patterns of responses to problems, seeking to organize his concern for people or production either intuitively or systematically. Finally, an organization whose needs, climate, and challenge fit the style of the individual executive decreases the amount of stress encountered in the job.

For many executives, however, the process of adaptation is not as smooth, and at several points in their careers they face serious pressures and stress. The drive for success alone has commonly been associated with high anxiety, insecurity, and risk. Added to this are the natural developmental stresses of mid-life transition, and later, in anticipation of retirement. Finally, if the personal interests and characteristics of the executive are inadequately matched with the job requirements, frustration and resentment can build. All of this becomes relevant to change as it effects each individual at a given point in time.

The Organizational Relevance of Stress

At this point the reader may be asking what is stress? There are many definitions which range from highly technical physiological measures of heart rate, blood sugar, blood pressure, or uric acid to psychological discussions of anxiety, tensions, neuroses, and depression. For the purposes of this research, and related to the ideas in Chapter I, stress is viewed as excessive physical, emotional, or mental strain or tension which disturbs or interferes with equilibrium. It should be noted that because all of the measures of stress which are used in this research have a behavioral component which identifies not only stress behavior but a range of "normal" behaviors as well, the equilibrium is treated as a range of behaviors. These behaviors have been chosen as normal because they represent long-term functional behaviors which are organizationally relevant and individually beneficial. Also, because each of the measures used here has been replicated in other research, we can, at least in some sense, generalize about behavior making the notion of average seem appropriate to this research.

There is a range of potential influences the study of stress can have on public organizations, from the most individual to the most systemic in nature. First, from a humanistic perspective, it is only through the reduction of stress that a person can fully realize his/her creative and dynamic potential allowing him to make contributions to his organizations and society. The job/home life interface is particularly intensive in modern society and executive positions which lead to stress at work can have a direct relationship to the home. In other words, this research seeks to integrate the whole person into organizational framework.

Second, the human resources perspective indicates that if stress is a consequence of high role conflit which is inherent in most public sector executive jobs, because of the high boundary spanning/visibility nature of the positions. There is a need to insure that these executives are psychologically able to withstand the pressure. This approach has traditionally been tied to notions of job enrichment or group training programs which seek to develop the flexibility and span of skills the individual possesses.

Third, there is ample evidence to suggest that work productivity of an individual can be affected by stress. High stress has usually been found to be negatively related to performance, especially in group settings. Also, executive stress can result in such organizationally unproductive behaviors as early exit (due to mental breakdowns, suicides, and stress related medical problems) or to highly emotional treatment of subordinates.

Finally, there are at least two ways to view how stress is related to stability in government. There needs to be the "best person" (i.e., most physiologically and psychologically able) at the top of our public organizations. They will be most able to maintain the flexibility and energy needed to keep public organization viable in the world of highly complex change. Additionally, there is evidence that high boundary spanning positions and innovation roles in organization, which executives are often asked to play, can lead to certain informal rules and arrangements being developed between the actors to decrease the tensions caused by roles. This could result in co-optive policy making and could place serious strains on democratic administration.

. . . .

In short, stress as part of a logical series of reactions to proposed organizational change brought about by forces in the system, affects how the proposals are received. The stress contingency helps to organize, classify and determine the particular pattern of constraints which are identified in the mind of the executive. These contingencies also help to provide rules of behavior by which systematic and intuitive problem solving can be applied. It is necessary, then to have an understanding of each of these critical areas in order to begin to develop a portrait of change and to develop a series of systematic approaches which are derived from the portrait. All of this will receive greater attention in the following chapter where the particular problem of this research is fully developed.

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CHAPTER III

THE PROBLEM AND HOW IT WAS STUDIED

While organizational change* happens frequently in reality, we know very little from a scientific perspective about what factors contribute to a successful-long-term change project. There are many approaches to the study of planned change which have incrementally contributed to our knowledge. Sociologists, for instance, have emphasized the structural aspects of the phenomena, studying the functional relationship and lines of authority in the tradition of Weber. Psychologists talk of development and individual adaptation, either through behavior modification or reduction of cognitive dissonance. While both the economist and the political scientist do not emphasize the concept of change, the core of each discipline (the market and power) is also implicitly involved with adaptations of systems to the environment.

Likewise, as long as there has been a movement toward change, there has been resistance against it. Each of the social sciences, in turn, has developed a conceptual approach to the study of resistance to the change phenomena. Again, the economist looks toward the competitive market responding to consumer preferences, resulting in counterforces in the market, a mobilization of resources and/or a redistribution of

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*Change in the broadest sense: the adaptation to the environment.

income. Closely associated to this is the political scientist's perspective on reallocation of values and resources in society and the resultant balance of power. sociology, social change is often examined in terms of the affect it has on group displacement, norms, values, as well as the structural constraints. Finally, psychology often addresses the issues of cognitive dissonance, unfulfilled needs as motivators, and conditioning for behavior modification in an attempt to understand the complexities of change. Because I am more concerned with the facilitative aspects of change in order to accomplish the desired change with the least amount of dysfunctional behaviors in society, it is natural that this research should be more heavily oriented toward social psychology.

This research seeks to examine the forces (stresses) which impact on the process of planned organizational change as viewed most specifically from the role of the public sector executive. There are, then, three primary goals: to identify the system-wide variables that affect how executives view organization change; to examine the nature and the causes of executive stress; and, to explore the relationships between stress and organization change. In order to examine several conceptually limited, yet competing approaches to the problem of executive behavior during periods of organization change, an exploratory study was undertaken to explore more fully a number of different variables.

The emphasis here is on an integration of many perspectives into a systematic examination which can be, at least in part, empirically based. Chapter I reviewed the literature on organizational change, with an emphasis on the forces which exist during the intervention. Chapter II focused on the affect of the role an executive plays during change, identifying those talents and characteristics which encourage innovation as well as those threats or fears which can potentially undermine the effort. We turn now to an integration of these chapters, again based on the four levels of analysis, followed by a discussion of the methodology of this research design.

. . . .

The Problem

On the most personal level, organizational change efforts affect the most fundamental aspects of the executive. The essence of the individual, his/her attitudes, values, behaviors, roles and self-concept, all provide stability and continuity as the person interacts with the environment. Changes in that work environment most naturally cause adjustments within the individual who seeks to remain in the organization. Because the new environmental cues for behavior are often mixed or conflicting, the individual in a changing organization often finds him/herself in a state of personal flux--threatened, uncertain or resistant.

Ziller offers a hierarchy of personal change framework to discuss the degree to which various aspects of a person can be changed in order to facilitate long-term stability. Moving through these levels, the reaction toward the environmental restructuring meets increasingly stable elements of the self. If we accept the idea that attitudes, because of their situation specific and public nature, are the easiest to change, while self-concept, because of its central relationship to the ego, is hardest to change, then it becomes important to examine any proposed change intervention from the perspective of what it means to each level of the person. We are interested, then, in not only where to start an intervention, but how to insure its longevity and success.

Education and Career

For the individual executive, much of the nature of his/her attitudes, roles, behaviors and self-concept have been conditioned and developed by their educational experiences and career perspectives. While it seems most obvious that there are differences between the college graduate (B.A. or B.S.) and the person with a graduate degree, there are also differences among graduate training experiences. It is a difference of perspective, of methods, and of values. Additionally, when this education took place many also condition how the response to change is formulated. For the Ph.D. who was trained during the post-World War II period and whose knowledge may be obsolete, the formulation of a problem solution will not likely involve sophisticated analytical presentations of information. Likewise, the M.D. who is trained to work in an ambiguous environment may be more prone to identify alternative courses of action. We must also consider the affect of management training on organizational learning. Those who participate in formal management training, professional associations and skill update sessions will increase their knowledge of new techniques, approaches, and technologies, helping to stem the knowledge obsolescence.

The evaluation of proposed organizational change may also be affected by the particular career perspective of the executive. For the "insider" who has chosen a professional career perspective, loyalty, identity and self-worth are closely tied to a single organization. This executive is more likely to be against organizational change because of the "personal career" threat. When this person is a proponent for change, the reasons are generally conceptualized in "organizational benefit" terms. The mobile executive, on the other hand, with an individual orientation toward identity and self-worth, finds that organizational changes can be used for personal gain. These people are generally highly favorable toward planned change and often act as innovators or change agents themselves. Both types of executive face job related stress. While the mobile executive's plight has been well publicized and documented with its mobility fatigue and potential for personal health and family problems, the insider executive also faces the mobility gap where skills have developed beyond the requirements of the job, causing boredom, frustration and lower productivity.

Adult Development and Age

The adult development literature provides some insights into how the career perspective of a person is moderated over a life-time. Levinson examines how a person's identity (feelings about self and estimates of self by significant others in the social context) is intricately balanced between the individual's maturation and society's expectations of the individual. "The individual's identity is not gained once and for all, but achieved over and over."[1] Career dislocations, caused by either rapid mobility or organizational change, can result in an identity crisis. The nature of these dislocations, however, is tempered by the developmental sequence of the individual's identity. For the person under 45 years of age (a young adult), the fullness of his/her energies, capabilities and potentials create enormous pressures as they struggle to establish a place in society. In terms of career priorities, money, prestige and power often rank high.

During the mid-life crisis identity is questioned as the person seeks to reconcile the reduction in basic drives and energies with the need for improved relationships. Real questions of commitment to family versus commitment to job appear. From the perspective of crisis and despair, the individual seeks greater caring, compassion, and wisdom. Concern is turned to a new generation of leaders. In terms of the career evolution, the executive seeks a sense of personal accomplishment, security, and pride in helping others. While they want to help younger executives to work along side them toward organizational goals, they often experience a perceived threat from younger employees whom they view as "trouble makers intent on destroying the system." It is a tension between generativity (encouraging growth and change) and stagnation (perpetuating the status quo).

Finally, after the mid-life turning point, the individual is faced with decreased physical and mental capacity which often leads to despair. This period is particularly acute for the executive who has foresaken family. personal development and health for the rewards of status and power. This executive, when faced with organization changes, may evaluate the proposal negatively primarily from the "sunk costs" perspective; "if I were younger . . . ." The consequences for retirement benefits, the requirements of learning a new technology, the changes in the "rules" or the "system" to which they have grown accustomed, or the sheer conviction that the new system will be no better than any of the other proposed changes which they have witnessed over the years, all are cited as reasons against organizational change. In short, there is much more to lose than there is to gain.

Personal Aspects of the Executive Life

Concerns for family and health do not only arise during the older adult year. In fact, the importance of these life elements usually reaches crisis proportions earlier in life. The exposure, the pace, and the teamplayer foundations of the executive life exact heavy personal tolls. Children grow up and leave home without ever knowing their executive parent, while spouses resort to drinking, drugs, and affairs to lessen the severity of loneliness. Even when the marriage does not end in divorce, family pressures often affect the job performance of the executive. Likewise, the human body gives adequate warning about the strain that job tensions can create which result in serious illness or death.

What then could induce a person to take such a personal risk? Beyond the power, status or money usually associated with executive life, there is at least some evidence that certain people possess a behavioral syndrome which at once compliments upward mobility and signals the potential for heart attack. The Type A person possesses many of the behavioral traits which are valued in executives: aggressiveness, energetic, able to do many things at one time, seeking material rewards, dynamic. These traits, which operate independently from the environment, are reinforced and rewarded in the executive role.* These people are aggressively engaged in a battle to do more and more in less and less time. The costs of this behavior are high. Type A Behavior has been

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*Rosenman and Friedman have found that janitors as well as executives possess Type A Behavior, making it independently determined from the environment.

found to be four times more predictive of heart attack than is any other commonly associated cause (lack of exercise, diet, weight). The Type A executive may be idealized by organizations, but it is a short term perspective. It does, however, serve as a good behavioral indicator of individual stress, which can be socially or personally manipulated. If we are interested, then, in providing a less stressful environment for personal change, identifying and developing management strategies for these people are essential steps.

Interpersonal Relations Among Executives

When the executive enters the work place, it is the group which most directly affects his/her actions. Particularly on a daily level, the work group provides not only the rules and structures of behavior (norms, expectations, and conformity), but the sanctions which can be brought by the group to the non-conformist. Not only are these norms important for the structuring of work relationships, but norms of background, education, approach, language, and prejudices are reinforced in the group setting as people seek to insure conformity. It should be remembered, however, that homogeneity of social characteristics may not necessarily insure homogeneity of attitudes. How differences among members of the work group are used is primarily a matter for the leader of the group, and, on the individual level, the sponsor of the crucial subordinate, to work out.

The reinforcement of certain knowledges, styles, and approaches is most often accomplished through the socialization process. At the lower levels of the organization, socialization is a matter of group sanctions and rewards. At the executive level, however, the socialization process becomes more a function of the sponsorship relationship. The relationship is built on mutual attraction and trust which serves to reduce anxiety. By showing the crucial subordinate a cognitive map which facilitates his/her work in the system and his/her adjustment to it, the sponsor willingly speaks for and promotes the subordinate's position in the organization. In exchange, the subordinate provides for those special needs of the executive, be they complementary (the reinforcement of the same talents, skills, and knowledge) or supplementary (filling in different skills, talents and knowledges) in nature.

The choice to become a sponsor is based on several factors, not the least of which is the broadening of the sponsor's abilities as cited above. Additionally, there are notions of generativity, that need to assure the future by helping the younger generation. But how do we determine who is "promising?" Much of that determination is based on an idealized view of what makes executives successful and what makes them fail which each executive develops through his/her own experiences. Those who favor people with a high degree of technical skills are likely to choose a young technican for sponsorship. Likewise, those with highly honed political skills are likely to be attracted to those with finesse and political orientations. It should be remembered that these similarities in interests, perspectives, or talents do not indicate that it is essentially a cloning process. What is important is the perpetuation of a basic outlook and executive philosophy.

All of this becomes important in the change process as it relates to non-conformity. The costs of innovative behavior can be high--group rejection. The same norms of behavior which allow for easy assimilation into the organization can also become a substitute for thinking. This becomes particularly critical during change when you examine the moral and social justifications for system activities provided by norms. Even when an individual member holds attitudes different from the group norm, they are often unwilling or unable to express them. It is important, therefore, to examine those persons who will be most likely to go against group conformity pressures to instigate change. Two groups emerge: those with low prestige in the group (who have nothing to lose) and those with high prestige (who have social credits to apply toward group sanctions). This research project focuses on the latter group: top level executives.

The Organizational Environment

Even if the innovative executive whose experiences and philosophies allow him/her to play the role of change agent is present in the organization, the organizational environment must also encourage innovation in order to facilitate long-term acceptance. Burns and Stalker have developed the classic statement on innovative organizations, designating two primary types. The mechanistic organization is characterized by specialization, formal hierarchy, rules, location of knowledge at the top, and vertical interactions. In this research, this description most closely is associated with the departments which were administrative in nature;* That is, they were concerned most specifically with the functions which serviced other state agencies such as Management and Budget and Civil Service. The organic organization, on the other hand, was most

*Includes: Attorney General, Executive, Licensing and Regulation, Management and Budget, State Treasury, State Policy, Corrections, Civil Service.

closely associated with policy-centered agencies* which operate with individual tasks contributing to a common task, commitment beyond technical definitions of rules, knowledge located throughout the organization, and lateral as well as vertical communications. As Burns and Stalker are careful to point out, there are no "pure" types of organizations. Nevertheless, these categories give us a rough framework from which to examine the propensity to change. But knowing the structural arrangements within the organization does not provide the entire analysis. We must also examine the human and social arrangements within the organization.

The conceptualization of the organization as a network of interpersonal relationships as suggested by Katz and Kahn allows us to examine how role expectations define behaviors on the job. The two primary role orientations of the leader suggested are concern for the human element within the organization and concern for the task. The role messages regarding each orientation which come from role senders (subordinates, peers, superiors and external actors) often result in role conflict and ambiguity. For instance, the common conflict between letting the professional employee (the social worker) define the job for him/herself based on professional standards and competencies, and the need for a certain level of productivity (number of cases processed) creates job tensions for the Social Service Executive. This job conflict becomes more pronounced during the introduction of organizational change due in no small part to the nature of the innovative role. In

*Includes: Agriculture, Civil Rights, Public Health, Commerce, Education, Labor, Mental Health, Natural Resources, Social Services, Transportation.

short, the task/structural orientation of Burns and Stalker's work, and the role/people orientation of Katz and Kahn both indicate that there are certain conditions which increase the pressure or stress during organizational change. How are these conditions, both pro and con, moderated by the executive and orchestrated into successful innovative programs?

Systematic and Intutive Planning

About the only definitive statement that can be offered concerning executive planning for change is that there are wide variations in the uses of information and the movement through the process. There seems to be, however, at least two predominate styles of planning for change. The systematic thinker is most closely associated with the scientific method: emphasizing the method to solve the problem, defining quality of solution in terms of methods, moving with increased refinement of analysis and conducting an orderly search for additional information. The intuitive thinker, on the other hand, tends to keep the overall problem in mind, rely on nonverbalized cues or hunches, defend the solution in terms of "fit," and explore a number of alternatives and options simultaneously. This approach has been most commonly associated with the executive myth--the charm, the power, the magic of leadership. Each style has the potential to be a change strategy--it is a difference of method rather than output or judgment of worth. So, for the intuitive person, for instance, a change strategy that emphasizes the orderly progression of a logical series of requirements to an end with little or no search for alternatives during the process (i.e., an objective-oriented program) will present major conceptual problems and potentially lead to increased stress and lower productivity.

The Career Executive Service

To this point we have been discussing change in a general manner, i.e., planned organizational change. It is logical, however, to assume that change interventions with different goals, procedures, and organizational impacts will require different strategies and methodologies. Likewise, it can be assumed that different organizational changes will mobilize different points of strain or stress in the system. It becomes important, therefore, to focus on a particular organizational change, in order to set the parameters of our discussion. After six years of study, the state of Michigan has proposed and will implement a Senior Executive Service program for top-level state executives starting October 1, 1979. This program takes the senior executive positions in each department, which are now part of the civil service merit system, and removes the seniority and tenured aspects of the job in favor of a yearly performance evaluation and contract renewal system. The employee will be given either another one year contract at his/her present level or higher, or, the employee will be removed from the Senior Service and, while assured of a job at the state, would be dropped to a 15 level. The change to move up, to increase skills and training opportunities, and higher pay are being offered as inducements for participation. This research, then focuses on the pre-implementation stage of this innovative program. We seek to develop a set of ideas, based on the perceptions of the participants, which can be used to guide the long-term adaption of such a program.

The Senior Executive Service is a particularly intriguing program to examine in this context because of its immediate relevance for each of the levels of analysis in this research. On the individual level considerations of age and career aspirations play an important role in this revision of personnel practices for the state employees. On the one hand, those younger and/or more mobility-oriented executives may support the program because it allows them the potential for rapid mobility and wider job opportunities. The older employee, on the other hand, may feel threatened due to the loss of security, the need for performance evaluations and a loss of retirement benefits, as they are forced to compete with younger employees for jobs. All of this comes when the younger person is at his/her peak energy and capabilities while the older person is slowing down.

While individuals may benefit personally from this system, the executive group in state government may be strained. Since the criteria for evaluation becomes individually rather than organizationally determined, the willingness to work together in a team approach may be seriously undermined. One common outcome of competitive promotional systems is the lack of incentive to share information, resources, or effort toward common goals. The consequences of this for the organization can be severe, particularly at the executive level where much of the necessary information is transmitted verbally and stored in the heads of the individual executives. Beyond the storage problems of executive information sharing, there is also the threat of sabotage of a project in the pursuit of mobility. Finally, the norms and socialization process which provide in a large part the stability of the organization will be much more difficult with yearly transfers in and out.

Stress and Change

As the individual executive determines how he/she will structure a response to the change, certain patterns of planning emerge. Those who are systematic in their approach are more likely to develop a plan, with a series of steps toward the goal, resisting alternatives which may arise along the route. The intuitive person, on the other hand, will be more likely to adopt a "let's see what develops" attitude adjusting his strategy to fit the developing environment. What is of interest here is how stress is related to the choice of planning style. It could be suggested that on one hand, the systematic person would be much less stressful, particularly because he/she works to eliminate inconsistencies or ambiguities from the environment. The intuitive, on the other hand, works better in at least a partially ambiguous environment, such as is often present during organization change. The alternative explanation that could be offered here is that the systematic person may experience stress when asked to be evaluated using performance criteria in an organizational system where ultimate outcomes are always in flux and often out of the control of the executive. The intuitive, already under more stress generally, in the job, may be "pushed over" into an extreme stress mode when the environment becomes even more problematic. In short, the interface between stress and planning for change among organization executives can provide an important key to coordinating successful change programs.

The State of Michigan as an Innovator

There is one final level of analysis which is suggested here. Because Michigan is widely regarded as an innovative state, the implementation of progressive personnel practices in state government are important because they serve as analogies for other states to follow during their own development. On the state level, then, the executive of Michigan faces a twin challenge: to be a leader in the field and to take a risk on a relatively untested program. Both the status of the participants (the executives themselves) and the high visibility of the program place certain reputational costs in the scheme--the cost of political failure. With so few other states to serve as an analogy for Michigan, many of the areas of resistance have not been systematically examined. This research seeks to document the process and the resistance to the Senior Executive Service in the state of Michigan to guide future innovation in other states and localities. In this manner, we can begin to develop systematic approaches to organizational change based on not only case studies, but empirical evaluations.

This research is an exploratory study of the forces which interact during organizational change on the executive level. While the executive is responding to organizational and environmental demands toward innovation, he/she is also moderating individual needs, attitudes, and roles. The development of a Senior Executive Service presents an interesting dynamic in that the executives will be asked to not only direct and plan the program, but also be the participants. The salience of this issue, then, should be high for the subjects of this study. The following diagram suggests how the individual units of analysis suggested here combine and integrate to form counterbalancing forces during organizational change (Figure 3).

In order to systematically examine this process, seven research questions are suggested here:

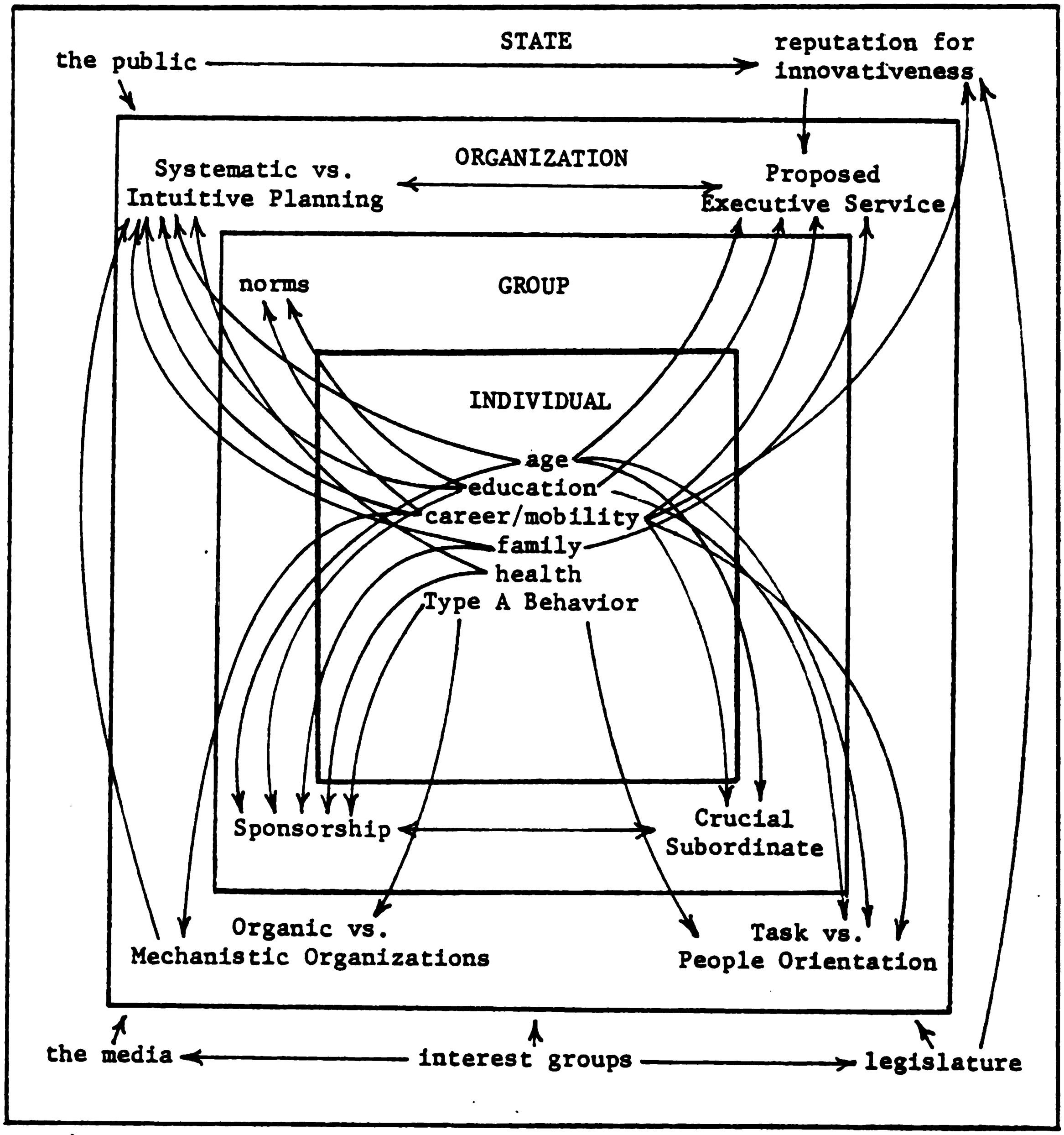

Fig. 4. Factors Contributing to Executive Stress and Organization Change

TABLE 21

THEORETICAL RELATIONSHIPS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Research Question	Leadership Contingency	Level of Analysis
1. Who are these executives?	personal characteristics education age mobility/career	individual
2. How do off-the-job variables affect executive job performance?	family health	individual
3. How pervasive is Type A Behavior?	Type A Behavior	individual
4. How do these executives describe their interpersonal relationships within the work context?	subordinates sponsorship ideal characteristics	group
5. How do these executives describe their work environment?	environment	organization
6. How is the proposal for the Senior Executive Service viewed by these executives?	task	organization
7. What do these executives view as the role of state government in change in Michigan?	innovativeness	state

As you can see, the emphasis here is on the examination of a wide range of potential explanations. This again points to the exploratory nature of this research. The previous research on executives has two major characteristics: it is almost entirely in the form of case studies or "insider" accounts and they have been concentrated on private sector corporate executives. As was suggested in Chapters I and II there are some substantial differences between public and private sector organizations and their leaders. Public organizations are much more varied in their tasks, often operate in a crisis atmosphere which precludes long-range planning, and are frequently plagued by static organizational styles. Their leaders are accused of inefficiency, ineffectiveness, dishonesty and laziness. It is said that Civil Service systems have come to insure mediocrity, while severely reducing the motivational and personnel tools available to the executive as leader. These differences point to the need for study of public management apart from the corporate literature. Because there is so little prior empirical study, however, this research should be regarded as exploratory. The goal, then, is to develop a number of alternative and theoretically relevant explanations which can be used to guide future research in this area.

The rest of this chapter is devoted to an explanation of the methodologies employed in this research. Sampling procedures, questionnaire design, field work, coding and analysis will each be discussed.

Methodology

Data collection for this research was developed primarily through the use of a sample survey methodology. The following discussion outlines the procedures used, the assumptions that accompanied the trade-offs, and the problems which were encountered during this research. The remaining portion of this chapter has been broken down as follows: Questionnaire design and use, sampling, fieldwork, validity problems, and analysis.

Questionnaire Design and Use

Because of the wide range of variables which were addressed here, most of the questions and indices used in this instrument were taken from private sector studies of executives or management approaches (see Appendix A). The only original questions in this format were the ones which dealt with the specific organizational change under study here (questions 9-14). The remaining questions were taken from the research of Kahn, et al.,[2] Schoonmaker,[3] Friedman and Rosenman,[4] and Blake and Mouton.[5] This allows at least a ground level comparison between the findings of this research (done in the public sector) and the private sector research findings.

The emphasis in developing the instrument was on a cursory treatment of a wide range of variables instead of an in-depth treatment of any one specific area. The questions were arranged to work from those most job related (impersonal) to less job related (personal) which worked well in the interviews. This became somewhat problematic in the analysis because I was unable to probe in-depth about several variables, in particular the family and health. In some cases there was clear evidence that additional probing would have been warranted. In fact, most of the people in my pre-test (which were mid-management level state employees) were more cautious in talking about personal matters, and even more interestingly, were under considerably more pressure than the subjects of the study. In fact, the questions regarding organizational change elicited more negative responses from the subjects than the pre-test interviews would have indicated. The trade-offs, then, were made in favor of a wide range of potentially theoretically relevant variables, rather than in-depth analysis.

There was one set of questions that seemed to be consistently troublesome for the subjects. The Blake and Mouton grid questions (18a-f) present a range of possible behaviors with regard to six aspects of management. As the interview progressed, it became clear that there was a "preferable" pattern of responses, despite the warning about self-deception. When the question about temper was asked, however, the "preferred" response was unclear and 8% of my sample refused to answer it. The interesting question which will be addressed in Chapter IV is how the "preferred" response became preferred. Blake and Mouton have found that before grid seminars (as in our case) 69.2% saw themselves as having 9,9 orientations. After the grid seminars 24.6% saw themselves as being 9,9.[6] The pattern of the "preferred" answer, then, may be consistent with the Blake and Mouton findings.

Sampling

The sampling frame used in this research was designed to elicit responses from two groups of public sector executives: political (elected and appointed) administrators and career merit administrators (levels 19-21). The definition of why each subject was chosen comes from the way they got their job. The sample was limited to the top three levels of the Civil Service classification because of the large number of organizations (departments = 19) which were represented in the population. The subjects, then, share very similar jobs in a wide range of departments, primarily deputy directors, bureau heads, and directors of the departments. Additionally, sampling was limited to central office (Lansing) personnel. Regional directors, prison wardens and directors of mental institutions were eliminated because there was sufficient reason to believe that the nature of their jobs was different from the majority of the sample.

The population for the merit employees was drawn from employment records by the Civil Service Department upon a request under the Freedom of Information Act. From a list of eighty potential subjects, forty were randomly chosen using a table of random numbers. Of the forty people who were asked to participate, 31 finally gave interviews, giving a 78% response rate.

The population of political executives was easily drawn from the Michigan Manual with confirmation from their offices. All nineteen department heads and both elected administrative officials were asked to participate. From a population of 21, 19 gave interviews, bringing a 90% response rate. The total sample size was 50, with a total response rate of 84%.

Because each department was asked to participate and the total sample was relatively small (50), most departments had only two or three respondents, with a maximum of five in two of the departments. The relative number in each department also seemed to reflect the number of potential subjects in each department, with three departments having a larger population than the others. Also, because of the high visible nature of these subjects and the small number in each department, the analysis here of individual departmental situations is limited to protect the confidentiality.

Fieldwork

The following steps will illustrate the method in which the fieldwork was conducted.

1. After the questionnaire design was completed, a pretest of five subjects was done using mid-level management state employees from two departments. Some alterations were made in the questionnaire, primarily in the ordering of questions and the lead-ins.

2. Subjects were chosen using the sampling procedure outlined above. Each subject's office was contacted to insure proper addresses and confirmation of their position.

3. Each subject was then sent a set of letters on April 1 (see Appendix B) explaining the project, who was funding the research, and asking for their participation in the form of a personal interview.

4. One week later, each subject was contacted by the researcher to elicit their interest in the project. Appointments were made at that time. The following data speak to the relative ease and great cooperation that was displayed by these subjects.

5. The actual personal interviews were conducted in a six-week period from April 13 to June 1, generally two interviews a day. Each interview was conducted in the subject's office and it lasted from between 15 minutes to 150 minutes, with an average of 65 minutes.

Each subject signed a university-required consent form (see Appendix C) and submitted a personal resume.

TABLE 22

APPOINTMENT SCHEDULING

No. of Calls to Confirm Appointment	No. of Cancellations
1 call = 20	0 cancellation = 33
2 calls = 13	1 cancellation = 7
3 calls = 12	2 cancellations = 1
4 calls = 4	3 cancellations = 4
5 calls = 5	

6. Each subject was sent a thank you note one week after his/her interview (see Appendix D).

7. Each subject was sent a research report outlining the major findings in December.

There are several general comments which should be offered about this fieldwork. First, I found that the federal funding of the project through the IPA program was enormously helpful in gaining entré. Many of the executives were knowledgeable about the Act and interested in participating in this research. Second, I did not find that conducting the interviews in the subject's office was problemmatic in a majority of the cases. In fact, I am sure the convenience to them greatly facilitated their participation. In a minority of cases (5), however, there were severe problems with many interruptions.

Finally, a careful record was made of the general attitude of the subjects as we talked. The results of this record are as follows:

TABLE 23

GENERAL ATTITUDE

Attitude	N	%
Very frank and open	12	24
Basically frank	4	8
Pro/con	16	32
Basically reserved	7	14
Very reserved and closed	11	22
Totals	50	100

There are obviously several potential explanations for this. The age, status, and sex differentials between the interviewer (27 years old, female graduate student) and the subjects (average age 50-55, male, top level executives) were great. I am confident, however, that this problem can be partially eleviated by time and the building of rapport. The seriousness of the project and the analysis will be reinforced by sending each subject a research report.

A second possible explanation for the fairly large percentage of reserved attitudes is the age-old "ivory tower vs. real world" dichotomy. Again, several subjects responded to me by noting that "things aren't the same here in the real world" and "nothing really helpful comes from the university--they are just too pie-in-thesky." I felt, however, that much of the initial reaction based on this reasoning began to break down as the subjects spoke of the "accurateness of the questions," "you really have a feeling for my problems," and "this interview really made me reflect upon myself."

Finally, the very nature of this research--the focus on change--seemed to present a problem to some subjects. Despite my best attempts to offer no nonverbal cues (either in dress or mannerisms) which would indicate a liberal philosophy, the very topic itself leads subjects to assume a liberal bias. Several subjects spoke of "liberals who are always wanting to change things," and "you keep assuming there is a problem here when there isn't."

The question then arises, did the general attitude of the respondent in the interview affect his/her position on the Executive Service? The following analysis was done on this question.

TABLE 24

AFFECT OF GENERAL ATTITUDE ON ATTITUDES TOWARD THE EXECUTIVE SERVICE

OWN JOB part of the Executive Service?			N = 48	OWN OPINION about executive Service? (10 point scale)		
	Yes	No			Yes	No
Yes	38%	63%		Yes	50%	50%
Mixed	80%	20%		Mixed	47%	53%
No	70%	30%		No	82%	18%
$\chi^2 = 4.90$ Significant = .0351				$\chi^2 = 5.33$ Significant = .0685		

Both of these tables would indicate that even though they may have been perceived as being hostile or reserve in the interview, it did not indicate they were hostile or reserve toward the proposal. In fact, those that were hostile or reserve were most likely to be favorable. This could give some credence to the explanation that it was the relationships to the interviewer rather than the subject which caused the attitude.

External Validity Problems

There were two external validity problems which arose during the course of this research. First, when the project was originally conceived, the proposed Executive Service has been floating around for six years. Midway during the interviews the Civil Service Department announced the proposal for an Executive SErvice, circulating a lengthy memo detailing the change. For the subjects in the first half of my fieldwork the Executive service was an abstract idea; for those I interviewed after the proposal, however, the idea was not only concrete, but immediate. They were given a one-month period in which to respond to the proposal. Statistically there seemed to be no difference in responses toward the idea.

TABLE 25

ATTITUDES ABOUT THE EXECUTIVE SERVICE
AND THE ANNOUNCEMENT

OWN JOB part of Executive Service				OWN OPINION about Executive Service (10 point scale)			
.	Yes	No			Yes	No	
before	55%	45%	100%	before	64%	36%	100%
after	67%	33%	100%	after	62%	38%	100%
χ^2 = .002				χ^2 = .326			
p = .881				p = .567			

It appears, then, that there was no difference between the person who had something concrete to reply to and those who were responding to the general idea. The qualitative responses, however, were more specific, with the negative evaluations being even more based on information rather than generalities.

The second external validity problem concerned the close peoximity of offices and working relationships among the subjects. Not only could they see me coming and going, but also I know that there was at least some discussion of the project among the subjects, although I do not know the nature of the discussion. Generally, however, the subjects who knew that their peers had participated seemed genuinely to look forward to the interview.

Analysis

There are two areas of analysis which deserve attention here. The coding of the questionnaires involved three different types of coding procedures. The close-ended questions were coded initially as they were asked, and then the categories were collapsed as necessary. The open-ended questions, on the other hand, were coded for both manifest and latent information. The initial coding concentrated on the manifest information, first using the exact response in all cases, and then using some theoretical categories. For instance, the positive and negative characteristics (questions 15-16) were initially coded for all responses, then re-coded for task, people, and general orientations.

Additionally, the questions about organization change (9a-f) were coded three different ways. After the content of the response was noted, the pro/con orientations as well as the systematic/intuitive styles were coded separately to elicit the latent information. It should be noted that the latent form of coding is much more open for disagreement among coders and interpretation.

After the code book was prepared three different coders (the researcher and two assistants) coded all fifty interviews. After comparing the results for all questions an average inter-coder reliability level of .89 was established (coder A and B = .87; coder A and C = .85; coder B and C = .95).

The second area of interest here is the statistical analysis used. Because there was virtually no prior empirical research conducted in this field and due to the exploratory nature of this work, it was determined that two-way and three-way contingency table analysis would be the appropriate statistical method to use. The .05 level of significance was utilized, therefore, each of the significance levels reported in the tables reflects significance at the .05 level.

Chi square was used in order to determine whether the association we observed as the result of sampling variations from a population in which the association was zero. This statistic can be used when the expected frequency in each category is greater than five, which is generally the case in the study. Fischer's exact test was used in cases where the frequency fell below five in 40% of the cells or more.

Footnotes to Chapter III

[1]D. Levinson, Seasons of a Man's Life (New York: Ballentine Books, 1978).

[2]R. Kahn, Organizational Stress (New York: Wiley, 1964).

[3]A. Schoonmaker, Anxiety and the Executive (New York: American Management Association, 1969).

[4]M. Friedman and R. Rosenman. Type A Behavior and Your Heart (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Guest Books, 1974).

[5]R. Blake and J. Mouton, Managerial Grid (Houston: Gulf Publishing Co., 1964).

[6]Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

THE FINDINGS

This chapter will relay the basic findings of this research, divided according to the four levels of analysis (self, group, organization, and state) and the appropriate research question(s). The reader will remember that in Chapter I we suggested the general research hypothesis that there is a relationship between attitudes toward organizational change and executive stress. This research is an exploratory study to investigate the nature of stress among state executives in Michigan and to see if the stressful person is favorable or opposed to the development of a Senior Executive Service for the state. The following chapter will suggest both policy and research recommendations based on the findings.

Individual Level Findings

This research level is primarily concerned with the individual executive as a person. It is most closely associated with both the demographic studies of "who are executives," and with the accounts made primarily through self-reports by executives themselves or by personal counselors to executives. Typically this information is gathered through the personal interview, which was the research method used here, and the findings of this study are most clearly related to the level of analysis. The results are reported by research question.

Who Are These Executives?

As the reader will remember from Chapter II,* Packard suggested that in the 1950s there were four types of people who would not make it into the executive role: women, blacks or color minorities, the non-WASP, and those with no college degree. Data collected on three of these variables confirm that these patterns hold today in terms of the makeup of the highest state executives in Michigan. Table 26 will illustrate these findings.

TABLE 26

RACE, SEX, AND EDUCATION MAKEUP OF MICHIGAN STATE EXECUTIVES[a]

A. Race:	45	white
	5	black
	0	other
B. Sex:	48	males
	2	females
C. Education:	3	some college
	11	B.A./B.S.
	3	some graduate school
	17	M.A./M.S./M.S.W./M.P.A./M.B.A.
	8	Ph.D.
	8	LLD/M.D.

[a]This information was taken from observation of sex and race, and through question number 7 of questionnaire format: "What is the highest educational level you completed?" A complete questionnaire can be found in Appendix C. Throughout this discussion, the questions will be indicated in footnotes.

*Throughout this chapter we will be referring back to the "implications" cited in Chapters I and II at the end of each level of analysis. Here we are referring to implication II-a.

Several conclusions can be drawn from these findings. First, 90% of these executives were white, with a 10% black population representing all racial minorities. Even though Michigan has a fairly substantial Mexican-American population, no representatives from this sector were in this sample.

Related to this is the sex makeup of the executive group. Here we find that only 2% of this group were women. I also kept a record of the references made to women and minorities as potential executives in order to examine the amount of attitudinal support which may exist for increased participation for these groups among the male executives. Using a three point scale ranging from "none" to "frequent," 75% of the subjects expressed no references to women or blacks as executives, and in some cases expressed certain hostilities toward Affirmative Action programs in general, while 12.5% made "some" reference and 12.5% made "frequent" references toward women and minorities. At least one respondent noted the difficulties faced by minorities in state government.

> There has got to be an outreach program for identifying potential--too often there is no career ladder for promotion of women. . . . They often don't have enough experience . . . we have to allow them to be successful by providing on the job training or it will be the end of Affirmative Action. At the top you are supposed to understand the procedure--there is no organized training and no one to help. You have to have training for success.

There would appear then, to be some problem with both numerical representation and attitudes toward the integration of blacks and women into the executive level of state government in Michigan, as was suggested in implication II-a.

Finally, as is easily seen in Table 26, the top state executives in Michigan are, for the most part, highly educated. Only 6% of the sample did not have a college education, with 72% having at least some graduate training. Several interesting patterns of education did emerge. First the initial crosstabs which utilized all departments and all possible educational levels, revealed a consistent pattern of educational distributions within a department. There seemed to be three different types of distributions: one based on age, one based on mobility, and one based on specific job requirements. Agency A had all subjects over the age of 50 and all of whom had only B.S. degrees granted in the post-World War II period. Agencies B and C on the other hand, had a large population of people with terminal Master's degrees (M.B.A. generally) and high turnover rate among top executives who expressed a "temporary" perspective on their jobs. Finally, virtually all of the Ph.D.s, M.Ds and LLDs were concentrated in three areas where these educational requirements were essential to the job requirements. These findings are potentially relevant when we examine the role of norms and decision processes in the change process as cited in II-b.

Education credentials were also examined as they relate to two other important levels of analysis. First, when the departments were divided between administrative (mechanistic) and policy (organic) organizations as discussed in II-j and delineated in Chapter III, the policy agencies had considerably more graduate trained specialists, as seen in Table 27. One possible explanation for this would be the need for more technical or specialized knowledge or skills in policy agencies as opposed to administrative agencies, where reliance on rules and regulations is more important. Not only are those in organic organizations more likely to have graduate training, but the predominance of M.A./ Ph.D.s may be an indicator of a "norm" in terms of the preferred type of education among the executive group within the organization.

TABLE 27

DISTRIBUTION OF EDUCATION AMONG MECHANISTIC AND ORGANIC DEPARTMENTS[a]

Type of Organization	B.A./B.S.	M.A./Ph.D.	LLD/M.D.	
Mechanistic	50% 10	35% 7	15% 3	100%
Organic	23% 7	60% 18	17% 5	100%

N = 50
χ^2 = 4.030
$\underline{p}$ = .113

[a]The reader will remember that the departments were roughly divided into the following categories: Mechanistic: Attorney General, Executive, Licensing and Regulation, Management and Budget, State, Treasury, and State Police, Corrections, and Civil Service; Organic: Agriculture, Civil Rights, Commerce, Education, Labor, Mental Health, Natural Resources, Public Health, Social Services, and Transportation

Second, different educational patterns were also observed between the younger executive and the older, as seen in Table 28. The older executives possessed more B.S./B.A. and LLD/M.D. degrees than any of the other age groups, dominating the lawyers and doctors. The mid-life group possessed an even amount of B.S./B.A. and M.A./Ph.D. degrees, while the

*Each table will report the Chi-square (raw or adjusted) and the significance at the .05 level.

youngest group had a predominance of Ph.D./M.A.s. It appears, then, that the younger group is more likely to have graduate training and because education is usually obtained early in life (before 30), we can assume that the younger executives are coming to their positions with higher credentials.

TABLE 28

EDUCATIONAL CREDENTIALS BY AGE GROUP

	Age			
Education	25–40	41–50	51–over	
B.A./B.S.	25% 2	38% 6	32% 9	100%
LLD/M.D.	0	12% 2	23% 6	100%
M.A./Ph.D.	75% 6	50% 8	42% 11	100%

$N = 50$
$\chi^2 = 3.77$
$P = .43$

When we examine the relation between the education of the executive and his/her department, controlling for age, we can see that the age groups display different patterns of preference for type of organization. This would lead us to suggest that age has an independent effect on the role of education in the choice of departments.

When we examine the relationship between the education of the executive and his department, controlling for age, we can see that the age

TABLE 29

THE EFFECT OF EDUCATION ON CHOICE OF ORGANIZATION
WHEN CONTROLLING FOR AGE

Type of Organization	Education			
	B.A./B.S.	M.A./Ph.D.	LLD/M.D.	
		25-40 years old		
Mechanistic	20% 1	80% 4	0	100%
Organic	33% 1	67% 2	0	100%
N = 8; Fisher's exact test = .642				
		41-50 year old		
Mechanistic	67% 4	16.7% 1	16.7% 1	100%
Organic	20% 2	10% 1	70% 7	100%
N = 16; χ^2 = 4.44; p = .10				
		51 years old and over		
Mechanistic	56% 5	22% 2	22% 2	100%
Organic	24% 4	24% 4	52% 9	100%
N = 26; χ^2 = 3.060; p = .216				

groups display different patterns of preference of type of organization. This would lead us to suggest that age has an independent effect on the role of education in the choice of departments. Again, we observe the pattern of higher educational credentials concentrated in the policy areas, except for the youngest group, which are in the mechanistic organizations.

There was a void of doctors and lawyers among the younger group--perhaps a reflection of the younger professional being mobile in the competitive market situation, a disenchantment with the goals of the private market, the pace of methods resulting in a career change to public sector positions, or a requirement of substantial professional reputation which could be gained primarily by the older group. Each of these explanations had some substantiation in the responses to why they took a job at the state.* The older group, on the other hand, possessed many more graduate degrees and all the doctors and lawyers. The question then becomes is the education of a person who is five years out of school comparable on technical and scientific levels with the Ph.D. that was granted 20-25 years ago (60% of total) before the wide spread use of computer data processing techniques and statistical presentations of information. The older group has a far greater chance of being technically obsolete than the 1970-era Ph.D. The explosion of complex information and knowledge has, in fact, increased to such a pace today that the estimates of knowledge obsolescence at approximately 10 years out of school may have to be revised downward. All of this becomes particularly important when proposing a personnel system which seeks to tie job security to performance criteria which are

*Refers to Question 4 of the format: "Why did you come to work for the state?"

based, in large part, on expectations of program effectiveness which are technically defined. Additionally, because 78% of the over 45-year-old graduate and professional degree holders were concentrated in policy areas, where presumably the need for current information is more important, the potential for communication and policy disagreements with younger subordinates is increased. We will return to the knowledge obsolescence problem in Section II of this chapter when we examine the crucial subordinate role.

The reader will remember that in Chapter II the career pattern of the mobile executive which has come to characterize the private sector in the 1970s was reviewed. How prevalent is this pattern among state government executives in Michigan? All but two executives in this sample have lived their entire life (except during military service or graduate school) in Michigan, with virtually no interstate mobility.* Likewise, only one person in this sample had worked for the state less than 4 years, with 24% working for the state 5-10 years and 74% working for the state for more than 11 years.** Thus, frequent mobility between the public and private sectors (only 24% have <u>ever</u> worked in the private sector) does not seem to be common.† Perhaps a better indicator of job mobility (as opposed to sector mobility) would be the length of time on the current job.†† If the mobile executive is defined as moving at least every four years, then 50%

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*Taken from Question 1: "How long have you been living in Michigan?"

**Taken from Question 2: "How long have you worked for the state of Michigan?"

†Taken from Question 4: "Have you ever worked in an upper management position in the private sector?"

††Taken from Question 3: "How long have you worked at your current job?"

of the sample could be classified as mobile (at least in regard to their current job) and 50% were shelf sitters. This is somewhat different than what was expected to occur, based on II-f, where it was suggested that bureaucratic rules and norms would encourage the insider executive. Exact data about organizational mobility would provide a more complete understanding of how mobile the executives were within their organization over time. This figure must be viewed with caution, however; many respondents have been in the same job (or doing the same duties) for longer than four years, but the name or level of the position had been changed, constituting what they define as a "new job," but which could be seen as the same job by the outside observer.

The mobility findings also seem to be related to both what type of department was chosen and to the particular career orientation. Table 30 shows that policy organizations (organic) have a higher degree of mobility among their top executives than do administrative agencies (mechanistic).

TABLE 30

CHOICE OF ORGANIZATION AND THE MOBILITY OF EXECUTIVES

Time in Current Job	Type of Organization: Mechanistic	Type of Organization: Organic
less than 5 years	35% 7	60% 18
more than 5 years	65% 13	40% 12

N = 50
$\chi^2 = 4.21$
$p = .14$

It appears that the policy organizations have many more of the mobile executives, what career people have called "temporary leadership." This finding is consistent with the theoretical background suggested in II-c and II-d. The mobile executive seems to prefer the organic-type organization, perhaps based in part on their orientation toward personal growth and short tenure in a position. Likewise, the insider executive seems to prefer the mechanistic organization where loyalty, hierarchy and rules are rewarded.

Additionally, the political executive expressed different reasons for coming to work for the state than did the administrative executive, leading us to conclude that different motivational and incentive packages may be appropriate for different career orientations. This also becomes important for the Career Executive Service program as suggested in II-e. Among the political executives, 44% responded to "public need" reasoning (either by running for office or by being asked to serve by governor). Additionally, several of the 22% who referred to internship positions went on to specify that their internships were with the legislature, where the opportunities for mobility and visibility are far greater. One went so far as to say, "If you want to move fast, take a job with the legislature, not a Civil Service exam." The career bureaucrat, on the other hand, more often cited transfers from private sector (26%) in order to pursue policy or technical areas of interest, or educational experiences which led them to seek government sector careers (32%). This group also cited the importance of the internship experience (16%) but referred to experiences in the lower levels of bureaucracy. In any case, educational interests and experiences as well as "who you know" (in terms of the internship experience) both seem to play a significant role in orienting executives toward the public service.

TABLE 31

REASONS WHY ADMINISTRATIVE AND POLITICAL EXECUTIVES CAME TO WORK FOR THE STATE

	Type of Job		
	Political	Administrative	
Asked to take job by governor	1 (83%)	1 (17%)	100%
Transfer from another government	2 (40%)	3 (60%)	100%
Transfer from private sector	0 (0%)	8 (100%)	100%
Internship experience	4 (44%)	5 (56%)	100%
Elected	3 (100%)	0 (0%)	100%
Use training or education	3 (23%)	10 (77%)	100%
Interested in working for public interest	1 (33%)	2 (66%)	100%
I ask myself all the time	0 (0%)	2 (100%)	100%

N = 49
$\chi^2 = 27.30$
$\underline{p} = .05$

Related to this orientation toward state service is the fact that 92% of those who came to the state because they wanted to work for the state or because they had skills which could only be practiced in the public sector were located in policy departments. As we will see in Section II, this could be related to the frequently stated position that "management is management" at least as far as finance or personnel duties go, but in the more substantive areas, specialized knowledge was always a requirement for the executive. Thus, the policy-oriented and trained executive consistently was more resistant to the suggestions of rotation of executives which would force them to move out of their substantive areas. It also would suggest that there may be more than one educational strategy appropriate for developing executive talent--the generalist and specialist administrative ideas are still real in the minds of these executives. The educational experience which prepares the executive with neither administrative skills nor substantive policy area knowledge is in the weakest position to provide adequate executive training.

The final question which should be briefly addressed here is how mobility affects the willingness to make organizational change. Again, as executive mythology would lead us to believe, the "mobile" executive is more likely to be favorably disposed toward change as seen in Table 32.

TABLE 32

HOW MOBILITY AFFECTS THE ATTITUDE TOWARD ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE*

Attitude Toward Change	Time on Job			
	less than 5 years		more than 5 years	
pro change	72%	18	56%	14
anti change	28%	7	44%	11
	100%		100%	
N = 50 χ^2 = .7812 $\underline{p}$ = .37				

*The measurement of attitude toward change will be discussed in depth in Section 3 of this analysis; briefly, it deals with six questions about potential changes.

The statistical significance of this relationship has been affected by the large number of pro-change subjects in this sample (64%). What is interesting is that pro-change attitudes were much stronger for the mobile group (72%) than for the non-mobile group (56%). Several propositions could be offered by way of explanation: experience has shown the futility of change efforts; security; or, the effect of group norms on executive behavior is more pronounced for the non-mobile executive. This is at least tentative confirmation of the propositions II-c and II-d, that the mobile executive would be more pro-change, while the insider would be less supportive.

Finally, a word about age. The sample of this study was distributed by age as follows:

TABLE 33

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE

Age	Number	Percentage	Category
25-30 years	1	2	young
21-35 years	0	0	young
36-40 years	7	14	young
41-45 years	7	14	mid-life
46-50 years	9	18	mid-life
51-55	12	24	older
56-60	11	22	older
61-older	3	6	older
	50	100	

The small sample size (and the resultant small number of cases in each cohort) dictated the use of a rough division between the three age groups.

This is theoretically important as the periods of significant personal adult development which would lead to different behavior patterns. We have already examined the importance of age as it relates to education and type of agency.

In an earlier discussion, this relationship was examined in terms of a knowledge obsolescence argument. We will be examining this idea further in Section III when we discuss the importance of age and education on stress, systematic and intuitive planning modes, and attitudes toward change. Additionally, throughout the next three sections, age continually appears and is statistically related to many of the attitudes and ideas expressed on the other levels of analysis. The sorts of research and policy implications and conclusions that can be drawn from this will be elaborated in Chapter V.

Summary: Research Question A

Research question A, "Who are these executives?" addresses at a very general level the race, sex, education classifications and career orientations of state executives in Michigan. They were generally found to be white males with graduate educations. Educational credentials did vary according to organizational type with organic organizations having a larger percentage of Ph.D./M.A. degrees. When age was controlled, the younger executives were distributed evenly across organizations in terms of education, while the graduate-educated executives in the older group were concentrated in the organic organizations. The importance of this finding for knowledge obsolescence in organic organizations was discussed.

We also found differential career and mobility patterns among executives (political and administrative). While 63% of the lawyers and doctors were political executives, only 38% were administrative executives. The M.A./Ph.D. degree, on the other hand, was more common among administrative executives (71%) with only 29% of the degrees possessed by political executives. Because all the political executives in this sample were department heads and all the administrative executives were subordinates, the differential training becomes important for group relations as well as organizational effectiveness, as suggested in Chapter II. Not surprisingly, political executives were found to have different motivations for public service than the administrative executive. Political executives came to work for the state because the governor asked them, they were elected, or political internship experiences gave them the contacts and visibility. The administrative executive, on the other hand, was more often motivated by training and transfer from the private sector. Finally, there was at least some indication that the more mobile executive was more likely to be favorable toward planned organizational change than the non-mobile. These differential mobility patterns again point to the existence of certain norms of behavior, values, and attitudes among executives. Age was found to be significantly related to education and department in this section, and will be further discussed in each of the remaining sections.

How Do Off-the Job Variables Affect Executive Job Performance?

Much of the literature about executives and stress points to the importance of family and health as both a monitor of their own behavior, and, a moderator of the pressures. When things are tense at the office, the tension is also felt at home in their family relationships, or in physical disorders and symptoms. This research sought to examine the health and family life of the state executive in Michigan to see the potential or real influence these off-the-job variables play in job performance.

In general, these executives listed themselves in excellent (47%) or good (47%) health. It was interesting, however, to note the number of subjects who prefaced their good health claims with confessions of past health problems which forced them to slow down.*

> When I was 40-45 years old I developed six ulcers and had to take a long time off work as a result to recover. I realized that it wasn't worth it--so I changed my lifestyle.

Others pointed to the pressures of their current job leading to physical problems.

> I didn't have high blood pressure until I came to work for the state. In the season of legislative committee meetings, it soars. Without those meetings it goes down.

> I smoke two and one-half packs of cigarettes a day and I have diabetes. My doctor told me he was going to quit me if I didn't stop killing myself.

> Two previous directors died of heart attacks 22 months apart--that's not going to happen to me.

Statements such as these lead this researcher to conclude that more longitudinal perspectives need to be taken on the health of executives in order to accurately account for its impact on executive life. It would seem fair to conclude that there may be a sampling error which would include only those executives who had successfully combatted the health problems associated with stress in my sample, and the others who had been more severely afflicted were self-selected out of the sample.

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*The two health questions were: 33: a scale of common disorders and complaints, and, 32: "What kind of health would you say you are in?"

There was one particularly interesting relationship which deserves some attention here as illustrated in Table 34. Since there is a strong relationship between Type A behavior and heart disease, the presence of the behavior could be indicative of poor general health in an early stage. This is particularly of interest due to the nature of Type A behavior. While it is a known cause of heart attack and disease, Type A people, because of the constant drive, success at all cost and hurried pace of life which typifies their behavior, would most naturally evaluate their own health highly just as they do all aspects of their life.

TABLE 34

THE REPORTED HEALTH OF THE TYPE A EXECUTIVE

	Type A Behavior			
Reported Health	Type A		Type B	
Excellent	60%	18	26%	5
Good	40%	12	74%	14
	100%		100%	

N = 49
$\chi^2 = 4.03$
$\underline{p} = .04$

One other measure was made of the general health of the subjects based on such personal habits as sound sleep, earlier riser, headaches, stomach aches, shortness of breath, and listlessness. Here again, a majority of the subjects showed "no stress" (52%), with 44% reporting a low stress level. This is, of course, consistent with the reporting of general state of health cited above. What is interesting, however, is how the Type A person also discussed above rated on the stress symptoms scale, a somewhat more specific analysis of physiological patterns which typify the stressful person. These findings tend to confirm two explanations suggested in II-i: first, the Type A person may not be aware of (or bothered by) the physiological symptoms of stressful behavior, as indicated by responses to general health questions; and, second, Type A behavior people do show certain physiological stress signals which can be monitored to help evaluate the tension that individual executives may be undergoing. These findings are consistent with many of the more elaborate and specialized studies of job stress, as well as current theoretical speculation about the role of biology in social behavior.

TABLE 35

THE STRESSFUL PERSONAL HABITS OF THE TYPE A EXECUTIVE

	Type A Behavior			
Personal Habits	Type A		Type B	
Stressful	63%	19	17%	3
Non-stressful	37%	11	83%	15
	100%		100%	

$N = 48$
$\chi^2 = 8.078$
$\underline{p} = .004$

. . . .

Subjects were also asked about the effect of job pressure on family life. Table 36 reports the findings.

TABLE 36

HAVE JOB PRESSURES RECENTLY INTERFERED WITH YOUR FAMILY LIFE?

Category	N	%
Seriously	1	2
To a considerable extent	5	10
Somewhat	10	21
Slightly	7	15
Rarely	25	50
	48	100

Here again, a longitudinal perspective seems to be indicated based on the open-ended responses during the interviews.

> Not anymore . . . years ago it did. I used to have marital problems. Now I understand my role more.
>
> You can't take the problems home with you--worry about family, concern about job.
>
> Through self-discipline, I make my wife the least informed person. It's not fair to clutter our relationship.

In fact, several of these executives made strong statements about employees who try to take the job home with them at night.

> I rarely take work home--eight hours of your day should be non-work. I'm not a workaholic. I've known people like that and if they died tomorrow, nobody would miss them.
>
> If I see employees taking work home, instead of thinking they are real hard workers, I think they are lazy and don't get their work done during the day.

One interesting finding concerned the effect of job pressures on home life and the mobile executive. Table 37 illustrates a very different pattern among both the mobile and non-mobile.

TABLE 37

THE MOBILE EXECUTIVE AND THE EFFECT OF JOB PRESSURES ON HOME LIFE

Effect of Job On Home Life	Work in Current Job: Less than 5 years		More than 5 years	
Yes, it effects	36%	9	67%	16
No, it does not effect	64%	16	33%	8
	100%		100%	

N = 49
$\chi^2 = 3.46$
$\underline{p} = .06$

These findings, on first examination, appear to be opposite of what would be expected. The mobile executive (under 5 years in same job) would typically be associated with high job pressures affecting his/her home life. Instead, the non-mobile executive appears to be more bothered by job pressures at home. One possible explanation could be that the mobile executive often does not know or realize the effect his/her job has on his/her family life, when so caught up in the success spiral. The non-mobile executive has had more time to reflect upon this relationship. An alternative explanation could be the classic idea that the wives and families of successful men have long ago given up pointing out the infringement of the job on the family and have become, by way of defense, independent.

This leads us to the next logical question--how often does family pressure interfere with job performance? Table 38 will give the reader an idea of how this variable was distributed among the subjects. Here again the reader will note that most of the executives did not respond to this as a negative issue in job performance. This does not, however, negate the importance of this variable in considering the causes of job stress.

TABLE 38

DO FAMILY PRESSURES AFFECT YOUR JOB PERFORMANCE?

Category	N	%
Sometimes	8	17
From time to time	5	10
Hardly ever	26	54
Never	9	19
	48	100

As one of the subjects related:

> In order to motivate the employee, you must be able to get into his head. I have had a lot of personal discussions with employees. You cannot minimize the interface between homelife and the job. Homelife does affect the worker.

There seems to be some relationships between the effect of family pressures on the job and the type of organization, as illustrated in Table 39. It is unclear, however, whether the choice of department is based on family needs or, as one might be more inclined to think, that the organization environment may be a causal factor in family problems. It could even be the manner in which family problems can be expressed and facilitated in the job setting. Those in more mechanistic, rule-bounded organizations reported less interference on job from family than did those in organic organizations. This would most likely be the result of a more closed versus more open perspective on what the job consists of, where information comes from, and the willingness to take cues from the external environment. All of this would allow the executive to express family problems on the job, which in turn, encourages positive answers to the question on the part of the respondent.

TABLE 39

DO FAMILY PRESSURES EFFECT JOB PERFORMANCE
BY THE TYPE OF ORGANIZATION

	Type of Organization			
Family Pressures	Mechanistic (administrative)		Organic (policy)	
No, does not affect	42%	8	20%	6
Yes, does affect	58%	11	80%	24
	100%		100%	

N = 49
$\chi^2 = 4.06$
$p = .17$

One final finding that deserves some attention here is the relationship between those who feel they bring job pressures home and thos who feel that family pressures interefere with work performance. As the reader can see, an inverse relationship is suggested.

TABLE 40

HOW FAMILY PRESSURES AND THE JOB RELATE TO
JOB PRESSURES AND THE FAMILY

Family Pressures Effect Job Performance	Job Pressures Effect Family		
	No	Yes	
No, does not affect	4 (29%)	10 (71%)	100%
Yes, does affect	21 (60%)	14 (40%)	100%

N = 49
χ^2 = 2.795
p = .09

Those who felt that their family pressures did not interfere with job performance did feel that job pressures interferred with family life; the reverse was also true, where the family pressures did interfere with job performance and did not interfere with family life. The interpretation of this finding is elusive. It could be an indicator of inconsistent attitudes. More likely, however, is an explanation based on their particular perspective on which is the problem--the family not understanding the executive job or the job interfering with the family. Some probably felt that family inevitably comes in the way of job performance--during crisis, illness, death. The others may feel that job pressures impinge on the family--that public exposure of private life and time infringements cause additional pressure on family life. In short, it would seem that it is a matter of perspective on the relationships.

Summary: Research Question B

Research question B, "How do off-the-job variables effect executive job performance," addresses the relevance of family and health considerations to the stress experienced by state executives in Michigan. While reporting good health and few of the typical physiological signs of stress, there did seem to be some relationships between this self-evaluation and the presence of the Type A personality. The relationships were, however, unexpected and will require further study to fully explain. It appears that the Type A person evaluates his/her health highly as they do all aspects of their life. All of these executives reported fairly good health, despite some indications of past health problems.

When briefly questioned about their family life, these executives did report some interference between the family and the job performance. The findings on both of these variables must be viewed as tentative. It was clear from the open responses made by numerous subjects that these sorts of problems did occur at a higher rate when the entire career is the perspective of study rather than a cross-sectional analysis such as this project represents.

How Pervasive is Type A Behavior?

The last research question on the individual level addresses the pervasiveness of the Type A behavior syndrome. Because this behavior is related to a personality type, the situation serves only to provide the environment and focus of the time-urgent, free floating hostility. In this sample, 61% of the subjects were classified as Type A, 22% Type B and 17% mixed*. This sample, then, represents a larger than expected proportion of Type A people based on the national average (40%), as suggested in II-j.

Type A behavior was found to be more prevalent in the mobile executive as shown in Table 41.

TABLE 41

TYPE A BEHAVIOR AND MOBILITY

Type A Behavior	Work in Current Job			
	Under 5 years		More than 5 years	
Type A	60%	18	40%	12
Type B	37%	7	63%	12
	100%		100%	

$N = 49$
$\chi^2 = 1.655$
$\underline{p} = .19$

The Type A person would naturally be more drawn to the mobile career path due to the need requirements of the behavior pattern. In fact, these people are most often the highly creative, quick, hardworking executives who are idealized. Moreover, it is these very behaviors that are rewarded in the career ladders toward the executive suite. All of this becomes important when considering how the increased competitiveness

*This measurement was taken from question 34, a scale developed to determine the presence of Type A Behavior; in the analysis, mixed was collapsed with Type B.

which will result from the Career Executive Service may serve to increase the stress among the mobile, Type A executive.

Finally, one very interesting relationship was found in this research which will reappear throughout the analysis. When the education of the executive was controlled for, the relationship between age and several of the independent measures of both stress and change became clearer. Returning again to the importance of Type A behavior as a measure of stress, the following relationship emerged (see Table 42).

There are several points to be made here. First in both tables 42a and 42b very similar patterns of Type A behavior emerge--decreasing percentage with age. Of course whether this is developmental in nature is impossible to say from cross-sectional data. Table c also shows differences among age groups of those people with M.A./Ph.D.s with one major difference--the oldest group was more Type A instead of Type B as in a and 42b. The M.A./PH.D. educational pattern seemed to have a different effect on the presence of Type A behavior, perhaps because of the ability of the person to control his/her behavior. An alternative explanation would suggest that perhaps it is the way in which the mid-life crisis is moderated--the person with a B.S./B.A. and LLD/M.D. comes through the crisis by either despair or through reexamination of life accomplishments --both giving up the competitive and aggressive behavior of the Type A person. The person with the M.A./Ph.D. on the other hand may react to the mid-life crisis with desperation about old age or either renewed vigor after a satisfactory evaluation of his/her younger life. In either case, the importance of the changes during mid-life crisis again appears to be relevant and deserves more attention. Finally, the pattern of education having different effects on different age groups will arise at several

TABLE 42

THE PREVALENCE OF TYPE A BEHAVIOR AMONG AGE GROUPS WHEN EDUCATION IS CONTROLLED

	42a - B.A./B.S. Degree			42b - LLD/M.D.			42c - M.A./Ph.D.		
	Type A Behavior			Type A Behavior			Type A Behavior		
	Type A	Type B		Type A	Type B		Type A	Type B	
25-40	2 (100%)	0 (0)	100%	X	X		5 (83%)	1 (17%)	100%
41-50	4 (67%)	2 (33%)	100%	2 (100%)	0 (0)	100%	3 (38%)	5 (63%)	100%
51-over	4 (50%)	4 (50%)	100%	2 (33%)	4 %67%)	100%	8 (73%)	3 (27%)	100%
	N = 16 χ^2 = 1.77 p = .411			N = 8 Fischer's exact test = .21429			N = 25 χ^2 = 2.775 p = .15		

other points throughout this discussion, leading to a theoretical explanation which involves age and education as moderators of stress and attitudes toward change.

In the preceding section we discussed the relationships between Type A behavior and health. Combining this information with the mobility findings, the mobile executive fits closely the health and personal behavior patterns which have come to the literature in the form of personal accounts, as well as the physiological studies of executives. In Section III we will again return to Type A behavior as it relates to organizational level behavior and the adoption of the Career Executive Service.

Summary: Level of Analysis I

There are three theoretically relevant explanations which are potentially suggested from this initial level of analysis, which are summarized below in Table 43. Obviously, a full explanation of these theoretical findings is not possible without the further levels of analysis; several interesting ideas emerge, however. First, the reader may be wondering about the statistically relevant relationships between the three explanations. Three way contingency analysis did not reveal any statistically significant relationships between age, education and mobility, per se. Obviously, the age and education predictors do seem to be related as was discussed in terms of knowledge obsolescence as well as Type A behavior. But because the mobility seemed to be randomly distributed across ages, the knowledge obsolescence could take on different character for the mobile executive (mobility gap developing faster than skills) and the non-mobile executive) mobility lag lack of motivation to update skills). The different research

TABLE 43

INDIVIDUAL LEVEL THEORETICAL EXPLANATIONS

A. Age Based Explanation

	25-40 years old	41-50 years old	51-over years old
Education = B.S./B.A.	25%	38%	35%
M.A./Ph.D.	75%	50%	23%
LLD/M.D.	0	22%	42%
	100%	100%	100%
Type of Organization/ Education			
B.A./B.A.	evenly split mechanistic/ organic	more mechanistic	more mechanistic
M.A./Ph.D.	more mechanistic	evenly split mechan-istic/organic	organic
LLD/M.D.	0	more organic	organic
Type A Behavior/Education			
B.S./B.A.	Type A	Type A	evenly split
M.A./Ph.D.	Type A	Type B	Type A
LLD/M.D.	0	Type A	Type B

*No relationship between age and mobility per se

. . . .

(continued)

Table 43 (continued)

B. Education Based Explanation	B.A./B.S.	LLD/M.D.	M.A./Ph.D.
Age	41 and over	predominantly over 51	predominately under 51
Type of Organization	mechanistic	organic	organic
Type A Behavior/Age			
25-40	Type A	0	Type A
41-50	Type A	Type A	Type B
51-over	evenly split	Type B	Type A

*No relationship between education and mobility per se

. . . .

C. Mobility Based Explanation

	Mobile	Non-Mobile
State	26% worked for state under 10 years 2% worked for state under 4 years	74% worked for state over 11 years
Type of Organization	organic (60%)	mechanistic (65%)
Attitude Toward Change	pro change (72%)	anti-change (56%)
Job does affect home life	job does not affect home life (64%)	job does affect home life (67%)
Type A Behavior	Type A (60%)	Type B (63%)

*No relationships between mobility/age or mobility/education and policy options suggested from these findings will be discussed in Chapter V.

Group Level Findings

The individual executive, whe he/she enters his/her organization, most commonly works in groups. This is particularly true to top level executives who are more likely to not only collect information verbally rather than in writing, but to receive these communications in small work groups of advisors. We are interested here in what kind of people make up this group, their perspectives and talents, as well as how they are socialized during their subordinate period. The fourth research question addresses this relationship.

How Do These Executives Describe Their Interpersonal Relationships Within the Job Context?

The fastest method of mobility to the top of the modern corporation is to be a crucial subordinate to a mobile executive who will be your sponsor. Is this the predominate mode of executive group development in state government? The results of this particular level pose a mixed picture. While several of the executives referred in passing to the boss who had brought them into the executive group they now were a part of, only six (12%) had a specific replacement in mind or were consciously planning or looking.* There are at least two possible explanations for this pattern: first, the pattern of executive recruitment in public organizations

*Taken from question, "If you were moving to a better job and had to find a replacement for yourself, what sort of person would you look for?" (17a) is hampered because of the Civil Service restrictions. Second, the belief that in public organizations, "ownership" of job and/or the need to train for the future is not the business of the executive. It will be the rules that determine the best replacement. Both were given as a reason by some of the respondents. I favor yet another explanation; that the subordinate relationships of the private sector is really the same phenomena as the political "favoritism" or reward process that characterizes the public sector, both in and outside of the merit system restrictions. In fact, several of the executives felt that the new Executive Service was unnecessary because "anyone with any political know-how could use the present system to get the people they wanted." For whatever reason, there was little evidence found in this research to substantiate the sponsorship system in the state of Michigan as was suggested in II-k.

Moving then, from the specific sponsorship system, there were certain general patterns of preferences shown toward replacements who were like themselves. Twenty-eight percent of the subjects felt that their replacements should be the same as themselves. What is of more interest, is the 72% who cited differences they felt were important in their replacement. Although the differences were predominately in more education or greater skill development (47%), a number of other interesting insights into the executive role were offered.

> I bruise easily because I am sensitive to the human element. There is not too much sensitivity in the system to human elements. I should be more thick skinned than I am. I had a problem with being accepted because I was somebody from the outside. People were passed over for promotion when I came in causing resentment. It even spilled over into my wife's relationships with the other wives.

> Philosophically supportive of the strong executive.

> Interested in fulfilling the governor's policies. With the ability to take being criticized all the time by legislators--to take the lumps. Somebody who really wants the job.
>
> Should recognize that in Michigan due to the Constitution, the task of the agency is planning and coordinating higher education cannot be accomplished. You need a willingness to work toward it.
>
> Sometimes people come around in a year--it's not the same at Oldsmobile. Here--political and social development of the agency, the nature of people's needs have a certain time in history. You have to recognize your time in history to come and go.
>
> The ability to meet arrogant stupid legislators who are in power in order to motivate change or accommodate their needs.
>
> Philosophically sound in terms of the mission of the agency. Have to have roots in the service philosophy. It is not enough just to be a good manager. I am afraid this is not going to be perceived in the future.

Beyond these personal and philosophical differences cited above, there was also some evidence that skill requirements do vary according to the need of the boss suggesting some notions of complementary and supplementary subordinates.

> In a job like this, the kind of characteristics depends on the characteristics of the person above and below. If there were a different kind of person as boss-you'd have to play a different role.
>
> Depends on the different role between the director and deputy. We complement each other--he is detailed, I am broad-based policy oriented.

All of these passages illustrate the importance of cooperation, agreement, and commitment to the goal among people at the top of public organizations as suggested in I-h and II-m, which emphasized the trust relationships and cooperative solidarity pattern of group processes. If this could be used as an elementary measure of norms within the executive group, then what characteristics, skills, or behaviors are valued (and become norms) in this group? Tables 44 and 45 outline in detail the ideal positive and negative characteristics of the "good executive," which we are assuming have some relationship to the behavioral norms among executives as cited in II-n. The charts include all of the characteristics that were cited; for analytical purposes, the characteristics were roughly divided into people versus task orientations.

The reader should note that the most frequently mentioned characteristics both positive and negative were emotional or interpersonal qualities which are often the focus of training programs. It is also indicative of the people orientations of these executives. This is consistent with the way these executives handled differences of opinions among the executive group.

> I try to avoid blind uniformity--there are differences in responsibilities that need different treatment.
>
> People expect me to be a facilitator of getting all the parties together to try to get consensus and agreement.
>
> We have staff meetings every morning at 7:00 which are very open. People express differences and I want them to. I make the final decisions but I don't need yes people around me.

Several interesting statistical relationships emerged from these questions about ideal characteristics and replacements. Returning again to the idea of replacements as crucial subordinates, both the amount of work as a cause of stress, and the type of agency seemed to be related to the executive's ability to recruit and train future executives. In Table 46 the reader can see that as might be expected, the executives in mechanistic departments felt that their replacements should be no different,* while

*Taken from question 17a: "If you were moving to a better job, and had to find a replacement for yourself, what sort of person would you look for?"

TABLE 44

POSITIVE CHARACTERISTICS*

Rank	Characteristics*	Number
1.	Communicate well	18
2.	Good interpersonal relations/work with people	17
3.	Patient, understanding, tolerant	12
4.	Adjust to changing conditions, flexible	11
	integrity, ethics, honest	11
	decision maker, problem solving	11
7.	Get along with people of various interests	9
	fair, accepting, open-minded, unbiased	9
	administrative ability and time management	9
10.	Good sense of humor	8
	delegation	8
12.	Mature, control of emotions, tactful	7
	ambitious, drive	7
14.	Look at bigger picture, planning, vision	6
15.	Good judgment, common sense	5
	ability to identify talented individuals	5
	professional interest in goal/ in p.a.	5
	technical specialist	5
19.	Sensitive	4
	committed to public interest	4
	broad background	4
	listener	4
23.	Leadership	3
	use of personal time for job	3
	pride	3
	credibility/trust building	3
	loyalty	3
27.	Organized	2
	courage	2
	intelligent	2
	previous experience	2
31.	Economical	1
	persistent	1
	ability to relate to the political	1
	risk taking	1

*Taken from question 15: "Many positions in government require that a person have not only certain technical skills and experiences, but also personality characteristics or particular talents. Thinking of your own job, what sorts of personal characteristics do you feel a person ought to have in order to be a good executive?"

TABLE 45

NEGATIVE CHARACTERISTICS*

Rank	Characteristics	Number
1.	Bad interpersonal relations	14
2.	Egotistic, arrogant, abrasive	10
3.	Bad communications	8
	making too hasty/bad/hard decisions	8
5.	Intolerant, impatient, rigid	7
6.	Emotional	6
7.	Lazy, lack of initiative	5
8.	Ability to deal with, meet the public	4
	shy, anxious, afraid	4
	lose the bigger picture	4
	lack of imagination, enthusiasm	4
	unable to work in high visibility	4
14.	Allowing the system to run things	3
	not understanding policy	3
	biased, prejudice	3
	lack of management skills	3
18.	Too narrow	2
	improper appearance	2
	no experience in government	2
21.	Insecure	1
	don't hold people accountable	1
	dishonest	1

*Taken from question 16: "What sorts of personal characteristics might lead one to do poorly in this job?"

those in organic organizations saw differences in the requirements for future executives. I suggest that this could be attributed to the type of person which works in either of these departments. The mechanistic department is more likely to attract more rigid, structured people who feel that there is a "best" way to run organizations, therefore making these people less willing to admit (or even recognize) weaknesses.

TABLE 46

THE TYPE OF ORGANIZATION AND WHETHER THEIR REPLACEMENT SHOULD BE DIFFERENT

Type of Organization	Should Replacement be Different		
	No	Yes	
Administrative (mechanistic)	10 53%	9 47%	100%
Policy (Organic)	4 14%	24 86%	100%

N = 48
$\chi^2 = 6.606$
$\underline{p} = .01$

The more organic organization may attract people who are more flexible in their attitudes and behaviors, and hence, more willing to admit weaknesses. Whether this is entirely a manner of organizational learning or attraction, or some combination of the two is unclear from these data. Since many of the executives cited differences in educational and skill requirements, another explanation which could be offered is the problem of knowledge obsolescence may be recognized by the older group which is more commonly found in the organic organization.

Additionally, there was a statistical difference between those who felt the amount of work they had to do interferred with the quality of the work (a stress measure)* and if they felt their replacement should be different. One could interpret this to show that a person who is under stress (yes, it hurts), is more unsure about the job requirements therefore, suggesting that the replacement characteristics be different. The non-stressful executive predominately felt that his/her replacement should be different. This may be the result of a non-stressful evaluation of a changing environment. In either case, this relationship needs further analysis to elicit the exact meaning.

TABLE 47

REPLACEMENT DIFFERENT BY THE STRESS OF AMOUNT OF WORK

Replacement Different	Amount of Work Hurts Quality			
	Yes, hurts		No, does not hurt	
Yes	52%	13	91%	21
No	48%	12	8%	2
	100%		100%	

N = 48
$\chi^2 = 7.155$
$p = .007$

When we consider the positive characteristics in relation to some of the other elements of the executive makeup, we find three

*Taken from question 28: "Are there ever any times when the amount of work you have to do looks like it might interfere with how well it gets done?"

variables reappearing from Level I. First, the orientations of the executives toward the positive characteristics are different within each age group, as seen in Table 48.

TABLE 48

AGE BY POSITIVE CHARACTERISTICS

Positive Characteristics	Age					
	25-40		41-50		51-over	
People	50%	4	44%	7	12%	3
Task	50%	4	56%	9	88%	12
	100%		100%		100%	

N = 49
$\chi^2 = 6.97$
$p = .03$

The youngest group was evenly split, the mid-life group was somewhat more task oriented, and the oldest group was predominately task oriented. Two competing explanations again are offered. This difference could be the result of a developmental or organizational learning process. What is interesting, however, is that while adult development theory would predict that the older group be more people oriented, the organization learning literature might predict the task orientation based on "doing the job" and job enlargement notions. The other explanation which could be offered here is simply the change over the past 25-30 years in the ideas about what makes a good executive. As the "human relations" or people-oriented management strategies became predominant, each age cohort reflected the management training these executives received. So the older executive is really reflecting a pre-"human relations" management training. Each group then probably identified those particular characteristics that they were skilled in. Obviously, the validity of this interpretation cannot be determined through the use of cross sectional data.

What is interesting to note are the shifts which occur when the person was then asked about the negative characteristics or traits, as seen in Table 49.

TABLE 49

AGE BY NEGATIVE CHARACTERISTICS

	Age					
Characteristics	25-40		41-50		51-over	
People	75%	6	50%	8	44%	11
Task	25%	2	50%	8	56%	14
	100%		100%		100%	

N = 49
$X^2 = 2.34$
$\underline{p} = .31$

Compared to Table 48, each group moved toward the recognition that "people" were more bothersome for the Executive. This could be explained in terms of the dual nature of the executive job; on one hand, there are specific traits that each age group can identify as important to success which can be traced to a specific management philosophy or development stage. But, a second frame of reference was suggested in terms of negative characteristics. Here the recognition was of the problemmatic aspects of the interpersonal relations that can cause the breakdown in job performance. Hence, the frequently given problem of the subordinate who could "do the job, but just can't get along with people, so I can't promote him/her." In fact, good interpersonal relations may be more important than specific job related characteristics in the success of the executive. This is consistent with the managerial grid findings in the next section, and with the ideas of Herzberg about intrinsic and extrinsic motivators.

Beyond the specific statistical relationship suggested above, there was substantial concern expressed by the older executives toward the kind of people who would be entering their field in the future.

> Younger people today are different. People of my generation were motivated by status, money, prestige. For people now, those things mean less. What they want is more maximizing of choice and flexibility.

> There is a different breed of cat today and I am always trying to moderate things between what is today and what was yesterday. It is harder to get the younger employee to go the extra mile. We have had a big problem with lateral movement from other agencies. Those folks don't understand the career (Agency X) employee. They are not committed to us. You have to get commitment--it will be the cure for efficiency and effectiveness.

These comments would suggest then, that the ideal requirements held by these executives do have some relationships to the age of the executive. Here again from this research it is unclear whether this is a result of adult learning and development or an intergenerational phenomenon.

The type of educational experience also seems related to the positive characteristics which were identified. Table 50 indicates that while the "task" orientations were fairly evenly distributed among the educational levels, the "people" orientations were stronger in those with M.A./Ph.D.s, again pointing to the similarity between those with B.A./B.S.

degrees and the doctors and lawyers, and their relative difference from those with M.A./Ph.D.s.

TABLE 50

TASK VS. PEOPLE ORIENTATION OF POSITIVE EXECUTIVE TRAITS BY EDUCATION

	Positive Traits		
Education	People Oriented	Task Oriented	
B.A./B.S.	2 (13%)	14 (87%)	100%
M.A./Ph.D.	11 (46%)	14 (54%)	100%
LLD/M.D.	1 (13%)	7 (87%)	100%

$N = 49$
$\chi^2 = 5.953$
$\underline{p} = .05$

Another related area of influence in terms of ideal characteristics is the membership in professional associations which allows the executive the opportunity to both see other models of behavior and to share mutual problems among people with similar responsibilities. In a sense, these opportunities invite the sharing of even broader, professional norms and behaviors, as well as language, among groups of specialists (i.e., The National Association of Police Chiefs, the National Association of State Revenue Commissioners, etc.). In short, they would reinforce the positive norms of behavior among those specialists who were isolated in their individual localities. The reader will note that more of the executives who were oriented toward people characteristics found professional associations helpful, while the task oriented executive seemed to find professional associations to be less helpful.

TABLE 51

POSITIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF EXECUTIVES AS RELATED TO THE USEFULNESS OF PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

	Professional Associations Helpful?		
Characteristics	Yes	No	
People	10 (71%)	4 (29%)	100%
Task	14 (40%)	21 (60%)	100%

N = 49
$\chi^2 = 2.795$
$p = .09$

In talking with these people, the predominant attitude toward professional associations seemed to have one of two themes: either associations were an excellent way of meeting other professionals to share problems, or associations were not helpful because of the specialized nature of the skills and knowledges required by the particular job. Interestingly, the predominant pattern of relationships reverses itself when we look at the negative characteristics, as seen in Table 52. So, the people who felt that people-oriented characteristics caused problems for an executive, did not find professional associations helpful, while those who found task oriented characteristics problemmatic did find associations to be helpful. I would assume that these findings are related to the perceived skill level possessed (i.e., the positive traits were evaluated against positive traits which I possess, the negative traits are evaluated against the negative behaviors of others that I observe rather than an observation of my own weaknesses).

TABLE 52

NEGATIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF EXECUTIVES AS RELATED TO THE USEFULNESS OF PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

	Professional Associations Useful?		
Characteristics	Yes	No	
People	6 (24%)	19 (76%)	100%
Task	14 (58%)	10 (42%)	100%

N = 49
χ^2 = 4.638
p = .031

Finally, returning to level 1, Type A behavior was found to be statistically related to those characteristics which executives felt could cause problems in successful performance. As might be expected, the Type A person found dealing with people to be somewhat more problematic than did the Type B person, as seen in Table 53. The negative task orientations were more evident in the Type B group. The people orientations, however, were slightly more predominate among Type A people. This is interesting because of the notoriously bad interpersonal skills of the Type A person--in their flight toward ever greater, ever faster success and achievement, they are often openly hostile and aggressive to their co-workers. This hostility is obviously stressful for the Type A person him/herself and for those who work with the person.

TABLE 53

THE TYPE A EXECUTIVE AND NEGATIVE CHARACTERISTICS

	Negative Traits		
Behavior	People Oriented	Task Oriented	
Type A	18 (60%)	12 (40%)	100%
Type B	7 (37%)	12 (63%)	100%

N = 49
χ^2 = 1.655
p = .198

Summary: Level II and Research Question D

Research Question D, "How do executives describe their interpersonal relationships within the job context," addresses the sorts of relationships and characteristics which have come to define the role of top level executive to state government; specifically, the department head and the top career bureaucrats as they form a management team. The executive is at once dependent upon his/her subordinates for information, advice, loyalty and trust, and, always mindful of the younger generation coming up to replace him/her. It is important, then, to examine how executives set role models and recruit for future leaders.

Again on this level of analysis, two of the basic potentially theoretically relevant explanations which are suggested here were explored.

TABLE 54

GROUP LEVEL THEORETICAL EXPLANATIONS

A. Age-Based Explanations

	25-40 years old	41-50 years old	51-over
Positive traits (people/tasks)	evenly split	task (56%)	task (88%)
Negative	people (75%)	evenly split	task (56%)

B. Education Based Explanations

	B.S./B.A.	LLD/M.D.	M.A./Ph.D.
Positive traits	task (87%)	task (87%)	task (54%)

Professional Associations as Education indicator:

	yes, helpful	No, not helpful
Positive traits	people (71%)	task (60%)
Negative traits	task (56%)	people (76%)

These findings will be added to those suggested in Level I.

Beyond the theoretically relevant relationships suggested above, the pattern of mobility was also examined. Executives who worked in mechanistic organizations (related to non-mobility) more often felt that their replacements should be no different from themselves, while the executives working in the organic organization (related to mobility) felt their replacements should be different. Related to this is some notion of how well they handle the duties of their job as it is measured by the time/quality of work stress. Those executives who felt their work often suffered in quality due to time constraints, responded that their replacements should be no different--a possible indication of the narrow focus and inward drawn behavior of a person under stress. Likewise, the executives who did not feel they were pressured in this regard indicated that their replacement should be different--perhaps the results of high self-esteem. So, as could be theoretically suggested, the mechanistic organization may be characterized by people under more pressure from time constraints, and therefore, more threatened by change in the form of a replacement.

Organizational Level Findings

The problem stated in this research, how are executives affected by change and how do they affect change, has an implicit focus on the organizational level of analysis. It is, after all, planned organizational change which is of concern, with specific attention being given to the development of a Senior Executive Service in the State of Michigan. What forces on the executive from their own attitudes and values, their group, their organization, and their state combine to encourage a positive response to the proposal? This level of analysis is concerned primarily with two research questions which are discussed below.

How Do These Executives Describe Their Work Environment?

There were two primary ways in which information about the organizational environment was gathered in this research project: Blake and Mouton's organizational grid analysis, and, Kahn, et al. questions used to examine organizational stress from a role perspective. The work of Van Maanen suggests that there are also two perspectives on planning--systematic and intuitive.

The reader will remember that the Blake and Mouton grid provides the executive with a way to analyze his/her management style. By totalling scores for six closed ended questions on decision style, convictions, conflict, temper, humor and effort, a composite style for each executive was derived and plotted on the grid.*. The composite grid for all the subjects of this study appears in Figure 5 and reflects the basic task versus people orientation of the executive as cited in I-j.

It is obvious that all of these executives felt they displayed what Blake and Mouton term "team management" styles. They found that usually the majority of people analyzed by the grid before managerial training programs scored themselves as being team oriented. After grid seminars, however, as many as 30% of the people change their initial self analysis. The grid in Figure 5 should clearly be viewed as a baseline analysis as suggested by 11-o.

The easiest interpretation of this finding would be that, despite the implicit warning about self-deception given before each person answered these questions, the subjects by and large answered the questions with what they considered to be the "right" answer. There were some indications of this during the interviews. Many of the executives would answer the first several questions easily with the "preferred" answer, but when confronted with the question about their temper, where there was no "preferred answer," they balked, some even refusing to answer. Based on this, the researcher was tempted to disregard this set of questions in the analysis. What became interesting, however, was the high number of

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*Taken from question 18 of format.

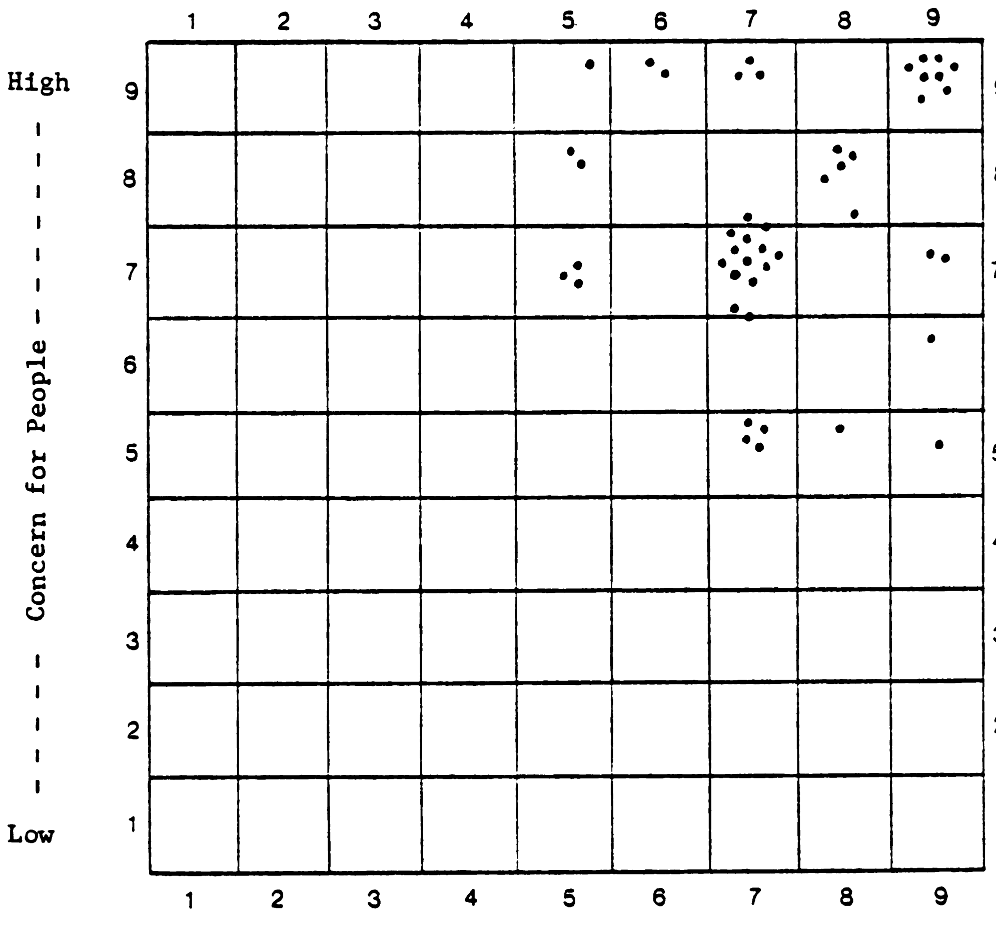

Figure 5. Blake and Mouton's Managerial Grid (composite scores)

N = 48

people (67%) who spoke in other sections of the interview, about team based approaches to problems. For example, when asked how they managed differences of opinions, the following comments were typically made.

> I use my four deputy directors as an executive council--I guess you call it a participatory management style. Each of them has input so there are always disagreements . . . we take care of things in house. It used to be all in house, but now some of the younger men want to air things publically.
>
> We are in the budget process--the process of setting goals and objectives about what will and will not be done. Some people get very defensive over their area. We use group meetings to allow for many differences of opinions. We don't filter out problems in those meetings--we set an environment of non-threatening participation.

It may be premature to totally disregard the initial Blake and Mouton grid. The open-ended responses, as well as the emphasis on interpersonal skills and communication cited in Section II of the findings would suggest that there is at least some evidence to support the team management approach. This is important for the considerations of management strategies to implement change. If not actually practiced in the various departments, there is a strong familiarity with this management among these executives.

. . . .

Chapter I dealt extensively with the forces which combine to create stress in the executive during organizational change. Kahn, et al., have provided a number of different questions which can be used to detect organizational stress through role analysis techniques. While this research did not fully replicate the original study, many organizationally relevant questions were used to identify areas of stress within the executive role. The following section will highlight some of the more interesting relationships that were found using these questions.

The job tensions scale used to measure a range of stressful behaviors or situations appears to be related again to the age and education of the person as suggested in both I-1 and I-n. While the exact nature of the stress is discussed below, Table 55 will highlight the theoretical direction of the individual level analysis in this section. While none of these tables were statistically significant (due in no small part to the sample size), they do display an interesting pattern. Here again we see differences in the age groups. The first two age groups showed almost no stress. It was the over 51 years old group that indicated moderate job pressure. This could be explained several ways. First, the relative decline in physical health and approach to retirement may be one explanation of an increased job pressure. A second point could be made from the perspective of the job itself. Perhaps as the technology and decision making style of the organization change, the older executive is faced with working with younger people who have different sorts of methods and expectations of behavior. The older executive, then, is out of touch with the demands of the job, at the same time that more is expected of him/her. This sort of obsolescence argument seemed to have effected more of the people with M.A./Ph.D.s which were earlier described as being most knowledge based approach. Again, the B.S./B.A. and LLD/M.D.s seemed more alike relative to the M.A./Ph.D.s.

Returning to the issue of stress as related to time restrictions which cause the quality of work to suffer, the executives who were bothered by this also scored higher on the cumulative job tensions scale as illustrated by Table 56. This is not to suggest that this stress

TABLE 55

JOB TENSION BY AGE GROUP WHEN EDUCATION IS CONTROLLED

Age	55a B.A./B.S.			55b LLD/M.D.			55c M.A./Ph.D.		
	Low Stress	Moderate Stress		Low Stress	Moderate Stress		Low Stress	Moderate Stress	
25-40	2 (100%)	0 (0)	100%	X	X		5 (83%)	1 (17%)	100%
41-50	6 (100%)	0 (0)	100%	2 (100%)	0 (0)	100%	7 (88%)	1 (12%)	100%
51-over	6 (75%)	2 (25%)	100%	5 (83%)	1 (17%)	100%	8 (73%)	3 (27%)	100%
	N = 16 χ^2 = 2.285; p = .318			N = 8 Fischer's exact test = .7500			N = 25 χ^2 = .680; p = .709		

necessarily paralyzes performance. In fact, when those who felt that stress helped performance were compared to those who found it a hindrance, the time/quality of work factor seemed to act as a motivator, as illustrated in Table 57.

TABLE 56

TIME/QUALITY OF WORK STRESS BY JOB TENSIONS SCALE*

Time/Quality of Work Stress	Job Tensions: Low Tension	Job Tensions: Moderate Tension	
yes, a problem	18 (43%)	23 (56%)	100%
No, not a problem	7 (88%)	1 (18%)	100%

N = 49
$\chi^2 = 3.496$
$p = .06$

*Taken from question 23.

Here it is seen that the executive who felt that time was a problem felt that being under pressure helped keep performance level high. Many of these people cited, "staying on top of things," or "keeping that competitive edge" when they said that stress aided performance. This is just the type of behavior which is characteristic of the Type A person.

Additionally, those who found stress helped their performance were also not bothered by conflicting orders as seen in Table 58. The person who felt that stress hindered performance also felt that he/she often received conflicting orders. The obvious relationship here does not need elaboration.

TABLE 57

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TIME AND QUALITY OF WORK STRESS AND WHETHER STRESS HELPS PERFORMANCE

Time/Quality of Work	Stress Helps Performance		
	Yes, it helps	No, it does not help	
Yes, a problem	14 (63%)	8 (36%)	100%
No, it is not a problem	11 (41%)	16 (59$)	100%

N = 49
χ^2 = 1.709
$\underline{p}$ = .19

TABLE 58

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CONFLICTING ORDERS* AND WHETHER STRESS HELPS PERFORMANCE

Stress Helps Performance	Conflicting Orders		
	Often	Seldom	
Yes, it helps	10 (37%)	17 (63%)	100%
No, it does not help	14 (64%)	8 (36%)	100%

N = 49
χ^2 = 2.450
$\underline{p}$ = .11

*Taken from question 21: "How often do you get conflicting orders or instructions from different people above you?"

Another measure of job stress was asking the subjects how clear they were on their duties. This was examined from the perspective of level of job, suggesting that the political executives and administrative executives differ on how clear they were on their job duties. One would expect the political executive, with shorter job tenure, and more individually oriented careers, would be less clear on his/her duties than the administrative executive with longer job tenure, and more technically oriented jobs.

TABLE 59

LEVEL OF JOB BY CLEAR ON DUTIES

	Clear on Duties		
	yes (clear)	no (not clear)	
political	4 (25%)	12 (75%)	100%
administrative	16 (50%)	16 (50%)	100%

N = 48
$\chi^2 = 1.81$
$\underline{p} = .178$

As was expected, the political executives were less clear on their duties than were the administrative executives. Several specific areas of disagreement on goals and duties were outlined by the executives and are illustrated in the following passages.

> Because I have no clear job description there are certain times when I interject myself into various operations. At times bureau heads think my view and approach are oversimplified or intended

> to smooth over a bad situation. They think I oversimplify or act impulsively rather than what is technically or professionally right.
>
> We have two major field services--enforcement and community relations. Both areas think they are being slighted, not enough resources. Which am I supposed to advocate?
>
> We deal with major complex questions--often with confused data. We have to flush out the values of the executive branch. It is never a black and white matter--we have to take our best shot.

It is, then, a matter of both unclear job descriptions and unclear policy guidelines--both involve a great deal of discretion and ambguity. It is this sort of atmosphere which breeds organizational stress caused by both internal and external pressures as reflected in both I-l and I-m.

Internal job stress was statistically related to several of the variables which have already been discussed here. First, the different age groups once again seemed to affect the types of job stress that the executive identified.* Again, each age group shows different patterns which could be explained either through a life-cycle or a generational conceptualization. The youngest group was evenly split, the mid-life group more internally stressful and the older group more externally stressful. The scenario could be suggested where the younger executive is responding to all stimuli as they try to establish their place, the mid-life executive turns inward both in terms of increased personal stress and in his/her movement up the organization, and the older group is able to turn attention outward as it reaches internal security. Of course,

*Answers to the general and job stress questions were coded in terms of internal and external causes. Question 25: "What are some of the conditions or situations that you have to deal with that you think are particularly stressful or pressure-inducing?" and Question 26: "As you see it, what leads to your feelings of stress?"

this is much simplified and needs much more study. The kinds of stress can be best illustrated by the following passages:

External Stress

The main situation that causes me stress is criticisms by the ignorant public. If they have an accurate perspective it is OK, but if they are ignorant it is trouble. The general public's view of the bureaucracy is that they are constantly judged to be corrupt, dishonest, lazy. This is the single factor why people leave the state--constant abuse. In reality, people are working like hell. (job stress)

There are a variety of groups in society--especially the legislature--who have certain attitudes toward welfare. We are accountable for programs with a lot of problems in them and so we get challenges on many occasions. It is damn uncomfortable to be responsible for 6-7,000 staff people all of whom deal with problems. (job stress)

Conflicting legislative positions--their public versus their real postures. In fact, politicians are fickle. For example, they are for the community correction center program. The House legislative committee is quite liberal and strongly supportive. Yet, they are in the process of writing a law that frustrates expansion of programs. (job stress)

Persistent hostile feedback and reaction. You're never right. The public and the media. If institutions are good--the public accuses it of being a country club; if bad--inhumane conditions. The legislators who are for us don't say very much. The others are very hostile. You are always on the defense. (general stress)

The inability to quickly resolve or supply resolutions to broad problems. The snail's pace in which you affect change. (general stress)

Tough emotional issues tend to be translated politically or by the media too simplistically. (general stress)

Unresolved conflict--it is clear that to get ahead (the agency) we have to adopt a "don't rock the boat" position. Politicians can show their anger--you can't. (general stress)

Internal Stress

Getting someone to perform who can't, won't or who balks at it. (job stress)

High expectations on the part of subordinates . . . mispercep-tions of those who do not have top jobs about the constraints of the position. (job stress)

Frustration with being unable to cope with the lack of initia-tive of state employees--can't do anything to motivate them. (general stress)

Anxiety created by uncertainty about completing the work in quality and in time. We have to compromise standards and people don't like it. (general stress)

My relationship with my peers has been much harder in the last 2-3 years. It has been difficult to discuss a subject in my own area with ease. It could be because of rapidly moving up and around . . . things (in this agency) we have been very unstable. We were asked our opinions. We don't have that any-more. X's style is different . . . he has not been a good choice. He has picked a couple of aides who we would not have picked had we been asked. He has a lack of talent of personnel management and administrative abilities. He brought in some people without enough experience which hurts internal credibility . . . reorgani-zation was done in a vacuum--you can't explain the justification to your subordinates and it becomes demoralizing . . . we had two heart attacks and two early retirements. They saw the writing on the wall. Can't operate by consensus or committee--need leader-ship at the top.

Not having complete staff information to examine all the alter-natives on decision. . . . The inability of middle and top management to communicate in writing effectively. I often have to spend a lot of time redoing their work. I send it back--some do it; others never improve. When you are working with people who have worked this long, you're not going to change ability.

These attitudes and experiences have combined to be statistically related to several of the other stress measures. Looking at the job tensions scale again, there was a pattern of internal or external job stress problems. The person with low job stress seems to be more oriented toward internal problems, while the person with higher job tensions identified external problems more often. This is consistent with the boundary spanning nature of the executive role with its excessive contact with groups outside the organization as suggested in I-m. The emphasis on the higher stress of the boundary position is usually associated with the external sources of pressure. What is of even more interest in this table is the relatively small percentage (22%) of executives that spoke of external sources.

TABLE 60

JOB TENSIONS (CUMULATIVE) BY SPECIFIC JOB STRESS

Job Tensions Scale	Job Stress		
	Internal	External	
low stress	28 (68%)	13 (32%)	100%
high stress	3 (38%)	5 (62%)	100%

N = 49
χ^2 = 1.56
$\underline{p}$ = .21

Because this sample is made up of the very top level personnel who would have the most visibility and outside contact, a larger percentage of external stress would be expected. The low frequency may be an indicator that yes, indeed, the people who are routinely on the boundary have developed special facilities to reduce that conflict or stress. The internal problems, on the other hand, can become more stressful due to their immediacy, their interpersonal complexities, and their variety.

Finally, the individual level of analysis pointed to the importance of age and education as moderators of stress and change. Beyond the question involving specific stress inducing situations or organizational elements, each respondent was asked whether he/she felt her/his job involved more pressure than most people experience in their work,* what things on their job were particularly stressful and what did they feel caused their stress. Not surprisingly, 82% of the executives felt their jobs caused more stress than most people exhibited. What is of interest, however, is how education and age relate to their attitude about their stress as seen in Table 61. Although the small sample size makes any finding tentative, there seemed to be a pattern of people in their mid-life years feeling that their jobs had less stress than most people's across all educational groups. This would seem to contradict the expected pattern of higher stress during the 41-50 years. The pattern, however, may be a <u>change</u> rather than the direction of the change. In this table again we observe that the younger group and the older group were more similar to each other, than to the middle group. If one accepts the life cycle theory, then this mid-life period could be a shift in equilibrium that is not permanent, and, after a successful transition, attitudes return to the former pattern. This will be discussed at greater length in the conclusions of this chapter.

In short, this section has outlined some of the basic findings regarding how executives view organizational stress. We have seen that while the time/quality of work stress is related with other measures of job tensions, the stress is not always viewed as being detrimental to performance. Stress was also positively related to the types of orders received and given by executives. As we examined in more depth the specific reasons or examples of stress given, a pattern also emerged.

---

*Taken from question 24: "Do you feel that your job imposes some stress and pressure beyond that which most people experience in their job?"

TABLE 61

THE GENERAL EVALUATION OF STRESS BY AGE GROUP WHEN CONTROLLING FOR EDUCATION

	61a B.A./B.S.			61b LLD/M.D.			61c M.A./Ph.D.		
Age	More Stress	Less Stress		More Stress	Less Stress		More Stress	Less Stress	
25-40	2 (100%)	0 (0)		X	X		5 (83%)	1 (17%)	100%
41-50	4 (67%)	2 (33%)	100%	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	100%	5 (62%)	3 (38%)	100%
51-over	7 (88%)	1 (12%)	100%	5 (83%)	1 (17%)	100%	11 (100%)	0 (0)	100%
	N = 16 χ^2 = 1.50 p = .471			N = 8 Fisher's Exact test = .464			N = 25 χ^2 = 4.848 p = .088		

Younger executives, those with low job tension scores and those who are not bothered by conflicting orders all recounted job and general stress episodes which were internal (to self or organization). When crosstabs were run controlling for age and job tensions scale, no statistically significant relationship appeared. There was, however, some elementary support for the effect of age and education on how stress is perceived by the executive, with a pattern of deviance occurring for the 41-50 year olds of all educational groups.

. . . .

The final area of organizational environment that was examined in this study had to deal with systematic versus intuitive modes of planning for change. Measures of these tendencies were drawn from the coding of questions 19-24. These questions were developed to elicit the respondent's general opinion about six potential organizational changes, which had been tried in other states to deal with the problems of executive recruitment and employment (unionization, performance evaluations, rotation of executives, merit pay/bonuses, executive service, and professional training). The respondent was asked his/her own opinions about such plans for the state of Michigan. The responses were coded three ways: by exact content, by pro/anti positions, and by systematic/intuitive planning orientations. A systematic response had to show some organization of knowledge or facts about the problem, a plan of action and/or a goal. An intuitive response was one that suggested a general attitude toward a problem, a range of possible actions, and/or a cautious approach. The following passages will give the reader an example of the coding.

Systematic:

> I would be willing to go under contract as long as I was compensated more because of the risk incurred.
>
> In some areas it makes sense. Administrative officers (personnel, finance, etc.) are enough similar that it would be OK. Where it doesn't make sense is where you require specific skills areas--a unique job. This system would give the people more flexibility.

Intuitive:

> Yesterday it was finally announced after six years of pushing. I strongly support the Career Executive Service--permanence vs. elected government. Promotion should be based on something more than longevity. You can write performance objectives--doing the people's business. Sharpens what management tools are available.
>
> Have to know the details of the system. Some things bother me--a lot of unknowns. You have to have a contract with your boss--providing you have a lot of confidence and trust. We have had many changes--can lead to unsatisfactory relationship with boss. I am less comfortable now than with other directors. I trust them to the extreme--now I don't know. There is a tendency to divide the house--some people try to become too familiar. I'd rather have an unbiased evaluator--too easy to play personalities.

What kind of person prefers each mode of planning? The three theoretically relevant variables cited in Parts I and II of this chapter, arise again. Age, once again is related to systematic-intuitive, as is seen in Table 62. Here we find that the younger and the older age groups were similar in their intuitive behaviors, while the mid-life group was more systematic. While the life cycle argument can be made, it is even more interesting to see the relationship between education and planning style, as seen in Table 63.

When we examine the effect of education on systematic and intuitive modes of planning, a statistically significant relationship does appear.

TABLE 62

SYSTEMATIC VERSUS INTUITIVE PLANNING MODES BY AGE GROUP

	Age					
Planning Mode	25-40		41-50		51-over	
Systematic	38%	3	56%	9	39%	10
Intuitive	62%	4	44%	7	61%	16
	100%		100%		100%	

N = 50
$\chi^2 = 1.435$
$\underline{p} = .48$

TABLE 63

SYSTEMATIC/INTUITIVE PLANNING BY EDUCATIONAL GROUPS

	Planning		
Education	Systematic	Intuitive	
B.A./B.S.	4 (24%)	13 (76%)	100%
M.A./Ph.D.	13 (59%)	9 (41%)	100%
LLD/M.D.	2 (25%)	6 (75%)	100%

N = 47
$\chi^2 = 5.98$
$\underline{p} = .05$

Those with M.A./Ph.D.s are significantly more systematic in their approach than are the other two educational groups. When age is controlled for, however, the following relationship is suggested.

Table 64 further highlights the relationship between the systematic planning and graduate training. Across all age groups, the majority of the systematic people were found in the M.A./Ph.D. level (the young adult group was evenly split). Both the B.A./B.S. and the LLD/M.D. degrees were more likely to be intuitive in their planning approach. It seems, then, that systematic or intuitive modes of planning are related to the educational experiences of the executive. The questions then become focused on the <u>nature</u> of the educational experience: inductive versus deductive logic, facts versus theories, substantive areas of study, and the role of competition in the training experience, to mention a few.

Another relationship which emerged from this research was concerning the type of department and the mobility of the executive. The reader will remember in Part I of this analysis, the organic organization had a higher proportion of mobile executives. The systematic and intuitive modes were also related to both of these variables. Table 65 examines the distribution across departments. This is consistent with the findings that there are more M.A./Ph.D.s, who tend toward systematic planning modes, in policy organizations. The intuitive people, on the other hand, were more concentrated in the mechanistic departments, where there are also more B.S./B.A. and LLD/M.D. degrees.

Also, while organic organizations were found to have more mobile people, the systematic and intuitive style is related in the opposite manner to mobility, as illustrated in Table 66.

TABLE 64

THE EFFECT OF AGE AND EDUCATION ON SYSTEMATIC AND INTUITIVE PLANNING

	66a 25-40				66b 41-50				66c 51-over			
	Planning Mode				Planning Mode				Planning Mode			
Education	Systematic		Intuitive		Systematic		Intuitive		Systematic		Intuitive	
B.A./B.S.		0	40%	2	33%	3	43%	3	10%	1	50%	8
LLD/M.D.		0		0		0	29%	2	20%	2	25%	4
M.A./Ph.D.	100%	3	60%	3	67%	6	29%	2	70%	7	25%	4
	100%		100%		100%		101%*		100%		100%	
	N = 8 Fisher's exact test = .357				N = 16 $\chi^2 = 3.80$		$p = .14$		N = 26 $\chi^2 = 5.85$		$p = .05$	

*Rounding error

TABLE 65

THE DISTRIBUTION OF SYSTEMATIC AND INTUITIVE EXECUTIVES ACROSS DEPARTMENTS

	Type of Organization		
Planning Mode	Administrative (Mechanistic)	Policy (Organic)	
Systematic	4 (21%)	15 (79%)	100%
Intuitive	15 (54%)	13 (46%)	100%

N = 47
χ^2 = 3.71
p = .05

TABLE 66

SYSTEMATIC AND INTUITIVE PLANNING MODES AND THE MOBILE EXECUTIVE

	Mobility			
Planning Mode	Less than 5 years		More than 5 years	
Systematic	52%	13	27%	6
Intuitive	48%	12	73%	16
	100%		100%	

N = 47
χ^2 = 2.03
p = .15

Obviously, this is not what would be expected. We would expect the mobile executive to be more intuitive because of his/her more free-flowing style, while the non-mobile executive, bounded by rules and norms, would be more systematic. It is possible that this would indicate that mobile executives are mobile by virtue of their ability to quickly and systematically enter a situation and perform.

When we examine the type of organization, however, we find that the majority of the non-mobile, systematic executives were in mechanistic organizations while the more mobile, intuitive executives were in the organic organizations as seen in Table 67.

TABLE 67

MOBILITY AND SYSTEMATIC AND INTUITIVE PLANNING MODES
BY TYPE OF ORGANIZATION

Mechanistic Mobility					Organic Mobility			
- 5 years		+ 5 years			- 5 years		+ 5 years	
43%	3	56%	10	Systematic	8%	1	50%	5
57%	4	44%	8	Intuitive	92%	11	50%	5
100%		100%			100%		100%	
N = 25					N = 22			
X^2 = .01					X^2 = 2.90			
p = .90					p = .08			

Both the more open, fast paced nature of the organic organization, and the longer tenure in the more rigid, rule oriented mechanistic organizations would seem to encourage intuitive planning modes among the mobile executive. Those executives who were less mobile, however, showed a slight preference for systematic planning. This could be the result of organizational learning and/or increased security found within the organization leading to a greater reliance on the rules and procedures. The more mobile executive, no matter what type of organization, is likely to be intuitive, perhaps as a result of a mobility gap, where mobility is faster than learning. These findings are consistent with II-p.

Finally, systematic and intuitive planning were found to be positively related to two of the stress variables. People who exhibited Type A behavior were more likely to be intuitive (65%) rather than systematic (35%). The Type B person was about evenly split between intuitive (47%) and systematic (53%). The Type A person may appear more intuitive as the result of doing more than one thing at a time; hence, a more uncoordinated approach to any single problem.

The other stress indicator that was statistically related to systematic and intuitive planning was clarity of duties.

TABLE 68

SYSTEMATIC AND INTUITIVE PLANNING AND DUTIES

	Clear on Duties		
Planning Mode	Yes	No	
Systematic	10 (53%)	9 (47%)	100%
Intuitive	9 (33%)	18 (67%)	100%

N = 46
X^2 = 2.64
p = .31

As could be predicted, the systematic people were more clear than the intuitive. This may be due largely to the ordered, unambiguous approach taken by the systematic person which would clarify any unclear aspects of the problem, as opposed to the environment that the intuitive person chooses.

Summary: Research Question E

Research question E, "How do these executives describe their organization environment," was designed to examine several aspects of the organization which the executives lead. Blake and Mouton's "people" versus "task" orientations, Kahn, et al., role theory approach to organizational stress, and the Van Maanen systematic and intuitive approaches to planning all provide ways to analyze the organizational context of change.

The problemmatic aspects of the Blake and Mouton grid findings were discussed and at least some support for the predominance of the team management approach was advanced. The Kahn format provided a great deal of information about the nature of stress in public organizations: time intensity resulting in lower quality of work, moderate job tensions (as measured by a scale), conflict over orders, and lack of clarity about duties, were all support in this research. Additionally, the planning mode is related to both Type A behavior and the lack of clarity of duties.

Systematic and intuitive planning was found to be related to age, mobility, and education. Across educational groups the systematic approach was most commonly associated with the M.A./Ph.D. degree. Both the B.A./B.S. and the LLD/M.D. degrees were more intuitive in all age groups. Additionally, the mobile executive was more systematic than was the non-mobile who was more intuitive. This was true until the type of organization was controlled for, when mobility was associated with intuitive planning in both types of organizations, while non-mobility was associated with systematic planning. Likewise, the mobile executive seemed more intuitive until department was controlled for which lead to an even or more systematic pattern. Finally, in terms of education, those with B.S. and LLD/M.D. were intuitive, while those with M.A./Ph.D. degrees were more systematic. This relationship is modified somewhat when age is controlled.

How Do These Executives View the Proposal for the Career Executive Service?

In order to focus the study of planned organizational change in this research, the development of a Career Executive Service was chosen for study. As discussed in Chapter II there is ample reason to believe that this particular program would cause increased stress among this population who constitute not only the implementors but also the beneficiaries of the plan. This research question, then, addresses two basic ideas about planned change: first, what factors are related to the positive and negative evaluation of organizational change in general, and second, what factors contribute to the analysis of the potential success of the Career Executive Service program.

Subjects were asked their opinion about six potential organizational changes involving the recruitment and the selection of top level executives for the state of Michigan.* These are the same questions used to determine Systematic and intuitive planning in research Question E.

---

*Taken from Question 9: "There have been a number of suggested personnel related changes that have been tried in other states to deal with the problems of executive employment and development. I would like your thoughts on a few of these ideas for the state of Michigan.

This time the responses were coded for positive and negative attitudes (pro = 4-6 yes; mixed = 3-3; no = 4-6 no). In the crosstabs the mixed responses were combined with the negative responses.

When subjects were divided according to education, a pattern of attitudes toward change emerged that can be examined in Table 69. People with M.A./Ph.D.s are significantly more likely to be supportive of change proposals. The obvious explanation could be made that these people were most highly trained and more systematic; therefore, less threatened by change.

TABLE 69

THE EFFECT OF EDUCATION ON ATTITUDES TOWARD CHANGE

Attitude Toward Change	Education					
	B.S./B.A.		LLD/M.D.		M.A./Ph.D.	
pro	47%	8	50%	4	80%	20
anti	53%	9	50%	4	20%	5
	100%		100%		100%	

N = 50
$X^2 = 5.57$
$\underline{p} = .06$

If we accept this, it is interesting to see what effect the use of professional training had on attitudes toward change. The updating of skills and knowledge during professional training could supplement and reinforce the education-based pattern of attitudes.

* The intercoder reliability between the three coders who each coded all 50 questionnaires was: A+B = .92; B+C = .95; A+C = .89; $\bar{X}$ = .92.

TABLE 70

USEFULNESS OF PROFESSIONAL TRAINING AND ATTITUDES TOWARD CHANGE

	Is Professional Training Helpful?			
Toward Change	Yes		No	
pro	50%	10	74%	22
anti	50%	10	26%	8
	100%		100%	

N = 50
$X^2 = 1.91$
$\underline{p} = .16$

Those who found training helpful were equally likely to be for or against organizational change, while those who did not find training helpful were likely to be pro change. This learning/training relationship, then, is suggested as an intervening variable. This is also consistent with the role that professional associations had in people versus task orientations suggesting that the role of post-formal educational experiences should be carefully examined in terms of their impact on attitudes and behavior. At a minimum, the unexpected relationship between negative attitudes toward training and positive attitudes toward change should be investigated further.

Naturally age comes to mind. Age itself was not statistically significant as related to pro/con change. When the education and change attitudes relationship was controlled for age, however, the following relationship emerged as seen in Table 71. It is clear that across age groups, the pro change person is most likely to possess a Ph.D./M.A. degree. The anti-change profile, however, is somewhat more complex.

TABLE 71

THE EFFECTS OF AGE AND EDUCATION ON POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE ATTITUDES TOWARD ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

	71a 25-40 years old				71b 41-50 years old				71c 51 years old - over			
	Education				Education				Education			
Change	BA/BS	LLD/MD	MA/PhD		BA/BS	LLD/MD	MA/PhD		BA/BS	LLD/MD	MA/PhD	
Pro	17% (1)	0	83% (5)	100%	18% (2)	18% (2)	64% (7)	100%	33% (5)	14% (2)	53% (8)	100%
Anti	50% (1)	0	50% (1)	100%	80% (4)	0	20% (1)	100%	36% (4)	36% (4)	28% (3)	100%
	N = 8				N = 16				N = 26			
	Fisher's exact test = .464				X^2 = 5.72		p = .05		X^2 = 2.49		p = .28	

Among the young group the anti-change people were evenly split, while the anti-change mid-life group had predominately a B.S./B.A. degree. But the older anti-change executives were almost evenly split again among educational levels. It would appear then that the pro-change person is much easier to identify than is the anti-change person, based on these variables.

The other theoretically relevant variable, mobility, was also related to pro/con attitudes toward change, as seen in Table 72.

TABLE 72

ATTITUDES TOWARD CHANGE AND MOBILITY

Attitude Toward Change	Mobility: Less than 5 years		Mobility: More than 5 years	
pro	72%	18	56%	14
anti	28%	7	44%	11
	100%		100%	

N = 50
$X^2 = .781$
$p = .37$

As expected, those who were more mobile are more likely to be pro-change, while those with less mobility were slightly more negative toward proposed organizational changes. Both groups, however, were positive toward the changes.

Two of the stress measures, finally, were also found to be at least partially related to the pro/con evaluations of organizational change. Type A behavior was much more predictive of a positive evaluation, as indicated in Table 73. Again, this may be due to the higher energy level, more creativity, or self-interested evaluation of the personal advantages to the mobile Type A person of the particular change, all of which were oriented toward opening up the personnel system of state government.

TABLE 73

ATTITUDES TOWARD CHANGE AND THE TYPE A EXECUTIVE

	Type A Behavior			
	Type A		Type B	
pro	70%	21	52%	10
anti	30%	9	48%	9
	100%		100%	

N = 49
$X^2 = .855$
$\underline{p} = .35$

Finally, general health was also found to be an indicator of attitudes pro and con toward organizational changes. Those with excellent health were more pro change than those of average health, which is consistent with the findings in Section II about the self-evaluations of health and the Type A executive. Again, we must be aware that many of the stress-related health problems appear rapidly and may not be reported in a question of this sort.

TABLE 74

ATTITUDES TOWARD CHANGE AND GENERAL HEALTH

Attitudes Toward Change	Health			
	Excellent		Good	
pro	74%	17	54%	14
anti	26%	6	46%	12
	100%		100%	

N = 49
$\chi^2 = 1.33$
$\underline{p} = .24$

. . . .

Moving from the level of general evaluations of organizational change, the subjects were given several opportunities to respond to the proposed Executive Service. Open-ended questions, a 10 point (favor to oppose) scale, and a yes/no question were offered. Sixty-six percent of the sample was favorable toward the program. When the general attitude toward change (pro/con) was compared with the specific attitude about the executive service, the following relationships emerged, as seen in Table 75. It appears, then, that the person who was against personnel changes in general, was also against the Executive Service proposal. Additionally, when the two closed-ended measures of attitudes toward the Executive Service were compared (one a 10 point scale about own opinion, the other a yes/no opinion about own job), a strong positive relationship was found. There was, therefore, a high level of attitude consistency with regard to organizational change, both in general and with respect to the proposed Executive Service.

TABLE 75

GENERAL ATTITUDE TOWARD CHANGE AND THE EVALUATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SERVICE

Attitude Toward Change	Opinion About Executive Service		
	Yes	No	
Yes	27 (71%)	11 (29%)	100%
No	3 (27%)	8 (73%)	100%

N = 49
$\chi^2 = 5.16$
$p = .02$

TABLE 76

OPINIONS ABOUT EXECUTIVE SERVICE: OWN OPINION VERSUS OWN JOB

Own Opinion About Executive Service	Own Job Part of Executive Service		
	Yes	No	
Yes	23 (79%)	6 (21%)	100%
No	7 (37%)	12 (63%)	100%

N = 48
$\chi^2 = 7.11$
$p = .007$

Age again was significantly related to the evaluation of the Career Executive Service proposal. Asked how they would characterize their own opinion about the Executive Service (39% no; 71% yes), and compared by age group, the following results were obtained.

TABLE 77

OWN OPINION ABOUT EXECUTIVE SERVICE BY AGE GROUPS

	Own Opinion About Executive Service		
Age	Yes	No	
25-40	6 (75%)	2 (25%)	100%
41-50	10 (66%)	6 (33%)	100%
51-over	14 (54%)	12 (46%)	100%

N = 50
χ^2 = .701
$\underline{p}$ = .40

The reader should note that although each age group was predominately in favor of the proposal, as we move up the age groups, a large proportion of people displayed negative attitudes. When asked if they would be willing to have their own jobs become part of the executive service, however, a slightly different pattern emerged. Again, as might be expected, the younger group was 100% in favor of the Executive Service, and the older group was also strongly favorable, displaying similar patterns of attitudes. It was the mid-life group that showed the most resistance toward putting their own jobs on the line. While the support among the younger executives was not surprising, the oldest group, which has traditionally been thought to be anti-change, showed strong support for the proposal.

TABLE 78

OWN JOB PART OF THE EXECUTIVE SERVICE BY AGE GROUP

	Own Job Part of Executive Service		
Age	Yes	No	
25-40	8 (100%)	0 0	100%
41-50	7 (44%)	9 (56%)	100%
51-over	15 (63%)	9 (37%)	100%

N = 48
$\chi^2 = 1.86$
$\underline{p}$ .17

It appears, then, that while the younger and older groups were similar to each other, the middle age group showed the opposite pattern of attitudes about their own job becoming part of the Executive Service. All of this is consistent with proposition I-d, if the reader accepts the theoretical framework of adult development. Of course, from cross sectional data it is impossible to conclusively show this sort of theoretical explanation.

When we control for the planning mode and attitudes by age, a clear pattern with regard to the people who were favorable toward the Executive Service was found among age groups: the younger and the older group were more intuitive in their approach, while the pro-executive

TABLE 79

THE EFFECT OF SYSTEMATIC AND INTUITIVE PLANNING MODES AND AGE AS IT RELATES TO ATTITUDES TOWARD THE EXECUTIVE SERVICE

Executive Service	79a 25-40 years old			79b 41-50 years old			79c 51 years old-over		
	Planning Mode			Planning Mode			Planning Mode		
	Systematic	Intuitive		Systematic	Intuitive		Systematic	Intuitive	
Pro	33% (2)	67% (4)	100%	60% (6)	40% (4)	100%	29% (4)	71% (10)	100%
Anti	50% (1)	50% (1)	100%	57% (4)	43% (3)	100%	50% (6)	50% (6)	100%
	N = 8			N = 16			N = 26		
	Fisher's exact test = .892			Fisher's exact test = .548			X^2 = .511		
							p = .47		

service mid-life group was systematic in its approach. The anti-executive Service executive, on the other hand, was evenly split across each age group. This is particularly important because it indicates that neither planning mode is anti-change per se.

The educational experiences of the executive also had some effect on the evaluation of the Executive Service Proposal.

TABLE 80

OWN OPINION ABOUT EXECUTIVE SERVICE BY EDUCATIONAL GROUPS

	Own Opinion About Executive Service		
Education	Pro	Anti	
B.A./B.S.	11 (65%)	6 (35%)	100%
M.A./Ph.D.	17 (68%)	8 (32%)	100%
LLD/M.D.	2 (29%)	5 (71%)	100%

N = 49
$\chi^2 = 1.57$
$\underline{p} = .15$

Here the more negative evaluations came from the doctors and lawyers. This may be the result of their more intuitive planning style (which was also associated with negative attitudes toward change), and/or their prior experiences in the private sector with the competitive job setting. If they came to the state to get away from that career system, the Executive Service would be seen as a threat.

As has been found in the other two levels of analysis here, the relationships between age and attitudes toward change were different among the educational groups. What is of even more interest, this relationship also showed consistent patterns among age groups depending on whether the subject was reacting to the general idea (OWN OPINION) or to whether their own job should become part of the Executive Service (OWN JOB), as seen in Table 81.

Obviously, there are several interesting points to be made here. First, among those with a B.S./B.A. degree, the predominately negative attitudes on both questions was found across all age groups, except the over 51 year old group when asked about their own job. This was also the case among those with LLD/M.D. degrees. The people with M.A./Ph.D.s, however, displayed predominately positive attitudes toward the proposal across all age groups. Again, we find that education seems to be a moderating effect on attitudes across different age groups.

Second, the questions that were used to elicit the subjects' attitudes focused first on their general attitude about the Executive Service, and second, on whether their own jobs should be made part of the Executive Service. This can be viewed as an elementary measure of the differences between <u>attitudes</u> toward change and <u>behaviors</u>.* If we return again to Table 81 and closely compare the findings of the two different questions, a distinct pattern emerges. Across all educational levels, the younger group moved toward a positive behavioral stance. This was also true of the oldest group, except for those with B.A./B.S. degrees. The

*This could also be affected by the respondent's view of the question--one allowed them to respond on a continuum (1-10), the other (yes/no).

TABLE 81

OPINIONS ABOUT EXECUTIVE SERVICE BY AGE GROUP WHEN EDUCATION IS CONTROLLED

59a - B.A./B.S.

Own Opinion Yes	Own Opinion No		Age	Own Job Yes	Own Job No	
1 (50%)	1 (50%)	100%	25–40	2 100%		100%
4 (67%)	2 (33%)	100%	41–50	3 (50%)	3 (50%)	100%
6 (67%)	3 (33%)	100%	51-over	3 (38%)	5 (62%)	100%
N = 17	χ^2 = .2146	p = .89		N = 16	χ^2 = 2.50	p = .28

59b - LLD/M.D.

Own Opinion Yes	Own Opinion No		Age	Own Job Yes	Own Job No	
0 (0)	2 (100%)	100%	41–50	0 (0)	2 (100%)	100%
2 (33%)	4 (67%)	100%	51-over	4 (80%)	1 (20%)	100%
N = 8	Fischer's Exact test = .55			N = 7	Fischer's Exact Test = .142	

59c - M.A./Ph.D.

Own Opinion Yes	Own Opinion No		Age	Own Opinion Yes	Own Opinion No	
5 (83%)	1 (17%)	100%	25–40	6 (100%)	0 (0)	100%
6 (75%)	2 (25%)	100%	41–50	4 (50%)	4 (50%)	100%
6 (55%)	5 (45%)	100%	51-over	8 (73%)	3 (27%)	100%
N = 25	χ^2 = 1.748	p = .418		N = 25	χ^2 = 4.256	p = .119

mid-age group, however, either remained negative or moved toward more negative behavioral stances. These findings are extremely significant for the student of change in that they represent a marked difference between attitudes and behaviors, as suggested in I-b and I-c. It also may indicate that attitudes may <u>not</u> be substitutable for decision rules, as was cited in I-q, at least on the surface.

Finally, the level of job also was statistically related to the evaluation of the Executive Service.

TABLE 82

OPINION ABOUT EXECUTIVE SERVICE AND LEVEL OF JOB

	Own Opinion		
Level of Job	Yes	No	
Political	13 (77%)	4 (25%)	100%
Administrative	16 (50%)	16 (50%)	100%

N = 49
$\chi^2 = 2.217$
$p = .136$

The political executives (who were all department heads) who will be the persons that hold the contract and make the evaluations, are much more favorable to the Executive Service. The administrative executives, on the other hand, whose jobs are in question here and who thus have the potential for greater personal risk, were evenly split. This is important primarily through the relationship between the two groups.

The open expressions of opinion about the Executive Service ranged, as we would expect, across a number of concerns. A few of the ideas are expressed below as they relate to negative or positive evaluations.

Negative Comments

I am opposed. I think the Civil Service system is very strong in this state. It used to be very political years ago, and there were several bad scandals due to dishonesty. Would this system be any better?

If you cross the director you would be out. What will you do then? I don't want a new job.

Whenever you develop an elite cadre, it contradicts upward mobility, plus there is always the danger of political reward.

I am not too familiar with Civil Service. You must remember I am a political figure. If I have to know something about Civil Service, I have people who are familiar with it.

It may create a problem with women, minorities, handicapped--an elite corps developed with criteria set forth by and for white males.

Counterproductive. It becomes a means to an end which can be used to exclude qualified people.

Positive Comments

Civil Service offers too much protection. This system would give people more flexibility. It will be met with incredible resistance.

Fine as long as it is not a dumping ground.

Excellent personnel tool in that it allows for the needed degree of flexibility on the part of the appointed leaders for selection and pay of executives. Individuals in key jobs need to be compatible in terms of opinions, and thinking on major issues. This will make things more above board and we won't have so many reorganizations.

It will allow for accountability--we need the flexibility for the individual to make it or break it on ability.

Finally, the executives were asked if they felt the Executive Service proposal posed a threat to the present merit system. This question was based on the California experience of the lower-level employees charging the Career Executive Service with constituting a second merit system. Only 28% of these executives felt there was a threat. What is interesting, too, is that many of those who said there was no real threat went on to cite the problems of the current Civil Service System.

> You'll never be able to get pay to the point where the risk is worth taking. Government should be sensitive to the political process and the political process should also be sensitive. You can give a philosophical answer, but don't know how it could be worked out politically.
>
> Michigan doesn't produce anywhere near the quality of personnel management it could. It (Civil Service) is not flexible or able to change with the times--too rigid. I don't know if it is possible. It could be incompatible with government. It may be inherent in the system to be rigid.
>
> There are some areas of expertise that in state government there is no way of paying for adequately. 90% of pay is adequate. If we cut 5% of pay we would only lose 5% of the people.
>
> Properly administered it should enhance it. We now have a longevity system. It makes it difficult for outsiders to compete given the structure. You have to exhaust promotion register first. This all presents serious deterrents to the implementation of Affirmative Action.
>
> Any time you ask a system to surrender some of itself--a threat. One thing it causes is paranoia--"they don't know what I do."
>
> What merit system? This system is ok for interviewing and bringing people into the system, but no system of incentives is present for upward mobility. I don't think I've seen an evaluation system that measures success . . . there is always going to be some kind of favoritism--as long as it does not override the quality of the input.

These comments highlight the predominate dissatisfaction with and the hostility toward the present merit system as a management tool. This feeling could clearly account for the generally positive reaction to the Executive Service system (66% pro).

. . . .

The attitudes toward the Executive Service were also influenced by stress in this study. Both general opinion about the Executive Service and whether they were willing to have their own job classified were affected by the general job tensions level, as seen in Table

TABLE 83

OWN JOB AND OWN OPINION ABOUT EXECUTIVE SERVICE BY STRESS

Own Opinion				Own Job		
Yes	No			Yes	No	
27 (68%)	13 (32%)	100%	low job tension	28 (70%)	12 (30%)	100%
2 (25%)	4 (75%)	100%	moderate job tension	2 (26%)	6 (75%)	100%
N = 48 χ^2 = 3.41 p = .06				N = 48 χ^2 = 4.0 p = .04		

It is clear that those who are under low stress (job tension) are more favorable toward the Executive Service than are those who were under moderate job tension. This relationship, of course, should be tentatively viewed because of the uneven distribution of the sample on the job tensions scale (16% moderate stress and 83% under low stress). The statistical differences between the two groups, however, were great.

When we examine how often they received conflicting orders with their own job being classified as part of the Executive Service, a slightly lower level of relationship emerged.

TABLE 84

CONFLICTING ORDERS AND THE EXECUTIVE SERVICE

Conflicting Orders	Own Job Part of Executive Service		
	Yes	No	
Often (H stress)	12 (50%)	12 (50%)	100%
Rarely (L stress)	18 (75%)	6 (25%)	100%

N = 48
$\chi^2 = 2.22$
$p = .136$

Those under stress in terms of receiving conflicting orders were evenly split in their willingness to accept their job being part of the Executive Service. This is important when the reader also examines the nature of the Executive Service which seeks to tie performance evaluation to an objective description and evaluation of the way in which these people carry out their orders.

The one other measure of stress, however, which was statistically related to the attitudes toward the Executive Service showed the inverse pattern. The general personal habits scale was related to whether they wanted to have their own job to be part of the Executive Service as follows:

TABLE 85

PERSONAL HABITS AND THE EXECUTIVE SERVICE

Own Job Part of the Executive Service	Personal Habits Stressful			
	Low Stress		Moderate Stress	
Yes	48%	12	77%	17
No	52%	13	23%	5
	100%		100%	

N = 47
$\chi^2 = 3.095$
$\underline{p} = .078$

Those who were more stressful in terms of their personal habits were willing to have their jobs become part of the Executive Service. This may be related to the predominance of Type A Behavior among the more stressful category who could view the proposal in terms of personal advancement potential.

Summary: Research Question F

Research question F, "How do these executives view the proposal for an Executive Service" sought to discover not only the directions and quality of the opinions, but also what is related to the attitudes toward change in general. Returning again to the three theoretically relevant explanations, the following findings were made.

While is it unclear what theoretical explanation is suggested by the age findings, it does appear that as we move across age groups, a higher percentage of the sample was anti- the Executive Service. When this is compared to the findings about whether they wanted their <u>own</u> job to be part of the Executive Service, both the younger and the older groups were more likely to move toward a positive evaluation, while the mid-life group was more likely to move toward a negative evaluation. The pro change executive was more likely to be intuitive among the young and old groups while it was the systematic executive in the mid-life group that was pro.

In terms of educational explanations, we have found that both the B.A./B.S. and M.A./Ph.D. groups were pro change, the LLD/M.D. groups were against the executive service. When opinion about the plan was compared with whether their job should become part of the Executive Service, the B.A./B.S. and LLD/M.D. groups were predominately negative across age groups, except the over 51 years old. The person with a M.A./Ph.D. displayed predominately positive attitudes.

There are at least some indications that high stress is negatively related to positive attitudes toward the Executive Service.

<u>Summary: Level III and Research Questions E and F</u>

This level of analysis was primarily concerned with the organizational forces which interact and affect the organizational change phenomenon. Again, many findings add to our knowledge about the three potential theoretical explanations as suggested by Table 86. These findings will be combined with Levels I and II to make policy and research recommendations in Chapter V.

TABLE 86

ORGANIZATIONAL LEVEL THEORETICAL EXPLANATIONS

A. Age Based Explanation		25-40 years old	41-50 years old	51-over years old
Cumulative job pressures		low	low	moderate
Internal/external stress		evenly split	internal (79%)	external (54%)
More stress than average person		yes	largest group of no (66%)	yes
Systematic/Intuitive		intuitive	systematic	intuitive
Systematic/Intuitive/ Education				
	B.S./B.A.	intuitive	evenly split	intuitive
	Ph.D./M.A.	evenly split	systematic	systematic
	LLD/M.D.	0	intuitive	intuitive
Attitude toward change/Education				
	B.A./B.S.	evenly split	anti	pro
	M.A./Ph.D.	pro	pro	anti
	LLD/M.D.	0	pro	pro
Own opinion about Executive Service		yes (75%)	yes (66%)	yes (54%)
Own job part of Executive Service		yes (100%)	no (56%)	yes (63%)
Systematic/Intuitive by Attitude Toward Change	systematic	pro	pro	anti
	intuitive	pro	pro	pro
*anti Executive Service was split evenly across all groups (age)				
Own opinion about Executive Service/ Education	B.A./B.S.	evenly split	yes (67%)	yes (67%)
	M.A./Ph.D.	yes (83%)	yes (75%)	yes (55%)
	LLD/M.D.	0	no (100%)	no (67%)

TABLE 86 (continued)

Own job part of Executive Service/ Education	B.A./B.S.	yes	evenly split	no (62%)
	M.A./Ph.D.	yes (100%)	evenly split	yes (73%)
	LLD/M.D.	0	no (100%)	yes (80%)
B. Education Based Explanation		B.S./B.A.	M.A./Ph.D.	LLD/M.D.
Cumulative job pressures/age	young	low (100%)	low (83%)	0
	mid-life	low (100%)	low (88%)	low (100%)
	old	low (75%)	low (73%)	low (83%)
	(More moderate stress groups - B.S./B.A. or LLD/M.D. older executive)			
More stress than average/age	young	more (100%)	more (83%)	0
	mid-life	more (67%)	more (62%)	evenly split
	older	more (88%)	more (100%)	more (83%)
	(evaluation of job as less stressful than average - more common among the mid-life group across education)			
Systematic/Intuitive		intuitive	systematic	intuitive
Systematic/Intuitive/age	young	intuitive	evenly split	0
	mid-life	evenly split	systematic	intuitive
	older	intuitive	systematic	intuitive
	(those with M.A./Ph.D. across age groups were more likely to be systematic)			
Attitude Toward Change		anti (53%)	pro (80%)	evenly split
Control for age/attitude toward change	young	evenly split	pro	0
	mid-life	anti	pro	pro
	older	pro	pro	anti
Opinion about Executive Service/age	young	evenly split	pro	0
	mid-life	pro	pro	anti
	older	pro	pro	anti

TABLE 86 (continued)

Own job part of the Executive Service/Age	young	pro	pro	0
	mid-life	evenly split	evenly split	anti
	older	anti	pro	pro
C. Mobility Based Explanation		Mobile	Non-Mobile	
Systematic/Intuitive		systematic (52%)	intuitive (73%)	
Mechanistic/Organic organization/ systematic/Intuitive	mechanistic	intuitive (57%)	systematic (56%)	
	organic	intuitive (92%)	evenly split	
Attitude toward change		pro (72%)	pro (56%)	

State Level Findings

Finally, the reader will remember that this research project design sought to examine the differences between public and private sector executives by using research questions taken from private sector studies. While clearly no specific statistical comparisons can be made, the results can be viewed with regard to how state executives view their role in state government.

What Do These Executives View As the Role of State Government in Michigan

Twenty-three percent of this sample had previous executive experience in the private sector. Perhaps their comments on the differences best illustrate the nature of the division, as suggested in I-s.

> 180 degree different. Most important of all is the difficulty in managing people and programs in the public sector. Almost impossible to fire, move or discipline people which deprives the executive of management skills. In the private sector, what I said went--here everything is subject to scrutiny for integrity. People assume you are on the take which is very disgusting.
>
> The differences between public and private are mainly in terms of decisions on resources and funding. In government it is a very irrational process--made politically not on the evaluation who needs what. It is a matter of who has the most leverage. The maddening thing about my job is that my arguments have to be rational but the legislature's are irrational.
>
> State government can be boring if you never get any change of pace. A lot of people die on the vine and never get a change of pace--no growth.
>
> In the private sector people grow up in organizations; they develop talent internally. In government, only in the most routine jobs do people grow internally. Political influence has a lot to do with it. Agency E has had six turnovers in thirteen years of directors--and they don't come up from the bottom.
>
> I had a chance to see how the profit/loss system works—time is extremely important. The deadlines of public jobs are very different.

Beyond these differences, when asked about the rotation of executives as a potential personnel tool, only four people (8%) said they would take a job in the private sector. Many spoke at length about the excellent reputation and quality of government in the state of Michigan, as was also suggested in I-o. Several spoke in comparative terms toward the private sector, as illustrated by the following comments:

> We are running a large law firm. We aren't goal oriented or success oriented. Not profit-oriented. We have the highest degree of professional competence. We aren't out to please our clients, we are out to be right.
>
> We have 4,000 employees, 7 divisions, a budget of $420 million which puts me in the middle of the Fortune 500 businesses. I make $42,000 a year which is nothing compared to Ioccoca at Ford who makes half a million. And I manage better than him.
>
> We are one of the most progressive (X) departments in the country--in the top three nationally. Many groups, states, places want to come here to observe our department. We have to limit it.
>
> I look upon the Agency F as a business. We have 900 employees who get out a product. Outside of the enforcement part, it is not a regulatory agency as such. In our agency, the Board of Directors have concern for the progress and development of government while in a private company they have interest in the product. The elected and appointed people are only interested in reelection and reappointment. The Civil Service is interested in maintaining its position.

In terms of the classic argument against government service (the pay is too low compared to the private) these executives, who would be in line for much greater salaries in the private sector, were satisfied with what they were paid. The criticisms mainly came from two arguments. First, some felt that the differential between political executives (whose pay is set by the legislature) and the career bureaucrat (whose pay is set by the Civil Service) should be reduced.

> I am making $60,000 a year. Not all directors have equal responsibilities and mine is one of the toughest jobs.
>
> The legislature sets my salary. I make less money than my deputies. Can't ask people to take this kind of judgment, harassment from the public and continue to get quality people.

Second, the problem of recruiting and keeping highly skilled technical people given the present Civil Service system was also cited as a pay problem.

> Traditionally Civil Service rewards increased supervision. The supervisory model is not based on technical competence. The most technically competent leave because there is no place for them to advance. The private sector rewards technical skills, for instance, computer operators, while the public sector just gives them people to administer.

Although not completely examined in this study, when the executives were asked to rank incentives for executive employment in state government, several of the people cited problems of the narrow, inflexible range of incentives possible in the public sector. They cited the need for more sabbatical opportunities, retirement plans and pensions, a University Club type recreational facility, and the ability to move across sectors (such as in the IPA program) without loss of retirement benefits. This area will be discussed again in Chapter V when we analyze possible management strategies that could be used to provide differential management programs for state executives.

The reader will also remember in Chapter I we discussed the Walker findings that Michigan was an innovative state. It has also been the findings of this study that the executives were predominately oriented toward change in general (76% pro and 24% con) and toward the Executive Service (67% to 33%), which supports proposition I-o. Walker suggests that among other indicators, membership in professional associations is associated with innovation. In general these executives were oriented toward membership, 67% of them being members and finding it useful. The most commonly cited reasons were to share information and experiences with people who had their same job in other states. As cited in propositions II-r and II-u, during these meetings, then, it could be assumed that the sharing of information that provides the basis for systematic analogy in the adaptation of innovation across states.

Summary

From the comments made by these executives during this research, the status of Michigan as an innovative state is shared in the attitudes of its leaders. This makes the Executive Service proposal for this state important as it related to the analogy process and sharing of innovations across states.

Conclusions

The research findings from all four levels of this study were analyzed and summarized in this chapter. Three primary theoretically relevant explanations were suggested in the findings and are summarized in Tables 87-89 which follow. The policy and research implications of these findings will be discussed in Chapter V. There are, however, several general conclusions which can be drawn at this point.

First, as the reader will see upon examination of these tables, there are several very complex sets of relationships suggested. As will be discussed in Chapter V, the exact relationships *between* the three proposed theoretical explanations is unclear, particularly with regard to

TABLE 87

CUMULATIVE AGE-BASED EXPLANATION

A. General Characteristics	25-40 years old	41-50 years old	51-over years old
Education	25% B.A./B.S. 75% M.A./Ph.D. 0 LLD/M.D.	38% B.A./B.S. 50% M.A./Ph.D. 22% LLD/M.D.	35% B.A./B.S. 23% M.A./Ph.D. 42% LLD/M.D.
Type of Organization (Mechanistic/Organic)	B.S./B.A. - evenly split M.A./Ph.D. - mechanistic	B.S./B.A. - mechanistic M.A./Ph.D. - evenly split LLD/M.D. - organic	B.S./B.A. - mechanistic M.A./Ph.D. - organic LLD/M.D. - organic
Positive Traits (people/task)	evenly split	task (56%)	task (88%)
Negative Traits	people (75%)	evenly split	task (56%)
Systematic/Intuitive	intuitive	systematic	intuitive
	B.A./B.S. - intuitive M.A./Ph.D. - evenly split	B.A./B.S. - evenly split M.A./Ph.D. - systematic LLD/M.D. - intuitive	B.A./B.S. - intuitive M.A./Ph.D. - systematic LLD/M.D. - intuitive
B. Stress Indicators			
Type A Behavior	B.S./B.A. - Type A M.A./Ph.D. - Type A	B.S./B.A. - Type A M.A./Ph.D. - Type B LLD/M.D. - Type A	B.S./B.A. - evenly split M.A./Ph.D. - Type A LLD/M.D. - Type B
Cumulative job pressures	low	low	moderate
Internal/external stress	evenly split	internal (79%)	external (54%)

TABLE 87 (continued)

C. Change Indicators

Attitude toward general change	B.A./B.S. - enenly split M.A./Ph.D. - pro	B.A.B.S. - anti M.A./Ph.D. - pro LLD/M.D. - pro	B.A./B.S. - pro M.A./Ph.D. - anti LLD/M.D. - pro
Own Opinion about E.S.	pro (75%)	pro (66%)	pro (54%)
Own job in E.S.	pro (100%)	no (56%)	pro (63%)
Own opinion about E.S.	B.A./B.S. - evenly split M.A./Ph.D. - pro (83%)	B.A./B.S. - pro (67%) M.A./Ph.D. - pro (75%) LLD/M.D. - no (100%)	B.A./B.S. - pro (67%) M.A./Ph.D. - pro (55%) LLD/M.D. - pro (80%)
Own job in E.S.	B.A./B.S. - pro M.A./Ph.D. - pro (100%)	B.A./B.S. - evenly split M.A./Ph.D. - evenly split LLD/M.D. - anti (100%)	B.A./B.S. - anti (62%) LLD/M.D. - pro (80%) LLD/M.D. - pro (80%)
Systematic	pro change	pro change	anti-change
Intuitive	pro change	pro change	pro change

This table was constructed based on the most common or frequent relationship found in the analysis.

TABLE 88

CUMULATIVE EDUCATION-BASED EXPLANATION

	B.A./B.S.	LLD/M.D.	M.A./Ph.D.
A. General Characteristics			
Age	41 and over	51 and over	under 51
Type of Organization (mechanistic/organic)	mechanistic	organic	organic
Positive Traits (people/task)	task (87%)	task (87%)	task (54%)
Systematic/Intuitive	intuitive young-intuitive mid-evenly split older-intuitive	intuitive young-none mid-intuitive older-intuitive	systematic young-evenly split mid-systematic older-systematic
B. Stress Indicators			
Type A Behavior	young-Type A mid-Type A older-evenly split	mid-Type A older-Type B	young-Type A mid-Type B older-Type A
Cumulative Job Pressures	young-low (100%) mid-low (100%) older-low (75%)	mid-low (100%) older-low (87%)	young-low (83%) mid-low (88%) older-low (73%)
	(more moderate stress groups - B.A./B.S. or LLD/M.D. older executives)		
C. Change Indicators			
Attitude toward change	anti (53%) young-evenly split mid-anti older-pro	evenly split mid-pro older-anti	pro (80%) young-pro mid-pro older-pro

TABLE 88 (continued)

Own Opinions about E.S.	young-evenly split		young-pro
	mid-pro	mid-anti	mid-pro
	older-pro	older-anti	older-pro
Own Job in E.S.	young-pro		young-pro
	mid-evenly split	mid-anti	mid-evenly split
	older-anti	older-pro	older-pro

TABLE 89

CUMULATIVE MOBILITY-BASED EXPLANATION

A. General Characteristics	Mobile	Non-mobile
Work for State	26% - under 10 years 2% - under 4 years	74% over 11 years
Type of Organization (mechanistic/organic)	organic (60%)	mechanistic (65%)
Systematic/Intuitive	systematic (52%)	intuitive (73%)
Mechanistic	intuitive (57%)	systematic (56%)
Organic	intuitive (92%)	evenly split
B. Stress Indicators		
Job effects home life?	no (64%)	yes (67%)
Type A Behavior	Type A (60%)	Type B (63%)
C. Change Indicators		
Attitudes toward change	pro (72%)	anti (56%)

sequencing and causality. We can say that the relationship between age based explanations of attitudes toward change and stress is moderated by education. A more detailed analysis of the nature of this relationship awaits further study. The relationship of mobility to age and education remains unclear.

Second, the choice of preferred explanations is very much a matter of subjective analysis of the relative merits of each explanation at this point. None of the three theoretical traditions is steeped in empirical analysis in order to lead this research to prefer one over the other. Moreover, as was repeatedly noted in this discussion, <u>within</u> each of the theoretical approaches there is major disagreement as to the nature of the theory. This problem is not advanced in this research due to the cross sectional nature of the analysis. Hence, further refinement of these findings requires longitudinal data and more in-depth analysis of these particular indicators.

Finally, one particularly interesting phenomenon did emerge when we looked at the relationship between attitudes toward change and the stress factor. The person who exhibited a number of signs of the stressful person (including Type A behavior, mid-life crisis age group, mobility, home-life affects job performance) was actually <u>positively</u> related to attitudes toward the Executive Service. On the other hand, a number of the specific stress indicators (such as cumulative job tensions score, conflicting orders, and personal habits) were <u>negatively</u> related to attitudes toward the Executive Service. This suggests, then, that perhaps two sets of criteria were operating in the attitude toward change and its relationship to stress--one which was positive, and one which was negative. This is consistent with the quasi-equilibrium model suggested in Chapter I.

What led to positive attitudes toward the Executive SErvice in Michigan, it was suggested here, was the evaluation that the Senior Executive Service would be a <u>less</u> stressful situation that was the present merit system, based on these interviews.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

There were three primary goals of this research: to identify the system-wide variables that affect how executives view organizational change; to identify the nature and the causes of executive stress; and, to explore the relationship between executive stress and organizational change. In order to examine several conceptually limited, yet competing approaches to the problems of executive behavior during periods of organizational change, an exploratory study was undertaken to view more fully the entire process.

The reasons why this research should be viewed from the exploratory perspective must not be underestimated. First, because several theoretical approaches were used to determine their relative importance in determining the relationships suggested above, a definitive rejection of any explanation based on a partial analysis would be premature. Due to the nature of this sample (top level executives), the political nature of the research setting (the top level of public sector organizations), the extremely personal nature of some of the aspects of the problem (family and health), and the severe time restraint (1 hour interviews), depth was sacrificed for breadth. Clearly, then, more in-depth analysis of the variables which were found to be statistically significant could lead to theoretical alterations in the patterns of relationships found here.

Second, much of the research literature about executives and change which was used to develop this analysis is not empirically based. This is particularly problemmatic in terms of two of the more important theoretical explanations--age and education. Consequently, a very limited statistical foundation is available on which to build more complex analysis.

Finally, the small sample size and the narrowness of the sampling frame precludes wide generalizability. Fifty executives, all from the state of Michigan, were chosen out of the four levels of top executives. Moreover, these people were extremely homogeneous in terms of their demographic characteristics: predominately white males over 50 years old with, on the average, some graduate education. The limits then, of the sample should be recognized as we review the findings. In short, this research was designed to ask more questions than it answers.

In this chapter, the findings of this research will be briefly reviewed in the light of the three goals stated above. We will finally turn our attention to the specific policy and research recommendations that are offered based on this analysis.

A Review of the Findings

Executives and Change

The executive who was favorable toward both a range of organizational changes and the specific proposal for a Senior Executive Service was different from the anti-change executive. The pro-change executives were more mobile, possessed M.A.s and Ph.D.s, were more people oriented in their organizational concerns and were more systematic in their approach to planning for change. The anti-change executive, on the other hand, possessed either a B.S./B.A. or a LLD or M.D. degree, were less mobile, more task oriented in their organizational concerns and more intuitive in their planning style. The differences in these styles is extremely important as it relates to how information is processed, how the task requirements are defined, how the "success" of the program is evaluated, and how subordinates are developed through the process. Distinctly different approaches to problem solving will require a wider range of techniques and management tools in order to successfully implement organizational change programs.

The older executive in this sample was not more anti-change until age was related to education. The older executive who possessed either a B.S./B.A. or a LLD/M.D. degree was the most anti-change. The older executive with a M.A./Ph.D., on the other hand, was favorable to the ideas for personnel changes suggested in this research. The relationship between age and education during period of change seems to be an important policy cue. Questions are raised about the nature of education. Is is the particular subject or discipline studied, the scientific method's reliance on logic and fact, or the experience of graduate school itself, which determines the positive attitude toward change? Is this effect static across time or has it changed with the advances in technology and knowledge? Although both the younger and older executives with M.A./Ph.D.s were pro change, does the quality and type of their approaches differ based on different educational experiences? Finally, what are the differential training and development needs of the executive who has a M.A./Ph.D. and those with other degrees? Longitudinal study will be required to answer these questions.

The other significant finding with regard to age and change comes in the pattern of attitudes among age groups. The mid-life group (31-40) showed markedly different responses to the suggestions of organizational change. In fact, when the answers about their general attitudes toward the Executive Service were compared with the actual commitment of their own job to the plan, it was this group, across educational sectors, that moved toward a negative evaluation (i.e., yes, I like the idea; no I don't want to participate). Of course, it is impossible to determine whether this was the result of a life cycle developmental stage or a generational phenomenon due to the cross sectional nature of this data. It is, however, consistent with the theoretical descriptions of this period of adult life and, therefore extremely important to both the person who is investigating organizational changes and to the person who is interested in the career development of the individual executive. Again, further research will be needed to more fully examine this finding.

The stereotype of the "progressive" executive was confirmed in this research. The organizational problem this poses, however, is that these people are typically scattered throughout organizations and therefore are difficult to systematically identify. The importance of being able to locate and cultivate their particular propensity toward innovation should not be minimized in terms of their value as a resource for executive leadership. The questions, then, is can this be developed through training and coordinated career development, or can the organization only enhance the existing predispositions?

Additionally, the exact direction of the causal relationships between age, education, and mobility remain unclear. Several scenerios can be suggested. First, the desire for career mobility developed early in life may encourage certain kinds of educational experiences (mobility → age (developmental) → education). Alternatively, the person, as he/she develops, and takes academic training, may be drawn by successive positive organizational experiences to become more mobile (education → age (generational) → mobility). The era of development (the 1930s, 1950s, etc.) in which a person determines the perspective on mobility could lead to certain educational experiences being preferred. (Age (generational) → mobility → education). Finally, educational experiences, on the other hand, offer opportunities for developing contacts which are crucial for the early career mobility, but become less important as the person gets older, and starts providing the opportunities for a new generation (age (developmental) → education → mobility). It is important now to collect in-depth data on each of these potential explanatory variables over time in order to develop an accurate causal chain.

Finally, because there was little evidence of a crucial subordinate-sponsorship system in Michigan and a real resistance to rotational programs, the implementation of the Career Executive Service presents a great potential for altering the group relationships at the top. Now encouraged to develop management teams and orient their behavior toward performance evaluations through a yearly contract system, the use of the sponsorship system is bound to become more frequent. What will be of interest to follow is the relative skills and talents which are developed through the behavioral objectives and how they relate to the executive's perspective on planning (systematic and intuitive). Also, will they be complementary or supplementary in nature? Finally, the use of the individual yearly contract system under the Executive Service will also facilitate the need for the "trust" relationship among the senior executives.

Executives and Stress

Two clear patterns emerge concerning the type and quality of stress experienced by these executives. The stressful executive was found to be the Type A person who is mobile, reports more stressful personal habits and greater general job tensions. Several specific aspects of the executive role were particularly bothersome for this group: the limits of time and its effect on the quality of work, the interference of family pressures on job performance, the conflicting and/or unclear nature of job goals. The role of goals seems particularly important for the public executive who reports more externally caused stress (from the legislature, the public, the media, and special interest groups). Those who were not bothered by goal clarity expressed greater stress from internal sources (primarily interpersonal relationships within the organization). Higher general job tensions, however, was associated with external sources of stress, supporting the stressful nature of the boundary role which characterizes most executives. Interestingly, it was the older executive who was more bothered by external stress, while the younger group reported more internal problems. This could clearly be related to the older executive's orientation toward the task and the younger's orientation toward the people concerns of the organization. What is important from a policy perspective, however, is the variability of causes does seem to be systematically distributed across ages. Again, training and development programs can then begin to effectively design stress management sessions which are geared toward the specific age-related requirements. This will be true, if further research can confirm either the life cycle or generational nature of these differences.

The more stressful executive was not totally paralyzed however. Few of the measures of stress recorded in this study showed high levels of stress. Moreover, when asked if stress helped their performance, the majority of these executives felt there were positive aspects of stress in terms of job performance. This finding can be attributed to the ability of the "successful" executive (i.e., one who makes it to the top) to generally control his stress. The more severely afflicted executives have probably been self-selected out of this group on the basis of: early retirement, medical or emotional problems, suicides, or poor job performance. It is important, then, in order to get a full understanding of executive stress to survey not only the "successful" but those who have chosen to leave the executive life. This could most especially be an important factor in any longitudinal study.

The less stressful executive, on the other hand, was characterized as being a Type B person, less mobile, reporting fewer signs of personally stressful habits, and was less bothered by job tensions. This group reported that family pressures do not affect their job performance, that they are not bothered by the time requirements affecting the quality of their work, and they seldom receive conflicting or unclear orders. Unlike their successful counterparts, the low stress executive did not find that stress helped their performance. Also, these executives reported that their stress originated almost totally internally.

Again, certain questions are posed based on these findings. Clearly this is an "accurate" measure of stress at one point in time.

The over time pressures of these stressful factors and their relative strength can only be examined longitudinally. This was particularly highlighted by the responses to health and family questions which suggested that earlier in their careers many of these executives were more bothered by these factors. They had subsequently changed their attitude and/or behavior and now reported lower stress. We have no way, however, to determine what caused the change in attitudes and/or behaviors. Was it the mid-life crisis, the final attainment of success and its accompanying reflections on other aspects of life, a physical or mental problem which forced them to change, or was it the witnessing of the effects that stress had on their colleagues' lives? Here again, more in-depth analysis will be required.

Finally, the Type A mobile executive has been idealized by organizations as the epitome of success. They are able to do more than one thing at a time, quickly identify problems and solve them, move with ease throughout organizations, and are apparently extremely efficient in their time management. Hence, these behavior patterns are fostered and rewarded. It is important, then, to determine at what point do these rewarded behaviors become dysfunctional--when performance drops, when the person begins to show the interpersonal signs of stress making the working conditions of others strained, or when there is a physical or mental breakdown? The organization which is committed to long-term development of its top executive leadership would be wise to also examine the cost side of executive success.

The Career Executive Service and Stress

The final goal of this research was to examine the relationships between change and stress. Those who were under less job tension were found to be more favorable toward the specific change intervention under examination here--the Senior Executive Service. This statistically significant relationship, upon first examination, seems logically drawn from the earlier findings. When several of the earlier variables were also related to attitudes toward change, however, the earlier patterns about executives and change were again confirmed. The more mobile, Type A person, younger executive was more favorably disposed toward this program. What is interesting, however, is that this profile represents the stressful, rahter than less stressful, person.

There are several possible explanations for this finding. The specific change under consideration here may have skewed the relationship between change and stress, particularly given the preponderance of pro-change respondents in this sample (73%). The Type A, mobile executive also stands to potentially gain a lot from this organizational change, while the anti-change person may be more threatened given the continual potential for yearly change which the Executive Service represents. This could combine with the extreme frustration felt by the Type A person toward the merit system; in fact, the Executive Service was evaluated as a less stressful situation for those persons than was the slow, unresponsible and longevity oriented merit system. The adoption of the Executive Service, then, may be viewed as a way to reduce stress--to give the executive more flexibility and additional management tools. Given this perspective, the more stressful Type A person who adopts the change is responsing to a stressful situation--the present Civil Service system. A follow-up inquiry into the attitudes toward the merit system and the Executive Service after its implementation has been completed to allow time for a real comparison could provide a way to analyze the particular impact of this organizational change on stress.

Recommendations

The recommendations which can be drawn from these findings have been broken into research and policy conclusions.

Policy Recommendations

There are eight specific policy recommendations based on the results of this study.

1. Overall Recommendation: Recognize the differential impact of the program across ages and educational groups. Because this research has found such a systematic relationship between age and education and how they are related to attitudes toward the Executive Service proposal, it becomes important for the successful implementation to recognize these differences. This seems to be particularly important for those who are more resistant to change--those with B.S./B.A., and LLD and M.D. degrees, and those who are 41-50 years old. Additionally, the systematic executive will be more likely to prefer a performance evaluation system based on rational analysis of the task, unlike the more open approach of the intuitive. For the Executive Service system to develop executive leadership to an optimal level, these differences must be identified, analyzed, and integrated into the career plans, through the use of the individual contracts. It will not be enough to only develop performance objectives and evaluations with regard to the organizational performance alone.

2. <u>The role of the Civil Service in the Senior Executive Service:</u> Many of the internal problems cited by the executives which caused them stress were related to the Civil Service merit system. Frustration over the inability to reward, to move around, to provide differential incentives, to penalize, to attract and keep the most qualified executive talent were all directed toward the Civil Service system.

When this attitude is combined with the concern over favoritism or decisions based upon personality made by the supervisor who holds the performance contract, it is clear that a <u>neutral third party evaluator</u> mechanism needs to be provided for in the new Executive Service. In order to eliminate past bias or the inherent problem of merit-like systems, an outside evaluator should be made part of the evaluation system. Under the present plan, contracts are signed with the boss and the Civil Service Department oversees the whole process. This would also help to reduce the charge that the whole Executive Service system was a political ploy devised by political appointees to reinstitute the spoils system.

3. <u>Differential Incentive System:</u> There is no one standard which can be used to judge the "good" executive. Top executive talent is unique and highly skilled. This study has highlighted many of the ways in which successful executives differ: age, education, mobility, systematic versus intuitive modes of planning, people versus task orientations, and stress. There needs to be a recognition in the public sector of these differences and the development of differential motivational packages which can closely reflect the needs of the individual executive.

While pay was identified as important in the recruitment of new executives, as well as those with specialized skills (i.e., computers), there were many other possible motivational or reward devices mentioned which could be employed: ability to take short vacations with pay to unwind from particularly stressful situations, a recreational facility for state executives like the University Club for entertainment and relaxation, and better retirement programs. Related to this is point four below about mobility. It is sufficient here to note that public executives, like the corporate head, have individual needs and goals which the organization must recognize and reward in order to get the highest productivity from their executive talent.

4. Make Mobility Easier: Related to differential incentive systems, the state should develop personnel policies which would foster the mobility of the executive in order to increase adult learning and widen the knowledge base of the executive. Many of the executives interviewed here expressed the desire to move between agencies, among levels of government (such as through the Intergovernmental Personnel Act program), or to take post-graduate sabbaticals to return full-time to academic settings in order to retool and reflect on their organizations and their experiences. It was shown repeatedly throughout the research that graduate education has a positive impact on both attitudes toward change and lower stress levels. The major problems with these programs to this point have been the lack of personnel to replace the on-leave employees and the loss of retirement benefits during the move. Personnel policies can be devised to alleviate this problem, with the Executive Service providing an excellent vehicle for developing new perspectives.

One other mobility related recommendation should also be offered here. There was a sizeable number of older executives who recognized their own lowered abilities and who would like to take a lower position in order to reduce their stress. They recognized their inadequacy, at times, to perform at the level of the younger employee. The problem here is two-fold: first, there is no way to take a demotion without a loss in status and a negative evaluation of job performance. Second, because retirement is based on the last salary figure, there are severe constraints put upon the people against moving down. A system of downward mobility without penalties should be developed in order to allow executives to both realize their full potential, and, to contribute at their most optimal level, given their age, health, or educational constraints. This too could be tied into the new Executive Service system. The trained, experienced executive is too valuable to easily discard when the pressures of high office become too much.

5. Career Development: Partially addressing the mobility problem and partially focusing on the potentials of the Senior Executive Service, a system of coordinated, planned career development should be established. This would allow the organizations to plan long-range for their executive talent requirements. This could easily be made part of the Executive Service contract system and serve as a way to develop long-term evaluation criteria. This is also related to a differential incentive system as it can provide both a potential motivator and a way to recognize the different developmental needs of the executive.

6. The Use of Goals and Evaluations: The performance evaluation case of the Executive Service plan must carefully define the appropriate

goals that will serve as performance criteria. This study revealed a great deal of stress associated with unclear and conflicting goals (many of which were externally determined by the legislature). Moreover, there are certainly multiple goals operating in this system. Individual, program and organizational goals all provide plausible alternatives. Moreover, the systematic executive is much more likely to perform well under the goal-oriented system, than is the intuitive executive who works better in a more ambiguous environment. The evaluation criteria then should be carefully drawn to recognize the time frame each of these goals operates within, and, the possible dysfunctional behaviors which may arise. For instance, the evaluation predicated on individual goals could easily increase the interpersonal hostility among the executives. A program goal package, on the other hand, may be difficult to realistically use in the one year framework and as with organizational goals, it may or may not be successfully achieved as a result of the executive's specific performance. Recognition of these trade-offs must be made explicit in order to define the most appropriate evaluation system.

7. Educate the Public and Media about Government's Role in Society: A point which came up frequently during the interviews at different times focused on the expectations that the "public" and the media have about the performance of executive leadership. A lack of understanding about the constraints, the harassment, the inflexibility of the system, and the subjective nature of policy decisions on the part of both groups causes major stress in at least one half of this sample. Furthermore, the negative image of government leadership seriously hampers the recruitment and ability to maintain top quality personnel.

8. Evaluation and Dissemination of Information about the Michigan Executive Service: Finally, because there was general agreement among the executives concerning the innovative status of Michigan among states, and, the generally positive attitude toward the program, every effort should be made to systematically evaluate and disseminate information concerning the implementation of this program. In this way, innovation by analogy will be facilitated in other states.

Research Recommendations

There are four research recommendations which can be offered based on the experience and the findings of this study. Some of these have been suggested throughout the summary of the findings.

1. Longitudinal Study: The importance of longitudinal study for this area of research cannot be overemphasized. Given the three competing theoretical explanations, the uncertainty about the causal relationships, and the conceptualization of stress used here, many obvious research questions were suggested that require time series data to adequately examine. More specifically, we have no way of determining, based on these findings, whether the development of executive attitudes toward change and stress takes place as a result of generational or life cycle phenomenon. Clearly, appropriate policy recommendations will vary depending on the long term causal relationships suggested by these competing perspectives. This also is particularly important here with the emphasis on change in this research. Do attitudes toward change vary across the life cycle or development or are they generationally bounded? What role does education play in the moderation of the effects of age? These are perhaps the most fundamental questions to arise from this research.

2. Wider Sampling Frame: There are many limitations to the generalizability of these findings based on the small, highly homogenous sample used here. It is very important to widen the sample to include not only executives from different goegraphic and government levels (federal, other states, and local) in order to examine the impact of environmental variables (such as reputation for innovation) on attitudes toward change, but also a more heterogeneous sample which includes women, blacks and other minorities in sufficient number to allow for statistical comparisons. Differential patterns of socialization and norm structures which could be found could be instrumental in both training the majority group to accept and more easily work with the minority group executives, and, to train and develop the minority group members for success. The problem will be to find a sufficiently large population of minority executives from which to draw a sample.

3. More In-Depth Analysis: As Stated above, breadth of theoretical explanation rather than depth was emphasized in the development of the survey instrument used here. Several variables--age, education, and mobility--appeared to be statistically related to many of the attitudes toward change and stress in a systematic manner. Additionally, the systematic/intuitive mode of planning proved to be an interesting, yet unanticipated finding which also is clearly related to each of the other three primary explanations. The measurement of this variable was only made with regard to answers about six potential organizational changes in the area of personnel administration, which may or may not be an area of either expertise or interest to the executives in the sample. As a result, what may have been coded as intuitive may have

resulted from a lack of information rather than an implicit planning style. A wider range of issues should be used to measure this phenomenon.

The depth of analysis should also be widened to include the spouses and possibly some associates (role senders) of the executives in order to monitor the accurateness of the self-reports. This will require considerably more cooperation from the subjects and more invasion of the private relationships between executives and their families and their close colleagues.

4. Post Executive Service Implementation Study: This study was designed to be a pre-implementation measure of the attitudes toward the Executive Service among the state executives of Michigan. Each person was asked if he/she wanted his/her job to become part of the Executive Service. The actual program, which began on October 1, 1979, was designed to be voluntary for the first year. Therefore, it will be interesting to follow the path that each of the executive takes, by going back a year from the beginning and reinterviewing these people to see if their attitudes have changed and in what direction. We can then begin to see how attitudes about a particular organizational change evolve during the implementation stage and how that may affect the stress they undergo.

Summary

Although this study was exploratory in conceptualization, many of the findings have led us to several, important conclusions. First, no matter what specific role the executive plays in the organizational change process, there are variables and relationships that can be used to identify those who are more favorable toward change and who could, in turn, serve as internal change facilitators. Moreover, it is of no small significance that the younger and the older executives displayed similar patterns of attitudes--both were positive toward change. What is important now is to see how technology interfaces with the attitudes. For instance, it may be that while the younger executives are needed for the implementation of the new technology in organizations, it is the older executives who are providing the crucial support for the change. Finally, those executives who were in the mid-life years need particular attention during the change process.

Second, there is a significant amount of stress associated with the role of executive in public organizations which is caused, in no small part, by the conflicting demands and goals shed by external actors--the legislature, media, citizens, and special interest groups. It is important, then, that the public become better informed and more realistic in its expectations about the performance of both public organizations and their leaders. In this way, the public will be able to recognize its own role in government inefficiency.

Finally, there was a relationship between stress and attitudes toward change. The nature of this relationship should be examined again to see what role stress plays in the motivation <u>during</u> the change process.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

The Survey Instrument

(for office use only)

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Before we get into some specific questions about public sector executives, I 'd like to know a little bit about your own working career.

1. How long have you been living in Michigan? 1 ______
   ____less than 6 months
   ____6 months to one year
   ____1-4 years
   ____5-10 years
   ____10 years or more

2. How long have you worked for the state of Michigan? 2 ______
   ____less than 6 months
   ____6 months to one year
   ____1-4 years
   ____5-10 years
   ____10 years or over ______

3. How long have you been working at your current job? 3 ______
   ____Less than 6 months
   ____6 months to one year
   ____1-4 years
   ____5-10 years
   ____10 years or over ______

4. a. Why did you come to work for the state? 4a ______

____

____

____

____

b. Have you ever worked in an upper management position in the private sector? 4b ______
   ____yes
   ____no

If no, go to question 5; if yes, go to 4c

c. How would you compare that experience with working for a government agency? 4c ______

____

____

____

____

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5. How old are you? — 5 ____
____25-30 years old
____31-35 years old
____36-40 years old
____41-45 years old
____46-50 years old
____51-55 years old
____56-60 years old
____61 and over

6. What is your current family status? — 6 ____
____single (living alone)
____single (living with non-related person)
____married
____separated
____widowed
____divorced

7. What is the highest educational level you completed? — 7 ____
____6-11 years
____graduated from high school
____business college, vocational training, adult education
____some college
____completed B.A. or B.S. degree
____some graduate school
____M.A., M.S., M.P.A., M.B.A., M.S.W., etc.
____Ph.D., D.P.A., etc.
____law degree, medical doctor, etc.

I am interested in finding out about a wide range of factors which affect how executives do their job and how we can improve management practices to help executives obtain their optimal job performance.

8.a. How do you know what you are supposed to do in this job? How do you find.out about your respensibilities and what you have to do to meet them? — 8a ____

____
____
____
____

b. How about written documents like job descriptions, policy statements, memos, and so on, are there any that refer to your job and help you? — 8b ____

____
____
____

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c. Professional Schooling or specialized training? 8c________

d. Professional, technical, business associations or organizations--do they help you know how you are to do your job? 8d________

9. There have been a number of suggested personnel related changes that have been tried in other states to deal with the problems of executive employment and development. I would like your thoughts on a few of these ideas for the state of Michigan.

a. increased unionization of professional employees? 9a________

b. increased performance evaluation of executives to determine effectiveness and efficiency? 9b________

c. Rotation of executives across public agencies? 9c________

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9.d. Merit pay increases or bonsues for outstanding performance? 9d________

e. development of a separate executive service? 9e________

f. increased training and professional development opportunities? 9f________

10.a. Do you think that the development of an executive service where the top policy level positions are filled by a separate personnel system based on performance appraisal, would constitute a threat to the present merit system? 10a________

_____yes
_____no

if no, go to next question; if yes, go to 10b

b. How?________

c. What sorts of problems do you see in implementing this sort of idea here in Michigan?

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11a. What do you feel would be the result of taking the top-policy making positions out of the hands of the governor and putting it into the hands of a personnel system?

b. Do you think this would have serious consequences for effective policy development and implementation in the state? 11b________

12. How do you think we could make executive employment in the state more attractive in order to develop a larger, higher quality pool of potential applicants? Please answer YES or NO to the following suggestions.

	yes	no	rank	
a. increase pay				12a________
b. increase benefits				12b________
c. increase staff support				12c________
d. increase flexibility of working conditions				12d________
e. decrease partisan affiliation				12e________
f. tie promotion more closely to job performance criterion				12f________
g. provide additional training opportunities				12g________

How would you rank these ideas? "1" most preferred to "6" least preferred.

13. How would you characterize your own opinion about the implementation of an Executive Service for the state of Michigan? 13________

10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
I strongly support									I do not support

14. Would you be willing to have your own position become part of the executive service? 14________

_____yes
_____no

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15. Many positions in government require that a person have not only certain technical skills and experience, but also certain personality characteristics or particular talents. Thinking of your own job, what sorts of personal characteristics do you feel a person ought to have in order to be a good executive?

____

____

____

____

16. What sorts of personal charactaristics might lead one to do poorly in this job?

____

____

____

____

17.a. If you were moving to a better job, and had to find a replacement for your self, what sort of person would you look for?

____

____

____

____

b. Is there any way you think your replacement should be different from you on the basis of what you know now?

____

____

____

____

Now that we've talked a little about some proposals for change and your ideas about how to make executive employment opportunities more attractive, I'd like to turn your to your own executive style.

I'm going to read you a number of statements which describe various aspects of your management style. Considering all the elements in each section, please indicate to me which one best describes your behavior.

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Before you start, a word of caution: previous research indicates that self-deception is likely to occur when people answer these questions. The deception is caused by the tendency of people to confuse the way they want to manage with the way they do manage. One indication of this is that 45% of the managers changed their self-descriptions when they compared themselves after completing one week of management training with how they saw themselves beforehand. Some self-deception is probably unavoidable although it can be reduced by making a conscious effort to answer the questions based on your actual performance.

18. a. Element 1: Decisions — 18a______

- ____a. I accept the decisions of others with indifference.
- ____b. I support the decisions which promote good relations.
- ____c. I search for workable, even though no perfect decisions.
- ____d. I expect decisions I make to be treated as final.
- ____e. I place high value on sound creative decisions that result in understanding and agreement.

b. Element 2: Convictions — 18b______

- ____a. I avoid taking sides by not revealing opinions, attitudes and ideas.
- ____b. I embrace opinions, attitudes and ideas of others rather than to push my own.
- ____c. When others hold ideas , opinions, or attitudes different from my own, I try to meet them halfway.
- ____d. I stand up for my ideas, opinions, and attitudes, even though it sometimes results in stepping on toes.
- ____e. I listen for and seek out ideas, opinions, and attitudes different from my own. I have strong convictions but respond to ideas sounder than my own by changing my mind.

c. Element 3: Conflict — 18c______

- ____a. When conflict arises, I try to remain neutral.
- ____b. I avoid generating conflict; but, when it appears I try to soothe feelings to keep people together.
- ____c. When conflict arises, I try to find solutions that accomodate others.
- ____d. When conflict arises, I try to cut it off or win my position.
- ____e. When conflict arises, I try to identify reasons for it, and seek to resolve underlying causes.

d. Element 4: Temper — 18d______

- ____a. By remaining uninvolved I rarely get stirred up.
- ____b. Because of the disapproval tensions can produce, I react in a warm and friendly way.
- ____c. Under tension, I feel unsure and anxious about how to meet others expectations.
- ____d. When things are not going right, I defend, resist, and come back with counter arguments.
- ____e. When aroused, I contain myself even though my impatience is visible.

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18.e. Element V: Humor — 18e ______

______a. My humor is seen as rather pointless.
______b. My humor shifts attention away from the serious side.
______c. My humor sells me or my position.
______d. My humor is hard hitting.
______e. My humor fits the situation and gives perspective, I retain a sense of humor, even under pressure.

f. Element VI: Effort — 18f ______

______a. I put out enough to get by.
______b. I prefer to support others rather than initiate action.
______c. I seek to maintain a steady pace.
______d. I drive myself and others.
______e. I exert vigorous effort and others join in.

19. To what extent have you been able to define this job for yourself-- to carve out your area of responsibility, to make major changes in your activities, and the like? — 19 ______

______a. completely
______b. to a considerable extent
______c. somewhat
______d. very little
______e. not at all

20. Do you feel that you are always as clear as you would like to be about what you have to do in this job? — 20 ______

______a. I am very clear
______b. I am quite clear
______c. I am fairly clear
______d. I am not too clear
______e. I am not at all clear

21 . How often do you get conflicting orders or instructions from different people above you? — 21 ______

______a. never
______b. rarely
______c. sometimes
______d. rather often
______e. nearly all of the time

22.a. Have there been occasions when some of the people around you have different opinions about what you should be doing or how you should do it? — 22 ______

______yes
______no

If no, go to next question; if yes, go to 21b

b. Can you tell me about it?

____

____

____

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c. What do you generally do when this happens?

____

____

____

____

23. All of us occasionally feel bothered by certain things in our work. I'm going to read a list of things that sometimes bother people and I would like for you to tell how frequently you feel bothered by each of them.

_____most of the time
_____rather often
_____sometimes
_____rarely
_____never

	Most Times	Rather often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	
a. feelings that you have too little authority to carry out the responsibilities assigned to you						23a_____
b. being unclear on just what the scope and responsibilities of your job are						23b_____
c. not knowing what opportunities for advancement or promotion exist for you						23c_____
d. feeling that you have too heavy a workload, one that you can't possibly finish during an ordinary workday						23d_____
e. thinking that you are not fully qualified to handle your job						23e_____
f. thinking that you'll not be able to satisfy the conflicting demands of various people over you						23f_____
g. not knowing what you supervisor thinks of you, how he/she evaluates your performance						23g_____
h. the fact that you can't get information needed to carry out your job						23h_____
i. having to decide things that affect the lives of individuals, people you know						23i_____
j. feeling unable to influence your immediate supervisor's decisions and actions that affect you						23j_____
k. feeling that you may not be liked and accepted by the people you work with						23k_____
l. feeling that your progress on the job is not what it should be						23l_____
m. thinking that someone else may get the job above you, the one you are directly in line for						23m_____
n. feeling that you have too much responsibility and authority delegated to you by your supervisor						23n_____

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One common belief that most people hold about the executive life is that executives are paid to take the heat or to endure the pressures of high office.

24. Do you feel that your job imposes some stress and pressures beyond that which most people experience at their job? 24________
_____yes
_____no

25. What are some of the conditions or situations that you have to deal with that you think are particularly stressful or pressure-inducing?

____
____
____
____

26. As you see it, what leads to your feelings of stress?

____
____
____
____
____

27. a When you find yourself in a situation of stress or exceptional pressure, what do you usually do to handle the situation?

____
____
____
____

b. How do you feel about the way you handle the situation?

____
____
____
____

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28. Are there ever any times when the amount of work you have to do looks like it might interfer with how well it gets done? 28________

_____a. nearly all of the time
_____b. rather often
_____c. sometimes
_____d. rarely
_____e. never

Many people feel that the pressures and stress of their job makes them perform more effectively.

29. To what extent have job pressures helped to enhance your effectiveness at work? 29________

_____a. very much
_____b. to a considerable extent
_____c. somewhat
_____d. slightly
_____e. not at all

As much as we try to avoid it, most people find that personal problems or family pressures sometimes interfer with job performance.

30. How often would you say this happens to you? 30 ________

_____a. very often
_____b. sometimes
_____c. from time to time
_____d. hardly ever
_____e. never

Likewise, most people find that it is unavoidable to bring the pressures of the job home with them.

31. Have job pressures recently interferred with your family life? 31________

_____a. seriously
_____b. to a considerable extent
_____c. somewhat
_____d. slightly
_____e. rarely

32. Would you say you are in what kind of health? 32________

_____a. excellent health
_____b. good health
_____c. fair health
_____d. poor health

33. There are a number of different troubles and complaints which people often have regarding their personal habits. For each one I read, please chose the response which best applies to how often you have this trouble or complaint.

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33.

_____	nearly all the time
_____	pretty often
_____	not very often
_____	never

	all time	pretty of.	not often	never	
a. Do you every have trouble getting to sleep or staying asleep ?					33a________
b. Do you find it difficult to get up in the morning?					33b________
c. Have you every been bothered by nervousness, feeling fidgety or tense?					33c________
d. Are you every troubled by headaches or pains in the head?					33d________
e. How often are you bothered by having an upset stomach?					33e________
f. Have you ever been bothered by shortness of breath when you were not exercising or working hard?					33f________
g. Are you troubled by your hands sweating so that you feel damp and clammy?					33g________
h. Has any ill health affected the amount of work you do?					33h________
i. Do your hands tremble enough to bother you?					33i________
j. Have there been times when you couldn't take care of things because you couldn't get going?					33j________

Finally, previous research has identified a set of behaviors which occur regularly in people with heavy responsibilities. I would like to ask you whether these behaviors generally characterize your actions. Just answer yes or no to each of the following questions.

	yes	no	
34. a. Do you move, walk, and eat rapidly?			34a________
b. Do you feel impatient with the rate at which most events take place?			34b________
c. Do you find yourself indulging in polyphasic thinking, freqently striving to do or think about two or more things simultaneously?			34c________
d Do you find it difficult to refrain from talking about or bringing the theme of any conversation around to those subjects which especially interest or intrigue you, and when unable to accomplish this maneuver, you pretend to be listening but remain really preoccupied with your own thoughts?			34d
e. Do you always feel vaguely guilty when you relax and do absolutely nothing for several hours or days?			34e________
f. Do you observe the more interesting or lovely objects that you encounter in your environment?			34f________
g. Do you thing that you have no time to spare to become the things worth being because you are so preoccupied with getting the things worth having?			34g________
h. Do you find yourself scheduling more and more things to do in less and less time, and in doing so make fewer and fewer allowances for unforseen contingencies?			34h________

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		yes	no	
34. i	Do you believe that whatever success you have enjoyed in your life is due in good part to your ability to get things done faster than your fellow man (person)?			34i ______
j.	Do you find yourself resorting to certain characteristic gestures or nervious habits?			34j ______
k.	Do you find yourself increasingly committed to translating and evaluating not only your own but also the activities of others in terms of numbers?			34k ______

This concludes my questions. Is there anything you'd like to ask about or would like to add at this point?

____

____

____

____

Thank you for your cooperation. I will be sending you a brief report of the survey at the end of the summer after all of the data has been analyzed. If you have any further questions, please feel free to contact me. Here is my card for future reference.

Thank you again.

APPENDIX B

Contact Letters

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE · EAST LANSING · MICHIGAN · 48824

March 30, 1979

As the state of Michigan prepares to meet the challenges of the 1980's public leaders such as yourself face many dilemmas. You may have been asking yourself, "How can my leadership help guide the state and my agency to greater efficiency and effectiveness in meeting its goals?", "How will I be asked to change my management practices and styles in order to achieve a higher level of productivity?", or, "To what extent do personal problems impinge on my job?"

Very little is known from a scientific standpoint about the nature of public executives and their role in the workplace. As a Ph.D. candidate at Michigan State University in the department of Political Science, I am writing to seek your cooperation in a research project designed to find out more about the executive job and how to plan for the development of future executives. Appointed, merit, and elected top-level executives in the State of Michigan have been chosen for this study, which is funded by the National Association of Schools of Public Administration and Public Policy and the National Association of Counties through the Public Personnel Management Dissertation Research Fellowships program. Each of the five projects was selected to focus on different aspects of modern public personnel administration. Although the money for these fellowships comes from the Intergovernmental Personnel Act (IPA), all the data remain the property of the researcher. Thus, I am able to assure you that all information you provide will be treated with the strictest confidence.

Your participation in this project requires only one hour of your time for a personal interview, and a copy of your current resume. As required by the National Research Act, the University Committee on Human Subjects has reviewed this research and has given their full approval to the project. The confidentiality of all information you provide is fully assured. All data will be analyzed by number with no individual identification of people who participate in this research.

You are among a very select and small group—top state executives. Therefore, your cooperation with this survey is very important to its success. I have

March 30, 1979
Page 2

enclosed two letters of support and a copy of the consent form that I will be asking you to sign. These are now routinely used for most MSU-approved research. I will be contacting you in the coming week concerning your agreement to participate and to set up an interview. I look forward to talking with you.

Sincerely,

Debbie Cutchin
NASPAA/NaCo Public Management Fellow

ced

encls

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

EAST LANSING · MICHIGAN · 48824

March 30, 1979

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

We are interested in your participation in a study that will have important contributions to make to State Government in Michigan. The researcher conducting the study is Ms. Debbie Cutchin, a Ph.D. candidate in public administration in the Department of Political Science at Michigan State University. Your participation would involve cooperation with Ms. Cutchin in an interview format.

The topic of the study concerns organizational change in the public sector and the attitudes and opinions of high level state administrators toward such changes in Michigan. While studies of this kind are common in business administration, this study is the first of its kind to take seriously such problems in State Government. For that reason we all have an opportunity to take part in an innovative project which could have the same problem-solving role in the public sector that organizational change studies have had in the private sector.

In addition to our Department, the study has been supported by the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Public Administration through the Public Personnel Research Fellowship Program and under a general grant from the U.S. Civil Service Commission. If you have any questions about the study, please address them to Ms. Cutchin or to me at this office.

We look forward to your participation in this project.

Yours truly,

Charles F. Cnudde

Charles F. Cnudde
Chairperson

CFC/js

United States of America
Office of Personnel Management Washington, D.C. 20415

In Reply Refer To Your Reference

FEB 15 197

To Whom It May Concern:

Last year the U.S. Office of Personnel Management (OPM), formerly the U.S. Civil Service Commission, in cooperation with the National Association of Counties and the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration, awarded a grant to support the funding of doctoral research in public personnel management. In funding this program OPM had two basic goals - to attract top quality public administration graduate students into research in public personnel management, and to improve the state-of-the-art in public management so that managers at all government levels could have access to new information and ideas that would enable them to solve real, on-the-job problems.

Deborah Ann Cutchin of Michigan State University was one of the five graduate students whose research project was selected for funding support. Her research proposal, "Organization Change In The Public Sector: A Survey Of Attitudes And Stress Among Michigan State Executives," is one that OPM is particularly interested in. One of the key problem areas that is addressed by the recent Federal Civil Service Reform Act, and a key issue in many State and local government reform initiatives, is the problem of recruiting, training, compensating, and motivating top executives. Unfortunately, there has been very little systematic research dealing with public sector executives. The results of Ms. Cutchin's research, therefore, will be extremely useful to all governmental jurisdictions that are interested in the development and motivation of future public executives. For this reason, I would urge all potential participants in this study to give Ms. Cutchin their full cooperation. This will help insure a timely and fruitful use of Federal research funds.

Sincerely yours,

Irving Shapiro

Irving Shapiro
Grants Manager
Intergovernmental Personnel Programs

CON 114-24-3
January 1979

APPENDIX C

Consent Form

EXECUTIVE STUDY

Consent Form

1. I have freely consented to take part in a scientific study being conducted by: Debbie Cutchin
Under the supervision of: Charles Cnudde
Academic Title: Chair, Department of Political Science, MSU

2. The study has been explained to me and I understand the explanation that has been given and what my participation will involve.

3. I understand that I am free to discontinue my participation in the study at any time without penalty.

4. I understand that the results of the study will be treated in strictest confidence and that I will remain anonymous. Within these restrictions, results of the study will be made available to me at my request.

5. I will receive a report of the results of the study after my participation is completed.

Signed: ________________________

Dated: ________________________

APPENDIX D

Respondent Follow-Up

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE EAST LANSING · MICHIGAN · 48824

"Do you believe that absolutely everything can be expressed scientifically?
Yes, it would be possible, but it would make no sense. It would be description without meaning—as if you described a Beethoven Symphony as variations in wave pressures."
A. Einstein

I wanted to take this opportunity to thank you so much for the time you spent with me, the insights you graciously provided, and the candidness with which you addressed my questions. I hope that I will be able to combine both science and art in organizing, analyzing, and reporting your ideas. I am confident that the results of this research will provide a foundation for not only my own future interests and research in public administration, but also encourage others to pursue the study of state government.

Thank you again. I will, of course, be sending you a copy of my research report. If there is anything else I can do for you please feel free to contact me. I hope we will get a chance to talk again in the future.

Sincerely,

Debbie Cutchin
NASPAA/NaCo Public Management Fellow

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