

SPIRITUALITY AT WORK: AN  
EXPLORATORY SOCIOLOGICAL  
INVESTIGATION OF THE FORD  
MOTOR COMPANY

by

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## ABSTRACT

Spirituality in the context of work has become increasingly topical but there has been little empirical or specifically sociological research conducted to date. After reviewing this research, a case study is reported of a Benedictine monastery as an exemplar for a global and enduring organizational form that emphasises the integration of work with spirituality. Benedictinism is primarily explored through non-directive interviews. From its analysis the "spiritual-family", a new ideal type of spiritually informed social structure based on charismatic authority is proposed and compared against Weber's ideal type of bureaucracy. In their purest forms, the spiritual-family *elects* and Weber's bureaucracy *appoints* their superiors respectively. The essential structural difference between the two is the means for this selection.

These two ideal types are then used to investigate the Ford Motor Company. This second case study, of a contemporary global industrial organization, is explored from two perspectives: a) the official pronouncements of its most senior spokespersons; and b) non-directive workplace-based interviews with grassroots level "knowledge workers" in conjunction with extensive participant observation over a three-year period. Analysis of these extremities reveals a shared aspiration for a radical reform of the underlying corporate authority structure from a type characterised by Weber's legal-rational type, typical of bureaucracy, to one more adequate described by his charismatic and contrary form.

Finally, the investigation briefly considers the affinity of this new ideal type with broader social and workplace trends, and finds that it is high. However, a transformation from a bureaucratic to a spiritually informed organizational structure would require a paradigm shift that in present circumstances within the Ford Motor Company is improbable short of a major crisis.

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## DEDICATION

To my parents, and to Bill Ford for his inspiration

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CBGS	Consumer Business Groups
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
EBC	English Benedictine Congregation
EDAP	Employee Development and Assistance Programme
FCG	Ford College Graduate
FCN	Ford Communication Network
FIN	Ford Identification Number
FTEP	Ford Technical Engineering Program
GECS	Global Excellence Centres
GSR	General Salary Role
HR	Human Resource
ISAC	International Supplier Advisory Council
LL	Leadership Level
MBTI	Myers Briggs Type Indicator
MD	Managing Director
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PAG	Premier Automotive Group
PDC	Personal Development Committee
PSR	Private Salary Role (management grading system prior to Leadership Level)
QSR NUD*IST	Qualitative Solutions and Research Non-numerical, Unstructured, Data: Indexing, Searching and Theorising
SG	Salary Grade
UAW	United Automobile Worker





## CHAPTER 1

### A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

In recent years, there has been rising interest and discussion about spirituality in the context of work. Nonetheless, there has been little empirical research conducted that has been specifically sociological to determine whether it is a passing fad, part of a longer-term trend, or even social reality. The sociological literature barely describes spirituality at work and much of the few published works is theoretically based.

This thesis is exploratory and has the primary aim of constructing a model for an *ideal type* of arrangement for a spiritually informed organization. As we will see, such a model serves as a dichotomous alternative to the sociologically defined bureaucracy against which social scientists can subsequently conduct further empirical investigations to help understand contemporary workplace structures, practices and management intentions. In other words, such a model can help in the detection and identification of organizations that may be spiritually informed, or desiring to be so. Ever since bureaucracy came to be taken as a fundamental analytical model for studying workplace organizations it has generated opposition. Spirituality can be seen as the latest in a line of counter-models or rival aspirations. These two dichotomous ideal types, namely bureaucracy and the spiritually informed organization then represent the extremes of a continuum against which any specific social workplace reality can be examined and evaluated.

This first chapter explores how discussion of the phenomenon of the spirituality in the context of work has appeared and flourished in recent decades and what general themes emerge from a growing literature base. It will note the lack of sociological inquiry to date and suggest specific contributions sociology can make. Crucially, definitions for spirituality will be explored together with the related topics of spiritual development, spiritual health and spiritual well-being. Having defined spirituality, this chapter sees how spirituality has shaped and continues to shape a range of organization structures. We will then see how intellectual critics and theorists, explicitly or implicitly, intentionally or unintentionally have either promoted or

discouraged the spiritual dimension of work. This will lead to a preliminary definition of spirituality in the context of work.

### **1.1 The rise of the phenomenon**

Recognition of the phenomenon of the spirituality at work has been steadily growing over the past few decades. Although the phenomenon appears to have originated in America, in more recent years it has spread to Europe and beyond. One of the first of the contemporary writers about the phenomenon was Ohmann who back in 1955 felt that people had lost faith in the basic values of the prevailing economic society and that industrial leadership needed a "spiritual rebirth". Ohmann saw abundance without satisfaction: "our standard of living is at an all-time peak, and yet we are a tense, frustrated, and insecure people full of hostilities and anxieties" (1970, 5).<sup>1</sup>

In 1981 the papal encyclical *Laborem Exercens* was published (as will be discussed later). Five years later, the Catholic bishops in America issued a significant pastoral letter *Economic Justice For All* that outlined a moral vision for economic life. Sanctity could be achieved for the lay majority in the midst of ordinary daily working lives as witnessed by personal congruence and authenticity throughout a person's various social roles. Spirituality was neither a private nor an isolated practice, nor reserved for religious professionals:

The road to holiness for most of us lies in our secular vocations. We need a spirituality that calls forth and supports lay initiative and witness not just in our churches but also in business, in the labor movement, in the professions, in education, and in public life. Our faith is not just a weekend obligation, a mystery to be celebrated around the altar on Sunday. It is a pervasive reality to be practiced every day in homes, offices, factories, schools, and businesses across our land. We cannot separate what we believe from how we act in the marketplace and the broader community.<sup>2</sup>

Until recently, there has been little academic research literature on the topic with most articles and books being popular works. Nonetheless, there have been some notable individuals, such as Charles Handy (formerly a professor at the London

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<sup>1</sup> This "Harvard Business Review Classic" was originally published in 1955.

<sup>2</sup> U.S. Catholic Bishops (1986, n.25)

Business School) and Anita Roddick (founder of the Body Shop), who for some time have advocated the spiritual dimension of work.<sup>3</sup>

In the context of work, for more than a decade the human resource profession has discussed spirituality. Although the profession has not developed explicit theories to guide practice, personal spiritual insights aimed at enhancing fulfilment in the workplace have been published (Conger 1994; Kahnweiler and Otte 1997). In the management literature, spirituality in the context of organizations has enjoyed a rich albeit sporadic heritage (Dehler and Welsh 1994). More recently, pollsters have started to look at spirituality as a phenomenon. Mori for instance believes that along with feelings of insecurity and stress among the workforce, there is also a growing sense of wanting more from the work experience (Gallup and Jones 2000; Welch 1998). Indeed, some corporations now have workplace chaplains and increasingly employees desire to express their spirituality in their workplaces.<sup>4</sup> Today the subject has become particularly topical.<sup>5</sup>

Published works on spirituality has sharply risen. In recent years spirituality and religion has become the fastest growing segment in adult publishing. In parallel, there has also been a rapid demand for self-help books (American Booksellers Association 2002; Ferguson and Lee 1997). Within business Stephen Covey's secular spirituality (1989) and Peter Senge's holistic learning (1990) instigated a new corporate mindset by legitimising the discussion of spiritual concerns. The Financial Times occasionally publishes articles and even special features on the subject.<sup>6</sup> The last few years have witnessed a record number of books on the spirituality at work<sup>7</sup> that share a common theme of the longing to create a workplace where everyone shares a unified vision and sense of purpose beyond making money (Billitteri 1997; Gunther 2001; Leigh 1997).

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<sup>3</sup> For instance Handy (1997a, 1997b, 1998a, 1998b, 2002) and Roddick (2001)

<sup>4</sup> Laabs (1995), Conlin (1999), Overell (2001c)

<sup>5</sup> For reviews see Leigh (1997), Rigoglioso (1999), Neal (1997), Biberman (1997) or the Harvard Business School bulletins mentioned below.

<sup>6</sup> For instance Overell (1999, 2000a, 2000b, 2001b, 2001c, 2001d, 2001e, 2003) and Harney (2000b)

<sup>7</sup> The Center for Spirit at Work maintains a bibliography at [www.spiritatwork.com](http://www.spiritatwork.com). For an illustrative compilation see Ray (1993).

Consultancy in the area has arisen. The major management consultants have started to claim expertise in the field, sometimes with assistance from communities with a spiritual heritage.<sup>8</sup> Specialist consultancies have emerged<sup>9</sup> and CEO's have been reported as consulting with spiritual guides to help them understand their business (Gallup and Jones 2000). Some major corporations have used "New Age" training in business, a type of training that claims to take their participants on a journey of self-discovery.<sup>10</sup> Others deploy fire-walking exercises as part of corporate motivational events.<sup>11</sup> Some have used *feng shui* consultants in the design of office building and interiors.<sup>12</sup> The growth in interest has prompted the Harvard Business School to issue special bulletins on the topic (Brown 1998; Rigoglioso 1999).

Religious organizations have also responded to the demand for spiritual expertise. As part of their pastoral retreat programmes, the Benedictine monastic communities at Douai, Ampleforth and Worth in the UK have been providing seminars on spirituality in the workplace. These seminars use the *Rule of Saint Benedict* as a model for how people could balance life and work.<sup>13</sup> In Ireland, a pilgrimage site has opened its facilities to stressed business executives (Fish 2000). In America and Canada, even more support groups and organizations have flourished such as the National Center for the Laity located in Chicago.<sup>14</sup>

A number of conferences focusing on the topic have arisen. Since the mid-1990s, international conferences, such as Bridging Business and Spirituality, Spirituality in the Workplace, International Conference on Business and Consciousness and International Conference on Spirituality in Business, have emerged specifically to address the phenomenon of the spirituality at work. Although originating in America

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<sup>8</sup> For instance Mitroff (1999b). Findhorn Foundation has helped introduce spirituality into British Petroleum and PricewaterhouseCoopers (Overell 2001b).

<sup>9</sup> The Royal Mail has engaged a team of consultants who specialise in bringing spirituality to business to renew its reputation (Overell 2001a).

<sup>10</sup> For a review see Storm (1991).

<sup>11</sup> For instance: a) data storage expert EMC paid \$625,000 to have more than 5,000 new recruits walk across burning coals (Jones 2001); and b) Thomas's Europe, a part of Mars, have employed fire-walking as a means to encourage participants to put "mind over matter" (Mansell 1999).

<sup>12</sup> For instance British Airways and Bupa (Baker 1999; North 1998)

<sup>13</sup> See Tredget (2001, 2002), Crosby (2002).

<sup>14</sup> The NCL even publishes a "Spirituality of Work" series of booklets aiming to connect a person's belief with their work; e.g. Droel (1991).

and Mexico, conferences addressing the topic have now spread globally to Europe, Canada and Australia such as the International Conference on Organisational Spirituality sponsored by the University of Surrey in the UK.

Several general themes emerge from the spirituality at work literature. Firstly there appears to be an intensifying search for meaning and purpose in work. It is reported that employees are looking to business to answer questions about the meaning of life, self-fulfilment and personal growth. Employees are changing their motivation from remuneration and benefits to meaning, self-fulfilment and the quality of life (Galen and West 1995; Kantrowitz et al. 1994). A key goal is for the person to reach their full potential (Neck and Milliman 1994). This does not require taking a position on religion, although neither does it preclude discussion of spirituality with reference to the sacred, divine or transcendent (Dehler and Welsh 1994). Secondly, employees increasingly want to bring their entire person to work and see the working day as not separate from, but part of, a larger whole (Laabs 1995). This is closely connected to a third theme of the universal dignity and intrinsic worth of the human person. Human dignity is about valuing *all* people and the lives they lead as individuals (Kahnweiler and Otte 1997; Yarwood 1993). Fourthly, employees are looking for a sense of connectedness or community at work, and for their work to be an opportunity to contribute towards society (Brandt 1996). Fifthly, new models of "servant leadership" are emerging.<sup>15</sup> According to Greenleaf, who coined the term, the servant-leader takes care to ensure that those served grow as persons, become more autonomous, and are more likely themselves to become servants. Servant-leadership encourages collaboration, trust, listening and the ethical use of power. Sixthly and related, there is widespread agreement that the prevailing assumptions for organizing work are unsatisfactory, both in themselves and their impact on broader society, and that a radically "new paradigm" is urgently required in which business leaders will emphasise inspirational visions and enable the "emotional transformation" of their staff.<sup>16</sup> Neal, an authority on the subject, offers a succinct definition that integrates most of these six elements. Her final sentence is central to this thesis:

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<sup>15</sup> Conger (1995), Lee (1993), Greenleaf (1970)

<sup>16</sup> Neal (1999), Leigh (1997), Rose (1990), Rutte (1996), Vogl (1997), Dehler (1994), Zohar (1997).

Spirituality in the workplace is about seeing work as a spiritual path, as an opportunity to grow personally and to contribute to society in a meaningful way. It is about learning to be more caring and compassionate with fellow employees, with bosses, with subordinates and customers. It is about integrity, being true to oneself, and telling the truth to others. Spirituality in the workplace can refer to an individual's attempts to live his or her values more fully in the workplace. Or it can refer to the ways in which organisations structure themselves to support the spiritual growth of employees. (Neal 1997, 123)

This being said, the over-riding explanation for the rise of interest in the topic appears to be a direct but unanticipated consequence of the major corporate change or "re-engineering programs" that arose in the early 1990s and their resulting new forms of working practices. Hammer and Champy started this tidal wave through their multi-million "best seller" called *Reengineering the Corporation* (1993). Hammer ended a sequel on the topic of workplace spirituality. By following his business prescription, "the twenty-first-century organization will truly be on the side of the angels" (1996). Business had become a spiritual enterprise. Not all of the themes of the spirituality at work phenomenon are new. Some bear strong resemblance to the prior concepts such as the Human Relations of the 1930s and the later Organizational Development movements.

## **1.2 Sociological research**

Academic attention to the spirituality at work has also increased. Between them, educational institutions in America, UK, Italy, Australia and India offer more than forty courses and programmes on the spirituality at work. Several doctorates, mainly in the disciplines of management and leadership, have either been completed or are currently under way. As we will see later, others have focused on the development of instruments for measuring spirituality. However, there is little empirical research published on the topic (Neal, Lichtenstein, and Banner 1999). In the UK, the Praxis Centre at the Cranfield School of Management has two visiting speakers on spirituality in business. One is a Benedictine monk from Douai Abbey and the other an American quantum physicist. Several academic journals have published special

issues on the topic of spirituality in organizations and at work.<sup>17</sup> There are now at least five centres devoted to the movement, such as the *Center for Spirit at Work* at the University of New Haven, and no less than three professional associations.<sup>18</sup>

A scholarly interest in spirituality has emerged largely because of the growing popularity of the term in the wider culture. The British Sociological Association's Sociology of Religion subgroup's annual conference in 2004 was dedicated to the subject. Wuthnow argues that Americans now describe themselves as spiritual without being religious, and that their spirituality is growing while the impact of religion is diminishing. Moreover, many people distinguish spirituality from religion and frequently cast spirituality in a more favourable light than institutionalised religion (1998; 2001). Despite claims for secularisation, spiritual needs have not disappeared. Traditional beliefs and established religious organizations may be losing their adherents, but spiritual concerns are becoming more widespread as confirmed by in-depth, longitudinal, cross-cultural, and quantitative analysis. "Spiritual concerns are not vanishing: on the contrary, we find a consistent cross-national tendency for people to spend more time thinking about the meaning and purpose of life" (Inglehart 1997, 328).

Nonetheless, there is a notable absence of well-grounded sociological research specific to the spirituality at work phenomenon. Prior inquiries have focused almost exclusively on the disciplines of management, psychology or theology.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, researchers have struggled both to define and to locate suitably qualified organizations in which to ground their work.<sup>20</sup> There are however many reasons why spirituality may be considered as an appropriate topic for sociological investigation and debate. Sociologists vehemently defend human dignity, and sociological

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<sup>17</sup> American Behavioral Scientist, "The Development of New Paradigm Values, Thinkers, and Business", May 2000; Chinmaya Management Review, "Spirituality at Work", June 1999; Journal of Organization and Change Management, "Spirituality in organizations, Part I and Part II", Vol. 12, Nos. 3 & 4, 1999; Journal of Management Education, "Spirituality and Management Education," October 2000; "Spirituality and Management" Vol. 9 No. 6, 1994; Management Education and Development, which has now become Management Learning, "Working with Spirituality in Organisations," August 1991.

<sup>18</sup> Such as the *Management, Spirituality and Religion* special interest group of the Academy of Management.

<sup>19</sup> Principle theological texts include: Chenu (1963), O'Connor (1995), Volf (1991), Wyszynski (1995). For practical applications see Alford (2001) and for argument that management is already a form of religious faith, see Pattison (1997). Also see MODEM (2002).

<sup>20</sup> Nonetheless, Southwest Airlines, the Body Shop and Ben and Jerry's Ice Cream have been widely cited as being spiritually informed. See for instance Milliman (1999).



thinking helps the cause of universal freedom and can be the "power of the powerless" (Bauman 1990). They continually ask the fundamental question of what it means to be human and what it means to be human in a particular situation (Berger 1963). Moreover, it is the political task of social scientists to translate personal troubles into public issues and to help to transform the world so as to achieve human self-realisation (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995; Mills 1959). In short, sociological research should be emancipatory and in this sense converges with the theologically based spirituality of liberation.<sup>21</sup>

Sociologists try to make sense of the human condition by analysing the manifold webs of human interdependency (Bauman 1990). Although social structures may appear as reifications and to determine behaviour, they are nonetheless the creation of active human beings (Berger and Luckmann 1991). Frequently such sociological inquiry uncovers the sources of unanticipated consequences of prior purposive action. The first-class sociologist is a person "with a taste for other lands, inwardly open to the measureless richness of human possibilities, eager for new horizons and new worlds of human meaning" (Berger 1963, 67). More specifically, an urgent task for contemporary sociology is to conduct empirical work that will help decide the most credible, durable and convergent ideal type for the workplace and family (Esping-Andersen 2000). Moreover, any adequate social model must contain within itself a theory of the gap between theory and practice (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Sociology then, especially in the workplace, is a reflection on the social world and how structures impact on people. It assumes that there are potentially alternative ways of organizing life and that the way things are is not necessarily the way they have to be (Watson 1995). These key themes, also included in Neal's definition above, particularly inform this thesis.

### **1.3 Towards defining spirituality**

The word spirituality is derived from the Latin *spiritualita*. *Spiritualita*, an abstract word first attested in the fifth century, refers to the quality of Christian life lived

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<sup>21</sup> See for instance Gutiérrez (1983; 1988)

according to the Spirit of God.<sup>22</sup> Today the term spirituality is often extended to apply to believers in religions other than Christianity, and even to secularists and Marxists. Although it has come into widespread use during the twentieth century, its meaning has not been satisfactorily defined.

Many researchers in the field of spirituality at work struggle with the definition of spirituality. Several have proposed definitions whilst others have declared that an attempt to define it generically has severe limitations.<sup>23</sup> Those developing their own definitions within the context of work embrace both humanistic and theistic constructs, and address both individual and organizational aspects. Nonetheless, there remains no consistent and generally accepted definition. Consequently while the debate continues, and for pragmatic reasons, this study employs extant definitions drawn from some of the leading exponents of the academic discipline of spirituality. The most accessible and widely overlooked of these tend to be those of Christian theologians. This is not to claim that spirituality is purely a religious or even a Christian construct. Some academic theologians offer inclusive definitions of spirituality that are not incompatible with other more humanistic definitions. Indeed, theologians claim that the study of spirituality frequently draws from other disciplines such as history, psychology, sociology, philosophy and anthropology.<sup>24</sup>

In general, the term spirituality is understood as a fundamental dimension of the human being, the lived experience that actualises that dimension and the academic discipline that studies that experience. Spirituality is therefore both the experience and the discipline (Schneider 1990). Spirituality has several commonly acknowledged facets and in particular concerns: meaning and purpose, integration, growth, values, a social vision, human dignity, relationships, prophetic criticism and even the mystical. Spiritualities are never static but vary by historical era.

Firstly spirituality is a lifestyle lived at depth. It concerns a person's ultimate purpose and the way that person understands and lives within their historical context that aspect of their religion, philosophy or ethic that is viewed as the loftiest, the noblest,

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<sup>22</sup> Spirit itself means the life-giving principle in humans and animals, from the Latin *spiritus* meaning breathing (The Oxford English Dictionary 1989).

<sup>23</sup> Beazley (1998), Twigg (2001), Gibbons (1999), Joseph (2000)

<sup>24</sup> Sheldrake (1998), Principe (1983), Downey (1997)

the most calculated to lead to the fullness of the ideal being sought. Spirituality also points to those aspects of a person's living a faith<sup>25</sup> or commitment that concern his or her striving to attain their highest ideal or goal (Principe 1983).

Secondly, integration is a goal fundamental to this lifestyle. Spirituality is the person's conscious effort to integrate all aspects of human life, values and experience at depth and in terms, not of isolation and self-absorption, but of self-transcendence towards the ultimate value recognised (Schneider 1990; Sheldrake 1991, 1998). Spirituality is the deep desire of the human heart for integration in light of levels of reality not immediately apparent, as well as the experiences, events, and efforts that contribute to such integration in the face of forces of fragmentation and depersonalisation (Downey 1997).

Thirdly, spirituality is about personal growth in a communal setting (Vanier 1989). It is the process of becoming a person in the fullest possible sense, the perfecting of personal being, as forward-looking and dynamic, as related to life and action, and as aiming at corporate rather than merely individual wholeness. Spirituality must be liberating and enhancing and have belief about the destiny of humanity and the world. Contemporary spirituality draws a close connection with psychology and particularly with individuation (Downey 1997; Macquarrie 1972). In Jungian psychology, the goal of the process of individuation is the realisation of the uniqueness in the individual person, a process opposed to conformity. For Jung, the person becomes whole, integrated, calm, creative, and joyful when and only when the process of individuation is complete, when the conscious and unconscious have learned to live at peace and complement one another (1978).<sup>26</sup>

Fourthly, spirituality is grounded in moral values that, as we saw above, can be independent of religious belief. Indeed, new to contemporary spirituality is the frequent absence of explicit transcendent objects outside the self. Life is not necessarily ordered in relation to a divine force but in reference to the possibilities of

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<sup>25</sup> Fowler argues that faith is a universal and fundamental feature of human life despite multiplicity of religious practice and belief (1981).

<sup>26</sup> Likewise, Maslow saw self-actualised persons as more integrated and less fragmented, more spontaneous or fully functioning, more creative, and ultimately more fully human (1968). In terms of moral development, Kohlberg argued that the person progressed from obedience to rules to the highest stage at which the individual had developed an internalised, autonomous form of moral reasoning (1969).

the human spirit that may be possessed by religious and non-religious people alike (Wulff 1991). Indeed, a humanistic definition based on the writings of Maslow, James, Jung and others sees spirituality as characterised by certain identifiable values in regard to self, others, nature, life, and whatever one considers to be the "Ultimate", a definition remarkably similar to that of Principe above (Elkins et al. 1988). However, in contrast, for others a transcendent dimension is paramount: "Spirituality can be defined as a state of being related to a divine, supernatural, or transcendent order of reality" (Wuthnow 2001, 307).

Fifthly, crucial to contemporary spirituality are concerns for human dignity and the human being's relationship with self, others, the natural world, the transcendent and indeed everything that exists. Spirituality also has a prophetic role by promoting social orders built on the dignity of persons, mutuality, reciprocity and equality.<sup>27</sup> Authentic and contemporary spirituality has consequences for life in society, is ultimately concerned with salvation, and is never oppressive to any group of people (Downey 1997; Sheldrake 1998).

### *1.3.1 Spiritual development*

Inherent in conceptions of spirituality is the notion of a developmental sequence or journey as part of a community, and a sustained effort over an extended period of time. The difficulties of this journey, or pilgrimage, often require the support of a spiritual guide, tradition or community without which spiritual practices can easily become self-interested.<sup>28</sup> Psychometric tools like the enneagram or the Myers Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI) discussed later in chapter 5, can aid this growth by facilitating self-knowledge and the development of personality. Spiritual development itself is defined by reference to an intrinsic principle of "authentic self-transcendence".<sup>29</sup> Such development insists on authenticity as the prime criterion, openness to the spiritual, and personal integrity or wholeness. Towards authenticity

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<sup>27</sup> The United Nations Declaration of Human Rights proclaims recognition for the inherent dignity, and for the equal and inalienable rights of all members of humanity. Kant (1724-1804) asserted that human beings should never be treated as the means to an end, only as ends in themselves. From Kantian moral theory, meaningful work is work that is freely entered into, and that allows workers to exercise their autonomy and independence (Bowie 1998).

<sup>28</sup> Wulff (1991), Wuthnow (2001), Leech (1994). Notable guides for the practice Barry (1982), Guenther (1992), Ruffing (1989).

<sup>29</sup> By self-transcendence is meant: "higher self", "deepest self", "true self", "the spirit" etc.

people become fully open to all that is, ever willing to change and adjust as circumstances demand. They become alive always to the present moment by responding as they ought to in every situation. They become in touch with the depths of their own selves, in harmony with themselves and with everything else. Increasing authenticity entails increasing solidarity so that the individual and social dimensions of the person grow simultaneously. The final stage of spiritual development is described as the stage when the personality is the adequate instrument of the authentic person and there is unwillingness to compromise on basic moral principles (Helminiak 1987).

Zohar and Mitchell coined the term "spiritual intelligence" to broaden the understanding of intelligence beyond simply intellectual quotient or even emotional intelligence (2000).<sup>30</sup> It is the intelligence with which problems of meaning and value are resolved and through which actions and lives are placed in a "wider, richer, meaning-giving context". Persons endowed with high spiritual intelligence are flexible, spontaneous, self-aware, inspirational, visionary, values-based, holistic, and last but by no means least, prophetic in terms of challenging convention. In summary, it would seem that the spiritually developed person is not only fully human and charismatic but also inherently equipped to respond to the need for radical change.

### *1.3.2 Spiritual health and well-being*

For many years spirituality has been claimed to impact on health and well-being (Dunn 1959; Hoyman 1966). The World Health Organisation defines health as a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity. As such, health is no longer viewed as a passive state of being but rather as a dynamic process of achieving higher levels of wellness within the physical, mental, social and spiritual dimensions (Perrin and McDermott 1997). Indeed spiritual health positively integrates, or interacts with, these same components of health.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> For emotional intelligence, see Goleman (1996).

<sup>31</sup> Bensley (1991), Hoyman (1966), Hjelm (1996), Seaward (1991).

But like the definition of spirituality itself, a universally accepted definition of spiritual health currently does not exist. Nonetheless, six common perspectives of spiritual health include: 1) a sense of fulfilment; 2) values and beliefs in community and self; 3) wholeness in life; 4) well-being; 5) a controlling higher power or God; and 6) a human-spiritual interaction (Bensley 1991).

Optimal spiritual health may be considered as the ability to develop our spiritual nature to its fullest potential. This would include our ability to discover and articulate our own basic purpose in life, learn how to experience love, joy, peace and fulfilment and how to help ourselves and others achieve their full potential. (Chapman 1987, 32)

Senses of fulfilment, purpose and personal growth for self and others appear crucial. This fulfilment is vitally related to the person's concept of reality and their state of "connectedness with self, others, and a higher power or larger reality" (Hawks et al. 1995, 373). Spiritual health in turn can be expressed by a person's spiritual well-being (Ellison 1983; Seaward 1991).

### *1.3.3 Quantifying spirituality*

Attempts have been made to observe and measure spirituality. Since the early 1970s, Moberg has been instrumental in focusing the attention of social scientists on the need to investigate spiritual well-being scientifically (1979; 1984; 1986). Since then a plethora of research instruments have been developed to measure not only spiritual well-being but also related concepts such as spiritual maturity and "spiritual strivings".<sup>32</sup> Foremost is the instrument developed by psychologists Ellison and Paloutzian that has been used in a large number of studies over the past ten years (1982). It is a twenty-item Likert style instrument with six numerical values ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Ten of the items refer to a relationship with a higher power and generate the "Religious Well-Being" subscale score. The remaining items are measured to realize the "Existential Well-Being" subscale score. The instrument shows high test-retest reliability, internal consistency, face validity, and correlation with theoretically related scales and also appears to be a valid indicator of general well-being. Normative data for a range of religious groups, college students, and counselling patients has been published (Bufford, Paloutzian,

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<sup>32</sup> Ellison (1983), Genia (1991), Emmons (1998).

and Ellison 1991). Several scholars have developed and extended this instrument and applied it to specific populations.<sup>33</sup> Despite this, much research into the spirituality at work has focused on the development of new research instruments without always adequately acknowledging the existence of existing scales (for instance, Beazley 1998).

Spiritual well-being correlates positively with several standard indicators of well-being such as self-esteem, finding meaning and purpose in life, high assertiveness and low aggressiveness, good physical health, and good emotional adjustment. In contrast, spiritual well-being negatively correlates with indicators of ill health, emotional maladjustment, and dissatisfaction with life (Bufford, Paloutzian, and Ellison 1991). Spiritual well-being is also significantly and positively associated with perceived level of social competence, positive feelings about life, optimism, and participation in religious activities. It relates negatively to loneliness and valuing individualism (Moberg 1986). In the context of work, spiritual well-being is significantly and positively related to perceptions of organizational openness, general self-efficacy, and both affective and normative organizational commitments (Trott 1996).

In short, spirituality and its correlates involve a lifestyle, a commitment to interior growth and integration, are based on moral values, convey a sense of meaning and purpose, defend human dignity, take place within a network of relationships, principally that of community and last but not least, a willingness and ability to challenge the status quo. Although their expressions can be measured and have been quantified through a variety of instruments, these offer little guidance for the structural conditions that promote or inhibit spiritual health and well-being within a social body.

#### **1.4 Some notable institutionalised forms of spirituality**

Spirituality has played an important and durable role in many social organizations, religious and secular, historical and present. We will outline four different examples through which spirituality has profoundly influenced attitudes, organizational forms

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<sup>33</sup> For instance Kelly (1993), Lynn (1993), Maitha (1994), Kellums (1995), Bruce (1996), Thayer (1996), *(footnote continued)*

and practices to work, namely: historical Protestantism, the guilds, the Quakers, and Christian monasticism. Rather than reviewing these chronologically, they are considered according to their notions of spirituality. We start with historical Protestantism as it has had a crucial role in shaping both the contemporary work ethic and modern capitalism and, as will emerge, has fundamental elements that contrast starkly with those of the remaining three. This ethic ironically is an ethic that the spirituality at work movement appears to be challenging, and an ethic that is largely incompatible with our definitions of contemporary spirituality. We end with monasticism, an enduring social form that by contrast is not only particularly congruent with the spirituality at work phenomenon and our definitions, but is also in many ways antithetical to Protestantism's historical roots. Historical Protestantism and monasticism as we will see can be seen as polar opposites.

#### *1.4.1 The Protestant Reformation: the source of a modern work ethic*

In his classic essays on *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, Max Weber argued that the secular culture of capitalist society paradoxically originated in the asceticism, or spiritual practices specific to the sixteenth century Protestant Reformation (Weber 1958). The Protestant ascetic imperative, as expressed through the theology of Luther and Calvin, was the key motivational factor in shaping the rationalisation of modern western societies. Protestantism emphasised the autonomy and independence of the individual person rather than any dependence on the Church, priesthood or communal ritual. Believers no longer depended on institutionalised means of grace to effect their personal salvation and their spiritual relationships emphasised the vertical dimension directly with God. Monasticism, which up to then was widespread, and mysticism its most exalted form, were seen to be mistaken forms of Christian life.

A fundamental consequence was the "disenchantment of the world" in that Protestantism "accomplished the religious rationalisation of the world in its most extreme form" (Weber 1958, 147). It involved a retreat of "ultimate and most sublime values" from public into private life with the consequential loss of any sense that the world had meaning. Faith became a private affair. Protestantism

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*(footnote continued)* Ashdown (1997), Newton (1997).



inadvertently sowed the seeds of secularisation in modern society by its own promotion of extreme rationalism, worldly activity and the consequential expansion of wealth and material well-being. Two crucial aspects of historical Protestantism were the notions of the calling of the faithful to fulfil their duty to God in the conduct of their everyday lives, and predestination, an important belief emphasised in Calvinism. A person's assurance of salvation was indicated by diligence in their calling, lived out through hard work, systematic use of time and a strict "this-worldly asceticism". The accumulation of capital became a duty or an end in itself and leisure sinful. Leisure, spontaneous enjoyment and time for inner stillness or mystical contemplation were abhorred.<sup>34</sup>

Not leisure and enjoyment, but only activity serves to increase the glory of God... Waste of time is thus the first and in principle the deadliest of sins... inactive contemplation is also valueless, or even directly reprehensible if it is at the expense of one's daily work... labour came to be considered in itself the end of life. (Weber 1958, 157-9)

This compulsion to work as the prime purpose in life, to the exclusion of leisure, led to time becoming equated with money. "Man is dominated by the making of money, by acquisition as the ultimate purpose of his life" (Weber 1958, 53). Weber argued that Protestantism imparted much of the cultural content of early capitalism and in particular the disciplined and rational organization of work as a duty. He employed the term "elective affinity", a concept we will return to later, as the resonance or coherence between aspects of Protestantism and the spirituality of the capitalist enterprise:

The religious valuation of restless, continuous, systematic work... must have been the most powerful conceivable lever for the expansion of that attitude towards life which we have here called the spirit of capitalism. (Weber 1958, 172)

Protestant asceticism "legalised the exploitation of this specific willingness to work, in that it also interpreted the employer's business activity as a calling" (Weber 1958, 178). Moreover, Protestantism's tendency towards uniformity of life immensely aided the capitalist in the standardisation of production, and the importance of a fixed

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<sup>34</sup> For an alternative and classical view of leisure, see Pieper (1998).

calling justified the specialised division of labour. Luther's understanding of work as vocation was indifferent towards alienation in work. Every type of work could be a vocation no matter how dehumanising it might be. The Protestant work ethic valued hard work but devalued the worker. Protestant asceticism led to the accumulation of capital, investment and reinvestment or "the pursuit of profit and forever renewed profit". Making money became both a religious and business ethic. Profit became the end in itself. Given the injunction to sacrifice enjoyment and relentlessly seek profit, the early capitalists were likely to be successful.

Weber thought that Protestantism was a necessary precondition and supremely important to the appearance and development of modern capitalism. However by the twentieth century, capitalism's "devotion to the calling of making money" no longer required the direct sanction of religious belief to continue. But it did require the development of rationalised administration structures, particularly the bureaucratic structures discussed later in chapter 3. Weber noted that the rationalisation of economic structures in modern capitalism, the process of making life more efficient and predictable by eliminating individuality and spontaneity, was an important historical transformation. This rationalisation of life increasingly restricted charisma and other personal conduct and produced a profoundly dehumanising or alienating existence. Mystery, emotion, tradition and affectivity were replaced by rational calculation. The capitalist's "pursuit of wealth, stripped of its religious and ethical meaning" produced "specialists without spirit, sensualists without heart" (Weber 1958, 182). The religious beliefs as originally pronounced by Luther and Calvin had transformed an economic system. Spirituality, especially as understood today, had been driven out of the workplace. Although Weber hoped for some charismatic deliverance from the "iron cage" of rationalised industrial capitalism he was not optimistic. But he did note that rationalised relationships invariably produced irrational outcomes, a paradox of unforeseen consequences. Following Weber's argument, many sociologists contend that Reformation Protestantism had a primary role in producing a contemporary work ethic.

A second and related major contributor to modern work attitudes and the fragmentation of social life was the Industrial Revolution. This started in the late eighteenth century by first transforming Britain. For many, an increasingly specialised division of labour developed and social life became no longer governed

by the natural rhythm of the seasons, and of night and day. Before the Industrial Revolution there was a task-orientation to work and individuals retained considerable autonomy over the rhythm and timing of their work. People worked only as much as they felt necessary and there was no clear dividing line between work, leisure or social intercourse. Subsequent to industrialization, work patterns became marked by time-thrift, regularity and externally ruled by the clock and the machine, and work and leisure, home and workplace became separated. Employees experienced a distinction between their employer's time and their "own" time. When reduced to money, the value of time predominated. Time became money and the task subservient (Thompson 1967; Thrift 1990). Instead of work involving all members of the family, each was employed and paid as an individual worker. Demarcation increased first between women's work and men's work, and ultimately between those who owned and those who controlled the process of production (Albrow 1970; Haralambos and Holborn 2000). A control-orientated approach to workforce management developed in response to the division of work into small, fixed jobs for which individuals could be held accountable and regarded as a variable cost. Its essence was the desire to establish order, exercise control and to achieve efficiency in the application of an impersonal workforce (Walton 1985). Ultimately employers came to conceive of people not as persons but objectively, impersonally and without individuality as "hands". Division became ubiquitous. It segregated the personality from the job, worker from family, work from leisure and religious practice, and the person from nature. Time became non-rhythmic and equated with money. Money and labour became the sole purpose of life.

Although Weber's influential thesis has come to dominate discussion in the social sciences on the consequential impact of just one, albeit significant, form of spirituality on social organization, there are notable exceptions and historical predecessors whose social structures were informed by different concepts of spirituality, concepts that are more compatible with and enlighten the spirituality at work phenomenon. We will briefly look at three eminent illustrations.

#### *1.4.2 The guilds*

Our first notable alternative, the guilds were professional associations or fraternities that flourished in the medieval period prior to the Protestant Reformation. According

to Brentano the essence of the guilds was the close fraternal bonding or solidarity between their members expressed through mutual help and support (1969). Interpersonal relationships were moral and characterised by closeness, belonging and warmth.

The guilds arranged leisure activities for their members and their families, and periodically gathered for common feasts. Guilds had the most important functions of social intercourse, recreation, fraternalism and education in addition to the advancement of technical skill and the regulation of the conditions of work. The guilds also were explicitly religious communities. Every guild had a patron saint and sometimes its own chapel. Leisure, religious duty, and moral and professional development were integrated with work. Communal rituals were frequent, routine, and identified the key points on a shared calendar.

Guilds were intimately related to the family, since the normal working unit within every guild was the family. They also resembled a surrogate family by providing for all wants that the family union was unable to satisfy. If industrialization is considered as a shift from an economy where everyone worked with other members of their family, to an economy where the majority work with non-relatives and strangers, then the guilds may be seen as a midpoint, as an artificial extension of the family, since they invariably sought to create quasi-kin relationships among their members. The guilds were an extended family.

Guild members directly controlled admission usually through extended apprenticeships. Admission was an act of special solemnity and the beginning of a kind of noviciate to citizenship by instilling moral obligations towards others. Masters accepted apprentices not only to acquire inexpensive labour but also to form worthy craftsmen and citizens. Apprenticeship had a quasi-kin character with the master acting in *loco-parentis*. The apprentice became a member of the family of his master who instructed him in his trade and who, like a father, watched over his morals, as well as his work. A highly personal admission process was crucial to imparting lifelong and strong moral disposition and responsibility to others.

The guildsman's work was his vocation, his form of service to society. He was honoured for his service, not for his wealth. The guilds organized extensive corporate support and welfare activities, not only for their members and their families, but also

for non-guild members (Brentano 1969; Somerville 1938). At its best the guild ideal was an attempt to balance the rights of the consumer, the producer and the community and demonstrated a means whereby morality and economic enterprise could be united (Charles 1998). Charitable activities or social mission were an integral part of guild life.

Guilds were democratically managed by the *election* of their officers. In Europe they were organized on a three-level hierarchy of master, journeyman and apprentice. Although the guilds upheld a relatively permanent division of labour they encouraged the mobility of labour by certificates of service acting as passports to employment in other towns (Charles 1998). Masters worked to ensure the stable employment of their journeyman. For both, employment was remarkably regular and redundancy rare (Brentano 1969). The guilds also limited the working day. Regulation aimed to prevent the collective body from being forced to over-exertion by competition and thereby being deprived of the enjoyment of life. Moreover, competition amongst guild-brothers was seen as contrary to the spirit of brotherhood and any ambition to rise above one's fellows was looked upon as antisocial, un-brotherly, and unchristian (Brentano 1969). The guilds therefore actively promoted stability, balance, equality, and deplored egotism.

The guilds began to deteriorate because their fraternal and religious spirituality gave way to excessive individualism and materialism. Narrow-mindedness, petty rivalries, and hateful egotism began to replace the idea of association and solidarity under which they had grown up and flourished (Brentano 1969; Somerville 1938). Nonetheless, the guilds offer a historical model that united morality with economic enterprise whilst defending human dignity, all within a context of an occupational and extended family. In the words of Brentano:

Great are the thanks we owe to these oldest defenders of the dignity of man against feudal arbitrariness: in the times of the densest seigniorial darkness, they offered a noble resistance to Episcopal and baronial tyranny, and formed the nursery cradles of popular liberty. (1969, cviii)

Although the guilds as understood above were eventually abolished, their ethic survives today in their lineal descendants of skilled craftsmen and the professions.

The latter convey fundamental elements of this important and alternative spirituality. We will return to them in chapter 3.

#### *1.4.3 Quaker industrialists*

Our second alternative is the Quakers. The great Quaker industrialists, such as Cadbury, Fry and Rowntree, anticipated current interest in sustainability and corporate social responsibility. They also share several fundamental characteristics with the guilds. Their spirituality emerged from a faith influenced by their experiences as nonconformists during the seventeenth century and was expressed through positions of non-violence, tight discipline and, like the guilds, mutual self-help and trust, and a commitment to upholding human dignity. Quakers developed antagonism to inhumanity and institutional cruelty.

Quakers' behaviour in business was constantly informed by their strong religious beliefs and ideals. They were particularly keen on social improvement and pioneered styles of management that focused on human relations, temperance and community within the workforce. The more affluent industrialists even sought to create their own ideal communities local to their factories. Cadbury workers at Bourneville started their day with bible readings, and leisure facilities were provided adjacent to the factory. Again, like the guilds religious duty and leisure were integrated. The ideal Quaker devoted time and money to poverty and worked to empower people to overcome their own problems. To be a Quaker involved subjecting oneself to possible scrutiny of both one's personal and professional life at the threat of exclusion. Like the guilds there needed to be moral consistency across both domains. By the late eighteenth century Quakers were increasingly using their unique standing to humanitarian ends by promoting social reform sometimes through philanthropy, often as employers, but increasingly through politics. Quakers were trustworthy and respected for their genuineness. Their product brands were authentic and trustworthy by *revealing* their spirituality: "In a world where such guarantees were less than universal, and suspicion reigned among consumers and customers, Quakers were exceptional. And therein lay the making of their success" (Walvin 1997, 210).

Although major Quaker companies are rare today their spirit lives on.<sup>35</sup> Scott Bader is a surviving and renown example that encourages employee ownership and its involvement in decision-making through *elective* representation. Like its predecessors, Scott Bader aims to develop in its members a social consciousness and an inalienable respect for human dignity (Oakeshott 2001).

#### 1.4.4 *Christian monasticism*

Our last and radical alternative is Christian monasticism. Christian is just one form of monasticism and indeed monasticism itself is now one form of the religious life.<sup>36</sup> Saint Anthony (c.251-356) is regarded as the founder of desert and Christian monasticism. In the desert tradition, a group of disciples surrounded a *charismatic* leader whom they regarded as their father and teacher. Relationships were deeply personal and involved the spiritual development and well-being of disciples (Gould 1993). From Saint Anthony's initiative Christian monastic life grew from a lay movement to range from the solitary life and the severely ascetic life, through the *lavra*<sup>37</sup> to the coenobitic life. Monasticism has had, and continues to have, a breadth of meaning and practice.

Saint Pachomius (286-346), the organizer of Upper Egyptian monasticism, instituted the coenobitic life by insisting that monks conduct manual work and thereby create self-supporting communities. A life of prayer was integral with work. Novices were assigned to elders who were responsible for their spiritual growth. There was a probation period within the community of three years before a candidate was accepted as a fully-fledged monk. Monasteries were small towns of one to two thousand inhabitants but grouped into houses of thirty or forty according to the trade they practised under a local superior who in turn related to the overall superior of the monastery. Human scale was imperative. Monasteries themselves were networked as a congregation under a single superior-general who could transfer monks from one monastery to another. Ambition for power was vehemently discouraged to the extent

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<sup>35</sup> Cadbury and Fry initially merged in 1919 and subsequently with Schweppes in 1969. Rowntree was subsumed by Nestle in 1988.

<sup>36</sup> Monk, from the Greek, means "single" or "one alone". Its use is properly confined to hermits and members of a monastic community. Monasticism is widely practised in Buddhism, Hinduism and Jainism but is generally opposed in Islam.

<sup>37</sup> Colony of anchorites living in separate huts but subject to a single abbot.

that Pachomius asked his brother superiors collectively to *elect* his successor: "Now then decide together the one you wish to be your father" (Dominique and Groves 1998). Pachomius saw himself as the servant of his monks and encouraged his monks to serve one another. He sought to merge into the background as an unobtrusive father figure who inspired his monks and facilitated their spiritual lives. He emphasised that a superior should be a model in observing the rules, avoid any special treatment, be an instrument for community unity, and seek to surpass his subjects in the spiritual life. He insisted that leadership be based on example rather than precept and never be autocratic.<sup>38</sup>

Pachomius' teaching was to have a lasting impact upon the monastic movement in the East and West and notably on Saint Benedict (c.480-c.550), the patriarch of Western monasticism. Benedict synthesised a guide or rule for the spiritual as well as the administrative life of a predominantly lay monastic community marked by prudence, balance and adaptability for local conditions. An abbot was *elected* by his monks and had full authority under the "Rule" for the affairs of the monastery, although limited by his obligation to consult with his community. The Catholic Church's highest ranks of leadership in the ecclesial hierarchy,<sup>39</sup> such as the pope Saint Gregory the Great (c.540-604), have often been recruited from Benedictine monasteries.

In both the Pachomian and Benedictine models monasteries functioned to varying degrees as autonomous units yet linked with other monasteries through a network or "family tree" of fraternal bonds. Monasteries worked like living organisms, as self-contained models of sustainable social and economic life, yet open to offering hospitality to travellers and pilgrims. Spiritually mature monks worked not only for their own growth but also for that of their brothers over whom they avoided any desire to gain advantage. In the ninth century, large Benedictine monasteries were centres of culture and economic development, gained immense social influence and

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<sup>38</sup> Meinardus (1992), Copsey (2000a, 2000b), Turner (2000), Knowles (1969), Chitty (1995), Davis (1961).

<sup>39</sup> The Christian mystic Dionysius the Areopagite introduced the term *hierarchy* in the fourth century as "a sacred order" or an order of holy beings, and describes the relationship of the hierarch to those below him. By hierarch he understood a model individual, "a holy and inspired man, someone who understands all sacred knowledge, someone in whom the entire hierarchy is completely perfected and known" (Luibheid et al. 1978, 153, 197). Hierarchy, as originally conceived, therefore signified an increase in spiritual authority and *not* as today of power. Authenticity as a role model was central.



at times established an ordered way of life that gave security and stability during collapses of urban society (Levi 1987). They were a great reserve force of civilisation and "fortresses amidst a world of savagery" (Crossley 1962, 125). Indeed Alasdair MacIntyre, a leading philosopher has even suggested that a modern rendition of the Benedictines is needed to counter contemporary moral decay (1981). We will return to the Benedictines in chapter 2.

To sum up, five themes, common to a greater or lesser extent, can be drawn from our brief overviews of the three alternatives of the guilds, the Quakers and Christian monasticism. The first theme seems to be a commitment to a belief in the inalienable dignity of the person, and an ongoing commitment to both the professional and moral formation of individual members. Individuals are treated as persons. The second is the emphasis on community as expressed through familial solidarity, shared moral codes or values, close personal ties, mutual support, belonging or shared identity, commitment sometimes expressed through stability, and trust. Sophisticated admission procedures were fundamental. The third is a commitment to integration and authenticity across all domains of social life that are lived rhythmically and with balance. A fourth is social mission, an outreach external to the organization but based on a sound internal moral foundation. Fifthly, leaders were freely recognised and chosen through either a response to their personal charisma or more formally by *election*. Leaders had a central role in protecting the organization's fundamental values, particularly with their model behaviour. These five themes will reappear as a fundamental structure for analysis throughout the following.

### **1.5 Spirituality in social thought**

Like the aforementioned practitioners, many intellectual theorists and bodies have also reflected on, criticised and significantly influenced the social organization of work. Although spirituality is not usually a term they explicitly deploy, the views of these theorists can be understood through the lens of spirituality without diminishing their fundamental claims. We will limit ourselves to the briefest of outline to some of the key concerns of a few principal representatives.

Proponents of the Enlightenment, such as Locke and Descartes, largely rejected mysticism and belief in the supernatural as ways of understanding the world. They

argued that the natural world could only be understood through objective and unemotional science, and knowledge could only be derived from reason.<sup>40</sup> The common ground uniting Enlightenment beliefs was a secular worldview, a confidence in rationality, the belief in reason rather than religion as a guiding principle in life, and the celebration of individualism. Enlightenment thinking precipitated the decline of religious thinking. It is regarded as the foundation of modernity in which the application of rational scientific knowledge can form the basis for the progress of social life and can permit the conquering and control of nature. Although the three principal founders of sociology, Marx, Durkheim and Weber built upon the cultural change that the Enlightenment brought about, postmodern theorists tend to argue that the Enlightenment project has been discarded in contemporary societies, a point we will return to in chapter 6.

Karl Marx (1818-83) believed that the economic system ultimately shaped all other aspects of social life and its contradictions and conflicts can be major catalysts for radical change. Marx was particularly concerned with economic structures, especially capitalist forms, that promoted alienation, eroded meaning and denied people their creative human nature. Marx argued that capitalism promoted several types of alienation. Workers became estranged from other workers because they competed against them. They became alienated from the products of their work. Work ceased to become an end in itself by creatively fulfilling human needs. Workers became alienated from others since capitalism transformed social relationships into market relationships. People became judged by their position in the labour-market rather than by their human qualities and ended up regarding each other as anonymous reifications rather than as individuals.

Owner-producer-merchant-consumer were all the same person, and creative labour gave meaning to human life. Next came the separation of the merchant class. The merchant mediates between producer and consumer, and eventually goods are no longer traded for goods, but for money. Then came the separation of owner and worker in production, especially under capitalist industrialisation. This is the completion of self-estrangement or alienation.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> By contrast, for positive appraisals of the direct perception of reality and knowledge through mysticism see Underhill (1930) or James (1997).

<sup>41</sup> Marx and Engels quoted in Adams (2002, 127-128)

Through the lens of spirituality, Marx could be understood as being vehemently critical of situations that encouraged separation and division, the denial of human dignity by the treatment of persons as objects, and the replacement of personal and cooperative with impersonal and conflictual relationships.

Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) consistently attempted to reconcile freedom with morality, and individuality with social solidarity. Morality curbed and restricted individual self-interest within the ambit of the common good.

Everything which is a source of solidarity is moral, everything which forces man to take account of other men is moral, everything which forces him to regulate his conduct through something other than the striving of his ego is moral, and morality is as solid as these ties are numerous and strong.<sup>42</sup>

He identified two types of social solidarity, mechanical and organic, terms analogous with machine-like inanimate objects and the interdependence of the parts of a living organism respectively. Under normal conditions societies progressed from mechanical to organic solidarity, from homogeneity to heterogeneity. Mechanical solidarity referred to unity based on resemblance as typified by more primitive societies. Members shared the same beliefs and values, their individuality was negated and the division of labour was minimal and interchangeable. Uniformity bound members of this type of society through a collective personality or commonality of thought. The individual "does not belong to himself" but is "literally a thing at the disposal of society".<sup>43</sup> By comparison, the organic solidarity found in more advanced societies is characterised by specialisation, individuality and interdependence. Individual resemblance is replaced by uniqueness and the individual as opposed to the collective personality asserts itself. The moral code becomes one of human worth and dignity. Durkheim believed that the increasing division of labour would advance the interdependence of members of this type of society and so reinforces its social solidarity. Members could specialise in particular functions to improve efficiency yet simultaneously develop their personalities as self-governing and free individuals.

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<sup>42</sup> Quoted in Bellah (1973, 136)

<sup>43</sup> Quoted in Adams (2002, 94)

To be a person is to be an autonomous source of action... Thus, the progress of individual personality and that of the division of labour depend upon one and the same cause. It is thus impossible to desire one without desiring the other.<sup>44</sup>

However, for the division of labour to produce solidarity, it is not sufficient that each individual has a specialised task but that this task is appropriate, not "forced" and corresponds to the distribution of natural talents. Solidarity through specialisation also depends upon cooperative and norms, and a shared framework of reciprocal moral codes. A society's transition from mechanical to organic solidarity was a consequence of the increase in social interaction and the division of labour as expressed through specialisation and individuality. However, the specialist division of labour and rapid expansion of industrial society could produce a threat to social solidarity, a dysfunction that Durkheim called anomie.

Durkheim believed that a new order would arise in advanced societies based on organic solidarity. This order would comprise an interdependence of economic ties arising from differentiation and specialisation, a new network of associations such as the guilds, and the emergence within these associations of collectively created moral restraints on egoism. Durkheim therefore saw society progressing to types emphasising uniqueness, autonomy, human dignity and cooperative interdependence, yet morally integrated through occupational groups regulating a shared moral code, which in turn were interlinked through a broader common morality. Individuals could successfully develop their full human personality conditional on their integration through progressively larger moral groupings, concepts fully compatible with our contemporary understanding of spirituality.

Scientific management extended Adam Smith's concepts of the division of labour.<sup>45</sup> It is a workplace practice associated with Frederick Taylor (1856-1915), an engineer whose personal moral code and attitude to work personified the Protestant ethic

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<sup>44</sup> Quoted in Bellah (1973, 140, 142)

<sup>45</sup> Smith (1723-90), the classical free market economist, believed that the division of labour into increasingly specialised roles promoted industrial advancement even though confining individuals to performing a limited repertoire of operations could render them "stupid and ignorant as it is possible for a human creature to become" (1776, Bk5.3.2). Atomisation, alienation and dehumanisation were concomitants of economic progress.

(1967).<sup>46</sup> The essence of Taylorism was division by taking control of the work process away from the worker who performed it, and imparting it to a trained manager who issued orders on how it then should be accomplished. It sharply segregated the planning of a task from its execution, and substantially limited the discretion and creativity of workers by detailed and precise orders. Scientific management can be understood as the transformation from collegial, guild-derived forms of working relationships into imperative and bureaucratic ones. Obligations became vertical to employers and not horizontal to fellow workers. Taylor wanted workers to be treated and rewarded as individuals rather than uniformly as a collective as then they would work to the best of their individual ability and earn more. Taylorism emphasised radical division, self-interest or individualism, and vertical and imperative relationships whilst suppressing individual freedom, creativity and fellowship. Like Weber's Protestant ethic, it is antithetical with spirituality as understood today. It is also related to Fordism.

Fordism, the extensively utilized term coined by Gramsci<sup>47</sup> (1891-1937), represents the advanced capitalism exemplified by the manufacturing methods deployed by Henry Ford. Fordism allied Taylorism with the production of standardised goods by using moving assembly line technology. Nevertheless, Fordism also saw benefit from partially reintegrating the worker, product and consumer.

[Fordism] recognises that the people which it employees are part of the market for its products. It therefore recognises the necessity of taking an interest in the lives of workers as consumers as well as producers. (Watson 1995, 246)<sup>48</sup>

Commentators now speak of "post-Fordism" and even "neo-Fordism". Post-Fordism is a generic description of the changing nature of capitalism typified by flexibility, less hierarchical structures, and a reduction in the number of permanent staff with

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<sup>46</sup> For a biography, see Copley (1923).

<sup>47</sup> Gramsci (1971)

<sup>48</sup> In 1914 Henry Ford raised the minimum wage to \$5 a day - more than double the existing minimum rate. He believed that more cars could be sold if employees could afford to buy them: "[The employer's] own workers are among his best customers. We have about two hundred thousand first-class customers in our own company - in the people we directly pay wages to" (1926, 155).

employment security combined with an increase in the amount of temporary staff with insecure employment.<sup>49</sup>

Taylorism provoked considerable opposition,<sup>50</sup> particularly from Elton Mayo (1880-1949) the founder of the rival "human relations" movement. This movement stressed the importance of socially supportive relationships and worker groups in understanding workplace behaviour and satisfaction. Mayo criticised the need for hierarchical control and argued the need to create conditions that promoted spontaneous, collective collaboration and the commitment of workers to the ends and activities of the organization, such as by placing group interests above purely individual financial motivation. He argued that workers be given some degree of collective autonomy over their own environment such as the pace of work and the timing of breaks. For such a structure to function, the legitimacy or recognition of leadership, from the perspective of workers was fundamental: "Management succeeds (or fails) in proportion as it is accepted without reservation by the group as authority and leader" (1975, 72). The movement has had considerable influence on management theories and industrial psychology such as the *Theory X* and *Theory Y* of Douglas McGregor (1960). Apart from the absence of any formal commitment to social mission, in essence the human relations movement is notably compatible with the themes derived from our alternative spiritually informed social structures.

At times the Christian churches have had a pronounced and critical stance towards workplace structures as exemplified through Catholic social teaching and to a lesser extent by Christian Socialism. *Rerum Novarum*,<sup>51</sup> the first major papal encyclical issued in 1891, sought to apply traditional Catholic teaching to the harsh new conditions created by the Industrial Revolution and advocated major reforms in the industrial economy. Forty years later, Pope Pius XI issued the encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*.<sup>52</sup> The Church turned again to the plight of the worker and critiqued both capitalism and socialism. The former was said to lead to excessive

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<sup>49</sup> See Hirst (1991) or Willams (1987).

<sup>50</sup> In 1911, an editorial of *The Engineer*, the journal of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers in London, stated, "Taylorism is inhuman. As far as possible, it dehumanises the man, for it endeavours to remove the only distinction that makes him better than a machine - his intelligence."

<sup>51</sup> Pope Leo XIII (1891).

<sup>52</sup> Pope Pius XI (1931).

individualism while the latter could oppress human freedom. An important concept of "subsidiarity" was introduced where the best institutions for responding to a particular social task were those most proximate to it. Subsidiarity carried a presumption against direct involvement by large-scale institutions whose role was to support and not to replace smaller ones.<sup>53</sup> In short, subsidiarity meant that persons most directly affected by a policy decision should be centrally involved in its formulation. In 1981 *Laborem Exercens*<sup>54</sup> was issued. This encyclical insisted on the priority of labour over capital by reaffirming the dignity of the person: "the church considers it her task always to call attention to the dignity and rights of those who work, to condemn situations in which that dignity and those rights are violated" (Pope John-Paul II 1981, n.1).

It also saw human work as an act of cooperation with God's ongoing creation and as an expression of self-realisation formed the basis for a spirituality of work. The person becomes transformed by his or her work. Ten years later, on the hundredth anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*, the encyclical *Centesimus Annus*<sup>55</sup> was issued. This encyclical reaffirmed previous papal pronouncements, such as the dignity of the human person, and positively assessed democracy and endorsed the *election* and, as necessary, disposal of leaders.

The Church values the democratic system inasmuch as it ensures the participation of citizens in making political choices, guarantees to the governed the possibility both of electing and holding accountable those who govern them, and of replacing them through peaceful means when appropriate. (Pope John-Paul II 1991, n.46)

For a long time the Christian position on the environment was derived from Genesis 1: 26-28. Humanity was to have dominion over the earth and to be master of all living things. There was little need for conservation as each new exploration or technology would sustain humanity. Humanity lived in isolation, separate from nature. The early Christian Church of the British Isles, which incidentally was principally monastic, viewed nature very differently. The Church of the Celts instead saw the natural world as theophany and countered any dualism that separated an

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<sup>53</sup> This concept significantly influenced Schumacher's classic "Small Is Beautiful" (1973).

<sup>54</sup> "On Human Work"

<sup>55</sup> "The Hundredth Year"

immanent God from His creation (Bradley 2003; Newell 1997).<sup>56</sup> Sense of place and closeness to nature were fundamental (Davies, O'Loughlin, and Mackey 1999; Sheldrake 1995b). However, it is only recently that the Christian theology of domination has been replaced by theologies of stewardship.

Christian Socialism, a movement for social reform started in the nineteenth century by members of the Church of England, was a response to the conditions of the "Hungry Forties" and strongly critical of upon competitive practices in society. Its work marked the beginning of this church's modern social movement of which archbishop William Temple (1881-1944) and industrial mission were prominent. Overall, the Christian churches have therefore been vehemently critical of situations that affront human dignity and propose concepts aimed to guarantee its protection. Mondragón for example is a noteworthy example of an employee-owned commercial organization of 53,500 worker-owners that adopts these concepts. Its individual cooperatives *elect* their managers through a democratic process that is an element of wider processes encouraging extensive worker-owner participation.<sup>57</sup>

Several tensions then emerge from these intellectual roots as different theorists argue the benefits for either fragmentation or integration. With the notable exception of Taylor, most argue for the benefits of integration for industrial efficiency, or for human and social welfare. Such integration is ideally achieved whilst recognising and enhancing the uniqueness, dignity and autonomy of the individual within a small-scale social setting that encourages interdependence, cooperation and ultimately solidarity. The choice between fragmentation or integration it appears, has implications on the freedom of the individual and on social relationships in the workplace such as tensions between self-interest and the common good, between impersonal and personal interactions, isolation or fellowship, environmental

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<sup>56</sup> In the holistic manner Woodhead and Heelas call contemporary "spiritualities of life" (2000).

<sup>57</sup> Mondragón is a democratic cooperative model of organising work founded in Spain in 1956. Its cooperatives have a social vision of corporate purpose and are based on ten basic moral, social and spiritual principles, namely: open admission, democratic organization, sovereignty of work over capital, subordinate character of capital, participatory management, payment solidarity, inter-cooperation, social transformation, universality and education. All of Mondragón's cooperatives share these principles and an overriding objective to improve the human condition by job creation and by helping worker-owners to grow as human beings, social persons and professionals. Mondragón maintains democratic relationships with all its workers, disseminates information openly and promotes worker participation in management, decision-making, ownership and returns. It has an annual turnover of six billion dollars and net profits of 500 million dollars (Herrera 2002). Also see MacLeod (1997).



domination or stewardship, or between displaced and self-governance. Moreover, how personal individuality and autonomy are conceived impacts on the nature of social cohesion and authority structures.

## **1.6 Conclusions**

Spirituality and its impact on work have been continuous through recent history and beyond. Spirituality has not died out but has survived. It has been transformed but not been eliminated, despite sociological discourses directing little attention towards it. In some occasions, the relationship of spirituality to work is implicit whilst in others it is explicit. For instance we see historical continuity in forms such as its explicit manifestation in the guilds through to modern-day craftsmen and professionals. The concept of spirituality is already embedded in sociology implicitly through concepts such as alienation, solidarity, autonomy, morality, and authority. Spirituality has been there all the time but not always explicitly and directly referred to as such, or in a way that this thesis intends to illustrate and illuminate.

Through his notable thesis on the Protestant work ethic, Weber was perhaps the first social scientist to draw attention to the relationship of spirituality to work even though this ethic's spiritual legacy was in sharp contrast, or even antithetical, to the form described and advocated in the spirituality at work literature and as defined by contemporary scholars of spirituality. There are fundamental differences between the spirituality that originated as a consequence of the Protestant Reformation and the type of spirituality being proposed today. The type of spirituality being proposed today by the spirituality at work phenomenon can even be understood as a reaction against the unintended consequences of the work ethic induced by the original Protestant theologians. Nonetheless, it has both historical precedents and current practitioners, and is underpinned by the thoughts of the founders of sociology. This spirituality is concerned with: protecting the individual as an autonomous and unique person; moral communities exhibiting close personal ties, shared values and beliefs, and high levels of solidarity; integration ubiquitous both at personal and social levels; a rhythmic or task-orientation to time; social concern as an ultimate purpose beyond self-interest; and leadership authority. The essential feature of the latter is its legitimacy from the viewpoint of those it serves, is manifest particularly through charismatic individuals and most securely identified by free choice or *election*. This

notion of election appeared ubiquitously. Any definition of workplace spirituality needs to unite both personal and organizational elements. For preliminary purposes then, spirituality in the context of work is an enduring commitment to become an authentic, self-governing and integrated person in the fullest possible sense. This is likely to involve a person discovering their purpose in life and living their ultimate values and ideals in a balanced and interconnected way as a committed member of an extended community and in a way that contributes towards the common good, the fulfilment and the respect for the dignity of all persons, and the health of the planet.

### **1.7 Overview of thesis**

In the chapters ahead we will see how this preliminary definition and our findings so far, can be experienced and verified sociologically, and what *structures* facilitate the expression of spirituality and conversely those that subjugate or stifle it. The intention is to create theory, a new way of understanding reality using existing sociological tools and concepts and not to investigate spiritual *experience* itself.

Chapter 2 will start by looking at an extreme form of organization that explicitly combines work with spirituality in an environment that would appear to promote and facilitate high levels of spirituality as an explicit goal. Extreme cases, by posing the issues with the sharpest clarity often are the most informative. There are few commercial organizations authentically practising spirituality in the workplace (Mitroff and Denton 1999a). While the search continues to locate such organizations, this research investigates an overlooked spiritual organization, one with impeccable and indisputable credentials, and one already an active participant in the spirituality at work phenomenon. To do this, it investigates contemporary Benedictine monasticism as lived today at Douai Abbey, a house of the English Benedictine Congregation, located near Reading in the UK. In the Benedictine monastic tradition, the prayer of monks is called *opus Dei*, "the work of God". Prayer throughout the day and night is considered the principal work of the monks and, with manual labour and intellectual activities, form an overall rhythm of life. Benedictines follow a rule that sees work, prayer, study and contemplation as intertwined. The Benedictines, as a wider body, represent a worldwide organization that has endured, sometimes under extreme persecution, for almost one and a half millennia. The Benedictines constitute

a contemporary, accessible and quintessential case of an organization that combines spirituality with work.

Chapter 3 will explore the notion of *ideal types* as a device for the methodological analysis of social phenomenon. It will start by seeing how different authority structures underpin different organizational forms. This will form the basis for a detailed understanding of the bureaucracy, a particular type of ideal type that is widely seen as characteristic of the dominant institutions of contemporary industrial society. Building on the definitions of spirituality and the case study conducted in the Benedictine monastery, an alternative ideal type for an organization structure informed by spirituality will be developed and contrasted with the bureaucracy. The paradigm shift in underlying authority structure revealed in this chapter is central to the overall thesis.

Chapters 4 and 5 report a further empirical case study explored from two different perspectives. Chapter 4 investigates how the ideal type developed in chapter 3 illuminates reality by comparing it with the intentions of contemporary industrial organization. To do this, it explores the formal policies, intentions and visions as pronounced by the senior management and spokespersons of the Ford Motor Company. Like the Benedictines, Ford is a multinational organization and despite the recent celebration of its centennial anniversary, it has a long way to go to demonstrate the 1,500-year endurance and tenacity of the Benedictines. As widely discussed in management literature, over recent decades commercial organizations have gone through, and continue to go through, substantial reorganization and change. As illustrated by verbatim, we will see an overriding desire in Ford for a paradigm shift from existing models of business organization and from anything remotely resembling the sociological stereotype of this distinguished organization. Guided by our ideal type, chapter 5 will investigate how working at Ford is both practised during daily working life and experienced by a variety of "knowledge workers" at the *grassroots* levels at one specific location of the organization. By doing so it will illuminate aspects of our ideal type that may not be conspicuous or available through our corporate spokespersons, and will also identify areas of congruency or discrepancy between the spokespersons, contemporary practice and

our employees. The intention is not to compare this with prior studies of Ford<sup>58</sup> or even other automotive workplace studies. These are noted in appendix I. Instead, chapters 4 and 5 investigate the new ideal type from the polar extremes of a contemporary, albeit iconic, industrial organization. In the process, they will also provide insights into a contemporary (and alternative) redefinition of "Fordism".

Chapter 6 reviews how the new ideal type reflects and informs the reality of industrial organization as practised at Ford. The chapter reviews and discusses the overall investigation and suggests directions for future work. Finally, it briefly explores the coherence with broader social trends and other workplace studies.

The methodology employed in this investigation is contained in appendix I. At this stage it suffices to say that the study was focused in the period from the late 1990s to the first years of the new millennium, a period that neatly coincided with leadership under Jac Nasser as CEO at Ford. The methodological strategy deployed was systematic, exploratory and evolutionary through an ongoing integration of theory with voluminous data - a grounded theory approach. Four fundamental sources of data were gathered: a) one-on-one semi-structured qualitative interviews; b) numerous one-on-one informal and unplanned discussions; c) extensive participant observation and ethnography; and d) the inclusion of the results of selective independent corporate studies. All data were coded and rigorously analysed using commercial computer aided software. The study was primarily based at Ford's research and engineering facility located at Dunton in Essex in the UK. Further insights were gained from a variety of sources and in particular a series of retreat workshops, also held at Douai Abbey, entitled *Spirituality in the Workplace*,<sup>59</sup> and supplemented by sojourns with its monastic community. As an exploratory study, the choice of material for inclusion is inevitably selective and therefore potentially biased. The strategy deployed therefore consciously aimed to adopt only material that is characteristic unless identified otherwise.

Ethical guidelines were followed to protect the anonymity of sources. In chapters 2 and 5, pseudonyms are used to protect anonymity of all sources both at Ford and at

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<sup>58</sup> Despite its iconic status, few actual studies have been conducted on Ford, especially in the workplace by insiders. See appendix I.

<sup>59</sup> See Tredget (2001).

Douai, with the agreed exception of Dr Mckinnon of Ford. All interviewees were advised before interview that extracts of verbatim could be used anonymously in this thesis, and all were offered subsequent transcripts of their interview. Additionally, "Daniel Hertz" was shown a draft of this thesis, and his explicit agreement subsequently secured, because of the greater use made of his interview. As agreed with Ford Training, chapter 4 only employed information that was widely available to Ford and contract employees, and indeed in instances to members of the general public. Consequently, in chapter 4, pseudonyms are not used.



## CHAPTER 2

### DOUAI ABBEY: AN EXTREME TYPE

As discussed in chapter 1, Benedictine monasticism has endured as the principal foundation for monastic practice in the West to the current time. Although it has witnessed periods of astonishing success and growth, its history fluctuates through times of considerable and violent persecution,<sup>60</sup> decline, renewal<sup>61</sup> and even moral laxity. Benedictine monasteries have exerted immense social influence in the course of history and thrived particularly in England from the time of Saint Augustine's mission to the English people in 597 to the Reformation of the sixteenth century. Globally they have adapted and survived with an unbroken heritage of 1,500 years and so today nearly 26,000 men and women live, and draw their inspiration and teaching from the Benedictine Rule. The Benedictines is a globally networked organization with local stability and has been described as one of the oldest "multinationals" in the world (Tredget 2002).

Although the Benedictines are the predominant form of Christian monastic community in the West, other religious orders or communities illustrate other spiritualities and structured ways of living the Christian life.<sup>62</sup> Monastic life emphasises the perfection of the individual, frequently through life in a consecrated community, and can be distinguished by a desire for serving others, whether through prayer, study, teaching or preaching, or through the active charity or visible care for fellow brothers, visitors or the needy (Ward 1983). In the prologue to his Rule, Saint Benedict calls a monastery "a school of the Lord's service." In this school, the monk seeks God through prayer, worship, sacred reading, life in community, service to one another and work, and by also the Benedictine vows or permanent commitment to stability, conversion of life and obedience. A Benedictine monk grows in his love of

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<sup>60</sup> Such as the Protestant Reformation, French Revolution and Napoleonic conquests.

<sup>61</sup> The Cistercians, for instance, were founded in 1098 to establish a stricter and more primitive form.

<sup>62</sup> Monks are fundamentally different from friars with respect to community life and stability. Friars, such as the Franciscans, Dominicans and Carmelites, are members of the mendicant orders and belong to a centralised brotherhood enabling them to relocate according to need.

God and of others through prayer, work and service in a stable monastic family following the Rule of Saint Benedict.

The Benedictine's distinct corporate identity or charism, *opus Dei* or the work of God, clearly distinguishes it from other religious organizations and universally informs everything it does. The rhythm of the day, the hours, and the seasons is fundamental to their spiritual life. Labour-work, whether manual or intellectual is integral to Benedictine spirituality, not something superadded nor opposed to it, and is partly responsible for the wholeness frequently remarked in Benedictine life. Saint Benedict accorded great importance to work and even said that the tools of the monastery must be regarded with the same reverence as the sacred vessels of the altar.<sup>63</sup> Such work had an ascetical dimension.

Benedictine monasticism is characterised by pluralism and periodic renewal. Throughout its history there has been a diversity of traditions united by their faithfulness to the Rule, so that today there are considerable differences between the observances and even orientations of the various Benedictine congregations: "independence and autonomy, unity in variety and ever-renewed vitality have always been characteristics of Benedictine monasticism (Knowles 1929, 18). To this day congregations are not highly centralised and local autonomy is emphasised. Each house is a separate family ruled by an abbot. Its work varies but is typically offering retreats and hospitality, study and research, and until recently the running of schools attached to the monasteries.

As a general category the religious order is a quintessential example of a charismatically based organization that endeavours to institutionalise the charismatic initiative of its founder, and whose effectiveness and continuance depends upon its ability to socialise its members in the meanings and commitments of its particular vision as an ongoing process (Hostie 1983; Lozano 1983; Sweeney 1994). Although essentially part of a wider church, religious orders always maintain degrees of moral and organizational autonomy. Religious orders demand total commitment, are generally locally community-based and to some extent always form a pseudo-family and a permanent, participating ritual group. They always impose rigorous controls on

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<sup>63</sup> Fry (1982, chap. 31)



the process of attaining full membership (Hill 1973). Members tend to interact with each other as persons. The whole structure of religious life fosters in each member a keen appreciation of the personal dignity of each fellow so that relationships remain distinctly personal (Meissner 1965). In short, the religious order is characterised as an autonomous charismatically based organization with close personal ties, belonging and warmth that exists within a wider social body, the Church.

In comparison to religious organizations, the generally accepted purpose of public or private business corporations is the maximisation of profit or return through the provision of products or services. A business is an enterprise created for the purpose of trading for profit and essentially consists of groups of owners and employees joined together for the common goal of achieving a reward in return for the investment of resources into the venture (Hunningher 1992; Pass et al. 1991). However, this view is not universally accepted. For instance, Drucker emphasises that the purpose of "any business is not the maximisation of profit but the achievement of sufficient profit to cover the risks of economic activity and thus to avoid loss" (1973, 60). Indeed, for Drucker the only valid definition of business purpose is to create a customer as it is the customer who determines what a business is, is its foundation and keeps it in existence. Levitt says the same thing in a highly influential article:

The organisation must learn to think of itself not as producing goods or services but as buying customers, as doing the things that will make people want to do business with it.<sup>64</sup> (1960, 56)

In this model, like Saint Benedict's school of the Lord's service, serving the true needs of the customer is paramount and takes precedence to profit. Put another way, the ultimate purpose of business is to serve people's needs and profit is a means of rewarding and encouraging such activity.

## **2.1 The monastic community at Douai**

The English Benedictine Congregation (EBC), established in 1336, is the second oldest of the twenty-one Benedictine congregations. Douai Abbey is just one of its

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<sup>64</sup> Emphasis in original

thirteen houses.<sup>65</sup> Its community extends for almost 400 years having been founded in Paris in 1615. The community experienced serious difficulties at the time of the French Revolution and in the following years when France and Britain were at war, and in 1818 the remaining monks moved to Douai. In 1903 the monks were expelled from France and taking the name Douai, they settled at Woolhampton near Reading.

Until 1999 the community's main work was the running of a school that was attached to their monastery. This school is now closed and the monks have needed to make significant decisions about their future ventures and use of the monastic site. Currently their prime work is receiving guests, giving retreats and conferences, and ministering to the surrounding and other parishes in various parts of England. The abbey church is the centre and focus of life and work of the community. Prayer takes place there five times a day.

Three principal sources of data were gathered for this case study: a) one-on-one semi-structured qualitative "on-the-record" interviews; b) informal and unplanned "off-the-record" discussion; and c) participant observation and ethnography. The semi-structured interviews were carried out at the monastery with five monks, two of whom were brothers and three were ordained priests. Their ages ranged from forty to seventy years. A high-level of consensus and minimal divergence was notable in these interviews and so at times one monk would virtually paraphrase another. Verbatim is enclosed in double quotation marks or in block quotation, and pseudonyms used throughout. Informal dialogue and observation were conducted by participation in monastic life and by attending the series of retreats discussed in chapter 1. Informal dialogue, ongoing participant observation and ethnography were not limited to Douai Abbey but also included sojourns at other monasteries. This case study also draws from *Consider Your Call*, a work that outlines the EBC's self-conception of monastic life and its particular direction for the future (Rees 1978).

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<sup>65</sup> This congregation is anomalous in that it includes several houses of nuns.

## 2.2 Primacy of the person

### 2.2.1 *Self-governing professionals*

Monks can be understood as professionals in the sense they constitute an occupational body with its own unique expertise, high levels of autonomy and self-discipline, and a strong and universally shared code of moral conduct. Monks are committed to serving others, regard their work as a lifelong and personal vocation with a commitment towards continuous personal growth and have meticulous interest in the admission of new members. Their professional lives are always lived within the body of their community: "although we are individuals we are part of community". Each monk contributes to his community's well-being through faithfulness to his vocation, the exercise of personal initiative and the contribution of his unique gifts or charisms. Each has a unique role to play and an aptitude for a particular activity. The monk's self-responsibility and personal freedom occurs within this overall context. Fr. Bernard whose main, but by no means only, responsibility is for the guest team has been a monk since 1968 having joined the community directly from Douai's school. He explains:

There is certainly an ideal of... responsibility rather than job or function. So it's not quite the same as 'how well do I do my job', but 'how well am I fulfilling my particular part of the community'. A lot will be left to the individual conscience or vocation. Because that's the vocation of the individual... It would be up to me to think of initiatives to do things.

A monk's personal commitment ensures his dedication: "If you don't do your best, then there's something wrong". Professional development is ongoing and enables flexibility in the coordination of work, and options for future activities and entrepreneurial ventures. Br. Dunstan was originally an industrial consultant, then at a monastery that went bankrupt, and for the last two years has been at Douai as a novice. He compares monastic with his previous industrial life:

Continual Professional Development is no different from industry except... the goals are the same, to enable you to do other jobs, to fit into other requirements. For the monastery it might be to go into new fields of endeavour.

Activities tend to be intrinsically fulfilling rather than relying on external or more tangible rewards: "There's no real sense of reward in the sense that you get extra pay or extra anything." Instead, monastic life offers variety: "I have met hundreds of people. I've done hundreds of things I wouldn't have done", and in comparison with Br. Dunstan's previous life: "I feel a lot more fulfilled in this than when I was in industry."

As internalised moral commitment is the primary means of regulating the behaviour of the monk to the Rule and his community. The Rule itself serves as flexible guide for the running of the monastery: "the Rule does lay out some pretty careful priorities that we have" and as a practical application of shared values: "the Rule of Saint Benedict is a summary of gospel and biblical principles." Although the Rule provides detail guidance on the regulation of everyday life, it is always adapted and exceptions are always made for the individual person. The individual monk remains self-responsible whilst simultaneously being guided by his voluntary commitment to the Rule and his community made during his profession: "if you don't follow the Rule, then really you shouldn't be here." High levels of autonomy are provided through the monk's self-discipline and commitment to this shared moral code. As an individual he is responsible for himself and for what he does or does not do. Br. Dunstan: "Most of the time we would rule ourselves by our own self-control bearing in mind the overall set of rules." The common life of the monastery encourages monks to take personal responsibility for living their own life in freedom and with local discretion. Fr. Bernard:

I think we would be encouraged by the responsible use of our freedom, of our obedience to know how often to ask. Not in the sense of calculating, how many times can I get away with it, but a sense of knowing what is appropriate and what is being self-responsible. That is the ideal.

More so, community life must promote, and not diminish, this self-responsibility. Fr. Edmund: "The common life must in fact encourage everybody to be fully human and therefore must allow everybody responsibility for living their own life."

The individual monk is not only trusted but also supported with his personal needs. Decisions on implementation and interpretation are made locally and the exercise of

free initiative encouraged. Assistance is offered to coordinate the monk's activity with a view to the common good of the community. Fr. Bernard.

If it involves spending money I might have to see the bursar. 'I think it would be very good if we joined this organisation, which will give us an entry into that sort of world'. And usually the bursar will say, 'fair enough, if you thought about it and you think it's worthwhile, okay we will go for that'. So that sort of business has quite a lot of trust, it's saying it's up to you - it's your department. You think it's going to work. There's a lot of that.

The individual monk also has relative freedom within the constraints of the monastic day: "depending on what type of work you do in a monastery, you could make your own time structure for the day." His self-discipline constrains his freedom, is not limitless but shows consideration for other monks. Monastic "living means that you limit your freedom to accommodate other people's freedom".

Freedom for entrepreneurial activity and creativity is encouraged at Douai so that new ideas for using the community's resources are welcomed and their associated risks supported both economically and socially. Although leisure activities often have synergies with formal work responsibilities, monks are encouraged to have hobbies that fall outside of their normal work. Sometimes these hobbies end up being significant business and a core part of the work of the monastery. Fr. Bede joined Douai as a late vocation because of the homeliness he felt during a weekend visit back in 1954. He explains: "What seems to happen is when somebody starts a hobby, if it becomes successful it grows and becomes too big for the monastery and somebody takes over the company." For instance, Fr. Bede took up carpentry as a leisure pursuit. Sales of his products grew rapidly and unabatedly:

I have made 606 prayer stools... I now make crosses... I used to charge £5. And at Easter I got so fed up with them being bought so quickly, I upped the price to £7.50. And at Christmas I was so fed up not being able to keep up with them, I put them up to £10. And they're still going.

Entrepreneurial initiatives contribute not only towards the common good of the community, but can extend beyond products to services such as "healing workshops". Such initiatives broaden the community's skill base. Fr. Bede:

Last Saturday I went on my own to a workshop in Winchester in the afternoon because I felt it would be interesting to have many active workshops on healing here so I can be trained in it.

### *2.2.2 Continuous personal growth and learning*

Contemporary Benedictine life implies a lifelong journey of personal growth. Progression for a monk is slow, relates to self-development and not to career aspirations. Personal responsibility for the quality of his work means that the monk is continuously learning from and sharing knowledge with others within a broader network. Fr. Edmund joined Douai straight from school as an eighteen year-old, and like Fr. Bede, has been a monk for forty-seven years:

You have pride in your job to do it to the best of your ability which means that you always need to be in a learning position, of learning new skills and always looking to see how similar jobs are done elsewhere - consultation with brethren, people in other monasteries, who are doing similar work.

The goal of the monk's life is continuous spiritual development and an increase in self-understanding. Br. Basil has completed his training and academic studies and is awaiting ordination. His vocation as a monk grew from a yearning for the lifestyle of stability and continuation with the past: "it looks easy but it's not an easy life. You give up a lot, but in return you expect to find a great deal, I think mainly that's yourself."

The monastery is characterised by continuous and universal learning. The monks at Douai are highly educated and have an extensive library: "Education is very much part of the monastic living". The education and training of novices is pronounced, integrated and particularly morally focused. But moral formation is ongoing. For instance, part of the abbot's role is teaching by ensuring the moral development of the monks both collectively and individually. Fr. Bede:

The abbot, in theory, should give us a talk every Tuesday night. We sometimes have a discussion, we sometimes have input from the outside. When it comes to Lent and Advent, he will give us spiritual talks and within those talks he will be giving us kind words about what we should be doing.

In addition to his rule of life, each monk has a spiritual guide or mentor to facilitate his ongoing and deeply personal formation and growth. Although generally the abbot fulfils this role, a suitably gifted person external to the monastery can also provide it. However, this role is non-transferable and vital to the socialisation of the neophyte: "for a novice master you've got to find someone from within the community."

There are opportunities for monks to develop existing and new skills to meet the needs of their community. Some engage in research and gain higher academic qualifications whilst others master new hobbies. Br. Dunstan who currently studies at Blackfriars, Oxford: "there is this ongoing opportunity for personal development and the abbot is very keen, and most people are very keen to take the opportunity up." The monk's vocation is interpreted as an ongoing journey of growth. Sabbaticals are a regular feature of this journey, frequently form an integral part of personal and academic development and serve as an additional opportunity for personal reflection and reassessment. Fr. Bernard: "Going on sabbatical. That's part of my development. It's well understood that it's a good idea for me and I'm sure that's had a big affect on my development." Monks can also be seconded into other English Benedictine houses for extended stays. For Fr. Edmund, "sabbaticals offer opportunities for extended and detailed benchmarking" of how other monasteries operate. He took his in America.

### *2.2.3 Uniqueness and personality*

Monastic life places an overall priority on persons over things and on personal individuality more specifically. Douai is a particularly diverse monastery. Although the background of monks vary enormously from university lecturer, to management consultant, to bus driver, and ages range from twenties to nineties, these totally diverse individuals are drawn together towards a single common purpose. Br. Basil has been in religious life since the age of seventeen. His brother is a parish priest: "I suppose that's a good thing about this sort of life. We are all totally different and yet we have all been brought together for one particular reason."

The abbot, as the community's leader, treats everyone as an individual whilst avoiding uniform measures. He has "got to know you over the years, what your strengths and weaknesses are and what your aptitudes are". Radical diversity

encourages the need for tolerance and the accommodation of other monk's uniqueness and differences. Fr. Bernard:

Often differences are just lived with. If they became very important, I suppose they might have to be addressed, but quite often everybody just has to accept it. We learn to live with each other and accommodate each other's individuality. If you go past somebody's room and you know he's very sensitive to noise then you will be quieter. Whereas, with somebody else you would be more relaxed about it.

The fully integrated life and a concern for solidarity demand this. Br. Dunstan:

You are here twenty-four hours a day so you have to have the ability to get on with people of all types, young and old - people who don't know what they're doing. People who are not as mentally sharp as they once were.

It also means reciprocation: "living with each other's thoughts and weaknesses, knowing that, just as you accept other people's weaknesses, they also accept yours".

The mandate for this unconditional acceptance shapes the monks personality. In a dialectical process he both shapes and is shaped by his community. Fr. Edmund:

I think it's very much a character influencing process - a spirituality. You've got to learn to live with this group of people. And they have to learn to live with you.

The extreme of diversity also means that the monastery is disproportionately dependant, economically and organizationally, on a core of monks as not all can contribute at the same capacity. Monks contribute according to their own individual capacities and limitations.

Monastic architecture in the ideal case is also focused on the individual, whether monk or guest, young or old. Douai has plans for major building work that "are going to make a huge difference to the way in which we live our life". Relationships are fundamental to the design. Fr. Bernard is keen on architecture and instrumental in the planning of Douai's building work:

In these plans the older monk who doesn't really know what he's doing will know where he is going. The older monk will be able to relate to his room, the refectory, and the church and be able to make a sensible route between those places. The guest will also be able to relate to his room, to the guest refectory, which will be next to the



monks' refectory. If only a few guests come in, they'll eat with the monks in the refectory.

The monastery is both the workplace and the home where the monk lives with his brothers. Its architecture facilitates and expresses not only the integrated nature but also simultaneously emphasises the communal and individual dimensions of monastic life. Monks have both private rooms and ample social space. The church is the fundamental place of communal work and a central substantial feature. Yet it is functionally integrated with the refectory, the place of communal meals. The number of thoroughfares is limited and seems to promote face-to-face encounters: "the way that the circulation routes link up at the important places, the church, the refectory, the library, it's important". The model monastery directly engages monks with the external natural environment: "ideally each monk has an individual room with an unrestricted external outlook on nature."

Architecture is understood to have a profound impact on interaction, integration and well-being. Fr. Bernard reviewed a monastery in France he saw as a model for the integration of privacy, communal life and nature whilst simultaneously advancing the personality of the individual:

[It] has got the integration of public and private space brilliantly done. But that's an extreme example. Each monk there has a cell with a balcony. Every monk has a cell, can go to his room and can go to his balcony and can look out onto the countryside and that's all he can see. He can't see any other buildings. He can't see the other cells... and he can commune with nature or with God in his area. The public rooms, the communal rooms look inside to the cloister but the monks in their rooms all look outside. I think that integration... That was designed as a complete monastery from scratch with that idea. I mean, they are a very welcoming community but when they go back to their room, each is an individual.

Although monastic buildings and estates tend to be substantial, communities tend to be small. The community at Douai has just nineteen monks. With such a small number, highly personal relationships are maintained but concomitantly, interpersonal conflicts between monks can be expected. Fr. Edmund: "There are certain tensions between certain personalities that don't get on. The bigger the community, the less friction there's bound to be because of coming into contact." Communities greater than about forty monks tend to be problematic, forfeit this

personal dimension and make it impossible for the abbot to be the real father of his monks. In such circumstances, the community is often divided into more manageable sub-communities under an appointed dean but still under the overall authority of a single abbot.

### **2.3 Community life: an intentional surrogate family**

The monastic community is characterised by social and moral integration and a common sense of identity, meanings and purpose. Relationships within the community boast high degrees of personal intimacy, depth, solidarity, and stability or continuity in time. There are high levels of mutual trust and monks aim to subordinate their personal interests for the sake of communal goals.

Living in community is fundamental to monastic life. It means sharing a lifestyle and a collective quest for salvation: "to try to live out one's own salvation in a community". Monks are simultaneously individuals and part of a community. The relationship between the monk and his community is vital and ubiquitous in discourse. For instance, with reference to duty and supporting the community through work: "The individual monk has both self and communal responsibility - to the community - in fulfilling his particular work." A culture of service and reciprocation is central: "living in community means helping each other". Monks serve each other at mealtimes. The abbot serves the community as its leader. Mutuality exists in activities such as teamwork: "I am the guest master, but there is a guest team and we meet once a week, look at what's happened in the week and we help each other out".

The essence of community living is the ongoing acceptance and accommodation of the aforementioned diversity or the extreme individuality of monks. The community's external witness is conditional on this. Fr. Bernard:

We are certainly very individual. The community can only keep a witness to the outside world about how to live together precisely because we are individuals who have been able to, despite their individuality, their differences, have been able to live their life together.

The monastery can be understood as a surrogate, or artificial imitation, of the natural family: "Living in community means, what living in any family means to a certain extent". Quasi-kin relationships exist not only within the community but also to non-members so that obedience is offered to the community's abbot and to other *brothers*.<sup>66</sup> "Ours is a family life. We find our spirituality here through the community as a family". There is pride in belonging and a certain identification of one member with another. Each monastery is its own family, the abbot is the father, the monastery is the monk's home and meals are eaten together. Br. Basil cannot think of anything that would make him leave the monastery, as he enjoys the close personal ties, warmth and sense of belonging:

A monastery is a home. It has the same ups and downs as a home. But at the end of the day there's always a laugh, a smile and open arms to greet you when you come back.

Like a family it provides social support, commonality and mutuality of concerns. Br. Basil adds:

Even when you get up at five o'clock, or whenever it is in the morning - especially in the cold winter's mornings. It's raining and you're surrounded by lots of coughing sleeping faces and things like that. It's the support. You know you're not the only one in that position.

As mentioned above, the monk and his community interact dialectically. The monk both shapes and is shaped by community life. Fr. Edmund: "Being part of that particular family and embracing it, and it embracing you - a two-way process. And then you have a common life, and a common ideal." Each specific community is distinct from its contemporaries because of its history, environment and the monks who inhabit and form it: "Each monastery is its own family. Each has its own ethos and hopefully its own ethos or spirituality". Moreover, other English Benedictine houses and even other religious orders are regarded as an extended part of this surrogate family and offer their assistance and share knowledge as one family grouping might expect from another. Their monks are regarded as distant relatives. Fr. Edmund:

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<sup>66</sup> Saint Benedict devotes chap. 71 of his Rule to "mutual obedience".

Other monasteries are like families next door. You keep in touch with them, you know about them and share ideas with other federations and congregations. It is a federation of mutual support and exchange of ideas.

Monastic communities "are conscious of our tradition" and extremely united by continuity with their heritage. The memories of deceased members are recalled daily. Saint Benedict's feast day is especially celebrated and the charism, ideals and intentions of this founder continually reinterpreted through his Rule, "the embodiment of the spirit of our founder".<sup>67</sup> Monastic history is part of the formation of novices, thoroughfares display portraits of past abbots, and monks will often qualify an assertion by: "Saint Benedict said that".

### *2.3.1 Becoming a committed family member*

The Benedictines' unique charism serves as a central recruitment device. Admission is to a specific community. It is highly personal, moral and protracted through a series of progressive stages of increasing commitment with a fundamental goal of the eventual congruence between the community's and the monk's values and vision. The process takes time, ultimately a lifetime. In deciding a fit with the community, the community helps the monk discover how his own unique personal contribution is relevant and assimilable. Interest in joining a specific community is often based on personal contact, esteem for existing community members, or the direct experience of the lifestyle and hence likely compatibility with the group. Fr. Bernard:

I was at school at Douai and was quite impressed by the monks who taught me and who I got to know. And then later on, I had a chance to get to know the community as a group rather than just as individuals. But... people join monasteries of for all sorts of reasons. It's highly staged and broad because they join with all sorts of incomplete ideas. It's when they actually live the life. And because our system allows quite a long time in discernment and decision before the final decision is made, you've got a chance to get to know one or two of them, and then decide whether it's for me or not for me.

The monastery has an open admission policy. It provides opportunity for individuals exploring a potential vocation, especially those without prior personal exposure to Douai, to experience its life for a temporary period or to explore different

Benedictine communities: "The person can go around from house to house to see what it is like" to see how his personal vocation could potentially mesh both with that of existing monks and also with the "apostolate" or mission of the monastic community. But crucially the applicant ultimately joins a specific house or community, not the Benedictines generally. Fr. Bernard:

You do join a particular monastery and you take a vow of stability to stay there. So my vows say that that I will live the monastic life under a particular abbot and his successors. You join a particular community.

As mentioned above, the process of gaining membership of the community is highly extended and probationary. Most candidates for membership are expected to have a trial period of contact with the community for one or two years prior to even a formal application being accepted. Anyone wishing to become a monk participates in a programme of formation. Firstly he spends a short period of time as a postulant living alongside the community during which he develops a personal rapport with the abbot. After this, twelve months is spent as a novice learning more about the Benedictine way of life and its vows. On completion a temporary commitment is made as a "junior" monk. After a minimum of three years as a junior monk, solemn profession as a rite of passage marks the permanent membership of the community. This fundamentally alters the moral status of the applicant and his integration into the community. It entitles his participation in decision-making and planning about the current and future needs of the community. Fr. Bernard:

Until you take solemn vows you're not a full member of the community. So you don't have a vote on who the abbot is. You are not a full member of the chapter that makes decisions.

The aim of this admission process is the development of a total and lifelong commitment of the monk to his community and the Rule. The overall process takes a minimum of four to five years and is designed to extract a high investment in terms of moral commitment and change in lifestyle. The applicant progresses through stages of increasing commitment supported by vows that are finally made before the entire professed community. Initially the abbot's council and ultimately the entire

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<sup>67</sup> Rees (1978, 46)

professed community decide whether to accept the applicant. It is a significant, collegial and participatory event. Fr. Bede:

[The community] will be asked individually what do you think about him. When it comes to his solemn profession you have a special chapter meeting and so the community can argue whether we should keep him on or not. You are not a full member of community until what we call solemn profession.

A monk makes a lifetime or total commitment by vow to his specific monastic family, "in the same way that a husband and wife promise to being with each other in sickness and in health, in good times and bad times, for richer and for poorer". The vows he makes are: stability, obedience to the abbot, conversion of life and celibacy. Fr. Bede:

Commitment is quite simply you have signed up to the whole of your life here in community... We have three vows: stability and that's a formation of Benedictine. The stability means that we join a community and we vow to stay in the one community, not the order. Obedience to the abbot the head of the community. And a vow that you make is conversion of manners... it's a way of living. And the conversion of manners is really conversion of life. Meaning you vow to live in a certain way.

Stability, this vital concept in Benedictine monasticism also refers to the monk's personal and lifelong perseverance with a particular lifestyle: "you are anchored to an idea, or way of life. A way of life, that's really what I understand by stability." Through his vow of stability, the monk commits himself to patient growth and development so that he has a sense of continuity in his life, and a shared experience of life within his specific community. Ideally this community becomes embedded in a particular place. However, the monk's commitment to his community and its own journey of changing circumstances takes precedence over geographical location. Fr. Edmund:

The community's rooted in place. You take your vows to the community and if by chance, as something happens, which means it has to move. Well, you go with it. But you are essentially vowed to the community. The community is again stable in a certain place, so you become part of the place.

Commitment means lifelong mutual support and belonging. For instance, when monks are assigned away from the monastery long-term, they aim to make regular

and frequent visits back to the community. The implications of the voluntary commitment are substantial, enduring and far-reaching. Br. Dunstan:

You can't walk away. Like in industry you could say: 'well I'll get another job tomorrow.' You can't do that here... If you've made various vows for stability and so on, then you've got to live with it twenty-four hours a day. In industry you can either go home at the end of the day or you can leave and get another job elsewhere. So that's the difference. One you can get out of, the other you can't very easily.

Explicit or external sanctions are rarely deployed, responsibility is personal and monks are rarely cautioned or confronted for inadequate performance. However, in extreme cases if external moral correction or conformity of a monk proves necessary, it is conducted indirectly through peer pressure by fellow monks, or by the abbot in private. Br. Dunstan:

Unless you were doing something very seriously wrong then there wouldn't be much said. If they thought you were going off the rails, doing something like drinking or going out a lot or something, the abbot would have a quiet word with somebody and get an explanation, and say, 'you know, have you got a problem?'

The monastic community offers reciprocal commitment. Monks are rarely dismissed from the monastery and then only for extraordinary reasons. More generally a monk's exclusion will be temporary with the intention for the conversion, rehabilitation and eventual reintegration of the offender. Fr. Bernard:

He might do something so outrageous that he might be asked to leave... If someone brought the monastery into disrepute, then you might be asked to leave or you might be asked to take an office job and made to go and live somewhere else for a while.

In special circumstances, a monk could be temporarily seconded to another member of the extended monastic family. Fr. Bernard:

Because monasteries understand each other, you might see one monastery saying to another: 'we have so-and-so. He's had a problem where he really can't stay here. Can he live with you for six months, a year'.

Monastic life is not characterised by a sharp division between working life and retirement and so aged monks continue to contribute through active duties and

responsibilities. Even very elderly and infirm monks are not "pensioned off" but retain an area of specific responsibility commensurate with their reduced capacities. This point is vital. Fr. Bernard:

We have Fr. Gregory who is eighty-nine. He's got a bit more ill over the last year or so. But before that he still had seventeen jobs of various kinds. If you wanted an NHS exemption form Fr. Paul dealt with it. Numerous people carry on. It's not as if you were guest master and suddenly you're not guest master, you are just retired. Very rarely does that happen. People can carry on doing something, having some little area of responsibility. And that I think is very important.

Consequently elderly monks remain a fully integrated and supported part of the community. Novices can have a special responsibility towards the aged and thereby contribute towards preserving the solidarity and traditions of the community. Fr. Bernard:

If the community is functioning properly, I think the aged do feel part of the community in a way that is more difficult for people to feel part of in the nuclear family. It is more kind.

More so, there is a commitment to their well-being despite their senility. This commitment to the elderly or infirm extends beyond serving their physical needs or even as we saw earlier to architectural design, but to social support. Fr. Edmund: "We try, as you've probably observed, have the aged and the growingly senile amongst us and look after them and let them be as happy as they can be."

In short, the monastic family is characterised by a strong sense of belonging, commonality and shared identity. It provides the monk with reassurance throughout his life and aims to be socially inclusive: "Knowing somewhere where you can come home to and where you are accepted." The monk belongs to a specific community even if secondment means they temporarily reside elsewhere. Primary identity is local.

### 2.3.2 *Family life*

The community's primary work is collectively in the abbey church. The rest of the individual monk's work life fits in around this collective commitment. Fr. Bede: "The priority of a monk would be, one's attendance in choir, the divine office, and then the



work to be done." Each and every day starts and ends with such gatherings. Immediately after this collective work, monks share a common meal as an integrated celebration. Fr. Edmund:

You go to church at the appropriate times, which is high priority. That's not to say that there aren't things that are higher. You take meals together, slightly less priority but it's important that you do eat together.

Major celebrations are focused on significant liturgical events such as Easter, Christmas and the feast days of specific saints. At these events, the community celebrates together. Celebrations and acts of recognition are primarily focused on the community as opposed to any specific monk. Fr. Bernard: "If everything was working ideally, then if something is successful the whole monastery would benefit from that and would feel good about that, rather than an individual monk."

Democratic and direct participation is fundamental to decision-making, and equal voting rights are given to all solemnly professed monks: "a monastery is, probably one of the few main areas of real democracy. We don't have representatives, we are the vote ourselves." Monastic decision-making, often referred to as discernment, is participative and consultative so that crucial decisions, such as those affecting the monastery's future mission or accepting a novice into the fully professed community, are taken collectively by the entire fully professed community. Lesser decisions are taken by the abbot's council and still lesser decisions are made autocratically by the abbot. Nonetheless, not all decisions are democratic as the abbot sometimes has the "right of veto". Br. Basil:

Important decisions will be made by the abbot with his council - his advisers. But if it's a very very very important decision, like over the school buildings, there will be a chapter of the community who will vote on it. For practical reasons, obviously every time you need to make a decision, you can't have one of those. So the abbot will make a certain amount of everyday running decisions. Anything important, he would discuss it with his council.

### 2.3.3 *Close personal ties*

Interpersonal relationships are at the core of monastic life. The majority of relationships are horizontal, enduring, involve service, and at their best are moral.<sup>68</sup> Interaction is primarily face-to-face. Solidarity in the monastery is pronounced and can be understood as simultaneously a powerful and unique combination of Durkheim's organic and mechanical forms. It resembles the organic type, by its specialisation and individuality where the individual personality asserts itself, synthesised with the common beliefs and practices elements of the mechanical type.

As a principle, no status differentials exist in the monastic community. There is a goal of equality for all professed monks and exterior signs of status differentials are minimised. Monks do however confer status on their abbot. In terms of visible symbols, "apart from the abbot, who wears a cross, nobody is seen to be more important than anybody else". Nonetheless, there is a marked sign of status differential between those who have taken solemn vows and become a fully committed member of the community and those who have not. Less explicit is the achieved status of "time in the cloth" or order of arrival in the monastery as an indicator of commitment, and still less the respect for an individual monk's professional accomplishment and skill. Commitment conveys status.

Monks deeply care for each other whilst always respecting the other's autonomy. Br. Dunstan:

Monks do care although they don't necessarily give the impression to other people that they genuinely care. I think they tend to let other people have their own space. And if a person genuinely wants help, it will be given to him as much as he wants. But to a certain extent it's up to the person to ask for it. And then it will be given in all matters, or it will become obvious that somebody needs help.

Nonetheless, as we saw earlier individuality means that interpersonal conflicts can be expected: "There are conflicts. It's not all plain sailing. People have different views on things". Such conflicts can be a major source of stress and particularly damaging if there is not a mechanism for their resolution. However, most conflicts are quickly

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<sup>68</sup> In the sense that they stem from feeling of responsibility for the welfare and well-being of the other. Responsibility is moral to the extent that it is totally selfless and unconditional (Bauman 1990).

resolved and grievances are never permanent. Fr. Bede provides an example of confusion with his working relationship with Fr. Edmund:

He doesn't do things the way I do... and he started shouting and I started shouting and half-an-hour later you wouldn't have thought we had had a row at all. Our relationship is so good that it doesn't matter if we row. It disappears.

#### 2.3.4 *Kinship networks*

Benedictine monasticism is characterised by pluralism and local autonomy and the aim of the EBC is to impart each monastery with its own jurisdiction and administration while enabling all to cooperate in the promotion of monastic life. "Co-operation has been important as a means of strength and unity and as an exercise of the collective responsibility of the whole Congregation for each of the monasteries".<sup>69</sup> Relationships between monasteries are based on long-term, informal and personal mechanisms of mutual advantage and trust. Similarly, as we have seen, the EBC itself strives to be open to the exchange of ideas and assistance with other congregations and religious organizations. Although a monk's primary identity is always to his specific community, these autonomous communities are bound together by their common observance of the Rule. Fr. Bernard:

I am a monk of the community of Douai, which follows the Benedictine Rule, is a more accurate description of what I am, rather than to say that I am just a Benedictine.

Each monastery is autonomous both of other monasteries and of the institutional church. Fr. Bernard: "Each monastery is independent... within a monastery we are answerable only to our own system of government, to our abbot." Monasteries themselves are not subjected to the Church hierarchy but are self-governing organizations within the wider Catholic Church. Their independence is "very important. We are not part of the ecclesiastical establishment" and "aren't really affected by what comes out of the Vatican". Nonetheless, Douai has good relationships with this wider Church and serves its parishes by the supply of priests and more relevantly, cooperative relationships are maintained with other monasteries and religious groups: "there is quite a wide interaction both within our community

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<sup>69</sup> Rees (1978, 364)

and within another religious" and so, for instance, diocesan clergy come to Douai for their retreats. Circumstances, such as insolvency, can happen whereby a monastery is unable to retain its monks. In these instances monks are not "not sacked" but supported in their transfer to another monastic community. Br. Dunstan:

I was a monk for three and a half months at one monastery that went bankrupt... Now I didn't transfer immediately. I came out and thought for a while. I had a cook's tour around the other English ones and decided which one I wanted to go to having some idea of what they were about by then.

Although decentralisation, autonomy and subsidiarity are emphasised, the community is nevertheless subjected to oversight by an external authority. Within the EBC there is a system of accountability that governs the relations between monasteries. Visitations are conducted to preserve each monastery's observance of the Rule. For the purpose of maintaining religious discipline an Abbot President is *elected* who has limited powers of visitation and legislation. The Benedictines have no superior-general with jurisdiction over all the monks in the world. Instead monasteries *elect* a hierarchy of representatives of limited authority who collectively represent the monasteries. Fr. Bede:

The abbots of the English monasteries get together and pick one of themselves as chairman and he's now the President... and then you've got Presidents of all around the world and they get together every four years and they elect one of themselves a Primate and he lives in Rome. He is like your boss man, like a superior general. He has no power over us. He is a figurehead for Rome.

Of particular note, these individuals are *elected*, never appointed.

## **2.4 Integration**

Integration is a fundamental feature of Benedictine life. There is a conscious effort to realise this integration in several ways: a) the community's work and lifestyle with its mission within the Church and its locality; b) work with the rhythmic monastic observance; c) each monk's work with the life of his community; d) each monk's work with his personal development; and e) the monastery's resources with the needs

of its dependent parishes.<sup>70</sup> Some of these ways we have seen already. They transcend and are not limited to this section.

#### *2.4.1 Work-life integration*

The monastic community has self-ownership. All assets are held in common and distributed to each monk as needed. There is no division between owners or shareholders and employees. Fr. Edmund is especially proud of this: "We own ourselves in the sense that we are the owners of the property. It's a commune, its communism, communal ownership". The community not only owns the monastic estate but "we own the school, we own here, we own certain parishes... It's communist in the real sense."<sup>71</sup>

Work, leisure and community responsibilities are not demarcated but are part of a harmonious and whole lifestyle. Work-life integration is perfected. Fr. Bernard:

We are quite lucky in that the work we do, and the activities we take part in, and are integrated into our lifestyle. Whereas, for a lot of people work is one area of life and lifestyle and family life, whatever, is completely divorced. For us... one of the reasons I think our lives work is that it is very much more closely integrated. That's not to say that people can't find fulfilment in their jobs, but an awful lot of people don't. And if they do manage to, so they don't go completely insane they may have some way of coping with it. I think this basic division of 'that's work and that's home life' causes lots of problems that we generally don't have.

Leisure activities can be synthesised with formal work responsibilities. Fr. Bernard, who has particular interest in music and concerts, illustrates: "I organize the concerts here. It's much easier that I organize them because when I have time off, I will often go to concerts. I have a leisure interest there." Moreover leisure, in Fr. Bede's case his carpentry, can be flexibly, spontaneously and freely arranged around other formal tasks such as hospitality:

Now I can do that list at any time, I can fit other things in around the guest work. So I can do guest work now or tomorrow morning. It doesn't matter when. It's not fixed. My woodwork, when I get a chance, I go across there.

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<sup>70</sup> Rees (1978, 304)

<sup>71</sup> As Douai is a registered charity, technically the community is a trustee of the property.

Leisure has an important role in monastic life by providing a further opportunity for community integration and interaction, and the development of alternative interests. Communal recreation or social interaction is informally structured into each monastic day. It provides relaxation and a chance to recharge, reflect and have more personal one-on-one interaction with other monks. Br. Dunstan brews beer for the community as a hobby:

The purpose of leisure in that context is relaxation first of all I think from your main aim - to recharge your batteries - to take a little bit of time out to think about things. To enjoy other people's company. It might be the same people, but in a different environment... and it's another way of getting to know people on a more personal and one-to-one and one-to-two bases.

Shared leisure helps to reinforce community solidarity by providing the milieu for informal communication and collective reflection. But the individual monk is free to decide his own balance, needs and form of recreation. Fr. Edmund:

You have leisure and recreation, take time off to just talk or read, or go for a walk, or go to the theatre or cinema. You know, it's up to people to know what their own needs are. People don't need the same amount of leisure... You work out your own balance.

Monks can be simultaneously producers and consumers by habitually using some of their own commercial products within the monastery in a way Marx would have approved. The same applies to their commercial services. Monks will often attend courses run by their brothers for the general public. Fr. Bede:

You've got people making honey. You've got Fr. Aelred making jam. In the old days some of the monks used to make bread. I have seen on the side table in the refectory one evening eight different types of bread that were baked here. You see it, in all monasteries, not in the English ones, but on the continent they make something for their livelihood, sometimes stained-glass windows. One place had a little factory that made polish. Shoe polish and floor polish as well as honey. Some places make vestments.

On the personal level, emotions are integrated and their expression legitimised in the monastic community. They are actively engaged and respected as a vital feature for constructing personal relationships. Fr. Bernard:

We are heart and soul and paid-up members of the human race. So we've also got human feelings and we have to take that into account

when we deal with each other and when the abbot is dealing with us, or when we are dealing with the abbot. The abbot's got feelings too. So emotions are very important. People do get upset and they have to be consoled and comforted.

#### 2.4.2 *A rhythmic and balanced life*

Monastic life involves a continuous effort to integrate the times of work and rest, and of community and solitude. The chief means of integration is the punctuation in time by the daily rhythm of communal prayer and meals: "daily life is very much bound up with the Office punctuating the day at various times". At the beginning and end of every day there is a ritual gathering for collective prayer, the community's principal work. This work continues unabatedly, or "24/7", by being shared across the Benedictines world by its individual communities. Time is rhythmic locally, yet continuous globally. Br. Dunstan:

What is unique about the Benedictines? Well I suppose it's the work of God, the Divine Office when we go in and pray, which should be seven times but now it's been cut down to four times a day plus Mass. So you have this regular rhythm of the office four times a day when you go to pray together as a community.

Monks are free to conduct their personal work and responsibility outside the constraints of these self-contained communal rituals. Fr. Edmund:

Working time, which is between these things, you have to work out your own - when you take your phone calls, when you do your e-mail, when you do your planning.

This task-orientation to time extends beyond just the natural rhythm of the day. The organization of the week and year is rhythmic rather than measured, commodified or continuous. Natural cycles, the death and burial of monks, feast days and celebrations in the liturgical calendar, or the election of the abbot dominate life. Contrary to the chronological-time typical of capitalism, "We very rarely see time as money in the monastery".

The Rule makes for a fundamentally balanced and human life. Fr. Edmund repeatedly emphasises this:

The Rule of Saint Benedict, distilled as it was from the previous rules, is very much keeping you in balance. It's a rule of balance. As a rule,

it's essentially human and humane. Not going off at excessive asceticism that is often inhumane. It's a human balance.

This emphasis on balance and moderation is fundamental to Benedictine monasticism. An imbalanced life adversely impacts on others and the collective well-being. Fr. Bernard:

I think it happened far more when we had a school. People were so dominated by working at the school that they didn't really have time for each other so much in community life.

Ideally a monastery should be free of excessive stress. However, in practice personal stress can result from a lack of balance in the monk's life, notably through overwork, its imbalance with prayer or from unresolved interpersonal conflict.

#### *2.4.3 Flexibility and the integration of labour-work*

The abbot has ultimate responsibility for the distribution of labour within the monastery. This distribution, based on his personal knowledge of monks developed over an extended period of common life, is structured around the monk so that it matches the individual's abilities and aspirations. The Rule instructs the abbot to: "arrange everything that the strong have something to yearn for and the weak nothing to run from."<sup>72</sup>

The monk can discuss the assignment of responsibilities with his abbot but the latter ultimately decides. Br. Basil: "If you've got strong feelings that you shouldn't do a particular thing you can actually have it out with him. But he has the last say." Nonetheless, this does not supplant freedom for personal initiative: "you take on roles yourself. If you're good at something you take it on." In practice, the small size of the community limits the ability to find a perfect match between job responsibility and an individual monk. Any discrepancy forces accommodation and flexibility and promotes the development of the wide skill base discussed earlier. Fr. Bernard:

[The abbot] would try and choose someone, for any job, who's suitable for that job. But occasionally jobs come up and you just say this has got to be done. Somebody's going to have to put up with it and do it... To dictate an exact job description - we can't do that.

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<sup>72</sup> Fry (1982, chap. 64)



New jobs in the monastery are learnt by total immersion, a tolerance of mistakes, and the support of fellow monks. Most frequently, responsibilities are loosely defined and monks entrusted to decide how to unite conception with implementation. The small-scale means that personal contribution and success are immediately and highly visible. Monks typically have an extensive variety of work responsibilities that are of large scope, unique to the individual and universally known: "everybody knows what everybody else does". Br. Basil:

I've got about ten jobs. I look after all the tramps or men of the road - we have the odd one. I'm cottage manager. It's a self-catering retreat for mainly students - people like that. I'm fleet manager. I look after all the cars, that sort of thing. Make sure that they're working.

There is a spirit of integration and interdependence despite these apparently specific responsibilities. Monks are not constrained to their single area, or by a rigid system of formal rules or job descriptions, but work and care for the whole community. Because monks work together as a community, if an individual cannot cope with his particular workload, or has conflicting priorities, then he would not hesitate to ask for assistance from another monk assured that his request would be met. Fr. Bernard:

There are some specific jobs like novice master, infirmarian where that's institutionalised and that monk is responsible for that other group of monks. But in general I think there is this spirit of cooperation. No one would say 'that's nothing to do with me' sort of thing. If someone were obviously under strain, others would feel joint responsibility.

## **2.5 Social mission and the common good**

The primary work of the Benedictines, *opus Dei*, is for them the highest form of social contribution through their responsibility to God. For the global Benedictine family, this work continues unabated as we saw by transcending the local rhythmic-orientation to time. Nonetheless, a more specific role of the EBC is mission. Mission here is understood as global transformation through proclamation, evangelization and witness of the values contained within the Christian gospel. It is seen as a fundamental and substantial contribution towards humanity. Aspects of this mission are the loans of skills, not only to other monastic communities around the world, but also to the broader Church, and scholarship. Br. Dunstan:

We should think of concerns throughout the world, in all sorts of things, about man's inhumanity to man, and natural disasters, and poverty. We might not be able to directly influence them in a material way but we can certainly influence them by praying for them.

If it was not for opus Dei, the monastery may seem and even claim to have few formal or tangible social responsibilities. Fr. Edmund: "we have a responsibility for the poor. Tramps get fed and housed, washed, looked after. That probably limits our social responsibilities." However, a fundamental service it provides is an extension of this hospitality to the disadvantaged and by offering temporary respite, support and healing to outsiders. Br. Dunstan:

Monasteries are a place of quiet and peace and they can provide a refuge in the widest possible sense of that word, for people from the outside world with all its hustle and bustle... for people to recharge their batteries from the outside world.

The welcoming of guests, as the highest priority, not only limits the isolation of the monastery but also serves to challenge and to point out deficiencies in the community: "if for instance you have an arrival of guests at the time of Vespers, the guests take precedence." Guests are warmly welcomed to the monastery on an individual basis: "I think it's very important that we are open to guests. Guests can come into us and that we go out to them". Nonetheless the community ensures that the reception of guests does not overly disturb the order and quiet of the monastery and the community's regular observance. Although Douai sees its past as quite insular, today it increasingly looks beyond itself as a resource and integrated with its local area. Fr. Bernard:

We are far more conscious of our neighbours with things like guests. But also things like concerts and people in the area thinking of saying 'we want to have a meeting of some local voluntary group. Let's naturally have a meeting at Douai' - naturally thinking of us as a community resource. There's still a long way to go.

This concern for broader society can outreach far beyond the monastic complex and is seen by the monastery's leadership as one of its collective purposes. The individual monk then represents the community's mission through his personal outreach. Fr. Bede:

I went to talk to Abbot Cuthbert one time and said, 'Look! Something's wrong here. Any work we do is supposed to be community work, and I'm going here and everywhere giving these talks and it doesn't seem to be a community thing'. And he said, 'You carry on because this sort of thing we should be doing as a community; and you're doing it on our behalf'.

As self-evident so far, the common good is fundamental to monastic life and community living and presupposes respect for others: "It's acceptance of other people's weaknesses and your own prejudices for the greater good". Work is always related to the common good: "Work is whatever task you have to do. I mean contribute to the common good, to the common living. It can be any variety of things". Consequently, "if you are cutting the grass, it's work but it's also something that can be done to make the world a better place."

The monk gains reward by knowing that his efforts have contributed towards his community. His specific contribution then becomes his personal gift to the community. Monks contribute according to their abilities, but always with reference to supporting a higher, or for him, more meaningful end. Br. Dunstan:

You make a financial contribution no matter how big, or how small it is. So you are helping to sustain the running of the establishment here as a viable monastery so you can continue your spiritual life.

This fusion of self-responsibility with contribution is seen as a spiritual discipline in itself and militates against "free-riding". Fr. Bernard: "The idea of being responsible for your own life and contributing. I think that's spiritual, feeling that you are making a contribution. You are not sponging on other people".

Proclamation and witness are a traditional part of monastic heritage and mission. Monks see themselves as the "prophetic element in Christianity". They serve as a revolutionising or charismatic force to wider society by standing outside of its prevailing values and from this position express a united and challenging critical voice for its transformation. This stance frequently brings them into overt conflict with, and can be extremely condemning of, established authorities. Fr. Edmund: "they sometimes seem to speak the truth as God shows it to them. Which may not be the way it appears in the tradition handed on by authority." The monastic apostolate serves as witness to an alternative and radical way of communal living: "I think we

have a great service to perform to society to Western society, particularly about different ways of living." This radical alternative is utopian and lived in the present but with a view to the future: "the monastery is an attempt, an attempt because you never succeed, in being heaven on earth."

## 2.6 Leadership

The abbot of the monastery is democratically selected for a fixed term through an *election* process that includes all the solemnly professed community. The Church's authority subsequently and externally ratifies this election.<sup>73</sup> Although the abbot is elected for a specific term of office he can be re-elected for further tenure: "sometimes, for instance Abbot Sylvester who started in 1935 was elected for five terms. He got forty years." This relative permanence, combined with the stability of membership of the community, facilitates the growth of very deep personal relationships and trust. Although the abbot also sets a personal character on the community during the period of his leadership, implied in his selection is that the community see in him a trustworthy custodian and exponent of the community's tradition. Nominations for abbot are individually made and subsequently discussed by the community in the absence of the nominee prior to voting by ballot involving all professed monks. The abbot is usually drawn from his community but if necessary it is possible to elect an abbot who is temporarily loaned from elsewhere.

Deeply personal qualities and character as witnessed rather than purely organizational ability or technical competence are emphasised in his selection. Monks look for "somebody who is approachable and personable". Saint Benedict says: "goodness of life and wisdom in teaching must be the criteria for choosing the

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<sup>73</sup> Election is the fundamental theoretical process for selecting leaders in most Christian religious organizations and is widely practised in religious orders. Election by the laity was a popular means of selecting bishops in the early Christian church. In the Orthodox monasteries of Mount Athos, the abbot is elected for life and enjoys complete authority over matters concerning spiritual life. However elsewhere, he is obliged to consult a council of senior monks (Golitzin 1994). Saint Ignatius saw the election of superiors as fundamental to the Jesuits (Ganss 1982). Vitality, the elected leader's role is always seen as one of service. In the Rule of Saint Clare, "the Abbess is to be so familiar with [her sisters] that they can speak and act towards her as ladies do with their servants. That is the way it should be, that the Abbess be the servant of all the sisters" (Armstrong and Brady 1982, 222). Similarly, in the Rules of Saint Francis, the Minister General is elected and seen as the servant of the entire fraternity. Nowhere does Saint Francis use the word "superior" to describe a position of responsibility or authority. Minister and servant are used in general terms to describe this office.

one to be made abbot, even if he is the last in community rank".<sup>74</sup> The elected position of abbot promotes a servant style of leadership: "the truth is that you are serving the community", or in the words of Saint Benedict, "his goal must be profit for the monks, not pre-eminence for himself".<sup>75</sup> The position is seen as one of service to the community and not one to be aspired to egoistically. The process of election conveys enormous personal trust by the community on the elected abbot. They now regard him as their leader unreservedly and unequivocally. Fr. Bernard:

It's a rather strange position in that you elect someone and then he has complete control over you. It is not as if he's worried about returning to the ballot box. It doesn't really work like that. So you are electing someone, who once he is elected, you will regard as your spiritual father.

Supporting the abbot is his council that advises in on the daily operation of the monastery. Half of this council are elected by the community and half selected by the abbot himself. The monastic hierarchy is minimal with the abbot's position being essentially first among equals. His commands are voluntarily obeyed because monks see the exercise of his power as unquestionably legitimate. Fr. Edmund is keen to contrast the authority structures of the monastery with the institutional church. For him, the institutional church tends to be hierarchical and autocratic. It contrasts sharply with the monastery that is totally different because its leader is elected and decision-making is communal, participative and democratic:

The institutional church tends to be very hierarchical and people are expected to obey orders from on high... The monastic community is not a bit like that. So we, in a sense, own our decisions because we have elected the person who leads us.

Nonetheless, in practice the abbot has overall authority in the monastery and wields substantial centralised power as monks make vows of obedience to him and general chapters are held only every four years. There is little system of formalised rules and Saint Benedict's Rule leaves much to the abbot's discretion. Fr. Bernard:

But then after all those very exact prescriptions Saint Benedict will then say, but if the circumstances of the place demands otherwise let the abbot decide according to what he thinks best.

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<sup>74</sup> Fry (1982, chap 64)

<sup>75</sup> Fry (1982, chap 64)

Compliance with the abbot's directives becomes a moral obligation. But despite his substantial influence, the abbot is not so much an authority figure as a facilitator who serves the community, assists its members to exercise their talents, and is always concerned with their individual needs. Moreover, the abbot represents a living embodiment, by word and example, of the ultimate transcendent values of the community both within and to the world outside: "The abbot represents Christ in the community". Saint Benedict implicitly proposes the abbot as the model and example for the other subordinate officials in the monastery. Consequently, the ordinary monk is also a role model, a witness of a particular lifestyle to the society. Br. Dunstan:

It's a commitment to yourself as an example of a religious to the general public or anyone else you happen to meet. You come over as somebody who fulfils what the man in the streets expectation. You are witnessing to it.

The social distance between the abbot and his community is minimal as he is seen as a brother, deeply respected by the monastic community and as someone monks could follow. "I trust his leadership pretty implicitly... he's a very able man and he's been a great help." Every monk offers obedience to the abbot: "If the abbot said something you know, you would take note." He has deeply personal relationships and has in-depth knowledge of individual dispositions as it is his duty to recognise, respect and foster the unique attributes of every monk in the community. His special position in the monastery gives him "a greater knowledge of individuals than they would have of each other" so that over the years he becomes familiar with their strengths, weaknesses and aptitudes. The abbot is also the foundation and source of unity in the monastery. It is his duty to foster the unity of the monks through consultation, coordination and dialogue, to bring the community to a consensus, not only in chapter but also in its life generally.

## **2.7 Conclusions**

The Benedictine monastic community at Douai witnesses and emphasises several themes common with our prior spiritually informed organizations. First of all, monks are seen as unique persons and the foundation of monastic life. Their self-governance and ongoing development towards self-realisation is encouraged and supported. Individualism and collectivism are united. Monks live out their salvation within a

small community. This emulates the close personal ties, belonging and warmth of an ideal, but extended, natural family in which solidarity and commitment are emphasised, especially through a sophisticated admission and ongoing formation process. Integration is ubiquitous and practised through a rhythmic and balanced lifestyle. The community's primary work, *opus Dei*, looks beyond itself as an intrinsic part of their social mission. Monastic leadership and its hierarchical representatives are selected strictly by free *election* and appear to secure the legitimacy, respect and allegiance of those served.





## CHAPTER 3

### IDEAL TYPES

Ideal types are heuristic devices developed for methodological purposes in the analysis of social phenomena. They are closely associated with Weber who suggested that certain aspects of behaviour observable in the real world be selected as the defining characteristics of an ideal type, and exaggerated to create a coherent intellectual construction. Ideal types are hypothetical constructs that define the essential elements of a phenomenon in a pure form. They are central to this thesis:

An ideal type is formed by the one-sided accentuation of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discreet, more or less present and occasionally absent concrete individual phenomena, which are arranged according to those one-decidedly emphasised viewpoints into a unified analytical construct. In its conceptual purity, this mental construct cannot be found empirically anywhere in reality. It is a utopia. Historical research faces the task of determining in each individual case, the extent to which this ideal-construct approximates to or diverges from reality. (Weber 1949, 90)

Particular situations may be understood by comparing it with the ideal type and a major discrepancy would lead to its refinement. Although ideal types have explanatory worth, they are without evaluative connotations.

#### **3.1 Authority structures: foundations of organizational forms**

For Weber, obedience to commands was primarily dependent upon a belief in their legitimacy, a belief that the orders were justified, and that it was right to obey. He defined power as the probability that a person in a social relationship was in a position to carry out his or her own will in the pursuit of goals regardless of resistance. When people regarded power as legitimate it became authority. Power can be coercive, imperative and against the will of an individual or group, whereas authority is a sub-type that is willingly obeyed. The different forms of belief in the legitimacy of authority are associated with substantially different authority structures and therefore essential organizational forms, a notion also central to this thesis:

According to the kind of legitimacy which is claimed, the type of obedience, the kind of administrative staff developed to guarantee it and the mode of exercising authority, will all differ fundamentally. (Weber 1947, 325)

Nonetheless, in practice the formal assertions of a particular authority type can be deceptive and so for instance, leaders can still be inherently and definitely authoritarian despite their pronounced claims to serve:

The fact that the chief and his administrative staff often appear formally as servants or agents of those they rule, naturally does nothing whatever to disprove the authoritarian character of the relationship. (Weber 1947, 327)

Weber distinguished three types of authority: legal-rational, traditional and charismatic.<sup>76</sup> Legal-rational authority is based on the belief of the sanctity of formal rules and of the legitimacy of the legally appointed ruler. Bureaucracy, as discussed later, is the principal example of this type of authority whose official is obeyed because of the position held. Traditional authority involves the acceptance of a rule that embodies custom and convention. Charismatic authority is the complete antithesis to rational-legal authority by being based on the intrinsic and exceptional personal qualities of an individual. They could be said to have unique *personality characteristics*. Charismatically qualified leaders are obeyed through personal trust in their visions and exceptional personal qualities. Their authority transcends existing or customary practices, is personal and based on the fortuitous or timely characteristics of an individual leader:

The term 'charisma' will be applied to a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These are such as not accessible to the ordinary person, but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a leader. (Weber 1947, 358-359)

In short, the charismatic personality is *inspirational*. Consequently charismatic authority depends upon the relationship between the leader and followers. It is essential that his or her followers or "disciples" regard the leader as charismatic. "It is

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<sup>76</sup> Weber borrowed the concept of charisma, as the gift of grace, from the vocabulary of early Christianity.

recognition on the part of those subject to authority which is decisive for the validity of charisma" (Weber 1947, 359). Recognition is a matter of complete personal devotion that can arise from enthusiasm, despair or hope and results in the absolute trust in the leader. Nevertheless, such recognition is contingent and so followers can withdraw their recognition, particularly if the leadership fails to benefit them.

Organizations based on charismatic authority have an emotional form of communal relationship. Their administrative staffs are also chosen for their charismatic qualities. There are no such things as appointment, dismissal, career or promotion. Charismatic authority does not have established administrative structures, hierarchy or system of formal rules, but instead is spontaneous, fluid and loosely defined. The leader demands *new* obligations and controls by direct emotional appeals. Charismatic authority is sharply opposed to both rational and traditional authorities, particularly the former in its bureaucratic form. "Charismatic authority is specifically irrational in the sense of being foreign to all rules" (Weber 1947, 361).

Not only does the *demand* for charismatic authority increase with rapid and profound social change, but Weber also considered charisma as the greatest revolutionary force *for* social change by creating paradigm shifts in movements and structures. Charisma could arise under either traditional or rational-legal forms of authority and thereby challenge the existing order as the main counterweight to bureaucratic rigidity. Weber believed that because charisma in its pure form is personal and opposed to any everyday routinised structures, it could only extend through the life of the individual. It was therefore unstable and temporary. Consequently, charisma becomes either traditionalised or legal-rationalised or a combination of both. The most important way of meeting this problem of succession was by the charismatic designation of a successor such as through *election*, a process central to this thesis through which the claim to legitimacy of the leader is altered. Weber cites election as an example on how the charismatic principle can develop in an anti-authoritarian direction and how legitimacy can become "democratic".

Recognition by the group becomes the true 'election.' The leader whose legitimacy rested on his personal charisma then becomes leader by the grace of those who follow him since the latter are formally free to elect and elevate power as they please and even to dispose... the chief now becomes the freely elected leader... once the elected principle has been applied to the chief by a process of

reinterpretation of charisma, it may be extended to the administrative staff. (Weber 1947, 386-7)

Appointment by election radically alters the authority of the leader. As the position is contingent on followers and not superiors, the elected leader becomes the servant of those led. By extending the election process to the administration staff, the structure becomes one of service, and the traditional hierarchy based on power inverted. Consequently, the elected leader is entirely incompatible with the legal-rational authority of the bureaucratic official:

The introduction of elected officials always involves a radical alteration in the position of the charismatic leader. He becomes the 'servant' of those under his authority. There is no place for such a type in a technically rational bureaucratic organisation. He is not appointed by his superiors and the possibility of promotion is not dependent on their judgment. On the contrary, his position is derived from the favour of persons whose action he controls. (Weber 1947, 389)

### *3.1.1 Professionals as collective charisma*

The modern professions are an example of collective charismatic authority that, as we mentioned in chapter 1, evolved from the guilds<sup>77</sup> (Bauman 1990). Their authority is based on specialist knowledge and expertise and does not bear coercive powers nor occupy an office. Professionals are also able to cope with unanticipated and unusual situations. As such, they are often contrasted with the bureaucratic official. The professional's work is characterised by high levels of autonomy, self-control, individual decision-making, continuous learning and self-responsibility (Gerstl and Hutton 1966; Marcson 1960). The professional's type of self-control is particularly compatible with values of human freedom and integrity, and the concept of a professional serves as a prototype for a high-trust, relatively unregulated occupation (Fukuyama 1995). Professionals also protect standards of excellence in the face of opposing pressures (Kornhauser 1962).

Professionals have high degrees of occupational commitment (Kalleberg and Berg 1987). As a body, they are characterised by inter-organizational, collegial, informal and horizontal forms of regulation and have particular interest in the selection and

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<sup>77</sup> The original definition of profession was the declaration or vow made by a person entering a religious order. Monks in this sense are also amongst the first professionals (The Oxford English Dictionary 1989).

training of new entrants. The membership of a professional group provides social control of performance, social support and the sustenance of individual commitment (Bosk 1979). The professional's status is achieved rather than ascribed. It is acquired from professional colleagues or peers rather than from organizational superiors (Kornhauser 1962). Their reward system is intrinsic, often values greater autonomy and social honour more highly than income, and is intimately bound up with the degree of commitment. Their work role is often integrated with, and less fragmented from, other areas of social experience. Professionals often make a sustained narrative out of their working lives that take the form of following a higher calling or vocation, have a commitment to constant learning, and pledge to use their special knowledge principally to serve others. Consequently, social responsibility and community interest tend to be included within professional commitments (Gerstl and Hutton 1966).

### 3.1.2 *Community as communion*

Community is a positive structural arrangement that advances the unity of the individual and society, is a non-alienating human society, and provides its members with a sense of collective identity. The factors that unite the members of a community are stronger and more important than anything that may divide it, and its members belong both "body and soul" (Bauman 1990).<sup>78</sup> Tönnies drew a classical distinction between *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft* types of community (1955).<sup>79</sup> The former is characterised as a living organism with solidaristic social relationships based on emotional depth, personal intimacy and involving the whole of existence, rather than just segment of it. By comparison, *gesellschaft* is characterised as a mechanical aggregate with large-scale, rational and impersonal relationships. Bell and Newby take this fundamental distinction further and distinguish three different senses of community. Firstly, there is community based upon geographical proximity without any presumption of the quality of the social relationships. Secondly, there is the sense of community as a local social system with localised, relatively bounded set of interrelationships. Finally, and fundamental to this thesis, there is

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<sup>78</sup> Bauman also notes in explaining "the 'togetherness' of the community... [that] it is the *spiritual* unity, subject to a shared spiritual authority that we have in mind first and foremost" (1990, 72). Bauman's emphasis.

<sup>79</sup> First published in 1887.

"communion", a human association close to Tönnies' *gemeinschaft*. Communion is characterised by close personal ties, belongingness and warmth between its members and corresponds most closely with the colloquial usage of community. Community as communion is distinguished by friendship, reciprocity, trust, loyalty, and a shared and meaningful identity.<sup>80</sup> It is a sense of commonality among a group of people. Communion can develop from community but differs in the sense that the latter is often taken for granted as being self-evident, and membership is largely unconscious unless threatened. Communion is particularly compatible with charismatic structures and often arises to challenge the rational and impersonal relationships typical of *gesellschaft*:

Communion, however, is radically different. Emotional experiences are the very stuff of this relationship. Communion is a form of human association which refers to affective bonds and is therefore related to the Weberian concept of charisma and charismatic authority... requiring intense mutual involvement... and the development of an ethos of loyalty... Communion can therefore be a product of community, but community itself does not consist of feelings or emotions, for community proceeds emotional recognition by its members. Communion is simply the subsequent form of community experience at the level of consciousness... the contemporary yearning for 'community' is, however, an expression of a desire for communion... it seems likely that the extension of rational, gesellschaftlich forms of association will periodically provoke reactions of this kind involving the promotion of new forms of intimately human communion, which may in turn provide a basis of various kinds of political mobilization. (Bell and Newby 1978, 291)

Communion can be generated even where those involved do not dwell in close physical proximity but are very widely scattered geographically as part of a larger social network. But communion can also entail a profound meeting, not just with other persons, but also with divine beings and nature as illustrated by Buber's "I-Thou" relationship (1970). Communion as a precise variant of community is central to this thesis.

More generally, communities characterised by the mutual trust typical of communion make particularly effective organizations. Trust arises when a community shares a set of moral values in order to create expectations of regular and honest behaviour. In

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<sup>80</sup> Saint Aelred of Rievaulx (1109-67) influentially asserted the importance of close, intense, individual friendships within community to spiritual growth (1977).

general, the more demanding the values of a community's ethical system and the higher are its qualifications for entry, the greater is the extent of solidarity and mutual trust among its members (Fukuyama 1995). As we saw earlier, for Durkheim moral action requires solidarity, self-restraint, disinterested help and finds its expression in concern for the needs of others. Community therefore promotes moral concern. When an organization socialises and indoctrinates its members to believe in its strong ideology, it can allow them considerable freedom to act through a particularly pure form of decentralisation. Such a structure it is an especially democratic form where everyone shares power more or less equally (Mintzberg 1988). On the other hand, when workers are unable to belong to integrated industrial communities alienation can occur. The non-alienated opposite is a sense of belonging in specific communities that are integrated through the sharing of a normative system (Blauner 1964).

The monastic community described in chapter 2 could therefore be readily conceived as a quintessential real-life illustration of a communion of professionals based on an authority structure that is charismatic, as reinterpreted and legitimised through a process of free and democratic election. In short, the monastic life is a time-honoured means for living the charismatic impulse in communion. In our case study, at the local level this communion took the form of the monastic family at Douai and at a higher networked level, the congregation uniting the English Benedictines. The congregation in turn is therefore a communion of communions, or alternatively to avoid confusion, a communion of families. We will return to this notion shortly.

### **3.2 Bureaucracy: a dominant social structure**

As mentioned above, bureaucracy is based on legal-rational authority. Often bureaucracy is used in a derogatory sense to organizations that seem to have an excessive number of hierarchical levels, where job roles are narrow and sharply defined and where rules are rigidly adhered to, whatever the circumstances. Bureaucracy is also one of Weber's ideal types and refers to the body of administrative officials, and the procedures involved in a particular system of administration. It is found in organizations assuming a wide variety of goals. Bureaucracy emphasises the impersonal exercise of power according to rational rules, which in turn implies calculability or the minimisation of uncertainty in risk-

taking activity. Weber pointed out that although bureaucratic organizations have long existed in traditional civilisations, it is only in modern times that bureaucracies have developed fully, particularly through capitalistic and large-scale organization, as a central social structure.

Though by no means alone, the capitalist system has undeniably played a major role in the development of bureaucracy... Its development, largely under capitalist auspices, has created an urgent need for stable, strict, intensive, and calculable administration. It is this need which gives bureaucracy a crucial role in our society as the central element in any kind of large-scale administration. Only by reversion in every field - political, religious, economic, etc. - to small-scale organisation would be possible to any considerable extent to escape its influence.<sup>81</sup>

Bureaucracy is therefore strongly linked to the capitalist market economy. Weber understood bureaucracy as the defining characteristic of the dominant institutions of modern industrial society and considered it as a major element in the rationalisation of the modern world. Bureaucratic social organization typifies most powerful structures in society today: modern industrial corporations, governments, labour unions, religious institutions such as the Catholic Church,<sup>82</sup> and educational, health, and military organizations. The work domain plays a special role in the evolution of human social and cultural life and remains one of the best indicators of the character of any society as a whole (Rose 1985). Bureaucratic structures, especially in the work domain, therefore have a profound and far-reaching impact on the nature of contemporary society. They are foundational.

### 3.2.1 *Weber's ideal bureaucracy*

Weber gave bureaucracy a precise definition and suggested that it was the best administrative form for the rational or efficient pursuit of organizational goals. Its major quality was its predictability. Rational bureaucratic procedures were the most effective way of *measuring* efficiency, not necessarily of *ensuring* it. Weber saw bureaucracy as a supreme power instrument for the person in control and believed

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<sup>81</sup> Weber (1947, 338). Schumacher later and notably challenged the promotion of large-scale organization against their gross economic inefficiency, environmental pollution and inhumane working conditions (1973).

<sup>82</sup> Today the Roman Curia is a bureaucracy that assists the Pope in his responsibilities of governing the universal church. The Curia is organised into offices of various ranks and importance and is staffed by officials (Lahey 1995). See also Berger (1967) or Weber (1947).



that bureaucracy did not lend itself to democratic control either in socialist or capitalist society. Bureaucracy was rational in that it maximised technical efficiency through the subordination of specialist skills to the goals of the organization. Officials applied the criteria of rationality to their action specifically and excluded personal emotions and interests as these might detract from the attainment of goals. Indeed, the more perfectly bureaucracy "dehumanised", the more completely it succeeded in eliminating from official business, love, hatred, and all purely personal, irrational, and emotional elements (Blau 1963).

The quintessential feature of the bureaucratic official was that of *appointment*. The bureaucracy itself was an administrative body of *appointed* officials. Weber *explicitly* refused to call an *elected* official bureaucratic: "Bureaucratic authority is carried out in its purest form where it is most clearly dominated by the principle of appointment" (1947, 335). Bureaucratic authority requires that a group cannot be allowed to bestow the dominant position on a member of their choice. This point cannot be overemphasised because, as we shall see later, it is its fundamental difference with its antithetical ideal type. Bureaucracies demand specific types of personnel not only in terms of its functions and requisite skills, but also in terms of their psychological characteristics. Bureaucratic institutions both select and form the personality types they require for their operations. Another essential feature of Weber's bureaucracy was that at every stage of the official hierarchy, one person, and one person only, had the responsibility for taking a decision. As soon as others were involved in that decision, as of right, then the collegial principle was being employed. Weber saw the bureaucratic administrative staff in its most rational or pure form having the following ten defining characteristics and bureaucratisation their growth:<sup>83</sup>

1. Administrative staff are personally free, observing only the impersonal duties of their offices.
2. There is a clear hierarchy of offices.
3. The functions of the offices are clearly specified.
4. Officials are appointed on the basis of a contract.

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<sup>83</sup> Albrow (1970, 45) based on Weber (1947, 333-4).

5. Officials are selected on the basis of a professional qualification, ideally substantiated by a diploma gained through examination.
6. Officials receive a salary, and usually pension rights. The salary is graded according to position in the hierarchy. The official is free to leave this position, and under certain circumstances it may also be terminated.
7. The official's post is his sole or major occupation.
8. There is a clear career structure and promotion is possible either by seniority or merit, and according to the judgment of superiors.
9. The official may appropriate neither the post nor the resources that go with it.
10. The official is subject to a unified control and disciplinary system.

The impact of this assertion is immense. In his work on bureaucracy, Albro considered this "without a doubt the most important statement on the subject in the social sciences" (1970). The way this ideal type of bureaucracy is practiced is uniquely expressed through the following six elements so that its subsequent comparison with a new and antithetical ideal type will become even more pronounced and self-evident.

### *3.2.2 Fragmentation, role-play and division*

The bureaucracy has a clearly defined division of labour and a high degree of specialisation. Its tasks are distributed in a consistent, rational manner as official duties that are defined by rules or administrative regulations. Bureaucracies are divided into departments and complex tasks are broken down into simple individual tasks. Within each department, every official acts their specified role within their clearly defined spheres of authority and responsibility. Each role covers a distinct and separate area of competence and jurisdictions are like portable partitions that entail temporary and conditional identities. The task of every official is reduced to a small part of the overall purpose pursued by the bureaucracy as a whole, with the wider consequences of actions not necessarily visible to the official. Bureaucratic administration also involves a clear and absolute separation of work and private lives. The office is physically separated from the home, business from private

correspondence, business assets from private fortunes, and work from leisure or family concerns. Officials do not own any part of the organization for which they work, nor can they use their position for private gain. The official's personal religious beliefs and moral codes are segregated and isolated from work. In short, labour is regarded as an interchangeable and inanimate commodity that "acts" a specific and narrowly defined role.<sup>84</sup> Division and fragmentation are ubiquitous.

### 3.2.3 *Hierarchy, status and secrecy*

The bureaucracy has a hierarchical structure of authority with clearly bounded areas of command and responsibility. Offices are organized so that every lower office is under the control and supervision of a higher one. Consequently, there is a chain of command and responsibility whereby officials are accountable to their immediate superior, both for the conduct of their own official duties and those of everybody beneath them. Communication is channelled through the same hierarchical levels.

Each job in the hierarchy is firmly ordered and graded and has a definite and fixed salary attached to it. There is a clear and hierarchical career structure. Officials progress to a stable level or grade in the hierarchy commensurate with their capability. Sources of the official's power come from specialist knowledge and through the acquisition of concrete information, much of it artificially restricted by ideas of confidentiality and secrecy. Personal status is ascribed and rises with an official's grade or position within the hierarchy. Superordinate officials are isolated from subordinate levels and control is concentrated at the top of the hierarchy.

### 3.2.4 *Displaced-governance*

Work in the bureaucracy is autocratically regulated and coordinated by a specified superior official who instructs subordinates what they should do according to formal rules. Subordinates are subjected to authoritarian control independent of their own will, judgment or personal interests. Personal initiative is minimised and the task of every official is reduced to a simple choice of obeying or refusing to obey a

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<sup>84</sup> As Bauman notes, role is a word drawn from the language of the theatre where actors enter the prescribed character only for the duration of the performance (1990). The partial nature of members' involvement in organizational activity may be understood as merely playing roles. Members do not enter an organization as "whole persons".

command. Information is limited to officials at lower levels of the hierarchy, and their participation in decision-making is discouraged. Conversely, control by superiors is facilitated by increasing access to higher and more complete levels of information further up the hierarchy.

### *3.2.5 Rigid rules, conformity and moral subordination*

A formal and consistent system of abstract rules governs the conduct of officials at all levels in the bureaucracy. Rules are applied to particular cases, in secrecy and impersonally without regard for the individual. Rules clearly delimit the authority and independence held by various officials in the hierarchy, lay down fixed procedures for the performance of tasks and impose strict discipline and control, leaving minimum room for personal initiative or discretion. Conformity is widespread. Diligent or dutiful officials are efficient and subordinate their personal convictions, conscience or moral codes to the dictates of procedural decision-making without any personal responsibility for outcomes. Officials systematically regulate their impulses and aspirations, lives and thoughts in strict accordance with the rules and regulations of the bureaucracy.

### *3.2.6 Impersonality, formality and uniformity*

Everyone within the bureaucracy is subject to formal uniformity of treatment through the same set of rules. Officials perform their duties according to these rules in a strictly impersonal manner without feelings towards other officials or customers. The conduct of action is rational rather than affective and consequently personal emotions and enthusiasm are rigorously and universally excluded. In short, impersonality and homogeneity are encouraged:

[Bureaucratic control results in the] dominance of a spirit of formalistic impersonality... without hatred or passion, and hence without affection or enthusiasm. The dominant norms are concepts of straightforward duty without regard to personal considerations. Everyone is subject to formal equality of treatment. (Weber 1947, 340)

### 3.2.7 *Appointment, fixed remuneration and sole commitment*

Officials are recruited, appointed and promoted by superiors *above* them in the hierarchy on the basis of public criteria of merit and competence such as written examinations and educational achievement. Officials are selected in terms of the contribution their particular knowledge and skills can make to the realisation of organizational goals. Officials are rewarded by means of a regular income in the form of a fixed salary that reflects their position in the hierarchy and sometimes their length of service. Official activity demands the full working capacity and constitutes the sole occupation of the official. Officials are expected to spend their entire careers within the bureaucracy and their appointment is therefore normally for life, full-time and pensionable.

### 3.2.8 *Some classical criticisms of bureaucracy*

Bureaucracy has been extensively criticised in the social sciences for both functional and moral deficiencies. Bureaucracy is better suited to routine and predictable situations and promotes a personality type of conformity and inflexibility. In non-routine situations, where discretion or innovation is necessary, bureaucracy can be particularly dysfunctional. In such situations, and to reduce anxiety from working alone, informal relations sometimes emerge (Blau 1963). Weber saw the development of bureaucratic organization alongside the Protestant ethic we saw earlier, as part of a wider process of rationalisation through which traditional values, emotion, spirituality or anything that gave depth, meaning and purpose to life was replaced. Weber saw the strict control of bureaucratic officials and their restriction to very specialised tasks as a constraint of human freedom. The bureaucratic organization's uniform and rational procedures greatly prevented spontaneity, creativity and individual initiative. Bureaucratic organization imprisoned officials, and encouraged them to become dependent on the security provided by their highly structured niche. In the bureaucracy, people counted as numbers deriving worth not from themselves, but from their positions.

Following Weber, Merton identified the danger of the "virtue" of discipline and efficiency being exaggerated to the point where officials became obsessed with rigid adherence to rules and procedures to the extent that they were unable to help

customers effectively (1949). Officials developed a personality that stressed conformity. Initiative and creativity were stifled and replaced by inflexibility and timidity resulting in an increased difficulty in responding to change. Michels reiterated the same criticisms but was particularly scornful on the influence the principle of appointment had on the official's personal integrity and personality. The official became a morally bankrupt sycophant:

The bureaucratic spirit corrupts character and engenders moral poverty. In every bureaucracy we may observe place-hunting, a mania for promotion, and obsequiousness towards those on whom promotion depends; there is an arrogance towards inferiors and civility towards superiors. (1949, 189)

Whyte not only reiterated that individuality was a disadvantage but added that conformity, as the highest value, had become the route to promotion and the emphasis on gaining approval from others had led to a shift from an "inner-directed" to an "other-directed" person (1956). Self-responsibility and uniqueness had been devalued.

Bauman is especially scathing of the demoralising propensities of bureaucracy through its detailed functional division of labour, the substitution of technical for moral responsibility, its impersonal interaction, and its rationality of action. Bauman regards the "separation" and "distance" characteristic of the bureaucratic division of labour as crucial elements in the suppression of morality. By concentrating on their own individual tasks as ends in themselves, each official is able to avoid overall moral responsibility for corporate outcome. Moral responsibility is further eradicated by disregarding human dignity through the wholesale and impersonal treatment of people and by an inviolable concern for corporate self-preservation. Bauman's criticism is extremely sobering. Space unfortunately will only permit a brief quotation:

One can do things which have dire consequences one does not see and affect people one does not even know exist - and thus do even the most abominable and abhorrent things without experiencing moral conflict or a guilty conscience... A morally reprehensible action, unthinkable under different conditions, becomes suddenly possible and relatively easy to obtain... rationality of action, hailed as the most effective tool of self-preservation, is promoted at the expense of moral obligation... The perfection of the bureaucratically organised action... has reached a point where moral inhibitions cannot

effectively interfere with considerations of efficiency any more.  
(1990, 132-9)

Previously, in *Modernity and the Holocaust* he passionately claimed the potential for a Holocaust existed in all modern societies from factors quite ordinary and common, notably a "bureaucratic culture" (Bauman 1989). It would appear that bureaucracy is fundamentally and absolutely incompatible with structures facilitating spirituality.

### **3.3 The spiritual-family: an alternative ideal type**

Although bureaucracy has been extensively criticised, Weber's ideal type has dominated sociological workplace studies as a structure for looking at work. Discourse on bureaucracy is a ready-made way of thinking and may disempower sociologists to see new structural possibilities that may be informed by spirituality.

When statements about a topic are made within a particular discourse, the discourse makes it possible to construct the topic in a certain way. It also limits the other ways in which the topic can be constructed.  
(Hall 1992)

This section proposes an alternative ideal type to the bureaucracy and one that specifically encapsulates spirituality. It is called the *spiritual-family*.<sup>85</sup> The spiritual-family gains its identity by being a networked part of a broader communion called the *spiritual-communion*. The spiritual-communion is a widespread communion consisting of a network of various diverse local spiritual-families. The spiritual-communion and its local spiritual-families are incorporated in one another. Each is an integral and networked part of the other.

Weber's definition of bureaucracy was broad enough to include its various manifestations, yet precise enough to illustrate its essential features. This alternative ideal type aims to do the same. Its construction is based on the synthesis of the key features of the institutional forerunners described in chapter 1, together with the

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<sup>85</sup> The word "family" has been used in a wide range of literature, especially in connection with paternalism. In this case, frequently this implies the unwelcome meddling in the lives of subordinates by a dominant partner, gross inequalities of power, and the legitimisation of overtly hierarchical and exploitative relationships, such as those during the early phase of industrialization in the West or in modern large-scale Japanese corporations (for a notable and relevant Japanese example see Kamata (1982)). However, here the word family is used in a very different way as a "local communion" in the full sense of communion as discussed earlier. If paternalism is about power differential, the spiritual-family strives to secure relative power parity by the elective principle.

extreme form of spiritual organization exemplified through the case study of Benedictine monasticism analysed in chapter 2. Using Weber's guidance, it has been formed by the integration of many tangible individual phenomena into a unified construct. In several instances common phenomena are dominant and fundamental, although in some they are absent. This new ideal type is a utopian mental construct formulated by defining its essential elements in pure form. It is of course subject to refinement. In the same way that the bureaucracy is a pure form of rational organization, the spiritual-family is a pure form of spiritually informed organization.

The spiritual-family can be understood in essence as a fellowship of professionals, based on a foundation of charismatic authority, through which members have opportunity to reach self-realisation whilst contributing to a greater common good. It is a partnership of persons who have made a long-term commitment to each other and to a shared value system, who contribute to a shared vision and who live their lives beyond the workplace as members of an extended communion. The beliefs and practices of the spiritual-family's members unite in a single moral communion that depends upon their voluntary conformity to a shared and jointly developed moral code, rule of life or simply lifestyle. These guide behaviour, both in and outside of the workplace and are deployed to enforce how work should be planned and conducted.

The ideal type of spiritual-family has five constituent elements whose development trajectory we have followed, from contemporary definitions of spirituality, through spiritually informed organizational forms and the reinterpretation of social theorists, to ultimately the study of an exemplary case. These five elements have been constructed with the aim that the deletion of any one would create a deficiency, and that each does not contradict or duplicate another. The five elements relate to each other in an integrated form and therefore the ideal type definition must be understood as a whole. This is not to say that in any particular instance one or more characteristics cannot be emphasised more than others. Indeed this is likely to happen:

1. *Primacy of the person*: the person as a professional is the foundation of the spiritual-family whose continuous professional and personal



development and well-being are emphasised. Each and every individual is regarded as a unique and self-governing subject.

2. *Network of interdependent families*: each spiritual-family is a compact self-governing, sustainable communion with shared purpose, values, beliefs, and ritual. It emphasises horizontal, inclusive, reciprocal, loyal, trustful, moral<sup>86</sup> and personal relationships. Each family is simultaneously a co-dependent part of a unified and interconnected network called the spiritual-communion to which it shares a family likeness.
3. *Integration, authenticity and transparency*: integration, genuineness and openness are practised in every domain and level of personal and corporate life. The spiritual-family is both a sign and a source of wider unity and is characterised by balance, an absence of any form of hypocrisy, and a task-orientation to time.
4. *Social mission*: the spiritual-family has a fundamental purpose beyond itself of service to humanity and the planet through its products and services, direct help, proclamation and witness. It is motivated by a sense of social transformation and salvation.
5. *Charismatic authority*: leaders are appointed by *election* or free choice, are accountable to those they serve, and have a foundational responsibility for the promotion, protection and personal witness of the above four elements. Leaders in principle are first among equals, freely recognised and progress hierarchically to positions of greater service.

Like Weber's bureaucracy above, these five elements are now expounded to illustrate in greater detail what they can mean in practice. However, stressing Weber's caution, in its conceptual purity this construct is most unlikely to be found empirically in reality.

### 3.3.1 *Primacy of the person*

The primacy of the person is fundamental. People are regarded as unique persons with unique personalities, potentials and attributes, and are never used as objects or

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<sup>86</sup> Or service in the sense that the needs of others become the basic criterion of choice.

means to other ends, either within or without the spiritual-family. Members serve as professionals with high levels of autonomy and self-discipline, and a commitment to continuous development. Mentors and coaches may be deployed to facilitate this development, especially during the admission of new members. Progression is rewarded by increased autonomy and greater responsibility to the spiritual-family. Work is flexibly structured around the person and aimed to match the individual's different inclinations and abilities. Freedom for entrepreneurial activity is encouraged. In short, human life is precious.

### *3.3.2 Network of interdependent families*

The spiritual-family is essentially an artificial imitation of the natural family. Quasi-kin or close personal relationships exist not only within the family, but also to extended family members within the greater spiritual-communion. There is a sense of intimacy and familiarity, a mutuality of concerns and activities, a sense of belonging, and continuity in time. There are high levels of mutual trust and members tend to subordinate their private interests for the sake of larger goals.

Admission aims to be highly personal and moral with the goal of congruence between the person's and the spiritual-family's values and vision. The process of gaining membership is progressive, probationary and protracted with the aim of attaining a reciprocal, enduring and formal commitment. Full membership represents a change in the moral status of the relationship between the individual and the spiritual-family and extracts a high price in terms of change in lifestyle and moral obligations towards fellow members. Full members have both a right and responsibility to participate and be consulted in important decisions.

The spiritual-family depends on a shared and internalised system of values and norms to regulate the conduct and behaviour of its members. Failure to act properly is an act of disloyalty against other members rather than an offence against codified rules. Morality is internalised rather than externalised in a rulebook. The values, traditions and successes of the spiritual-family's heritage are foundational for its future. Life is a constant process or journey of personal and collective revitalisation and transformation.

The spiritual-communion itself is a decentralised and unified network made up of various distinct yet mutually interdependent and complementary spiritual-families. This network is based on collaborative, long-term and informal relationships and relies on reciprocity, trust and shared fundamental values. Solidarity within the spiritual communion is founded in shared, but not uniform, values. Unity and diversity within the spiritual-communion are equally fundamental. Obligations are reciprocal so that families expect to share information, knowledge and learning and find mutually profitable solutions. In short, each spiritual-family retains its autonomy while, at the same time, sharing in the common life of the entire spiritual-communion.

### *3.3.3 Integration, authenticity and transparency*

The spiritual-family seeks integration, authenticity and openness universally. Work is integrated so that it is not demarcated but forms a harmonious whole with the member's life. Concerns such as family, religion and community responsibilities are incorporated in work. Work and play, public and private, and inner and outer domains are unified. There is not a sharp division between working life and retirement. Every effort is made to integrate labour. Responsibilities are designed to be of large scope, conception united with execution, personality with job. There is close interdependence of members, and between producer and consumer. Members actively participate in ownership of resources or, in a real sense, work for themselves. Spiritual-families are integrated by their traditions and continuity with their past. Integration *always* concerns wholes and holism so that hierarchy is understood as an order of ever-increasing wholeness, or integrative ability.<sup>87</sup> Unity is coupled with interconnectedness. In brief, the spiritual-family and its larger whole, the spiritual-communion, emphasise unity.

There is an active concern for balance and moderation between the needs of the community and the individual. Work is structured around a "natural" rhythm, activities are self-contained and the day can lengthen or contract according to prevailing requirements. The day is punctuated around set times of collective gatherings yet outside of these times individuals are free to structure their day. There

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<sup>87</sup> A notion of hierarchy from Wilber (1997).

is no great sense of conflict between working and leisure, and working arrangements are flexible. Time has a task-orientation.

Authenticity occurs at individual and collective levels. At the personal level, members refuse to accept fragmentation of any kind and engage their whole selves, minds, hands and hearts. There is consistency of beliefs and behaviour both inside and outside the school, there are no boundaries between private and public, and no such thing as "off-the-record" behaviour. At the organizational level the spiritual-family witnesses what it professes. There is no disparity between its ideals or values and its actions, between its image and the reality. It is genuine and authenticity applies to the whole of the spiritual-communion, not simply to any individual spiritual-family. Communication is typified by dialogue, transparency, a commitment to ever deepening levels of lateral communication and becoming open to being influenced by the other.

#### *3.3.4 Social mission*

Social mission is a constitutive structural element. The spiritual-family serves as an agent for social transformation and salvation by providing a means by which its members can collaborate and participate towards the social and ecological renewal and transformation of the world. It is prepared to stand alone as witness to a counterculture.

#### *3.3.5 Charismatic authority*

Charismatic authority underpins the spiritual-family. Members freely choose their leaders for a term of service that may be fixed, indefinite or renewed by re-election. The crucial point is that leaders are never imposed but freely recognised by those led. This point cannot be overemphasised, is most purely assured by formal election, a process first amongst an array of alternatives, and certainly not constrained to traditional "ballot boxes". Leaders in turn may appoint others to co-leadership positions, are accountable to members, reach decisions through a dynamic process of listening and responding to their family's membership and have a fundamental responsibility for the promotion and protection of the five aforementioned ideal type elements. Leaders are role models whose behaviours and pronouncements serve as a

quintessential indicator of corporate belief. A leadership hierarchy denotes an increase in wholeness, integrative capacity and service, and is characterised by flattened structures and minimal chains of command.

Leaders typically are charismatic and inspire others to follow their lead without having to resort to formal authority or coercion. Nonetheless, their charismatic authority is balanced by a collegial responsibility. Leaders care not only of their own particular spiritual-family but simultaneously forge constructive links within the broader spiritual-communion. They are distinguished by a concern for developing communion and the unique potential of each of its members.

### 3.4 Comparison of the two ideal types

There are sharp differences between the bureaucracy and the spiritual-family as tabulated and accentuated in Figure 1. The quintessential difference between the two is their treatment of the human person. The human person is regarded by the bureaucracy as an object or commodity, and by the spiritual-family as a subject or unique person. In the bureaucracy, the person grows in status and power whereas in the spiritual-family the individual grows in personality and professionalism. The emphasis on remuneration is external for the bureaucracy compared with intrinsic, such as fulfilment, for the spiritual-family. The bureaucracy is an amoral organization with a propensity to dehumanise and a susceptibility for gross immoral action, whereas the spiritual-family is a highly moral and humane organization with a goal of positive social transformation and salvation.

	<b>Bureaucracy</b>	<b>Spiritual-family</b>
Admission	Expeditious event based on formal qualifications	Protracted, probationary and moral process
Authority	Legal-rational	Charismatic
Change	Respond	Anticipate
Communication	One-way, secrecy and confidentiality	Dialogue, openness and transparency
Decision-making	Monocratic	Participatory
Governance	External control through impersonal rules, duty,	Self-governance through internalised shared values,

	<b>Bureaucracy</b>	<b>Spiritual-family</b>
	compliance and structural distrust	integrity, affective commitment <sup>88</sup> and structural trust
Interaction	Imperative, impersonal, dispassionate, ordered and formal	Reciprocal, personal, passionate, enthusiastic and informal
Labour	Management, role-occupant, career, and mobility	Leadership, role-model, professional vocation, and stability
Nature	Isolation, exploitation and domination	Interrelation, sustainability and stewardship
Ownership of resources	External by remote group	Internal by members
Private life and retirement	Sharply separated	Intimately fused
Progression	Increase in power, formal status and material rewards	Increase in service, autonomy, professional proficiency and personal development
Rationality	Instrumental	Substantive
Regulation of work	Separation of planning and implementation, deskilling, conformity, passivity, centralisation and the detailed division of labour	Integration of planning and implementation, upskilling, initiative, creativity, subsidiarity and the application of systems thinking
Relationships	Adversarial, exclusive, one-way, independent, temporary, and market-based	Collaborative, inclusive, reciprocal, interdependent and accountable, enduring, and interpersonal
Remuneration	Emphasis on extrinsic rewards, inequality, individual advancement and self-aggrandisement	Emphasis on intrinsic rewards, equality, the social unit and contribution to a wider common good
Scale	Large	Small
Selection of	Appointment	Free choice or election

<sup>88</sup> See Allen and Meyer for the differences between affective, continuance, and normative commitments (1990).

	<b>Bureaucracy</b>	<b>Spiritual-family</b>
superiors		
Solidarity	Mechanical	Organic
Stimulation	Motivation, compulsion and coercion	Inspiration, impulsion and passion
Structure	Hierarchy of offices	Network of autonomous social units
The human being	Commodified object	Unique person
Time orientation	Chronological	Task

Figure 1: Essential differences between the two ideal types - 23 variables<sup>89</sup>

The second major difference is that bureaucracy is characterised by fragmentation and division whereas the spiritual-family is characterised by integration and unity. For instance, in the bureaucracy work is fragmented into specific tasks and separate individuals conduct the planning and implementation. Ownership is remote. There is the employer and the employee. In comparison in the spiritual-family, work is packaged, planning and implementation are integrated within the same person and the members of the spiritual-family are simultaneously owners and workers. In the bureaucracy official duty is sharply separated from private life, and work from retirement whereas in the spiritual-family these are intimately fused. Similarly, behaviour in the bureaucracy is instrumentally rational and analytical<sup>90</sup> whereas in the spiritual-family rationality is *substantive* in the sense that it aims to take value positions in meeting human goals and needs as ultimate ends. In the bureaucracy, time tends to be measured, commodified and continuous in comparison to the spiritual-family where time is rhythmic and activities self-contained. Consequently, the bureaucracy remunerates by the hour, the spiritual-family by the responsibility completed.

<sup>89</sup> An additional variable for future consideration may be "survival". This could range from "self-preservation" to "moral duty" for the bureaucracy and spiritual-family respectively. See Bauman (1990, 125-141). Future research into Ford may want to consider this with reference to the Firestone Tyre recall of 2000-2001. See (Reuters Detroit 2001a).

<sup>90</sup> Analysis, from Greek, literally means to unloose. Analysis divides physical or abstract wholes into constituent parts for examination (The Oxford English Dictionary 1989).

The bureaucracy tends to displace governance through moral subjugation. By comparison the spiritual-family promotes self-control and responsibility. The bureaucracy constrains human freedom through external control, domination or the restriction of activity by superiors. In comparison, members of the spiritual-family are self-regulating and obliged to participate in the governance of collective resources. The bureaucracy artificially restricts the flow of information one-way through notions of confidentiality and secrecy in comparison with the transparency, openness and dialogue of the spiritual-family.

There are marked differences on the degrees of isolation or fellowship. Officials in the bureaucracy conduct their work as anonymous role-performers in isolation whereas the members of the spiritual-family conduct their work as unique professionals as part of a group. In the bureaucracy there is unity through sameness, in the spiritual-family it is through diversity. The bureaucracy is focused on self-interest where the spiritual-family includes a responsibility towards a greater common good.

The bureaucracy emphasises commodification, homogeneity and standardisation where the spiritual-family emphasises uniqueness, creativity and customisation. The bureaucracy stresses impersonal and formal, behaviour and relationships. Individuals are treated as characterless, interchangeable and disposable objects and are expected to conform. In comparison the spiritual-family stresses personal and informal interaction, and sees all people as unique and self-expressive subjects. The bureaucracy rigorously structures roles and relationships whereas the spiritual-family fosters close personal ties and belonging. The bureaucracy extracts work from its officials using a variety of motivational techniques. By comparison, the spiritual-family inspires and facilitates the free contribution of its members. The bureaucracy responds to change whereas the spiritual-family anticipates it.

The bureaucracy is based on legal-rational, the spiritual-family on charismatic authorities respectively. As a consequence, the bureaucracy emphasises vertical relationships whereas the spiritual-family emphasises horizontal ones. The bureaucracy has a culture of domination, the spiritual-family a spirit of service. This means that where the bureaucracy's official is appointed and based on power, status and domination, the spiritual-family's leader is freely chosen and grounded in



influence, personal qualities and service. Progression for each is to positions of higher domination or to those of greater service respectively. In the bureaucracy, officials are graded and rewarded accordingly. Its remuneration policies emphasise inequality. By comparison, the spiritual-family emphasises equality and parity of reward. In the bureaucracy the individual is constrained to playing a role, and status and image are paramount. By comparison, in the spiritual-family authenticity, integrity and self-consistency are fundamental. The bureaucracy's official manages division and boundaries, whereas the spiritual-family's leader promotes unity and wholeness. In short, the differences between these two ideal types are fundamental. In numerous instances their characteristics are dichotomous. The bureaucracy and the spiritual-family are largely antithetical. What is promoted in one is discounted in the other. Behaviour one regards as virtuous, the other regards as vice. These essential differences, as exemplified through the twenty-three variables shown in Figure 1 serve as reference during chapters 4 and 5. Further differences are included in appendices II and III.

### **3.5 Conclusions**

Over the past fifty years, Weber's ideal type of bureaucracy has greatly furthered the traditional understanding of workplace organization. However, with the insurgence of the spirituality of work phenomenon there is need for an apposite alternative model against which the social sciences can empirically research contemporary realities or even to understand prior types of spiritual organization, such as the guilds or the Quakers. The spiritual-family is proposed as such a model.

The spiritual element in a particular organization may vary by historical period as a consequence of many factors such as the disposition and intentions of particular governing élites, or as intended or even unintended corporate responses to prevailing social, economic and political forces. In the past, sociologists have tended to regard the Ford Motor Company as an organization antithetical to our description of the spiritual-family. Although Ford paid its workers extremely well, its mass production system treated its workers as automatons or sub-humans. In 1932, Aldous Huxley went as far as coining the letters, "A.F." or *After Ford* to reflect his view that the machine technology of Henry Ford's perfected assembly line had not only produced the marvels of mechanized production but the mechanized person (1977). A few

years later in 1936, Charlie Chaplin in *Modern Times* lampooned a machine civilization gone literally crazy with speed and efficiency. Sociologists have ever since largely regarded Ford unfavourably and associated it with exploitation of employees (for instance Beynon 1973) or even of managers (Starkey and McKinlay 1994). Ford may still be so, or indeed it may be the quintessential spiritual-family. However, the prime intention in the following chapter is to see how a contemporary and empirical investigation of today's Ford can further inform our ideal type description, how it can illuminate some of its defining characteristics, and the extent spirituality actually informs current business practice. In chapter 1 we saw how there was coherence between aspects of Reformation Protestantism and early capitalist enterprise. Following this precedent, a secondary purpose of the following is to see what degree of affinity there is between our new ideal type and business today. It needs to be emphasised that this case is not being put forward, like the Benedictine monastery as an extreme case, but as a test case for identifying the degree of spirituality in modern corporate practice.



## CHAPTER 4

### FORD: THE CORPORATE VIEW

In 2001 Ford Motor Company was the world's largest producer of trucks and the second largest producer of cars and trucks combined, annually selling approximately seven million vehicles globally through its seven brands, namely Aston Martin, Ford, Jaguar, Lincoln, Land Rover, Mercury and Volvo. Ford also owns a controlling stake in Mazda, employs approximately 345,000 people in plants, offices and laboratories throughout the world, and is one of the largest providers of financial services worldwide through Ford Credit and related businesses. The Ford family owns about forty percent of the firm's voting stock.

In 1999 the presiding chairman and CEO of Ford retired and a new management team consisting of William Clay Ford Junior as chairman and Jac Nasser (Nasser) as president and CEO assumed leadership. William Ford, known as Bill Ford is the great grandson of the company's founder, Henry Ford. Henry Ford was born near Dearborn in Michigan in 1863 and formed Ford Motor Company forty years later in 1903. It was Henry Ford's dream to build a rugged, simple car for the masses. That dream car, the Model T entered history in 1908 and became a symbol of low-cost, reliable transportation. Its first year's production reached 10,660 breaking all records for the industry and by the end of 1913, Ford Motor Company was producing half of all the automobiles in the United States.

Henry Ford was an eccentric philanthropist but not always a benevolent autocrat. He built schools and hospitals and gave the disabled a chance to work.<sup>91</sup> But he also was anti-Semitic, manipulated his managers (often ruthlessly), resisted trade union

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<sup>91</sup> Henry Ford's personality was full of apparent contradictions. In his memoirs, Sorensen described him through a series of paradoxes: "He was ruthless in getting his own way, yet he had a deep sense of public responsibility. He demanded efficient production, yet made place in his plant for the physically handicapped, reformed criminals, and human misfits in the American industrial system" (1957, 11). Ford's special interest in giving the disadvantaged a chance to work meant that no job-hunter was rejected or discharged for physical disability. In 1919, the company employed 9,563 persons with some kind of handicap. One had lost both hands, and four both legs or feet; four were totally blind; 123 had lost one hand or arm; 460 had only one eye; 37 were deaf and dumb; 60 were epileptics; and 1560 had hernias. Even men with mental illnesses were given safe jobs (Nevins and Hill 1954).

organization using worker spies, company police and violence, and created a sociological department staffed by fifty workers ostensibly to offer support but also to vet and pry into the private lives of employees.<sup>92</sup> Without doubt, Ford Motor Company has had a profound impact on the world and is proud of its 100-year heritage. In the words of its current chairman, Bill Ford:

No company has had a greater impact on the lives of people around the world in the 20th century than Ford Motor Company. Henry Ford, put the world on wheels with the moving assembly line, and the first affordable car for the masses, the Model T. He also made the world a better place for the average person, with \$5 a day wages when the prevailing wage was \$2, and pioneered efforts to preserve the environment and our cultural heritage.

Spirituality is not new at Ford. Although Henry Ford rarely discussed his personal religious beliefs<sup>93</sup> and was not a churchgoer, he did believe that meditation was at its heart, a universal need and for him, a unique source of personal renewal, help and satisfaction. In 1926, during a unique private audience with an Indian mystic he shared his thoughts. For him there was no dualism between the spiritual and matter, and spirituality was a vital untapped human quality:

I think the real power of human lives is hidden away in the soul... I know there are reservoirs of spiritual strength from which we human beings thoughtlessly cut ourselves off... I personally do not see any difference between matter and spirit; they are both one. I seldom say 'spirit,' because it seems to prejudice that expression of it which we call matter. Our progress in mastery and use of the material world need not interfere with our understanding and use of the spiritual. (Smith 1926, 1, 7)

Like his great grandfather, Bill Ford also has an interest in Eastern mysticism and is a Zen Buddhist.<sup>94</sup> As we will see, spirituality rarely recedes far, even from his public

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<sup>92</sup> Ford never believed in charity but instead believed in encouraging self-help. He rejected organised giving and preferred to deal with individuals rather than with masses (Nevins and Hill 1954, 1962). Reverend Marquis of the Detroit Episcopalian Cathedral, the second head of the sociological department called it the "soul" of Ford. For reviews of this controversial department see Meyer (1981), Nevins and Hill (1954; 1957), and Lacey (1986).

<sup>93</sup> Incredibly, there is a virtual absence of reference to Henry Ford's religious beliefs in Nevins and Hill's three-volume authoritative history (and indeed Ford's biographies). The exception is a footnote that refers to his belief in reincarnation, the fact he was baptised in the Episcopal Church, and his unorthodox "Christian" beliefs (1957).

<sup>94</sup> See Lyndon (2002) or Sherrill (2000).

face. For instance, when asked by *The New York Times Magazine* where he is steering the corporation, he answered somewhat abstractly:

I don't know if a company can have a soul, but I like to think it can. And if it can, then I'd like our soul to be an old soul - and everything that implies. I like to talk about things like values and soul. These things aren't transient. These are things you build forever. (Sherrill 2000)

Spirituality is not just restricted to Ford's chairmen. Rick Guthrie developed a training methodology designed to help Ford managers "tap into the power of each other's spirit" in order to gain deeper levels of understanding and commitment. Over eighteen years, his programme starting in 1981 trained 1,300 employees together with their managers. It aimed to create a new structure, "rooted in the spiritual values of faith, love and truth" so as to replace the autocratic behaviour style of management through control, with the participative behaviour of trust and involvement. An entire functional team would attend a learning experience together as a "family work unit" conducted in a "spirit filled" monastery called Duns Scotus located near Ford's world headquarters in Dearborn.<sup>95</sup> Later, at the end of the millennium Ford introduced a global change programme called "The Spirit of Ford", an initiative we will see more of later.

This chapter explores the policies, intentions and visions of Ford as illustrated through pronouncements by a wide range of its spokespersons and through its two most significant ones in particular. Its purpose is to identify and to illustrate how its future structure is envisaged, and how it compares with the same five components of our ideal type of spiritual organization. It maximises the relatively rare opportunity to see directly inside this iconic organization by being rich in verbatim evidence.<sup>96</sup> These corporate intentions will no doubt be very different from reality, as will become apparent not only later in chapter 5, but also at times through the candid confession of the same spokespersons. Nonetheless, what will become apparent is an overriding desire by Ford for a new paradigm or model for business organization, and how a change in management authority type is fundamental to this. Both Bill Ford and Nasser want to make Ford Motor Company a prototype for "New

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<sup>95</sup> See Guthrie (2000).

<sup>96</sup> See n.58.

Economy" industrial companies. Said simply by the former: "I would like Ford to lead the next industrial revolution".

Ford has four categories of employment: general salary role, hourly paid, management, and non-permanent, variously known as agency or contract staff. The management hierarchy has six leadership levels (LL) commencing with LL6 signifying supervision or technical specialist, through LL5 or the commencement of management in the formal sense, to ultimately corporate officers at LL1.

The principal source of data for this chapter was the pronouncements, public presentations and speeches, and policies available on Ford's corporate intranet, or communicated through its internal e-mail system. The focus is predominately at the global level of the corporation. This principal data source was supplemented by one-on-one discussions with four directors and other senior managers located in Europe and the USA. All data was coded and rigorously analysed using computer aided software, and because of the exploratory nature of this work, taken largely at face value. Its analysis is presented here using the five-part structure of the new ideal type.

## **4.1 Primacy of the person**

### *4.1.1 Diversity*

Ford is deeply concerned with creating a diverse employee base. It has a vision for employee "diversity" by aiming to provide a working environment that: a) promotes a culture that encourages every individual to contribute to the business's success; b) values the differences in employees' backgrounds and skills; and c) maximizes the benefits derived from a diverse workforce. Ford believes that diversity is a business issue to the extent that it has a long-term goal to establish a culture that is inclusive and that democratically represents the world. Diversity means "inclusivity" in every dimension, is linked to being an "employer of choice", and is justified against employee retention. Ford has appointed several directors with specific responsibility for achieving this vision, and managers will increasingly be evaluated and compensated by their performance in terms of diversity. Nasser explains:

One area in which you can expect to see accelerated change is the diversity of our employees. Our consumers are diverse, literally every race, gender, ethnicity, age, perspective in the world. Our employee population will mirror this global diversity, and our company and business will be better for it.... Our managers have annual objectives on diversity, and their compensation this year will be linked to their progress in meeting them.

This respect for the value of diversity is written into Ford's new corporate *Vision, Mission and Values* statement. The company formally lists valuing and respecting diversity amongst its core beliefs. Such diversity can be understood as consisting of two components: a) each employee is entitled to full human dignity; and b) each is regarded as a unique person. The two are clearly related.

### *Human dignity*

Human dignity refers to the intrinsic value and subjectivity of the human person. This concept is enshrined in recent policy whereby the individual employee is honoured and his or her unique talents recognised. According to the Ford of Britain *Dignity at Work* employee guide of 2002:

Dignity at Work means that as a Company we are committed to providing a healthy working environment where we all feel valued and respected so that we can make full use of our abilities, skills and experience and contribute fully to the success of the Company.

This concept of human dignity then becomes universally both a right and responsibility of all employees and is dependent upon the aforementioned culture of inclusion. Malcolm Thomas, Engineering Director, Dunton:

We all have the right to be treated with dignity and respect and I believe this to be the responsibility of everyone. I urge you to play your part in creating an inclusive working environment in which we all feel valued and able to make a full contribution to the company's success.

The changing business environment has fostered a view where the human person becomes foundational. The relationship between the person and the organization and its product has been reversed so that the individual now becomes the subject and not the object of both. Kathleen Ligocki, President and Chief Executive Officer of Ford of Mexico:



Traditionally, people attracted to the business have been expected to adapt to the business. Just like we expected our consumers to adapt to the cars and trucks we designed. In the last 10 years, life has changed. Consumers and employees have so many choices and now, as an industry, not just Ford, we need to adapt to consumers and employees. It's a different business model.

Ford believes that customers increasingly want their purchases to reflect their unique personality. Consequently products ideally are adapted to the individual person. Bob Rewey, Group Vice-President, Marketing, Sales and Service, Ford Motor Company:

Customers - particularly younger buyers - are more interested in personalizing their cars and trucks than ever before. Mass customization is one way customers can get their vehicle individualized - delivered just the way they want it - straight from the factory.

Mass customisation and attention to the needs of the individual represents a fundamental change from commodification and standardisation, and the reification of the consumer as understood by Marx. Nasser:

In the 20th century, the automotive business has been a mass production industry. The global economy and advanced information age technology are changing that very quickly. A fundamental change is shifting the focus from mass production to individual consumers.

More generally, the human person becomes the subject of decision-making. For instance the methodologies and processes deployed to facilitate rational decision-making are better and more frequently characterised by *substantive* rationality in aiming to take value positions in meeting human goals and needs as ultimate ends. This fundamental point cannot be overemphasised and must be borne in mind during the many subsequent references to the "consumer-focused organization", the organizational form that aims to serve its customers. By way of example, *Six Sigma* is a methodological tool designed to improve the satisfaction of customers with Ford's products. Nasser explains:

Six Sigma builds on our use of existing tools to identify and analyze the deep-rooted business and manufacturing problems that inhibit customer satisfaction. It is a very powerful tool designed to significantly improve customer satisfaction.

### *Uniqueness and personality*

Ford's policy on diversity includes the following differences as contributing to a person's unique individuality: age, beliefs, culture, disability, education, ethnicity, experience, gender, nationality, opinions, race, religion, and sexual orientation. Ford's long-term goal is to develop a culture that recognises the intrinsic value, uniqueness and individuality of every person, anywhere within the Ford corporate world. In 1998, Nasser told all employees:

As I have said before, our diversity - the powerful combination of our nationalities, our genders, our geographic locations, our accents and our beliefs - is a great competitive strength. What we must learn is how to fully appreciate and use this strength to our strategic advantage. My hope is that one day, in every Ford office, plant, laboratory and test track, there will be an acknowledgment that each person is unique, and therefore special. If we can do that, we can create an atmosphere that brings out the best in all of us.

But valuing the uniqueness of every person extends beyond merely tolerance to embracing positively the different personal attributes and viewpoints of everybody.

Nasser:

We must embrace diversity. Tolerance is the minimum requirement, but it's not enough. We need to value the unique qualities of every member of our extended family and the added perspective each member gives us.

Later, in 2000 Nasser explained, to a large gathering of Ford employees in the UK, how recognising and valuing each person as unique is related to a culture of inclusion, authenticity and dialogue, where each and every individual is seen to have a unique personality and viewpoint. The uniqueness of the individual is inexorably linked to genuineness and antithetical with conformity. In short, personality is endorsed and celebrated - solidarity is organic. It is worth quoting Nasser at length:

You've got to be careful about how you talk about diversity because there's a danger you disenfranchise a lot of people when you talk about diversity as a specific gender or a specific race - it isn't about that. It is about inclusion. It's about everyone feeling they've got the opportunity to progress, no matter what their views are. Therefore, it includes all of the things you talked about and many more. For example, we've got to have a culture in the company where anyone can stand up and say I disagree with you on these items. That's diversity - to have a different viewpoint. Yes, it's also about religion

and gender and colour and nationality and all of those things. It's about everything. It's about the way we feel. It's about valuing our differences, and that doesn't mean I want to be different, just to be different. You want to be different because that's what you are, and every single person in this room is important and every single person in this room adds tremendous value to the Ford Motor Company and to your own team. But I tell you what! You'll add much more value if you are who you are.

Ford has a policy of zero tolerance against discrimination and treats unfair discriminatory conduct as a disciplinary offence. Any type of discrimination, whether social or cultural, whether based on gender, race, colour or religion is never accepted. Ford desires equality of opportunity as a way of life. Moreover, Ford believes it has a prophetic role in facilitating culture change in wider society by promoting its beliefs on tolerance and diversity beyond the boundaries of the corporation. Ian McAllister, Chairman and Managing Director, Ford Motor Company Limited:

Ford has been supporting gay, lesbian and transgender events and charities for many years, and this year, Ford will be a main sponsor of the London Mardi Gras. We believe at Ford in helping to foster a global society that is more open and tolerant, and one that values diversity. Our presence at the Mardi Gras underlines that philosophy.

Diversity is also manifested as acts of individual recognition. Although money remains the primary means of extrinsic reward, a move to "cafeteria benefits" is being investigated that would offer flexibility and individualisation such as through cars, vacation or time-off. For managers though, current structures are designed to link their pecuniary compensation against their specific contribution as individuals and not simply against their employment grade, a point that we will return to later.

#### *4.1.2 Autonomy*

Autonomy concerns self-governance, freedom and self-responsibility. There is the desire to increase personal autonomy, flexibility and discretion in deciding the organization of work. Nasser:

We need to increase sensitivity throughout the organization to new ways of working - to de-emphasize the culture that says 'don't leave until the boss leaves,' to help us all make more strategic choices about allocation of time and energy, to better utilize technology and create

more effective work processes and to generate more flexibility in the pursuit of our stretch goals.

There is the desire for devolved decision-making responsibility and authority, or the "empowerment" of all employees. For Nasser, empowerment has implications on the development of employees. Teaching and learning are integrated with leadership as an intrinsic part of corporate life:

At Ford we are working tirelessly to create a diverse, empowered workforce where every employee is a teacher, a learner, and a leader. We know that the people closest to the customer have to make the decisions, and make them fast. We want those employees to have the knowledge, experience, and authority to make those decisions.

For Nasser successful and productive employees of the future will be well-trained, inspired, fulfilled and personally autonomous - in essence professionals:

I know that well-trained, highly satisfied employees with a strong sense of mission will be the winners in the global marketplace. I know that we are all struggling to meet the many conflicting demands in our busy lives. I know that we all work better when we have more control over how we achieve our results.

Entrepreneurial activity is encouraged. A programme called *Business Leadership Initiative* encouraged employees to behave as if they really were owners of the business by learning and teaching business acumen, and ways to become more entrepreneurial in their thinking. Nasser wanted all employees to be "wonderful entrepreneurs" and to behave with a "CEO Mindset". Nasser: "We wanted people that embodied entrepreneurship and nimbleness and who want to grow the business through total innovation. Leaders who act like owners."

The freedom to conduct entrepreneurial initiative and take risk, and even fail, is sanctioned. Nasser: "These days, the right mind-set is an experimental mind-set: Try, fail, learn, try again." Indeed, Nasser virtually proclaims Ford as a global community of entrepreneurs. The word entrepreneur is synonymous with employee and a long way from the bureaucrat: "First and foremost, we are truly global. We span 200 countries and territories on six continents. We are a diverse workforce of over 370,000 entrepreneurs."

Autonomy means the individual has co-responsibility for problem resolution. For example, Surinder Sharma, Director, Diversity, Ford of Europe:

What we're hoping to do this year is launch some really groundbreaking initiatives... We can't solve all of the issues that are possibly there for all our employees. I think our employees share that responsibility in terms of resolving the issues themselves.

Extensive and readily accessible intranet-based resources are provided. For instance, the human resources function created a "virtual self-service hub" for employees to take responsibility for managing their own transactions. Self-responsibility, or accountability, is personal, located with the individual and cannot be displaced to another. Nick Scheele as Chairman, Ford of Europe:

For this deployment of objectives to work, it is imperative that each and every employee must understand his or her role in turning the business around. Knowing and being accountable for our own actions is a key in delivering a quick turnaround.

#### *4.1.3 Personal growth*

The development of every person and of the whole person takes high priority. Ford prides itself on its commitment to continuous development, and Nasser personally commits himself to the development of the full potential of all employees:

My commitment is for Ford employees to be able to develop their potential to the fullest. I have a profound faith in the intellectual capacity of everyone on the Ford team. I am determined to help build it, and to unleash its full power.

Nasser's sentiments are reflected in the desire to create an inclusive culture conducive to continuous professional and personal growths. Joe Laymon, Vice President, Corporate Human Resources: "We are diligently working to create an inclusive environment where differences are understood and appreciated and where all individuals are encouraged to maximize their professional and personal growth." Employees are encouraged to learn continuously through a variety of educational programmes such as degree sponsorship and by pioneering initiatives such as

EDAP.<sup>97</sup> Employees typically integrate ongoing formal education with their full-time jobs and family commitments through some measure of day release. Their successes are celebrated and acknowledged as role models. Nasser:

Richard Parry-Jones... hosted a luncheon Friday to honor 179 Dearborn-based Product Development employees who completed university degrees last year while handling full-time job responsibilities, and in many cases, family obligations as well. This outstanding group includes three new Ph.D.s, 25 new bachelor's degrees and 151 new master's degrees - five of whom earned double master's degrees. They're the embodiment of continuous learning, leaders by example and the kind of people who are helping us become the world's leading automotive company.

Training extends way beyond simply technical knowledge to broader personal development and relationship skills. For instance, courses are offered on "Assertiveness & Conflict Management". Nonetheless, development is primarily the individual's responsibility, a vital part of which is the ability to work in diverse environments, and employees are encouraged to be proactive in managing their careers. Nasser reviews his recommendations on career development that he presented to 700 Ford graduates:

My presentation focused on the need to combine strong technical skills with profound business acumen, the need for cross-functional experience, the developmental power of international assignments, the importance of taking responsibility for one's own development and the crucial ability to work effectively in diverse teams.

### *Mentoring and coaching*

Although mentoring and coaching programmes have existed within Ford for some time, the company has recently intensified its work to help coordinate programmes, develop consistent policies and procedures, and share best practices. The role of mentoring is now a strategic concern. Mentoring is seen as a process for assisting mutual personal and professional growth between two people. It is based on dialogue. Madeline Sulaiman-Eason, Director, Diversity, Work-Life and Personnel Relations:

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<sup>97</sup> The Employee Development and Assistance Programme, an industrial relations change model and continuing education initiative. See Mortimer (1990; 1991).

Mentoring is a two-way learning process through which a mentor assists a mentee in achieving professional growth. The process provides an opportunity to gain insight and perspective, builds leadership skills and serves as a communication channel for open and honest feedback in a confidential environment... Mentoring is another tool to facilitate personal development - for both employees and managers.

Mentoring also has a vital role in admission and formation of new recruits. It involves personal commitment. John Koszewnik, Ford College Graduate (FCG) Advisory Committee Chairman:

Mentoring is a very important part of the FCG program. The strength of the relationship between an FCG and his or her mentor can make all the difference in the development of an enriching career path within Ford Motor Company. In order to develop a strong supportive bond, a mentor makes a conscious commitment to be there regularly for the mentee.

Coaching for ongoing development applies to everyone. Ed Sketch, Director of Education, Training and Development of the Fairlane Training and Development Center in the USA: "Everyone needs and deserves coaching as a means of developing their contributions and providing ways to improve performance on a continuous basis." Indeed, in 2001 alone, some 1,400 Ford managers participated in coaching at Ed's centre. Coaching has become an integral and continuous responsibility of management: "Under the revised Performance Management Process, managers and supervisors are expected to provide their direct reports coaching in the form of continuous feedback." More so, an intention of this management process "is the evolution to a culture of coaching". This process is not limited to just two people. Others can support improvement as an external source of insights. A process called 360-degree feedback, discussed later in more detail, is deployed that offers a sense of mutual responsibility and commitment to the development of others. Nasser explains:

I recently completed coaching and counseling sessions with each of my team on its 360° Feedback. 360° is a new process for Ford providing individual feedback, on an anonymous basis, from our bosses, peers and direct reports on our performance against the 12 Ford behaviors.

### *Individual well-being*

Ford promotes individual well-being to the extent that the safety and well-being of employees is ultimately entrusted to the most senior level management. Nasser:

I have made a strong, personal commitment to do whatever I can to ensure the safety of our employees. I hope this commitment is shared by all our employees, both for their own safety and that of their co-workers. Our most valuable asset is our people. Nothing is more important than their safety and well-being. Our co-workers and families rely on this commitment. There can be no compromise.

Every year a survey called Pulse, also discussed later in more detail, is administered to measure the degrees of employee satisfaction or morale at corporate and individual workgroup levels and to identify actions to improve work environments. All permanent employees are encouraged to participate in this survey and in the generation of subsequent improvement plans.<sup>98</sup> Harry Jones, Director, Workforce, Diversity and External Relations:

It's more important than ever for employees to take the Pulse survey. We're facing difficult issues of customer satisfaction and quality concerns, industry competition, as well as work-life integration. This survey is a tool to help us understand and find ways to improve our work place.

In short, Ford strongly desires to create an inclusive culture concerned with employee well-being, to recognise the uniqueness and primacy both of customers and employees, and for the latter to work as self-governing and continuously developing professionals who participate in shaping the workplace.

## **4.2 Network of interdependent families**

### *4.2.1 A corporate family*

Ford's formal mission statement makes its family nature explicit. It starts: "We are a global family with a proud heritage..." Bill Ford consistently and frequently refers to the corporation as a vast extended family with a historically continuous and shared

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<sup>98</sup> In 1990 Ford identified the need for better data showing employee concerns. Subsequently, in 1996 the Pulse survey was administered globally to 70,000 Ford employees in fourteen languages and generated 7,500 separate manager reports.



identity. He is proud that Ford today stands unique and critically independent of corporate mores, a point we will see again later:

Over the years, we also established another important legacy – the family involvement, and the feeling of being an extended family, that has separated us from other companies. We're not just another nameless, faceless corporation. Third and fourth generations of our employees say they work at 'Ford's' and consider us a part of their family... and my family feels the same way about them.

There is a desire to show employees how they relate to the whole organization and how their work connects with and contributes to this extended family. Individual achievements are celebrated and skills shared. Bill Ford:

Employees need to know where they fit in the 'big picture' and how their efforts are contributing to our overall success as a company. We need to celebrate their success stories, share best practices from around the world, and keep everyone up to speed with what the rest of our extended family is up to.

Like the family, it provides a sense of belonging and heritage. Nasser:

We have a history that is nearly as long as the 20th Century. During that time, we have contributed to some of the greatest achievements of the industry and developed a culture that reflects the tremendous sense of belonging that comes from identity with a family.

Bill Ford has an all-embracing definition of family fellowship that depends upon collaborative, inclusive and lasting relationships:

What we are outlining today is a comprehensive plan that builds for the future. It's going to take everyone in the extended Ford family - employees, suppliers and dealers - working together, over time, to make it work.

Bill Ford, as head of the Ford family, describes the quasi-kin relationship and the deeply personal concern he has for employees. His concern spontaneously arose during an unexpected and fatal industrial tragedy:

I visited the site that day and said that it was the worst day of my life. It was - until I attended the funerals and visited the burn victims in the hospitals... another thing I said on that tragic day was that I was raised to believe that every Ford employee was like an extended member of my family.

Bill Ford talks about the need for family solidarity concerning the same tragedy and for employees to provide assistance as one natural family member might offer another. He encourages personal and charitable contact and, like Nasser, not infrequently legitimises familial solidarity through prayer:

The best thing that our employees can do, as I said, is that if they know some of the families - to volunteer to help and otherwise just have them in their prayers because I think that will do a lot of good.

Similarly, on several occasions Nasser conveyed his personal and intimate sympathy to the victims, and their families and friends, of fatal industrial accidents. For Nasser every employee serves as an ambassador representing the extended Ford family, both within and outside of work. Nasser:

All of us are getting questions from friends, neighbors, family members and social acquaintances about the tire recall, the Explorer and Ford Motor Company. For them, each of us 'is' Ford Motor Company.

#### *Trustmark as spiritual-communion*

This extended family can be conceived as a vast decentralised and unified global network, our spiritual-communion, made up of various distinct yet mutually interdependent and complementary spiritual-families. Ford Motor Company signifies this overall spiritual-communion and symbolises a set of globally universal values and a shared identity. Nasser:

Our corporate identity - Ford Motor Company - is the umbrella for all of our brands. As such, it must stand for the highest ideals and universally shared values of people around the world.

Each brand is seen as its own family, our spiritual-family, within an overall clan system of Ford Motor Company, our spiritual-communion. Jim Schroer, Vice-President, Global Marketing:

Ford Division (the blue oval) is a family in and of itself. Volvo is a family. Jaguar is a family. So are Mazda, Mercury and Lincoln. Each is a unique brand. But each of these brands benefits by being part of the larger parent company - Ford Motor Company. Ford Motor Company is the symbol of trust behind each of our brands.

These brands, or local spiritual-families, are both autonomous and dependent on their relationship to the spiritual-communion. They exist within the unity of this greater universal value system. A shared "spirit" or trustmark both represents and unites them. Nasser: "The company brand - or 'trustmark' as we call it, is more than a brand; it is a spirit... and it will truly reflect the 'spirit of Ford'." Unity and diversity are equally fundamental. This trustmark symbolises the communion of families, and the sharing of universal values such as social mission, knowledge, and resources. Jim Schroer:

The Trustmark represents the shared technologies and resources that each vehicle and service brand benefits from by being a member of the Ford Motor Company family. In turn, Ford Motor Company benefits from having each of our brands in the family. The Trustmark is our corporate signature and reflects the foundation of trust that supports all of our brands, products, services and actions. It represents the values that are shared by all of our vehicles and service brands, such as a commitment to leadership in safety and security, quality, corporate citizenship and minimizing our impact on the environment.

Diverse parts of this corporate network have access to the whole and cooperate to enrich each other. They share knowledge and resources without the direct mediation of the market. Nasser advocates the cooperation between Jaguar and the Ford plant in Madras<sup>99</sup> as an exemplary model for the sharing of personnel and knowledge from an advanced to a developing facility located at the far side of the world:

Glenn Barnes (global paint engineering) wrote to me about a training experience that involved sharing best practices between Jaguar and our plant in Madras that will build a version of the Fiesta. Four engineers and three technicians spent 18 months at Jaguar's paint shop studying Jaguar's paint systems and quality methods, which Glenn praises as the best in the world. This knowledge has been taken back to India and is in the process of being applied to the new Fiesta. Glenn is highly complimentary of the cooperation Jaguar extended to him. This is just the sort of 'cross fertilization' we have been striving for and that would have been unthinkable only a few years ago.

Inter-cooperation means sharing knowledge, technology and facilities synergistically through reciprocal partnerships. Nasser:

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<sup>99</sup> Chennai.

The Mazda Tribute and Ford Escape are great examples of the strength we gain when our brands work together. The Mazda and Ford teams have reached a new level of partnership, sharing expertise and technology, and expanding production at each other's plants.

Nasser explains how this structure will better "serve the consumer" through local responsiveness, combined with access to shared knowledge, and benefit from economies of scale in a way analogous to the notion of subsidiarity we saw advocated by the Catholic Church in chapter 1:

This new consumer-focused alignment will allow us to preserve the strength of our global scale and collective knowledge, while creating smaller, more nimble business units... It also will drive operating responsibility further down into our organization.

Jim O'Connor, general manager of Lincoln-Mercury, sees it will combine the benefits of a small self-governing organization with the support from a more extensive communion: "Operating as a small company within a very, very large company. We will have more autonomy, more authority, and more empowerment." Although each spiritual-family has its own distinct culture and contributes its distinctive specialist competency to the communion, many common practices are developed and freely shared throughout the network by Global Excellence Centres (GECS) such as Global Product Development, Global Manufacturing, Global Purchasing, and Global Marketing. These are responsible for developing expertise and driving best practices across the organization. In short, there is local autonomy within a greater commonality. David Murphy, Vice President, Human Resources:

You get the best of both worlds. You have the local focus (CBGS),<sup>100</sup> and you have what is happening around the globe (GECS) - what we can bring that's best practice added value.

#### *Broader networks of intercommunion*

The concept of communion can extend beyond simply Ford and retain its same fundamental characteristics. Ford in turn is a member of a similar but broader network that extends beyond itself to include a range of stakeholders. Nasser believes that "networks determine the shape of business". He expresses the desire for networks with suppliers to be based on collaborative, long-term and informal

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<sup>100</sup> Consumer Business Group.

relationships that rely on mechanisms of mutual advantage and where resources, risks and rewards are shared.<sup>101</sup> Nasser:

I suggested that we needed to do things differently and challenged the suppliers to go beyond polite partnerships to develop new, strategic alliances that would allow us to share risks, rewards, technologies, facilities and growth in the global marketplace and avoid being bound by our traditional business equation or structure.

Social distances can be minimised to the extent that Ford is subordinated to suppliers through relationships characterised by dialogue, collaboration and sharing with the aim of mutual success. Nasser:

The next day's ISAC<sup>102</sup> meeting was very productive, with suppliers taking the lead in presenting to Ford their views on how we can work even more closely with our supplier partners to improve customer satisfaction as well as Ford and supplier results. This forum is especially valuable because it is a true exchange of information - a dialogue with our supplier partners that enhances understanding of our shared challenges and strengthens our relationships to the ultimate customer.

More so, there is a desire for solidarity and reciprocity beyond suppliers to dealers and unions. Nasser makes a case that relationships with these groups should be collaborative and integrated as opposed to competitive and divisive. Ford is interdependent with them, and consequently its own future is dependent upon their integration and independent success. In short, success must be mutually enriching and reciprocal. It is worth quoting Nasser at length:

I believe we are only hurting ourselves when we think, speak, or act as if our partners are outsiders. It is vitally important, especially in difficult business conditions, that we respect and strengthen these organizations rather than use them as convenient places to lay blame. There are many instances of our dealers, suppliers, unions and other

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<sup>101</sup> Others say the same. For Castells a network-based structure is the future for a business environment requiring innovation, globalization, and decentralised specialisation. In the network, autonomy is constrained by reciprocity: "Networks are the fundamental stuff of which new organizations are and will be made... The components of the network are both autonomous and dependent on their relationship to the network" (1996b, 168, 171). For Miles and Snow, the dynamic network is a responsive organizational form within which business functions are performed by independent organizations. Individual network components pursue their unique specialised competence, and share information extensively and openly (1986). For Thorelli, networks require a holistic and often "person-specific rather than firm-specific" approach by management (1986).

<sup>102</sup> The International Supplier Advisory Council: The council includes officers and CEOs of thirteen of Ford's principal suppliers. It meets to address major strategic issues facing the business, to share perspectives and to identify opportunities for continuous improvement.

partners helping us get through tough times or deal with particularly tricky issues. The bottom line is that for Ford Motor Company to succeed, our dealers must succeed. Our unions must be strong. Our suppliers must be profitable. For example, a strong Ford Motor Company requires a strong Visteon Corporation and vice versa. It is not 'us' versus 'them.' If we are to meet the many challenges that we have laid down for ourselves, we will do it only with the help of strong, fully integrated partners. This gets down to our core values and the way we behave every day. I ask that each of you take some time to reconsider the attitudes you hold toward these so-called 'outside' groups and make a concerted effort to recognize their role in our success and help strengthen them as they help strengthen us.

In short, the world of Ford can be conceived as a vast extended communion consisting of both internal and external networks, the latter embracing suppliers, dealers and in instances even "competitors".

#### *4.2.2 Shared values*

Shared values are the fundamental integrating force within the communion and are foundational by informing both corporate and individual and behaviours and identities. Corporate values are grounded in those of the customer base. The consumer has a major influence on shaping corporate behaviour and values. Nasser: "It is the customer who should drive everything that we do. Everything that we do and the values that we cultivate should drive the vision of leading in customer satisfaction."

Ford's mission statement contains the section below that explicitly refers to its values. These values underpin the discussions in the preceding section about personal growth and development, and subsequently the sections on integrity and social mission we will discuss later:

**Our Values:** Our business is driven by our customer focus, creativity, resourcefulness and entrepreneurial spirit. We are a great team. We value diversity and respect everyone's contribution. We are leaders in environmental responsibility. Our integrity is never compromised and we make a positive contribution to society. We constantly strive to improve in everything we do. Guided by these values, we provide superior returns to our shareholders.

Indeed, since Ford developed its original statement on mission and values in 1984,<sup>103</sup> many of its proclaimed values have been remarkably stable such as a culture of continuous improvement, teamwork, and a commitment to morality, integrity and customer focus. Themes that have developed particularly have been a pride and reintegration of Fords heritage, a desire to produce products that improve lives, and greater responsibilities towards society and the environment. Today there is a particular desire for values to inform behaviour universally and consistently, both inside and outside the organization and to develop a culture of trust. Values then become the foundation for daily social interaction. Surinder Sharma: "We must translate our values into practice and make them living for the people inside the company, our customers and the communities and suppliers we deal with on a daily basis."

Individual brands must represent the unique personality of each spiritual-family and be grounded in its values. Production becomes combined with consumption so that customers collaborate in the creation of these values they ultimately "consume".  
Nasser:

Brands must be a reflection of the culture and character of their company. They must have clearly defined values so that when a company communicates with its customers, it's a dialog and not a sales pitch. Customers become partners that help build the brand.

Values are locally and individually expressed in the cultural context of each spiritual-family and symbolise its defining feature, character or brand. Values may be universal but not uniform. Peter Butterfield, Regional Vice President, Volvo's Northern region provides an example:

Volvo is a powerful brand and it's anchored in a set of core values that you consistently will hear about when you talk to people about Volvo... it's safety, durability, environmental sensitivity and quality.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> For a review see Pascale (1990)

<sup>104</sup> Volvo is also renowned for its pioneering innovations in humanising work environments. The ideal type of spiritual-family adequately describes many of its philosophies. See Gyllenhammar (1977).

At critical moments, the foundational role of shared values becomes evident, anchors behaviour and provides solidarity. There is the refusal to compromise values. Bill Ford:

This is a defining moment for Ford Motor Company. What we do now and in the next few years will set our course for the next century. I am confident that by staying true to our values and working together, we can not only weather our current difficulties, but take this great company to new heights.

Values must be based on service, linked to a human benefit, and provide the basis for decision-making. Values can become the foundation for corporate growth and are lived more than proclaimed. Nasser:

Since our inception, the way we do business has revolved around our values - the principles, beliefs and standards which guide our decisions and actions. All our values are important, but three in particular focus on how we treat our customers... And, our customer service levels continue to be strong even during rapid growth because by living our values, we continuously renew our customer service culture.

#### 4.2.3 *Family life*

We have already seen that Ford desires an inclusive culture where everyone believes they can contribute fully. Inclusiveness can be expressed in solidarity and greater equality. For instance, during uncertain times there is greater need for community solidarity and sensitivity towards others. Joe Laymon:

I know it is difficult to manage through this time of uncertainty. During this period, we need to support each other in our own departments. Recognize that each and every individual is a member of the Ford community.

Responsibility for critical problems becomes shared beyond senior management or even a specific spiritual-family to the wider corporate communion. All are affected and all are requested to help and contribute towards solutions. Solidarity and commonality are emphasised. Don Winkler, Chairman and CEO of Ford Credit: "This Firestone issue is not Jac's problem or manufacturing's problem; we're all in this together. It's an issue that all of us need to find ways to help." Employees need to become accountable to one another so that responsibility and accountability become



reciprocated. Don provides an example that again incidentally, is linked back to values:

Supervisors and employees have to be accountable to one another. How can a supervisor demonstrate that accountability to his or her direct report? We believe - and I think I speak for everyone on Jac Nasser's senior leadership team - that accountability and responsibility work hand-in-hand. They are based on your values.

There is a desire to create greater equality of the remuneration policies and treatment and reduce the divisions between categories of staff. For example, in Britain the company's final offer ensured that both salaried and hourly employees receive exactly the same general pay increases and pension benefit improvements:

A key feature of the negotiations last year is the commonisation of the basic working week for all employees. Again, salaried and hourly employees working same basic hours will be treated in a similar fashion. A further element of both the hourly and salaried negotiations was a merger of the salary and hourly pension funds.

Nonetheless management, for a period, were remunerated very differently. They were rated for their *relative* performance and so, instead of measuring performance against a set of objectives, the manager is measured against peers with similar jobs. The policy required superiors to rank subordinates from best to worst. Robert Mull, Director of Product Analysis and Verification and champion for the Performance Management Process:<sup>105</sup>

I think there has been some confusion about performance, with people thinking that there is some absolute level of performance that they need to achieve, and then everything will be ok. That's not the case. The rankings are based on relative performance. That means people need to remember that their peer group isn't sitting still - everyone else is working to improve their performance, too.

### *Admission*

In most instances, initial application for permanent employment at Ford is made through the corporate website. Ford's recruitment process emphasises speed, responsiveness, and selling the uniqueness of working at Ford to the applicant.

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<sup>105</sup> This policy became widely deplored by staff and was claimed to promote competitive and destructive behaviour, and even discrimination. Eventually, after employees filed lawsuits against the Company, it was greatly modified. See Garsten (2001), Reuters Detroit (2001b) and Truby (2001a, 2001b).

Ultimately, decisions are generally made by team consensus and depend largely on the applicant's behaviour as witnessed throughout the duration of a semi-artificial assessment procedure. The process is largely impersonal. Corporate behaviours, a topic we will return to later, are integrated in recruitment as they later serve as a foundation for career progression. Behaviour is more important than specific skill:

It is important that the behaviors that we are looking for when we hire someone into Ford are those same behaviors that their performance will be measured against while they are progressing in their career. The leadership behaviors are truly integrated throughout the selection process.

In Europe, for example, applicants for graduate-trainee positions participate in a two-day final assessment process consisting of an introduction to Ford, a series of exercises, such as working on business cases and job simulations, followed by an interview. Candidates will know if they have been selected within five days. David Samuels, Recruitment Manager for Ford of Europe:

We are operating in a very competitive recruitment market, and it's becoming more competitive. There are key skill shortages across the spectrum of the skills that we recruit for. In fact, in the external market, it is known as the 'war for talent.' in order to compete in this war for talent, in order to be successful, we have to become the employer of choice; we have to differentiate ourselves from our competitors. We are aiming to provide our customers with a much faster, more efficient way of applying to Ford. In fact, we are aiming to reduce the time it takes to fill a typical graduate position from six months to six weeks.

Other, more personal means are employed for recruitment such as by asking existing employees directly for personal referrals:

Ford urgently requires self-motivated young people for their Advanced Modern Apprenticeship Scheme in Engineering. Do you, or someone you know, have a son or daughter who is still undecided on a career path?

Similarly, a key objective of the Ford Interfaith Network, discussed later, is to assist with recruiting efforts by offering a process that is highly personal and based on shared values and individual contact. In parallel Ford also uses special events and greater levels of personal contact and exposure in recruiting high potential employees from élite universities. Nasser: "This is one in a series of appearances that members

of senior management will be making on leading university campuses to help improve recruiting and attract top talent." On another unique occasion Ford brought 300 of the top graduate students from leading universities around the world to Dearborn for two days, and to hear Bill Ford personally talk about the company's vision for the future. Executives helped students build personal relationships by entertaining them to dinner in their own homes. In general, although the emphasis of recruitment is on speed, more personal approaches are deployed specially for élites.

*Belonging, participation and model behaviour*

Corporate celebrations are popular at both corporate and local levels, the most notable being Ford's 100th anniversary in 2003. Periodically a substantial proportion of a particular group will gather to celebrate a specific event. Both current and retired employees with their families are usually included. Nasser:

On Saturday, Jim Hill and his team at the Atlanta Assembly Plant celebrated the plant's 50th anniversary with more than 7,000 present and retired employees and their families, many former plant managers, government officials, and country music superstar Alan Jackson.

Individuals are also formally celebrated for their long-term service, or recognised for their exemplary contributions such as in technical innovation or quality improvement.

Nasser encourages employee participation. He routinely invites all employees throughout the world personally to be involved and to participate in the formulation of future business strategies by sending him specific ideas for improving Ford's performance:

I would appreciate your feedback on this new consumer-focused organization. What you like about it, what concerns you, how we can make it deliver the greatest value for consumers and shareholders, what you personally will do to help make it a success. We want your specific suggestions and ideas. We'll include them as part of the ongoing communications we'll have on this new way of doing business.

At times the response can be considerable. On one occasion an overwhelming 12,000 ideas for improving customer satisfaction were received from all areas of the company. Indeed, the direct and ongoing participation to Ford's future plans by

individuals throughout the Ford communion is an indication of conscientiousness and is encouraged. Open participation seems to be a responsibility, not a right. Nasser:

In closing, one of the many benefits of 'Let's Chat' in is the unfiltered exchange of ideas that we share each week. It's gratifying to receive hundreds of e-mails from conscientious team members from around the world and know that we are developing leaders at all levels of our business... Keep it up!

During a product recall crisis, employees were solicited for their views on how management were handling the issue. The Ford Communication Network (FCN) ran a survey and found seventy-two percent of the respondents were satisfied, the remaining twenty-seven percent was not. Employees were encouraged to evaluate management.

Ford advances role model employees that embody extreme expressions of desired corporate values and norms. Role models can be nominated by any member of staff, and can be drawn from anywhere within the Ford world. Role models are promoted for a variety of causes such as parenting, voluntary work and loyalty of service.

All this week, FCN online will spotlight the 15 selected individuals who help create more inclusive, flexible and respectful working environments - those that best exemplify Ford Motor Company's diversity and work-life values.

Employees are encouraged to pattern their own actions against the demonstrated behaviour of these models. We will see further examples of role models later.

*Service, close personal relationships and loyalty*

Nasser wants Ford to be designed for service. Due to the Internet and the instantaneous flow of information, the customer is seen to be totally in command and determines the future of the corporation. "Serving the needs of the customer" then becomes the basis of corporate transformation, and employees are urged to consider the business from the customer's perspective. A culture of service can be likened to a responsive and continuous democracy. Customers "elect" to support the corporation through their purchases. The concept of election extends beyond leadership to the very foundation of the corporation. Nasser: "Our customers don't vote every few years – they vote every few seconds with their hard-earned money. So we better

listen with a great degree of intensity." This notion of consumer focus means a complete alteration in organizational conception so that the need of customers becomes central. Nick Scheele as Chairman, Ford of Europe:

I think if we can't become a consumer company, we don't deserve to survive. We've been focused inwardly for many, many years. We've got to continue this change to recognise that nobody owes us a job, nobody has to buy a Ford product. We've got to make people want to buy a Ford product. And then that is our future security, because the only people who bring anything to us are customers. They bring money when they buy a car. If we don't service them and recognise that they are the rulers, we are making a big, big mistake.

Ford desires to build deeper, long-lasting and personal relationships with customers. Relationships with customers transform from impersonal and ephemeral interaction to an enduring relationship based on the needs of the other. Nasser:

It's about connecting with consumers. It's not about one transaction - I sell you a car or I sell you a motor scooter. It's 'I want to have a lifetime relationship with you around your mobility needs - you and your family.'

There is a desire for relationships with customers to be not only lasting but also direct, and to enjoy high degrees of intimacy and self-disclosure. Richard Parry-Jones, Group Vice President of Product Development and Quality: "Engineers have to go and live with their customers, to understand their underlying needs, their aspirations, their lifestyles, their dreams." A variety of programmes are developed to enable considerable number of employees to experience this immediacy. Ford's commitment is noteworthy. Nasser:

To transform our company, we're requiring our employees to interact directly with consumers... For example, our consumer immersion experience sends our people into the field to meet specific consumer groups - women, Hispanics, youths - in their own environments. Whether the meeting is at a mall, dance club, restaurant or soccer field, the emphasis is on the lifestyle and the values of the group we're visiting... our Consumer Insight Center offers a close encounter of a different kind. Here a variety of customers bring their vehicles in and discuss them face-to-face with Ford employees. The emphasis is on the individual's interaction with his or her vehicle. Since early 1999, nearly 25,000 Ford employees have had this up-close, personal and often emotional experience.

The boundaries between Ford and consumer merge so that the two relate directly and reciprocally.<sup>106</sup> Consumers become empowered to access and engage Ford engineers directly and personally by interactive dialogue. Nasser:

A good example of this is the announcement we made on Sunday with Yahoo! (where customers will soon be able to chat online with Ford engineers...) The primary focus of this venture is to provide a way for our customers to manage their relationship with Ford.

Ford's emphasis on deepening its relationships with customers is a long way from the dispassionate bureaucrat. Nasser: "Our whole connection with consumers is about connecting in an emotional and a committed and a passionate way." Ford aims to satisfy ever-deepening needs of its consumers, to understand what activates their emotional motivational core, and to create affective connections between products and customers. Apparently customers want to love their vehicles, not just accept them for their excellent rational attributes like driving dynamics or reliability. Emotional appeal is crucial. Nasser: "To be successful, companies will... need a new level of understanding of the consumer. One that acknowledges and includes the rational and the emotional."

Strong brands are understood to provide an emotional connection with the consumer and make them feel that they are buying into an experience and not simply a product. There is an emphasis on fulfilling consumers' inner, or higher needs.<sup>107</sup> The emotional connection with consumers aims to satisfy more than rational desires by reinforcing their self-identity. Nasser:

The consumer headset means our products and services must touch the consumer on an emotional level... The emotional level is harder to pin down. It's more than styling or a feeling of exclusivity. It's about what the consumer personally aspires to become and how she

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<sup>106</sup> "Prosumerism" is a term coined by Alvin Toffler where the boundaries between producer and consumer merge. Producers and consumers relate directly and reciprocally (1970).

<sup>107</sup> Maslow proposed a hierarchy of human needs of which the most foundational are physiological (1970). Once these are met, the person only becomes satisfied from the fulfilment of higher order needs. The ultimate need is self-actualisation, or realising one's full potential. Following Maslow's hierarchy, Pringle and Thompson claim that consumers have progressed from requiring rational benefits from their brands, through emotional benefits and now want spiritual benefits (1999). A consequence of the quest for self-identity is that spiritual fulfilment is becoming a market demand.

sees herself at a particular stage in her life. And how the car or truck enhances that self-image.<sup>108</sup>

Ultimately, the quest for ever-deepening understanding of the consumer's fundamental motivational core depends on non-rational means. Rational understanding is not enough so that intuition plays an essential role.<sup>109</sup> It seems that the Enlightenment's way of thinking has reached its limitation. Nasser:

Valuable as it is, market research isn't enough to really get inside the consumer's mind or to understand the consumer's soul. To really succeed, intuition and visceral feel must come into play.

There is also the desire to develop a culture of committed relationships amongst both customers and employees. The loyalty of the corporation to its employees is related to the loyalty and satisfaction of its customers. Rosalind Cox, Manager of the Diversity and Work-Life Planning Office:

The leading consumer companies who also are employers of choice seek to create products, programs and cultures that delight and inspire loyalty in both customers and employees. They understand that continued success and competitive advantage has a lot to do with the culture they've created. We need to do the same thing at Ford.

Ford does not respond to market downturns by compulsory redundancy of its *permanent* staff but aims to redeploy them elsewhere within the corporation, or to facilitate their future life plans. At these times it also recruits less and allows for natural attrition. Ford is also investigating further voluntary means to address market downturns such as offering temporarily secondments to the voluntary sector or sabbaticals. For instance, 1,400 jobs were lost when vehicle assembly and body construction was ceased at Dagenham. Nasser:

We will do everything possible to achieve this restructuring on a voluntary basis and wherever possible reduce losses through redeployment to other Ford facilities in Britain, where job opportunities may be available.

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<sup>108</sup> Consumption involves signs, symbols, ideas and values. Consumers try to satisfy their emotional, conscious and unconscious desires as much as, if not more than, simply the satisfaction of their material needs. Consumption communicates social meaning and distinction, especially in a populous and anonymous society. Consumer culture unites the intimate world inextricably to the public exterior (Bauman 1998; Bocoock 1993; Corrigan 1997).

<sup>109</sup> Intuition is a clear and direct knowing from within, a perception of reality not known to the consciousness. In mysticism, intuition is considered a means to achieve direct and immediate truth (Guiley 1991).

Nick Scheele, as President of Ford of Europe, elaborates on further opportunities offered to the same staff:

But if people would like to go and work elsewhere outside the automotive industry or start-up their own business or go back to school to learn different skills, we will help with that too. In addition to that, we will be looking for an entirely voluntary severance package. Ford Motor Company has not made any compulsory redundancies in the past 30 years. We do not intend to see that change and that's why our [redundancy] program is so extensive.

Ford in short can be conceived as a spiritual-communion consisting of the families of its unique vehicle brands, all united by shared values. This spiritual-communion, or trustmark in Ford language, is not exclusive but embraces at a higher level a broader network beyond itself. The emphasis on admission is on responsiveness and the alignment of applicants with corporate behaviour models. Senior management encourages employees to participate in decision-making, and desires relationships with consumers to be deeply personal, immediate, enduring, and of service.

### **4.3 Integration and authenticity**

Themes of integration and interrelationship transcend several domains. We have already seen how Ford desires an inclusive culture and wants to "connect" with consumers. But much more than this, there is a more general desire to reintegrate what is currently fragmented or divided. In the following, we will see the desire for progressive levels of integration starting from the person and his or her immediate social context, to business strategy, to the corporation itself, to the corporation within its locality and ultimately to the corporation within the world.

#### *4.3.1 Integration of body, mind, heart and soul*

At the personal level integration is allied to human dignity. It occurs in two domains, the integration of all aspects that define the human person and the congruence of a person's values with that of the corporation. Valuing the whole person implies regarding production line operators as much more than "hands" or automatons, a traditional criticism of Taylorism. Jim Padilla, Group Vice President, Global Manufacturing, Ford Motor Company:



Historically, we have utilised only about 15 percent of our human resource capability, and now we are saying to our hourly operators, 'we don't just want your hands and your backs, we want your brains.'

There is the desire for employees to have affective relationships with their work and to identify with products as means of self-expression. Ford has assigned a manager at Warley, its European headquarters, to re-engage the hearts and minds of employees as it has recognised that it no longer engages them as in the past. For many years, warm-up disciplines taught as fundamental part of training courses have aimed to raise the awareness of emotions, both of oneself and of others, in order to enhance teamwork.<sup>110</sup> More recently there is a desire to gain employees pride and engagement with Ford's products by the launching of new vehicle models not only through the media but also directly to employees. Richard Parry-Jones:

We're not making that connection clear enough. The commitment to work hard is there, but we need to help our people engage in and emotionally connect with the work they're doing.

This desire means that the expression of emotions and feelings are fully legitimised and commended. Nasser told the entire corporation not only to challenge received wisdom and be creative, not only to be human, authentic and passionate but more so, to be vulnerable:

Be passionate about our products, our business, our people, our plans. That doesn't mean you have to agree with everything. Quite the contrary, debate the issues. Discuss the issues. Think 'out of the box.' Be creative. Show initiative. Generate new ideas from your hearts. Show emotion. Show courage. Show inspiration. Don't be afraid to act human. Don't be afraid to show your frailties and your strengths, because that's when you're at your best.

If this sounds a long way from the conforming, dispassionate bureaucrat, Nasser is not finished. He explicitly draws comparison between the passionate businessperson and entrepreneur, with the unemotional bureaucrat. The contemporary businessperson is antithetical to the bureaucrat to the extent that the display of emotion is virtuous behaviour. The expression of emotion is legitimised:

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<sup>110</sup> Some have argued that the emotional competence of individuals, and of leaders in particular, is crucial to success in teamwork and modern workplaces (Druskat and Wolff 2001; Goleman 1999), and there is the need to recognise the functional complementarities of emotionality and rationality rather than viewing them as a dysfunctional antithesis (Ashforth and Humphrey 1995).

I don't want you to be great bureaucrats. As a matter of fact I want you to be lousy bureaucrats. I want you to be great business people. I want you to be wonderful entrepreneurs. I want you to be jumping up on the table with emotion, not sitting there with your tie buttoned up, polishing your shoes every second hour.

In short, Ford wants to enlist the whole person. It wants to captivate the hearts of employees through passion and emotion, their minds through thought and ideas, and their hands through action and behaviour. The whole person affectively interacts with the consumer. Nasser:

That's what we started about a year and a half ago, and its intent is to create a consumer headset. We didn't say mindset, we said headset. Why? Because we wanted more than the mind. We wanted the heart. We wanted the body. We wanted every single inch of the body to tingle when you talk about consumers.

Particularly noteworthy is the extensive network of autonomous voluntary associations that exists at Ford. These associations not only provide an independent and rich source of solidarity but also allow employees to integrate and share other dimensions of their lives at work. Eight of these associations have been officially sanctioned as *Ford Employee Resource Groups*. They began as grassroots efforts by employees united by common interests or backgrounds.<sup>111</sup> Kathleen Ligocki:

The Company's resource groups give people with like needs a chance to talk to each other and provide emotional support. It's really about mentoring, talking, working through issues and sharing experiences. Sometimes it's enough to know other people have the same problems. You don't always need to have the answer right away, or have changed the world, as long as there is that kind of emotional support.<sup>112</sup>

One of these, the *Ford Interfaith Network*, supports the practice of employees' religious faith and creates conditions favourable to the fostering and discussion of religious life. Following the September 11, 2001 attacks, the network held a memorial prayer service, invited employees to seek perspective, understanding and

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<sup>111</sup> Ford-Employees African-American Network; the Hispanic Network Group; the Ford Asian Indian Association; Ford Chinese Association; Ford Gay, Lesbian or Bisexual Employees; Ford Parenting Network; Professional Women's Network; and the Ford Interfaith Network.

<sup>112</sup> This makes striking comparison with the impersonal relationships characterising Henry Ford's mass production: "There is not much personal contact - the men do their work and go home - a factory is not a drawing-room" (Ford and Crowther 1922, 112-113).

tolerance, and held a seminar featuring an Islamic perspective on the events. In the USA the Ford Hinduism Group held a lunchtime seminar entitled "Spirituality in Everyday Life" presented by a sanyasi from India. At Dunton a dedicated prayer room has been commissioned for Muslims. The expression of faith has become public at work. This resource group aims to promote religious tolerance, to underpin corporate values of integrity, the family and human dignity, and to facilitate interfaith dialogue. It encourages interfaith awareness and dialogue and, in common with the other resource groups, assists in recruitment. Martin Inglis Vice-President Ford North America:

I am very pleased to announce today that the Company has approved its eighth employee resource group, the Ford Interfaith Network... it is only natural that we have an organization that facilitates the interaction and mutual respect among not only employees of faith but all employees. The foundational objective of FIN is to assist the Company in becoming a world-wide corporate leader in promoting religious tolerance, corporate integrity, family values, and human dignity. More specific objectives include providing forums for employees to better understand issues of faith, helping relocated employees to find places of worship, arranging for community outreach events, acting as a sounding board for Company management on issues of faith, assisting with recruiting efforts, and facilitating many other faith-related activities. The FIN currently links together Catholic, Hindu, Islamic, Jewish and Evangelical Christian employee groups that already exist within the Company. Mormon employees are also becoming active in the FIN.

But the expression of religious sentiment is not limited to these groups. As we have seen already, senior management, especially in maintaining solidarity and expressing a concern for personal well-being, routinely legitimise religious and spiritual practices.

Beyond these voluntary associations, the congruence of personal and with corporate shared values facilitates individuals being at one with themselves. Having a strong base of shared values makes it possible for employees to avoid compromising their personal integrity or subordinating their moral codes in decision-making. Don Winkler:

Our Ford leadership behaviors define our culture as well as our expectations for our people. We know that when one of our people makes a decision, he or she will be in harmony with our core values.

In that way, we ensure the integrity of our people as well as the strong values of our culture.

#### *4.3.2 Integration of work, life and ownership*

There is also a major corporate desire to promote personal wholeness or the integration of different aspects of employees' social experience. Nasser:

Each of us as employees also has changing expectations about the many roles we play - employee, parent, volunteer, hobbyist, partner, sports person, student. We want integration in our lives, which allows us to pursue our many interests and respect the 'whole person.'

Work-life integration is a substantial corporate initiative that aims, in the ideal case, for work to form a harmonious whole with the fullness of life and not be demarcated. Successful work-life integration shows respect for the whole person, integrates the work and non-work domains in a flexible manner and is inherently linked to treating people uniquely. Rosalind Cox:

Work-life integration is an approach, not a set of programs. It values the 'whole person' - encouraging and supporting fulfillment of all our life roles, both the professional and personal. Founded upon respect, flexibility and results, it recognizes that employees have full lives outside of work. It is inexorably linked to diversity.

Flexible working arrangements are available to facilitate work-life integration. They include secondments, sabbaticals and various degrees of part to full-time work and can be employed as periods for further training, voluntary work, addressing personal issues or opportunity for personal growth. Work is no longer strictly isolated from the family but can take place at home. Martin Leach, Vice-President, Product Development, Ford of Europe:

Work-life arrangements offer employees the opportunity to integrate their work commitments and personal responsibilities relating to family, education, career development or community. In Ford Britain discretionary work-life arrangements to facilitate part-time working, job sharing, and telecommuting are available to employees in appropriate positions.

Committees responsible for career planning can be made aware of what employees regard as their major personal achievements, both inside and outside of work. On a

symbolic level formal dress codes, typified by suits and ties, are no longer mandatory.

Work-life integration is more than a benefit but as a new way of working seen essential to corporate survival. Managers have a particular responsibility for its promotion. An integrated life is seen as fundamental to ensuring employee well-being as much as fragmentation can lead to stress. Rosalind Cox:

The managers who do not recognize them as whole employees contribute to high levels of stress... We need to embed core values into the business culture of our organizations so that we can move away from thinking about work-life integration as an accommodation or benefit. It is vital to the future of our company, and essential to the well being of all Ford employees.

In 2001 Ford held a week to promote diversity and work-life integration at facilities worldwide. At Dunton there were a range of dependent care events including seminars on "Surviving Your Children's teenage years", elder care and parenting, and a variety of presentations and seminars on matters such as personal finances, pensions, healthcare, and first aid.

Each employee's biological family is often regarded as an extended part of Ford. There is a tradition of opening up sites to the families of employees and encouraging them to come along and take part in entertainment and activities through events such as "Open Days" and "Bring Your Sons and Daughter's to Work Days". Family weeks are held at various locations when employees are invited to bring their family into the workplace, and where displays and activities demonstrate the work of the site and of its employees. The company also has several nursery schools caring for employees' children whilst they are at work. In Dearborn, special provisions are made for mothers and pregnant women. Myles Romero, manager of Diversity Initiatives: "The mother's lounge provides a secure, clean, comfortable room for employees to express breast milk upon their return from maternity leave."

The concern for employees' families means that their well-being and education can be sponsored. In America, the company created a series of "Family Service and Learning Centers" to pioneer new ways of supporting and recognising employees and their families. The centres deliver services in the three broad areas of: family education, including family and adult education programmes; early childhood

education, including childcare centres where needed; and community service education and outreach. This commitment to employees' families extends to employees' community responsibilities and growth outside work. Nasser:

Ford Motor Company is committed to recognizing the critical links between company, employees, families and communities. I believe it's important for us to strengthen those links - to help employees address many work-life issues, allow them to reach out to their communities as volunteers, and provide a platform for employees to grow as talented individuals outside of work.

An integrated life is related to balance. Ford asserts that helping employees find the right balance in their lives is at the core of its values. Balance also permits the expression of personal authenticity and uniqueness. Employees need to be provided with the freedom to be self-responsible in deciding their own balance. David Murphy:

If you're going to be an employer of choice, you have to provide an opportunity for people to balance their lives, to have a more integrated life than they've had previously. It's a marketplace demand.

Wolfgang Schneider, Vice President for Governmental, Environmental and Legal Affairs and champion for work-life balance in Ford of Europe makes a strong case for the need for balance. Individuals who live more balanced lives are more effective within work and more charismatic in leadership. Ford's long-term survival is seen to depend upon a culture of balance to the extent that leadership is asked to serve as role models, and individuals rewarded that demonstrate balanced lives. It is worth quoting Wolfgang at length:

People who get their work-life balance right are more charismatic and positive, and they are better leaders and motivators, because their inner balance shines through... There are so many good business reasons for introducing more work-life balance to the company. If our people get more out of their life, have time for sport or leisure or spending time with their families, then they will become more balanced human beings, who will make more balanced and sound decisions at work... equally important for the survival of the company, is that the talented / young people we want to attract, increasingly say they want a better work-life balance and are not prepared to come in and burn themselves out... I am asking my colleagues to be role models, not only during the week but ongoing,

to think about innovative ways to work differently, and to reward people who do have work-life balance.<sup>113</sup>

In the USA at least, many employees have a degree of corporate ownership. Employees' possession of substantial amounts of Ford stock is believed to give them a real sense of ownership and obligation to shareholders and to enhance their work commitments. Bill Ford is proud of this:

Our employees are enormous shareholders in Ford Motor Company. Our board of directors was shocked several months ago when we discussed the level of employee share ownership here. To me, that's the biggest compliment we could ever have as a company. To know that our own employees at all levels want to be owners of our company, I can think of no greater compliment.

Even if employees were not owners, Nasser desired them to behave so. He initiated campaigns to encourage all employees to think, feel and behave like owners of the business, and in 1999 announced an initiative "to make more employees behave like owners of the business" through offering an employee stock ownership plan for locations outside the United States and Canada.

#### 4.3.3 *The integrated business*

Systemic thinking is widely promoted at Ford. Systemic thinking concerns the progressive integration of wholes and is the foundation for the systems engineering process that Ford deploys in product development.<sup>114</sup> Systems engineering is a team-based and customer driven approach in which the system can only be understood by considering the whole, not through any individual component in isolation. The behaviour of a system is greater than the aggregate behaviour of its parts and optimising parts does not optimise the whole. Interactions between components often determine the performance of a system, and being part of the same system changes components. Consequently, all engineers are trained in a methodology called "Design of Experiments". This methodology identifies the interaction between sub-

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<sup>113</sup> Henry Ford had said the same thing: "We have come to see that leisure is not a waste of time, that even from a cold business point of view it pays dividends in greater profits, better health, and better product" (1929, 28).

<sup>114</sup> "Systems thinking" is a discipline for seeing wholes. It is a framework for seeing interrelationships rather than things (Senge 1990). A system itself is a network of interdependent components that work together to try to accomplish a common aim. The obligation of any component is to contribute its best to the system, not to maximize its own advantage (Deming 1993).

systems as a means to optimise the system as a whole. The same applies to teams. The ability of individuals to interact successfully within teams, and of teams to interact effectively with each other is critically important. In short, systems engineering is a holistic philosophy and advocates that every process should be designed to optimise the whole and not specifically itself in isolation.

The systematic approach applies throughout the entire company beyond product development to manufacturing, sales, service, and recycling to the continuous cycles of improvement.<sup>115</sup> This systemic means of combining autonomy with interdependence applies to business strategy. The future business model is highly integrated and synergistic. Nasser:

This strategy is comprehensive and totally integrated. Each piece of it reinforces and strengthens the other and will contribute to our basic excellence in traditional car and truck development, manufacturing, engineering and delivery.

Previous trade-offs are synthesised as typified by the "win-win" catchphrase.<sup>116</sup> David Thursfield, as CEO and president, Ford of Europe boasts of his achievement in uniting formerly mutually exclusive business goals:

I've just returned from Dearborn where I was able to describe to the top 300 executives of the corporation worldwide how we in Europe have become the 'and' company: we launched great new products AND increased quality AND improved our brand image AND reduced cost.<sup>117</sup>

Integration also means including factors beyond those directly affecting Ford in isolation, by incorporating broader social and environmental concerns, and by expressing intergenerational solidarity in decision-making. Bill Ford:

We recognise there is more to consider in our investment decisions than profit alone. We have multiple bottom lines, including the environment and the social and ethical results of our actions. We take our responsibility to our shareholders very seriously. Profits are essential to sustaining our business. However, serving our

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<sup>115</sup> This makes a notable contrast with the sequential "assembly line" mentality of Ford's historical roots.

<sup>116</sup> Covey popularised this notion for an interdependent world (1989).

<sup>117</sup> Emphasis in original



shareholders also requires us to serve the broader needs of society and the sustainability of communities and cultures throughout the world.

Focusing on the consumer compels Ford to witness what it professes. An integrated business strategy does not just address products but is intrinsically connected with environmental sustainability too. The environment is not viewed as a side issue, separate from the business but intertwined in every decision made. In 2000, Nasser advocated in "Let's Chat":

Creating an environmentally sustainable business is a critical part of our consumer-focused strategy... environmental responsibility cannot be an afterthought to our business; it has to be integrated INTO<sup>118</sup> our business.

Ultimately enlightened corporations recognise their interdependence with their local communities, the environment and ultimately humanity. Business becomes fully dependent on the health of the planet. Bill Ford frequently emphasises the mutual interdependence between Ford and society:

We're at a crucial point in the world's history. Our oceans and forests are suffering, species are disappearing and the climate is changing. Around the world, billions of our fellow human beings lack the most basic requirements of health and dignity. Enlightened corporations are beginning to understand that these issues are business issues. They realize they can no longer separate themselves from what is going on around them. That, ultimately, they can only be as successful as the communities, and the world, that they exist in.<sup>119</sup>

At a still higher level, there is a need for organizations to work together in collaboration. Organizations themselves can no longer be independent. Bill Ford:

With today's advanced technology and global interdependence, the complexity and scope of the issues go well beyond what we have had to deal with in the past. No one institution or organisation has all the answers; we all have to join with other stakeholder groups as partners in finding solutions.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Emphasis in original

<sup>119</sup> Source: Bill Ford's address at the 5th Annual Greenpeace Business Conference held in London on 5th October 2000.

<sup>120</sup> Source: Ford Motor Company (1999, 3).

#### *4.3.4 Time structures*

##### *Results over attendance*

Ford desires to make a fundamental change from a chronological to a task orientation to time. In the chronological-orientation, people are rewarded by hours worked. By comparison, in the task-orientation, activities are self-contained rather than being continuous. Ford desires a change in work discipline from attendance to contribution, a change largely driven by flexibility and the aforementioned work-life policies. This fundamental change in time-disciplined aims to recognise that employees have lives outside of work, and advocates working and managing in more flexible ways that shows consideration for the whole person, both professionally and personally. A task-orientation to time is seen to enable a balanced and integrated life, as employees are free to structure their day in terms of when and where they work. Their working days can then lengthen or contract according to tasks at hand. The prevailing organizational culture however is seen to make it difficult to balance work with family because results are not seen to be as important as "face-time". Madeline Sulaiman-Eason:

It's now time to move beyond policies and programs and address the cultural issues at the very heart of work-life. These include the lingering convictions that "face time" is more important than results, and that the best work is accomplished only in the office, during conventional business hours.

In 2000, a revised Performance Management Process was introduced for management role and above employees. Compensation became linked to contribution against annual objectives as opposed to hours worked. How to achieve these objectives was down to the individual.

##### *Integrating the past*

Ford is proud of its hundred-year heritage and desires to integrate its past as a foundation for constructing its future. For Bill Ford, major reform is firmly grounded in the corporation's roots and the continuity of his family's presence, as epitomised by his own deep concern about the corporation's long-term future. Bill Ford:

We're redeveloping the company. Yet at the same time there's a real harkening back to our beginnings in terms of making this a family company, getting involved in communities, getting involved in

helping solve society's issues. This is very consistent to the way this company has always behaved. So it's more of a re-emphasis than a re-invention. In some ways we're going back to the past, in some ways we're definitely going into the future.

The original Henry Ford's presence is kept alive through the continuous reinterpretation of the founder's vision, values and beliefs. Nasser:

Henry Ford put the world on wheels by providing affordable transportation for the average person. His better idea was to transform a luxury product that had been sold only to affluent buyers and make personal mobility available to everyone... that's really the key for us. Affordable, high-volume solutions are an important part of our heritage - and of our efforts to preserve and protect the environment.

Ford has invested substantially in an archives department. This serves as a historical research centre by facilitating the integration of corporate history as a guide for daily business and its future. In the early 1990s, the department had only one archivist. By 1999 this has grown to thirteen full-time archivists and two administrators. In 1999 1,372 requests for information were logged, nearly twice as many as in 1994:

We play a unique role in maintaining the integrity and continuity of Ford Motor Company's extraordinary heritage and values - making possible the full integration of the Company's fascinating 96-year history into its daily business operations worldwide... The Ford Motor Company Archives remains committed to preserving and sharing the Company's past as a foundation for building the future... By providing an essential link between the past and the future, the Archives will help show the way for the Ford Motor Company of the next century.

### *Integrating the future*

In his communication to employees, Nasser asserts that any business today must embrace a process of continuous reform and progression, an endless corporate pilgrimage: "the transformation before us has no end. The global economy that we embrace is a race with no finish line." Such reform is likened to a journey of uncertainty without a clear path, "the road we're on has no map to guide us", a continuous process of becoming, and evermore focused on serving the needs of the customer, "our own work is never complete and that we must forge ahead to meet consumer needs continuously". The standards of corporate behaviour throughout this journey are essential and cannot be justified by results. Means and ends must be integrated. Deborah Zemke, Director, Corporate Governance on the corporate

citizenship report: "This represents the start of a long journey, and how we conduct ourselves along the way will probably be as important as arriving."

Ford is keen to develop policies that satisfy its needs without diminishing the prospects of future generations and its capacity for its long-term continuance. Sustainability is of fundamental importance and for Bill Ford, the most important issue facing the automotive industry, and industry in general, in the twenty-first century. Concern for sustainability must simultaneously integrate the triple bottom lines of environmental, social and economic concerns. A focus on financial return cannot exclude these other two dimensions. Sustainability means taking a long-term and holistic view. It is about integrating all the factors in decision-making, another application of systems thinking.<sup>121</sup> Bill Ford:

That's what sustainability is all about. It simply means taking into account all of the factors that affect the success of a business over time. In a sense, it's a systems perspective.

#### 4.3.5 *Authenticity*

Authenticity can be understood through two connected domains, the individual and organizational. For the former, employees are encouraged to align their behaviour with their personal values. Work-life integration encourages the expression of values to be consistent inside and outside of work. According to Nasser leadership is about authenticity and self-knowledge. But more so, the trust and respect necessary for leadership are undermined by hypocrisy: "Leaders are authentic. You earn the trust and respect of the people you work with when you know who you are - and when you walk your talk." Beyond leadership, the corporation desires that employees demonstrate a consistency of beliefs and behaviour both inside and outside the physical workplace. There are no boundaries between private and public, and no such thing as "off-the-record" behaviour, a point enshrined in the Ford of Britain *Dignity at Work* policy:

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<sup>121</sup> For Bauman rational action, dictated by instrumental reason, measures results against the intended end and calculates the expenditure of resources. Not all costs are included in the calculation, only those born by the actors themselves. This belief, where the "business of life may be split up into single problems... [is] responsible for both the spectacular achievements of modern times and the mounting worries of present-day society" (1990, 194). Instrumental rational action therefore appears antithetical to sustainability.

Workplace harassment and bullying can take place outside of work for example at a get together of employees in a pub after work. Such behaviour is just as unacceptable as if it happened at work.

Authenticity also means personnel policies apply throughout the organization and equally to any non-Ford staff. Bob McConnell, Human Resource Manager, Dunton: "The Company will not tolerate offensive or abusive material of any kind... The contents of this letter apply equally to non-Ford personnel working on the Dunton Site."

Authenticity is also customer driven. At the organizational level, authenticity is reflected in the brand. Brands must not only represent a clear identity, but must genuinely reflect every aspect of the corporation behind them, whether this be ideals, values, architecture, products or employees. There are no differences between its values and its actions, between its image and the reality, something we saw the Quakers excelled in. Brands must be the essence, the "real-thing". Nasser:

Today's sophisticated customers - especially young people - are suspicious of shallow and insincere attempts to win them over - branding as a marketing ploy. They want to do business with companies and brands that have a clear point of view - brands that are authentic. Authentic brands coddle rather than con.

Brand is reflected in the architecture of buildings. Both their exterior and interior physical design expresses the corporation's understanding of its identity, beliefs and values to both members and non-members alike. The workplace must reflect the brand. Lewis Goetz.<sup>122</sup>

Branding an image is very important. If you have a distinct image, you want everybody to feel it, not only when they pick up your product, but when they're working in your space or when they come to visit your space. You want them to feel it, breathe it, live it, be part of that brand. And one of the ways to do it is with the facility. Physical space can be a very powerful element in one's image.

As we saw earlier, Nasser saw all employees as ambassadors for the company. Authenticity applies to all parts of a particular spiritual-family, for instance as explained by the European recruitment department:

Ford of Europe receives some 35,000 job applications each year. In addition to being potential employees, all of these applicants may one day also be potential customers. It is important, therefore, that they receive an efficient, high-quality service, which reflects the company and its products.

The same applies across the whole spiritual-communion. A shared identity means shared moral codes and values; the communion cannot be virtuous in part. Aston Martin was compelled to withdraw risqué fashion accessories after Ford senior management complained about the "sex and bondage" connotations and their consequential lack of compatibility with universal corporate values.<sup>123</sup> In another example Greenpeace highlighted the apparent intra-corporate disparity between Volvo and Ford Motor Company concerning climatic change and the Kyoto treaty.<sup>124</sup>

There is convergence between the set of values embodied in product brands and the consumers that purchase them. Consumers can be identified by the brand values of their purchases. There is alignment of the values of customers and brand. According to Nasser: "We use these distinct brands to attract customers with similar values - customers that want the distinctly American luxury of Lincoln, for example, or the art and performance of Jaguar." There is congruence between the brand and its customer's aspirations. In a way customers purchase these values to shape their identities. Nasser: "The art of connecting with the consumer actually starts with strong brands. Brands that speak to the consumer's aspirations. Brands that define the consumer's identity and personality."

#### 4.3.6 *Transparency and candour*

Ford desires internal and external communications to be characterised by high levels of transparency and candour. In 1997 Nasser commenced a weekly e-mail communication called "Let's Chat" that he sent to all employees with the intent of sharing the strategic direction and performance of the corporation:

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<sup>122</sup> Lewis Goetz of Greenwell Goetz Architects, Washington, DC quoted in "They Said It". See also Raymond (2001), Tanis (1999), and Duffy (1997).

<sup>123</sup> See Burt (2002).

<sup>124</sup> See Ball (2001).

My intent is to give all of us greater knowledge and awareness of the total business, where we are headed strategically and how well we are doing in meeting our objectives.

As we saw earlier, Nasser encourages employees to communicate directly with him, transcend the customary hierarchy and stresses the importance of "unfiltered communication". He expresses the desire for dialogue and a commitment to open communication so that employees can raise challenging questions during open debate and discussion. Open forums called "Live Lets Chats" were initiated that expose senior management directly and vulnerably to large gatherings of employees. During these events there is little chance for deliberated responses. Nick Scheele as Group Vice President, Ford North America:

I recognize that people are not always comfortable with asking really tough questions in public. I hope employees learn that I'd like them to ask me the tough questions because if it's on their mind, we need it out in the open.

Substantial quantities of strategic information are openly shared internally through a variety of a communication channels and free access by individuals. Nasser:

Many of you have noticed that we share a great deal of information throughout the organization. One tremendous advantage of e-commerce is the ability to share critical thinking and data with all employees through vehicles like FCN Online.

In addition to open internal communications expectations are increasing for Ford to make extensive information about its activities openly available externally. Bill Ford desires to disclose wide range information openly and universally, not only to employees but also to key stakeholders:

We want to be transparent in everything we do. That includes having our environmental, social, and economic goals, and our progress towards meeting them, clearly understood by all of our stakeholders.

Deborah Zemke explains how consumers want to make informed and reassured choices on purchases based on reliable and trustworthy information. This information goes beyond technical specifications to the values underpinning products:

Why so much emphasis on candor and openness? It's about trust. Society is raising its expectations for businesses such as ours as never before. That means customers (and investors) want to know about us.

They want an unvarnished view of who we are and what our brands stand for. More and more, they want assurance that the products they buy are produced ethically and responsibly. In short, they want to know they can feel good about the companies and brands they buy from.

For instance, this means providing consumers with levels of product information beyond legal requirements so that they can make informed purchasing decisions.

Bodil Eriksson, Senior Vice-President of Volvo Cars:

The purpose of our Environmental Product Declaration is to provide those customers who wish to make environmental choices with a means of assessing the strengths and weaknesses of our products. By describing the environmental performance of our products in a transparent manner, and allowing an independent inspector to examine all of the data and the entire process used to produce it, we have made it both simpler and safer for customers to make the necessary comparisons.

Transparency also means that Ford needs to demonstrate its accountability beyond its financial performance, products and services but also for the wider contribution it makes to society. Deborah Zemke:

We need to be accountable - and show that we're accountable - not only for the financial performance to our shareholders and the quality and integrity of our products and services but also for the overall environmental, social and economic role we play in society at large.

In short, Ford wants integration across many work and non-work domains. Firstly, it wants its employees to have integrated and balanced lives, to bring their whole selves to work and not an isolated part, separate from their leisure and family lives. Secondly, Ford sees itself interconnected and sharing its fate with a range of broader stakeholders. Key to these desires is the fundamental change from a chronological to a task-orientation to time. Ford desires to integrate its heritage as a foundation for a future of uncertainty and continuous change. Like work-life integration, Ford aims for authenticity across all domains and so, grounded in shared values and moral consensus, it can conduct business in full openness and candour.



#### 4.4 Social mission

Social mission, or corporate citizenship as it is known internally, is a fundamental part of Bill Ford's vision for Ford. As chairman, he sees a close relationship between business success and leadership in corporate citizenship. Bill Ford repeatedly pronounces this message to employees and the outside world alike. Great companies understand that to meet fully the expectations of consumers, they must simultaneously address the concerns of society:

I believe the distinction between a good company and a great one is this: A good company delivers excellent products and services, a great one delivers excellent products and services and strives to make the world a better place.<sup>125</sup>

Bill Ford sees corporations as having a unique position in leading and addressing global environmental and social concerns. He is determined for Ford to be a major instrument in resolving these concerns, not simply a manufacturer of products but to take a greater active role in shaping a better world. For him it is no longer enough for companies like Ford to just produce good products and to employ and treat people fairly. They must help find solutions to the environmental, social and economic problems facing the world:

I believe very strongly that corporations could be and should be a major force for resolving social and environmental concerns in the 21st century. As the globalization era becomes a reality, only corporations, not governments, are global players with enormous capital. So, like it or not, we will be expected to play the lead role in addressing these issues.<sup>126</sup>

This concept of corporate citizenship is not new to Ford. It is part of its heritage. As we saw earlier, the corporation not only wants to reinterpret the values and vision of its founder but also to build upon its heritage as a means to integrate the future. Heritage provides a value-base from which to build the future. Bill Ford:

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<sup>125</sup> Henry Ford, his great-grandfather expressed similar concern: "The most important work that faces the young generation today is making the world a better place to live in" (1929, 62).

<sup>126</sup> Similarly Henry Ford, saw business leaders as having a prophetic role in social transformation: "Business men do not think of themselves as leaders in social movements, but they are. Business men should be readers of the signs of the time to warn the people to wise action and safe building on sound foundations" (1929, 86-87).

The idea of corporate citizenship at Ford has been around for a long time. My great-grandfather, Henry Ford, built schools and hospitals, supported a variety of social and cultural causes, and was a pioneering environmentalist. The same spirit and commitment to corporate citizenship is alive in our company today. Just as in my great-grandfather's time, we recognise there is more to consider in our investment decisions than profit alone.<sup>127</sup>

Corporate citizenship is then both a constitutive and universal structural element. It is not a separate function but an ethic that permeates corporate consciousness affecting all its actions. So for example in the words of Bill Ford:

It extends to everything we do, whether it's making our sport utility vehicles low emission, whether it's making our plants all ISO14001 certified or our employees pitching in for Red Cross drives or earthquake relief or helping Kosovo victims.

Bill Ford's views are shared with Nasser. But where the former gives an impression of personal conviction and "speaking from the heart", Nasser tends to be more pragmatic. For both, corporate citizenship becomes the overall fundamental or integrating force around which the business is based. It reflects fundamental values, is based on relationships, both between people and with the environment, and imparts a human dimension. Nasser:

Corporate citizenship is at the heart of any company's reputation. It is not only good for business, it's also good for the business. In a way, it's how we bring it all together. It involves the way we treat consumers, how we respect and develop people, active partnership in communities around the globe and concern for safety and the environment. It makes us human, and it is a vital part of global life.

Corporate citizenship becomes the essence of Ford and a corporate "rule of life" for guiding daily employee behaviour. Deborah Zemke:

What our employees will see is corporate citizenship really focuses on who we are as a company. We need to be able to articulate clearly our vision, our values and our business principles. What guides our day-to-day decisions.

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<sup>127</sup> In 1969, Henry Ford II delivered a similar message: "Now that public expectations are exploding in all directions, we can no longer regard profit and service to society as separate and competing goals, even in the short run. There is, however, a third alternative, and that is to stop thinking about the pursuit of profit and the pursuit of social values as separate and competing business goals" (1970, 55).

Ford's published report on its corporate citizenship performance is the beginning of a roadmap or manifesto for its next 100 years. It is a journey that invites debate, dissension and participation by employees, not submission or conformity.

That's how employees can embrace this report. They can start living the values that are espoused in this report. They can stand up for what they think is right and stand against what they think is wrong and help make us a better company.

Ford's corporate citizenship must be based on a genuine foundation of internal moral health. Corporate citizenship is therefore not a veneer but reflects Ford's essence. Consequentially, the way Ford treats its customers must be completely consistent with the way treats its employees. Authenticity must be throughout. Bill Ford:

Protecting [employees] health and safety helps protect a vital resource. It also helps establish the culture of compassion that we must have in order to be a leading corporate citizen. We can't ask our people to show concern for our customers and the community if we don't show concern for them. Corporate citizenship starts at home.

Corporations also need to be actively involved in their local communities and not just good neighbours. Bill Ford provides actual examples of Ford's global outreach and its leadership role in solidarity with local communities during widespread humanitarian efforts. He hopes all Ford employees would act in this way in combining leadership with compassion:

Following the devastating earthquake in Turkey last year, Ford employees built a 600-tent city, converted the plant to the production of basic needs, raced to provide medical care and built permanent housing for displaced families. Ford employees and UAW volunteers also helped Kosovar refugees resettle in Detroit. And other employee teams helped victims of floods in China, mudslides in Venezuela, and tornadoes and hurricanes in the United States. We want those kinds of concerned and involved people on the Ford team: people who act and inspire others to act. They build goodwill in the community, strengthen our brand and help us recruit and retain the best and brightest employees.

#### *4.4.1 A channel for donation and service to the local community*

In 1999 Nasser informed all salaried employees about a corporate commitment to pay them whilst they supported local community service activities. Significantly this commitment was honoured at times when other widespread cutbacks were made:

I am very pleased to announce that all salaried employees may voluntarily spend up to 16 hours a year, working in teams with selected organizations, on corporate citizenship activities. Time spent up to the 16 hours will be fully compensated.

In addition to these sixteen hours, at Christmastime many Ford departments and divisions around the world become especially involved in charitable activities. In 2000, Dunton employees distributed approximately 1,500 toys, bikes and chocolates to local children's charities. Similarly, Ford's engine plant in Ohio sponsored an annual children's Christmas shopping spree. More than 600 Ford employees, retirees and family members volunteered to take 230 local children shopping. Each child was paired with an employee and given \$150 to spend at a local department store in addition to a buffet supper and a visit to Santa Claus. Fund-raising activities for this project were held throughout the year, with the majority of funds coming directly from the 2,000 engine plants employees who together contributed more than \$20,000. In Dearborn, volunteer drivers personally distributed hundreds of gifts and food baskets purchased with employee contributions: "We have gift suggestions and we actually personally go and make as close a purchase, if not exactly the purchase, that this child has asked for." Charitable engagement was personal.

A key component of corporate citizenship is its function of serving as a channel for corporate and personal donations. Nasser talks about an ideal case where disinterested help, without self-promotion, was made through the donation of employees' personal time.<sup>128</sup> This highly moral example is held-up as representing the character of Ford, and like the trustmark which we saw earlier, representing the spirit of the Ford communion:

I want to take a moment to recognize the generosity and corporate citizenship of Ford of Switzerland and our Swiss dealers in responding to a deadly flood that hit Switzerland recently. With little fanfare and no self-promotion, the Swiss team made free cars available for one month to victims of the flood whose own cars were damaged or destroyed - no strings attached. Not only did Ford of Switzerland and the dealers absorb the financial cost for this program, some of our key people there donated their own time to coordinate the

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<sup>128</sup> For Bauman, gain-oriented actions encourage self-concern and ruthlessness. By comparison moral action requires solidarity, disinterested help, willingness to assist a neighbour in need without asking for, or expecting remuneration. A moral attitude finds its expression in the consideration in the needs of others, and often results in self-restraint and voluntary renunciation of personal gain (1990).

logistics. That, to me, is the kind of commitment to our communities that the Ford Motor Company Trustmark stands for.

In 2000 the *Ford of Britain Trust* alone donated more than £450,000 to local organizations and causes in the UK. Donations ranging from a few hundred to several thousand pounds were made to schools, community services and training schemes for young people, the unemployed, and to community organizations that provide care for the disabled and people with special needs. These donations are also intended to encourage wider voluntary support and to help to build Bill Ford's "culture of compassion". Ken Jones, Director of the Ford of Britain Trust: "The donations continue to reinforce the ongoing company strategy of community action. They are an important backup, or lead on to, employees volunteering for active involvement with local community groups."

At Dunton a dedicated committee was established to help with the coordination of local charitable activities. Its aims to support and publicise existing charity events, nominate a specific charity for each quarter, and to focus Dunton's efforts to support that charity. Support includes publicity, fundraising, volunteer services, and the use of the Dunton facilities itself. In 2002, £12,500 was raised and distributed to fourteen local hospices and charities in addition to many other charitable activities independently undertaken by individuals and groups based at Dunton.

For many years, Ford has actively supported the Juvenile Diabetes Foundation in raising funds for research into a cure for diabetes. Championed by Edsel Ford II,<sup>129</sup> employees annually participate in charity walks in support of this cause. In 2000, an estimated 7,500 Ford employees and their families participating in twenty-eight separate locations throughout the world, and raised more than \$1.5 million. Ford sites serve as conveniently locations for the regular donation of blood. In 2000, Ford employees in Britain were congratulated for making the company the country's fourth largest blood donor and a corporate role model. Employees are encouraged to donate blood whilst at work. Ford of Britain's Chief Medical Officer, Dr. Shaun Chatterjee:

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<sup>129</sup> Great-grandson of Henry Ford.

Occupational Health facilitates regular visits to Ford by the National Blood Service in the hope that we can go some way towards being a role model for the nation as a whole.

Corporate citizenship can involve looking for any opportunities to help. In Dearborn, employees donated books to a local civil and human rights organization called Focus: HOPE. Marv Adams, Ford Vice-President and Chief Information Officer:

We didn't set a goal. We just asked people to come out and give to what we thought was a great cause, and we collected 3,500 books. There were hundreds of people involved in the effort.

#### *4.4.2 Knowledge, capital, personnel and even products*

Although many employees understand corporate citizenship merely as the aforementioned sixteen-hour community service programme, the corporation sees it extending far beyond only charitable donations and volunteerism. Nasser: "Traditionally, many of us have considered corporate citizenship as philanthropy and volunteer programs. Let me assure you, it is much more than that." It involves application of key corporate resources. Corporate citizenship means moral behaviour and discovering ways of channelling corporate knowledge, technology and capital. Bill Ford: "This is not just traditional philanthropy, it's the application of technological, intellectual, and capital resources in a way that makes the world a better place." This is a fundamental distinction. Corporate citizenship is not simply making financial and tax-deductible donations or appeasing wider social expectations. Charitable activity involves personal conviction and can be seen as a training ground for self-giving beyond simply money. Don Winkler:

It's ultimately not about giving money, although that helps, it's about giving of self. When you give time to your community or your local school or church, you give the most important aspect of your being – namely, yourself.

By way of corporate examples, in 2001 Dunton made its test track available to support Blue Peter Bike-a-thon raise money for the Leukemia Research Fund. Also in Britain, Ford helped young offenders equip themselves for future careers as motor vehicle technicians through an initiative with Feltham Young Offenders Institution. On release, these youngsters were expected to continue their three-year apprenticeship at a Ford dealership near to their home. Ian McAllister explains:

This training initiative is helping to improve the lives of young offenders by giving them the chance to learn a trade and secure gainful employment. We are confident that the programme will develop their abilities and self-esteem, so that they can make more positive choices in their future lives.

In Southern Africa, Ford developed a programme to change the attitudes and lives of employees, their family members and the surrounding community to HIV/AIDS. Ford shared the programme with suppliers, dealers, competitors and non-competitors alike. It also developed HIV/AIDS awareness kits for other Ford affiliates around the world. Lewis Booth, President of Ford Asia Pacific and Africa Operations explains:

When it comes to the common good, national distinctions often blur and a sense of mission creates solidarity that crosses national boundaries. Preventing the spread of HIV/AIDS is not a matter of competitive advantage. It must be a business imperative for all of us.

Ford desires the organization in its entirety to contribute towards individual well-being and global transformation. Naturally this includes its products. Bill Ford: "Everything we do – all of our products, all of processes, all of our facilities – should make a positive contribution to people's lives, and make their world a noticeably better place." The foremost amongst products is unsurprisingly the car. Bill Ford:

We want to produce automobiles that not only improve individual lives, but also the world around them. Given where we are, that might seem like a radical vision to some people, but we're already headed there.

#### *4.4.3 Dialogue and evangelism*

A key part of corporate citizenship activity is entering into dialogue with external stakeholders. Corporate citizenship means partnership and listening. Ford wants to recognise the claims of multiple stakeholders as legitimate, to build bridges and open two-way lines of communication that have not been cultivated in the past. Corporate decision-making desires to take these external stakeholder perspectives into account and not to make them in isolation, to be more inclusive and less divisive. Nasser:

We are expected to take the perspectives of the broad range of people and groups who are affected by our operations into account when we make decisions. This doesn't mean we always agree with them - but they do expect to be heard and responded to.

Two-way communication entails being open to being influenced by the other. Deborah Zemke: "We need to do business with greater openness and a willingness to seek out and value the views of others." This form of communication involves engaging with stakeholders as partners and embracing their feedback. It is founded on listening and relinquishing personal viewpoints, to be challenged and to discover new shared insights and possibilities. In some instances former adversaries like NGOs become partners and provide external, independent and critical counsel. For instance, several of Ford's most senior leaders held a two-day dialogue with leading outside thinkers on issues affecting society. Nasser explains:

The dialogue partners represented non-governmental organizations, other corporations and academia. The discussions were incredibly mind-opening. We were exposed to valuable new perspectives on a wide variety of issues - the environment, safety, human rights and more - that affect consumers and their communities. In turn, many of the organizations that attended the dialogue went away with a much better understanding of our business and why our success is so important to our ability to play a role in solving the issues facing our communities.

In addition to dialogue, part of Ford's corporate citizenship strategy is evangelism. Ford desires to propagate its values throughout and beyond its boundaries. For instance, Bill Ford explains how suppliers are expected to follow the same universal standards Ford has adopted throughout the global corporation:

At the end of 1998, we became the first and only automaker to certify all its plants around the world under ISO 14001. That's the international management standard that regulates and independently audits air, water, chemical handling, and recycling. We have 140 factories in 26 countries all held to the same standards. Nobody has followed our lead. In addition we are requiring all our suppliers to meet the standard.

Ford enforces its own standards for employee safety on its contractors. Al Ver, Vice-President, Advanced Engineering Manufacturing, Ford Motor Company gives an example of the sanctions used for failure to comply:

We had one contractor who violated the process, and we put him on probation. It was the first time we've done that, and the contractor actually thanked us. He said that was his wake-up call.



Moreover, it even desires that new standards for sustainable and environmentally sensitive manufacturing technologies can be reproduced beyond Ford. Nasser:

The Ford Rouge Center will set a whole new standard in this area. We hope the technologies we test there will be suitable for replication elsewhere within and outside of Ford.

A global initiative called "Heroes for the Planet" was created to recognise exemplars with vision and the courage to "make a difference" in the world. Jim Schroer explains how individuals from around the world were honoured who embodied Ford's values. As elsewhere, these values are grounded through corporate heritage to the values of the company's founder: "We began the 'Heroes for the Planet' campaign to honor individuals at home and around the globe who embody the legacy of social responsibility established by our founder, Henry Ford." An extension of this initiative paid tribute to exemplary dealer principals who best represented Ford's commitment to "making the world a better place". The programme was created because the corporation wanted to recognize its dealers for being exemplary leaders in their showrooms and in their local communities. This evangelism of corporate values has a broad remit and can extend beyond dealers and suppliers to customers. As we saw earlier, there is a convergence of the brand's values with those of its consumer. Here is a more proactive stance. Jeffery Nemeth, Vice-President of Ford Lio Ho in Taiwan:

It is the company's long-term policy to promote environmental conservation and humanity awareness among our employees and their families, dealerships and suppliers, and most important of all, among Ford owners.

Ford believes that human rights are a critical business issue for global corporations. Concern for human rights extends beyond Ford and must be consistent and congruent throughout its supply chain. Ford has a degree of responsibility for its suppliers. Consequently, authenticity cannot apply in isolation to any particular part of Ford but extends beyond, and down through the supply chain:

There are risks to any company as large as ours when one begins to consider activities in the value chain two and three steps removed from the original equipment manufacturer. If poor treatment of

workers is discovered within the value chain, consumers may judge us harshly, even though we don't own or operate the facility.<sup>130</sup>

Having said this, there is an expectation that corporate values, especially in connection with human rights, will lead Ford in the direction of policies that affirm universal values, but allow for cultural and national differences and for different approaches in different industries.

In short we see that corporate citizenship, or social mission, is an intrinsic or core component of Ford. It entails developing values and moral codes with others, being open to being influenced, and propagating these values consistently and widely. Social mission must be based on a secure foundation of internal moral health and be reflected in products and witness. Help is offered, particularly to local communities, through organized engagement and supported, as necessary, with the application of corporate resources such as knowledge, capital, people and ultimately money.

#### **4.5 Charismatic authority and servant leadership**

In 2000 a decision was taken to flatten Ford's management hierarchy from nine to six levels and to replace the concept of hierarchical *management* levels with one of *leadership*. The conventional hierarchical structures were seen to be less appropriate to prevailing business needs. Opportunities for progression by hierarchical advancement are diminished. Nasser:

Since we introduced our grading system in the 1940s, the Company has changed dramatically, making traditional hierarchical structures less relevant than they once were. Effective January 1, 2000, we will replace the current salaried structure, from Officers down to SG09, with six Leadership Levels.

In the former system, hierarchical progression was seen to be more important than the attainment and perfection of personal leadership skills or effectiveness. Adrian Stead, Project Manager, Human Resources: "Under such a system, managers

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<sup>130</sup> Ford Motor Company (2001, 10). Kofi Annan, secretary-general of the United Nations went further (1999). He challenged business leaders to join a "global compact of shared values and principles" and give globalization a "human face". He argued that unless the global market was held together by shared values, and human rights in particular, it would be exposed to backlashes from protectionism, fanaticism and terrorism.

frequently consider salary grade progression before considering the competencies and skills they need to become a more effective leader."

#### *4.5.1 Aspects of leadership*

The model leader being advocated by Ford's *Leadership Development Center* in Dearborn is virtually a pure form of Weber's charismatic type. Ford's charismatic type of leadership is a revolutionary force for change, visionary, compelling and passionate. Radical or transformational change is achieved whilst concurrently delivering business goals and maximising the personal development of followers. Subversive and revolutionary behaviour is a virtue:

Our revolution will succeed through leadership that is visionary, transformational, and spirited... We need men and women who possess a transformational mindset who know how to get things done in ways that deliver results and maximize the talents and skills of their people. And we need men and women with spirit, passionate about the business and committed to their personal goals.

Leadership is not a role but a universal responsibility. Leadership is required from everyone, everywhere, all the time. Ford wants all its employees to be leaders so as to generate a community of charismatic leaders who, unlike the bureaucratic official, see the corporation as a whole, and not in isolation. Nasser: "What we wanted was leaders at all levels in the business. Leaders who can create more leaders and leaders who understood the whole business."

Ford also wants all its employees to be inspired. It wants their stimulus to come from a sense of inspiration, the ability to live up to their ideals, to be part of a group working towards a shared future, and to contribute towards a legacy and mission beyond themselves. It is worth remembering that for Weber, pure charisma constitutes a "calling", "mission" or "spiritual duty", poles apart from the bureaucrat. The corporation becomes a community of inspired disciples that is able to integrate the individual missions of its members. Bill Ford:

It's going to take informed, involved, and inspired employees to make our vision a reality... Let me give you another definition – the difference between a satisfied employee and an inspired employee. Satisfied employees have good pay and benefits, and a work environment that supports their best efforts. Inspired employees have all that, and a compelling sense of mission, of being part of something

important and positive, something that will leave a lasting legacy for their children and grandchildren.<sup>131</sup> Inspired employees are what make companies great.

There is a desire for greater long-term commitment or stability, and the solidarity of all leaders to their part of the organization. Leaders need to be accountable for their actions and to see them through to completion, not simply to fulfil a role for the duration of particular assignment. Relationships become longer lasting. Nick Scheele and David Thursfield:

And, we discussed with full candour another problem facing Ford of Europe - the lack of consistent leadership at all levels. Our leadership team over the past years has been characterised as a 'revolving door,' as managers rotate through positions for only short periods of time before moving on. Accountability has been lost at the top and has created a void in the entire organisation. We, as your new management team, are stopping this revolving door.

*As servant*

Although the Ford leader does not formally report to "subordinates", there are several powerful forces that collectively act in this direction. To start with, the traditional hierarchy is rapidly becoming inverted so that power becomes increasingly relocated from its top to its base, to the teams that actually conduct most of the work and that are closest to the customer. Power more than ever resides at the base of the pyramid. Nasser: "The same market conditions and communications technology that are empowering customers are making the old fashioned, top-down, command-and-control style of business management obsolete."

As the conventional hierarchy becomes inverted the role of the leader is transformed. It becomes one of "service" by facilitating or enabling these teams of workers to fulfil their responsibilities. The leader does not command but helps. Former external control by "superiors" is devolved so that individuals and teams now have self-responsibility. In short, leadership facilitates the autonomy of others and the empowerment of teams. It is worth quoting Jim Padilla at length as he describes an essential paradigm shift central to this thesis:

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<sup>131</sup> Barrett sees "making a difference" as a spiritual motivation. "Our spiritual needs are met when we find activities that give our life meaning and enable us to make a difference in the world by being of service to humanity or the planet" (1998, 40).

The more the teams develop, the more they will be able to take on bigger challenges, and really run the business. We want the natural work groups to run the business in their areas... To me, the heart and soul of Ford Production System<sup>132</sup> is the natural work group, and the biggest challenge we have as a management team is how we face our changing roles as we invert the pyramid. That means we have to understand how we can really aid the work teams, the line operators, in getting their job done. We are dramatically changing our culture in this manner; we are moving away from a command and control culture to an enabling culture, to a coaching type of leadership role, which is different for many of us... Superintendents must be supporters and enablers. First line supervisors have a major role, but again, it is in a supporting, enabling role; it's to provide the tools, do the training themselves, assist with 6-Sigma application, become experts in some fields and really free up the teams, allow the teams to do the business. That is a big challenge for us. Clearly, leadership must have direction, and clearly, leadership should provide guidance on the processes. But then, leadership must allow the teams to develop the solutions. Too often we have been too eager to provide the solutions, as opposed to the mechanisms to get the solution.

Secondly, as touched on earlier, assessment of the performance of leaders comes not only from their "superiors" but also formally from peers and notably subordinates. Although the aim of this assessment is to improve leadership quality and to identify opportunities for growth of the individual, managers receive assessment from those below or alongside them in the hierarchy. The relative power of these positions has therefore been increased. It is now subordinates who assess their manager's performance during his or her annual appraisal. Nasser cautions this inversion of power relationships may well be discomfiting, but necessary:

During October, the 360-Degree Leadership Assessment Process will be conducted. This is the second year for this program, and this year, all PSR-and-above<sup>133</sup> employees will be receiving feedback on their performance against the 12 leadership behaviors. More than 12,000 employees are expected to participate this year in providing assessments. If you are selected to provide feedback, please remember that accurate and constructive responses are very important to make this program successful and to improve the leadership of Ford. For those of you who will be receiving assessments from your peers or direct reports, remember that it may not be easy to accept this information, but the perceptions are there, and improvement will not take place without specific, robust plans to change.

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<sup>132</sup> A systems engineering process

<sup>133</sup> LL5 and above

Thirdly, the annual Pulse survey is an electronically administered questionnaire through which employees can anonymously identify concerns with their employment satisfaction. The Pulse assesses the opinions of employees with the goal of providing a "people metric" for management and subsequently to support work-group level discussion and action planning. The Pulse survey is designed to improve leadership and employee participation by creating a common framework for discussing critical issues, involving employees in constructive change and assessing the effectiveness of prior feedback. The fundamental Pulse dimensions include: diversity; empowerment; reward and recognition; stress; supervision; teamwork; training and development; workload; work group and quality; and response to the previous survey's results. An aggregate score, the "Employee Satisfaction Index" provides a sense of the overall morale of a specific and local part of the organization. Scores are published with extensive graphical comparisons against other similar units within the entire global organization. The performances of individual managers are readily compared both against the corporation as a whole, and against named managers with similar responsibilities. The effectiveness of a manager as perceived by subordinates is highly and widely visible. David Murphy:

It is our commitment to pursue our people feedback as aggressively as we pursue feedback regarding Company profits or products. To that end, we urge all employees to participate and provide honest, candid feedback. The survey results allow us to identify areas of employee concern, monitor progress from past surveys, and persistently study areas - like workload and stress - that require ongoing management.

By engaging employees in the Pulse process, managers demonstrate that employee opinions are valued and taken seriously. There is an increasing obligation for them to respond to the feedback delivered by their subordinates through the survey. The Pulse process provides an increasing means for subordinates to formally appraise the performance of their management.<sup>134</sup> In one area of the corporation at least, namely Ford Credit, Pulse results are linked to the manager's compensation. Renee Lerche, Director, Human Resources Workforce Development: "The Pulse is growing in

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<sup>134</sup> The Pulse survey asks questions such as: "Overall, how well a job do you feel is being done by your immediate supervisor"; and "My supervisor encourages decisions to be made at the lowest appropriate level in the organization." Behaviour and authenticity are particularly important. Several other questions start with: "My supervisor demonstrates..." or "Top management at my location demonstrates through actions..."

importance because the survey has become a pyramid metric. Hopefully, employees are seeing company management taking their feedback more seriously."

Fourthly, Ford in the USA introduced a process for settling unresolved work-related issues, conflict and disagreements between employees and their management. This process substantially raises the power of subordinates to challenge the authority of their superiors, and therefore serves to undermine or subvert the conventional hierarchy. To settle unresolved conflicts, employees can select a hearing before a peer review panel made up of three peers and two other employees of a higher leadership level. The composition of this panel is therefore significantly imbalanced in favour of peer representation. Jim Donaldson, Vice-President - Global Business Development:

When an employee requests Peer Review to resolve his/her issue, a randomly selected Peer Review panel, comprised of three employee peers and two members of management will make a decision that will be final and binding on the Company.

During hearings, the employee can even call witnesses. The panel votes by secret ballot on the question: "Was company policy or practice applied properly and consistently in this case?" A simple majority vote of the panel decides the issue, and that decision is final and binding on the company. Consequently, the authority and responsibility imparted to peers can be significant. Jim King, Manager, Ford Peer Review Process.

We've got highly intelligent and capable people working for us, and now we're giving them the ultimate decisions. This is the truest sense of employee involvement and empowerment that I've seen... you could be involved in making a decision on whether the person sitting next to you is going to be employed tomorrow. It's a tremendous amount of responsibility.

Conceived as servant, the leader also has responsibility for the development and empowerment of followers.<sup>135</sup> There is a desire for leaders to be committed to developing personal and affective relationships and to be fully integrated with their followers. Through support and guidance, leaders have the task of developing their

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<sup>135</sup> The Pulse survey asks: "My supervisor gives me feedback that helps me improve my performance."

self-governance, self-responsibility and growth. People take priority over business objectives, and responsibility for decision-making is delegated. Don Winkler:

Let's talk about the relationship aspect of leadership. Relationship is a matter of development and connection. Managers need to spend time working with their people. All of us have a great deal on our plates and sometimes the easy thing to do is put aside the 'people equation' in favor of business objectives. Well, that's not leadership. We need to connect with our people as people. Give them feedback continually. Delegate responsibility. You know, there's sometimes a misperception that people at the top run around making all of the decisions. Well, not at Ford. One of the true ways you demonstrate leadership is hand over authority and say, 'Here this is your responsibility. You handle it.' An employee may take a step back, or even stumble a little, but if you provide adequate support and guidance, she will survive. And not only survive, but thrive.

Decision-making not only becomes devolved but also it becomes collegial, as we saw in the Peer Review Process, so that part of the job of leaders is to facilitate broad participation, to ask questions and not to give commands. Combined, these are powerful forces for undermining monocratic authority.<sup>136</sup> Marty Mulloy, Director, Manufacturing Human Resources:

We need people who are more inclusive. We need people who ask more questions. We need supervisors and managers who are enablers to get people involved to get a larger group of people involved in decision making.

Leaders teach others how to lead and so produce a community of like-minded leaders. Developments in corporate policy or practice can then be cascaded personally through leadership. Nasser: "The most important thing is that we started to turn our leaders into teachers, teachers who taught other leaders because leadership is what we were after." This notion of tutor applies to the most senior level. The chairman becomes a "servant of servants". Bill Ford:

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<sup>136</sup> Weber considered that collegiality would always have an important part to play in limiting bureaucracy. As soon as others were involved in decision-making, *as of right*, then the collegial principle was being employed: "Any interest in reviving the principle of collegiality in actual executive functions is usually derived from the interest in weakening the power of persons in authority" (1947, 398).



Someone asked me, 'what does a CEO do?' that's a good question. I don't know; I've only been on the job for two weeks.<sup>137</sup> But I think the real answer is - it's somewhat like a coach.

*As witness*

As we have already seen, role models become increasingly desirable and even essential as living witnesses by their demonstration of commitment to corporate beliefs and values. Leaders in particular must demonstrate to employees the behaviour they espouse otherwise they undermine corporate policies and change programmes. Leaders must be authentic and demonstrate congruence between their beliefs and behaviour. Employees become frustrated when what they hear and what they see are contradictory. In short, hypocrisy is the weak link. David Murphy:

Employees accept that we've made a lot of changes. We have a lot of policies and programs in place, but they're telling us they're not seeing the leadership demonstrating the behaviors. There is beginning to be a strong questioning of whether leadership really believes to the point of action in our diversity initiative. And unless they see strong models coming from the very top of the company, employees will continue to do what they've been doing for the past 10, 20 or 30 years. That is to say, that they will not take action.

Role models of behaviour are actively sought internally that best exemplify corporate values. For instance, the *Executive Council on Diversity* and the *Office of Diversity and Work-Life Planning* globally searched for managers who demonstrated leadership in the areas of diversity and work-life. In another, Don Winkler is acclaimed as a role model for his commitment to developing others:

[Don] combines keen financial insight and management with a deep understanding of people and how to encourage them to grow, develop and eventually lead. Throughout his long career in banking at both Citibank and BancOne, Don has made developing the potential of others a priority.

Like Weber's charismatic leader, role models are upheld for challenging the existing order or for being subversive. Kevin Bennett, Director of Manufacturing Engineering, "found his real calling: challenging and changing the way traditional

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<sup>137</sup> Said jokingly shortly after his appointment to chairman.

work gets done" and advocated as someone who "leads by example". In Kevin's own words, he challenges pervading concepts of time and balance:

I assumed that working around the clock was something you had to do to get ahead at Ford. I know that many managers still feel this way. I began to understand the need for our company to take a hard look at our culture and the balance between life and work to make us more productive.

Kevin was further accredited for teaching the priority of personal development by helping his subordinate managers to acknowledge in turn their own responsibility for helping their own subordinates reach their potential. If leaders are servants of servants, then they are also tutors of tutors.

Leaders exemplify work-life integration and integrate the different roles they play in the world. They have greater ability for integrating or making whole and seek to integrate and find synergies between all aspects of life: work, home, community and self. Stew Friedman, Director of the Leadership Development Center:

Total leadership... is different from many prior leadership models because it starts with your life as a whole, your life at work, your life at home, and your life in the community. Total leadership recognizes that the stakeholder expectations in each of these domains can and do affect each other. Therefore, total leadership is about being a leader in all aspects of one's life.

To be effective, leaders must both integrate and be themselves integrated. The leader interacts, draws people together, unites and is an active force for integration. Nasser: "Leaders make unexpected connections. They organize and lead conversations among people who don't normally interact with each other."

#### *4.5.2 Leadership behaviours*

Personnel Development Committees (PDCs), the foundation of Fords leadership development process, are the forums for personnel development planning and implementation. Two of the objectives of PDCs are to improve the identification and development of future corporate leaders, and to ensure development opportunities for all employees. PDCs use a range of factors to assess an employee's potential and collectively decide on his or her development plan. The key metric is the congruence

of personal with twelve desired corporate behaviours,<sup>138</sup> as witnessed over an extended period of time, rather than purely organizational ability or technical competence. Personal congruence with legitimised corporate behaviours is the foundation for leadership:

The Ford Leadership Behaviours are the standard against which candidates are measured and are the foundation on which PDC actions are based. The tiering of employees, for example, involves a review and assessment of individual leadership behaviors.

As we saw earlier, although superiors ultimately make the assessment, they can also use information from a wide variety of other sources. The sources of feedback are therefore diffuse, can be external to Ford and there is less "off-the-record" behaviour. The individual's behaviour is key:

The immediate supervisor may also incorporate feedback from other sources of leadership feedback, e.g., customers, supplier personnel, other peers, subordinates, and management personnel who were not included in the 360° process, or any other source the immediate supervisor can identify who had sufficient opportunity to directly observe the employee's leadership behaviors.

The immediate supervisor's fundamental input to a PDC is their annual appraisal of subordinates. An integral part of this appraisal is an evaluation, based on a 360-degree assessment, of their subordinate's twelve leadership behaviours. Behaviour has priority over results:

The focus of the 360° assessment is on the leadership behaviors, not the business results. It is up to each rater to honestly assess a participant's leadership behaviors and provide the appropriate rating. A set of Scaled Behavioral Examples have been developed to help raters convert their observations of behavior into ratings. It is then the responsibility of the employee's direct manager to integrate the information on Leadership Behaviors and business results into an overall rating using the Performance Management guidelines.

The aim of the process is to develop role models for leadership who deliver results whilst being constrained by corporate behaviour. Compensation is contingent not just on contribution but also on the individual's behaviour. Both what *and* how it was

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<sup>138</sup> These behaviours are: integrity, courage, durability, people development, teamwork, communication, desire to serve, drive for results, systemic thinking, business acumen, innovation, and quality methods.

achieved determine overall performance. By integrating means with ends, tendencies to socially deviant behaviour are theoretically minimised:<sup>139</sup>

Employees will be held accountable for their overall performance which is a combination of what was accomplished - the business results - and how it was achieved - the leadership behaviors... The goal of the performance management process is to develop leaders who deliver strong results for Ford and who are role models of leadership.

### *Ideal behaviours*

The evaluation of the leadership behaviours deployed in the 360-degree assessment relies upon a structured rating framework and set of "Scaled Behavioral Examples" mentioned above. This framework has five standards of behaviour, the highest being "Role Model", the others being very effective, effective, somewhat effective and ineffective. As an ideal case for leadership, these "role model" behaviours can be usefully analysed by categorising their detailed definitions against the five elements of our ideal type of spiritual-family. The following bullet-points are verbatim from the rating frameworks for the years 1999 and 2000.

Firstly, in terms of primacy of the person the ideal leader is strongly concerned with the dignity of the individual. The leader is both caring and concerned for the personal growth and well-being of each person as a unique individual, encourages their participation and creativity, and provides social support. The ideal role model leader:

- Cares about employees and continually strives to bring out the best in others, regardless of performance level.
- Values and draws upon the creativity, talents, and abilities of all people.
- Supports and defends staff for taking calculated risks in order to transform and grow the business.
- Encourages new ideas and motivates others to be creative, resourceful, and know the consumer.
- Solicits a diversity of creative perspectives and uses ideas contributed by team members to shape decisions.

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<sup>139</sup> Merton developed a general theory of deviant behaviour that distinguishes cultural defined goals and institutional means of achieving those goals (1938). Conformity to both the goals and the means sustains stability and continuity. Conversely, situations that lay great emphasis on goals but little on means push individuals into adopting the technically most efficient means to the goal, even if these are illegitimate. A lack of coordination between the two can lead to anomie.

Secondly, the ideal leader has concern for deeply personal, affective and direct relationships, and the wider spiritual-communion, and promotes a culture of service. He or she:

- Promotes all of Ford Motor Company as a global family and is enthusiastic about working cross-functionally and involving diverse perspectives.
- Goes beyond data to connect personally with customers at a deep, emotional level.
- Internalizes customer needs, desires and aspirations and references them when making decisions.
- Embodies a "customer is Job 1" leadership style that puts customer interests at the forefront of all business practices.

Thirdly, in terms of promoting integration and authenticity, the ideal leader is candid, personally authentic, witnesses and promotes corporate values, and is uncompromising towards personal integrity. The ideal leader protects employees' obligations beyond the workplace, specifically to their natural families and local communities. He or she:

- Acts consistently - in public and in private - with what one says is important.
- Lives Ford Motor Company's values.
- Demonstrates how decisions made reflect the values of Ford Motor Company.
- Tells the truth when it is difficult to do so, or when the truth will be unwelcome.
- Demands a work environment that ensures employee well-being and maximizes flexibility in helping employees meet family and community obligations.

Fourthly, in terms of promoting social mission, the ideal leader actively promotes social outreach and interaction with the local community in a manner integrated with work. He or she:

- Proactively identifies opportunities to channel the talents of Ford Motor Company people in voluntary community service.
- Develops corporate citizenship as a business imperative that helps Ford Motor Company maintain a competitive advantage in the community.
- Enhances Ford Motor Company's competitive position in the community through committed actions to improve the environment.

- Engages with citizens and leaders of the community to gain unfiltered consumer feedback on Ford Motor Company's products, services, and reputation in the community.

Finally, the charismatic leader not just promotes the four ideal types elements above but also is inspiring, transformative, challenges the existing order, and articulates a compelling vision. This ideal leader encourages personal growth and is recognised as extremely approachable. The charismatic personality conveys a premium. He or she:

- Consistently inspires performance and addresses performance problems effectively.
- Questions organizational norms and accepted thinking and practices.
- Boldly articulates Ford Motor Company's vision and translates it into day-to-day practices.
- Communicates a compelling vision that generates enthusiasm and commitment.
- Takes bold, decisive actions despite risks, conflict or uncertainty; also takes-on calculated, entrepreneurial risks and assumes accountability for outcomes.
- Inspires others to continually learn and develop, and is considered eminently approachable by subordinates and work partners.

Of note, virtually all the role model standards of behaviours have moral characteristics. Self-evident is the match of these role model behaviours for Ford's leaders with the five elements of the ideal type of spiritual-family.

#### *4.5.3 The language of leadership*

As will be evident by now, the language itself used by Ford's senior spokespersons often directly reflects the concepts described in the definition of our ideal type of spiritual organization. Moreover, it is not uncommon for overtly spiritual or theological expression to be deployed as we saw in the cases of both Bill Ford and Nasser advocating employee prayer. At some times, such expression can be especially pronounced and even used as a symbolic means of fostering corporate identity. Here for instance, Nasser proclaims the language and even the pneumatology of the original Christian Pentecost in propagating his apostolic vision:<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Cf. Acts 2.

It is my hope that the highly energized spirit that drove our meeting will transfer to all of you as your leaders teach the 'Spirit of Ford,' and that we will all be on a mission together to achieve a consumer mindset and accelerate our momentum in 1999.

In another example Nasser uses explicitly spiritual language to describe corporate solidarity and the major accomplishments for the year: "It was a lot of hard work - sometimes frustrating, sometimes exciting. We always knew that the soul and spirit of this company was being kept together."

As introduced earlier, in May 1997 Nasser commenced a series of weekly e-mail epistles called "Let's Chat". His intention was to share some of his thinking and experiences, and to communicate the important issues Ford faced. From January 2000 these communications became more of a teaching tool and forum for participation, and less of a review of the previous week's events. Nasser:

'Let's Chat About the Business,' my weekly e-mail dialog with Ford employees worldwide, has evolved into an electronic classroom where we share ideas and generate actions to enhance our business.

A content analysis of these communications, from the quintessential spokesman of Ford, was undertaken to see if any particular trends could be identified in the statistical use of particular words. This analysis relied on aggregate or wholesale word usage and was purely quantitative, not qualitative. It looked to see how frequently particular words and their root derivatives occurred, expressed as a fraction of overall word usage in a particular year. For each year these fractions were normalised against the calendar year 2000. Trends are reported for four themes and in each instance linear trend-lines are added to illustrate their overall direction. Firstly, we look at the use in words that signify "cooperation"<sup>141</sup> in comparison with "domination"<sup>142</sup> by which is meant competition and exclusion. The ratio of these two aggregates, plotted in Figure 2, clearly shows a substantial and almost continuous increase. Over the four-year period, there is a more than doubling in words signifying cooperation in comparison with words signifying domination. Cooperation is in.

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<sup>141</sup> An aggregate of: belong, collective, combine, connect, contribute, cooperate, devotion, dialogue, discrimination, diversity, empower, equality, facilitate, friend, harmony, help, include, integrate, involved, join, listen, loyalty, participate, partner, relationship, responsibility, serve, stewardship, synergy, together, tolerance, and trust.

<sup>142</sup> An aggregate of: aggression, beating, compete, exclude, losing, and winning.

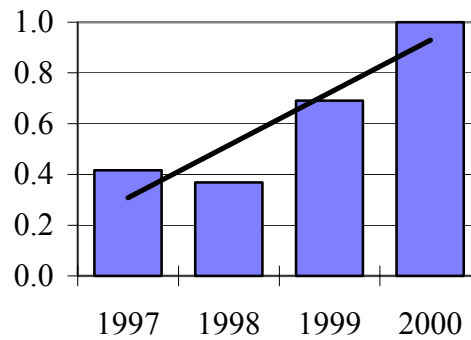


Figure 2: Ratio of "Cooperation" to "Domination" Language, 1997-2000

Figure 3 plots the use of "spiritual"<sup>143</sup> words over the same four-year period. Again, there is a virtual doubling in their usage. A new language for management is legitimised.

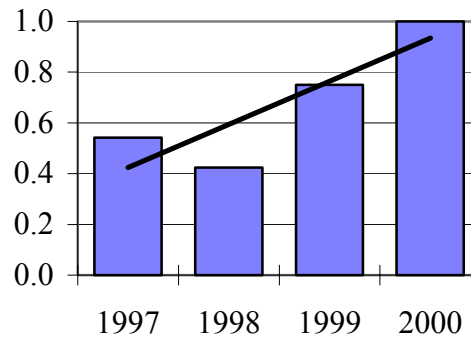


Figure 3: "Spiritual" Language, 1997-2000

Likewise, Figure 4 plots the use of "emotional"<sup>144</sup> words. In this instance their usage on the whole increases, but at a much more modest rate. Although this analysis aggregates eighteen terms, the most significant contributions come from the three words emotion, heart, and delight.

<sup>143</sup> An aggregate of: belief, church, creed, faith, feel, hope, inspire, intuition, pray, reflect, sacrifice, and spirit.

<sup>144</sup> An aggregate of: amaze, astonish, compassion, deeply, delight, embarrass, emotion, fear, happy, heart, humility, love, regret, sorrow, sorry, sympathy, thrilled, and wonderful.



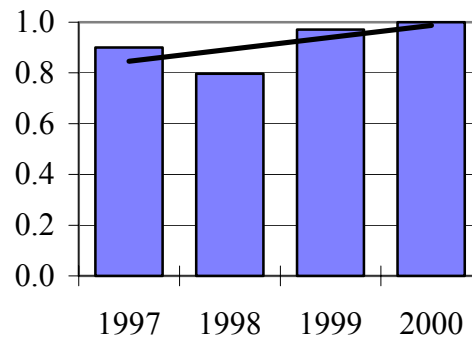


Figure 4: "Emotional" Language, 1997-2000

Finally, Figure 5 simply shows the substantial increase, and almost doubling, in the ratio of the use of words referring to "leadership" over "management". Leadership has become much greater used than management in this time period. Leadership has supplanted management in importance.

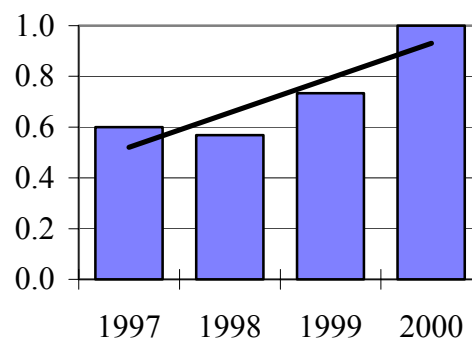


Figure 5: Ratio of "Leadership" to "Management" Language, 1997-2000

Conversation using the same language constitutes the fundamental instrument of socialisation and reality-maintenance.<sup>145</sup> We do not see reality as "it" is, but as our languages are. Language therefore reflects the culture of a society. Nonetheless, the roots of traditional business language lie buried in warfare history. For instance, Sun Tzu's *The Art of War*,<sup>146</sup> written more than 2,500 years ago, is a favourite of many business executives who believe that its lessons on strategy and tactics of warfare may be applied metaphorically to business situations. This analysis however has shown a radical departure from this philosophy to words that are softer, more subjective, more emotive and less scientific, and ultimately closer to the language of

<sup>145</sup> See Berger (1991).

<sup>146</sup> Tzu (1988)

everyday life. The language of leadership therefore transcends both work and leisure domains. It is common to both and shows substantial congruence with the foundational themes of the ideal type of spiritual-family. The language of spirituality is sanctioned. Nasser's repeated and open emphasis on spiritual discourses can hardly be described as only the modification of bureaucratic rules. Such aspirations are better described as a paradigm shift.

#### **4.6 Conclusions**

If the bureaucracy has dominated sociological workplace studies as a structure for looking at work, and even if it describes the reality of Ford it certainly does not reflect its aspirations. Ford has clear aspirations for its future, recognises areas of deficiency and challenges in their realisation, and is actively introducing policies and initiatives aimed to facilitate their achievement. Ford is aggressively hostile to the notion of bureaucracy to the extent that senior spokespersons explicitly refer to it in pejorative terms. Ford's aspirations represent an immense and fundamental transformation of the corporation from a structure built on the concept of bureaucracy. If these aspirations are compared against the table of essential differences between the bureaucracy and spiritual-family shown in Figure 1, then nineteen of the twenty-three variables describing the spiritual-family in principle reflect Ford's vision. Four however do not, but instead reflect the bureaucracy. Ford aims for its admission processes to be expeditious with negligible or incidental moral content. The emphasis of remuneration is largely on extrinsic rewards, inequality, and individual advancement. The scale of buildings is enormous and above all, the selection of superiors is by appointment.

In brief, this official view of Ford has illustrated a desire as expressed by its most senior spokespersons for a new business model. This new model, founded on the deeply held belief of "serving the customer" entails a fundamental change, a "paradigm shift", in many areas of corporate life and especially with its underlying authority structure. This transformed authority structure most closely resembles Weber's charismatic type, one that we have learnt depends so much upon the recognition of leaders by those followers subject to his or her authority. We also note that Ford believes that its leaders have a vital function in a fundamental or revolutionary change to a social structure that emphasises the person, familial

relationships, integration and social transformation. To sum up, Ford advocates through its aspirations our ideal types of spiritual-family and spiritual-communion.

It would seem that Ford, a pariah in the views of many sociologists, on face value desires to transform itself into a structure entirely congruent with, and accurately described by our ideal type of spiritual-family. The Benedictines and Ford Motor Company would appear to have similar ideals according to this model. Fordism today, understood as a spiritual school may not be a complete and absolute oxymoron.<sup>147</sup> In the next chapter we will look at Ford primarily from a different viewpoint, from the perspective of grassroots followers. We again note Weber's caution that authority structures in reality can be very different from claims.

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<sup>147</sup> In this respect, the Celtic model of monasticism is significantly more apposite than Benedictine. Here, monastic "towns" were mixed settlements of men, women, celibates and married people that fulfilled political, social, economic, educational, as well as religious, functions (Sheldrake 1995a). If an analogy can be drawn between religious and spiritual organizations (the Benedictines are both), when the ideology of a religious order has affinity with dominant social concerns, and when other incentives exist, with little encouragement large numbers of enthusiastic and devoted recruits join (Wittberg 1984). Successful ideologies open up entire new populations to potential recruitment and support, and transform the definition of such an organization. People who had formerly been uninterested in spirituality can then suddenly begin to aspire after spiritual growth. Major growth periods of new religious orders occur partly because its new ideology successfully addresses the key concerns in surrounding secular culture.



## CHAPTER 5

### FORD: GRASSROOTS WORKING AT DUNTON

In Britain Ford employs more than 18,000 people across sixteen locations. Ford has been the UK new car market leader for twenty-five consecutive years. It has also led the light commercial market for twenty-two successive years and the medium commercial market for a record thirty-five years. New products are developed at the Dunton Technical Centre, located near Basildon in Essex in conjunction with its sister centre located at Merkenich near Cologne in Germany. Together these product development centres are responsible for the design of Ford's global portfolio of small and medium front-wheel drive vehicles currently including the Mondeo, Puma, Focus, Fiesta and Ka. Dunton is also home to the Ford Transit development team and the Advanced Vehicle Technology operation. The Dunton site was opened in 1967 and currently covers 110 hectares, including 40,000 square metres of workshops and test laboratories and more than 70,000 square metres of office space. It has direct computer and videoconferencing links to other Ford facilities globally. The total workforce on the site, including contractors and suppliers, is around 5,000 people.

As before, the methodological strategy implemented was systematic, exploratory and evolutionary through an ongoing integration of theory with data. Four fundamental categories of data were gathered: a) one-on-one semi-structured and recorded qualitative but non-attributable interviews with prime informants; b) extensive one-on-one and group-based informal and unplanned non-attributable discussion with secondary informants; c) continuous and detailed participant observation and ethnography; and d) the inclusion of the results of selective independent corporate studies. The prime informants ranged from supervisors, engineering and business professionals to a skilled manual worker, and from twenty to seventy year-olds, were male and female, and agency and permanent employees.

The second and third categories of data were collected by the researcher by taking advantage of his unique position of intimately living the daily experience of working at Ford alongside his informants. In many instances, the most substantial insights

were revealed through the literally hundreds of impromptu discussions and observations gained in the corridor, "by the kettle" or in the meeting room. Without the obtrusiveness of a microphone, small vignettes of conversation frequently enlightened, clarified and confirmed situations when the former device was conspicuous and intrusive. All research data was coded and rigorously analysed using computer aided software. We start by seeing how employees understand "spirituality".

### **5.1 The understanding of spirituality**

Employees generally find the topic of spirituality difficult to discuss because of its intrinsic and personal nature and, unlike strictly moral issues, it would not often be discussed with colleagues. Nonetheless, spirituality is often described as being related to high moral values, "following one's heart", personal belief, and often, but not essentially, religion. It is not always or necessarily rational, logical or formalised but sometimes irrational and creative, and places heavy emphasis on the consequences of actions. Spirituality is to do with fulfilment, close personal relationships, tolerance and authenticity and is connected to the bearing of a person's social conscience into the workplace as a self-responsible individual. Debra North provides her understanding:

Spirituality can be totally unrelated to religion and is due to your own well-being and your own feelings... not being afraid to be who you are. Say what you think and do what you think you should do. And use your own values and morals whilst respecting everyone else's of course.

In the workplace, spirituality is about reciprocal and inspiring relationships, leading a whole, joyful and balanced life, and can apply equally to atheists. Daniel Hertz talks of spiritual growth in the context of his martial arts and, in particular, his instructor:

The way I look at spirituality is just happiness in the workplace, so that I work with a team that I love to work with, that I have fun with, that gives me enthusiasm and I can impart enthusiasm and experience to. But it's a two-way thing... I think there can be spiritual people who aren't religious. They are just wise... it's about being rounded and being happy in the things that you are doing.

Corporate spirituality refers to the network of relationships within and beyond the corporation, reflects moral values and social conscience, and challenges a predominately economic focus to business purpose. Lutfallah Butrus, a Christian describes his view:

Corporate spirituality is how you work, how you deal with your customers, and how they deal with you, and how you deal with people within yourselves and how you deal with all your suppliers and all the people. It's your working ethos, your spiritual belief.

## **5.2 Case study of an exemplar unit**

The transformed vision for Ford as described by its spokespersons in chapter 4 may seem blatantly optimistic, fanciful or even incredulous. However, there is a small department based at Dunton, here called Niche Products, where this official view and consequently the ideal type of spiritual-family are largely put into practice and therefore makes them not unduly unrealistic. Consequently, it will be helpful to start by gaining insight into the practices of this exemplar department. Space will only permit this to be an illustrative vignette drawing primarily from a single interviewee Daniel Hertz, a charismatic supervisor within the department and in his early thirties. Daniel has a manager above him, and above this manager a profoundly charismatic director.

Niche Products was specifically set up to develop new product concepts to meet unmet customer requirements. It is physically located in a small building appended to the main Dunton building. At many times during interview, Daniel reported a high degree of job satisfaction and work commitment, especially when he was given large amounts of authority and autonomy, and his work conducted in cross-functional groups. Fortunately for him, often the groups he worked within were characterised by autonomy, enthusiasm and integration, and operated like an internal "professional consultancy service". An essential feature of these groups was not only their integration, relative and notable absence of a strict division of labour, and high degrees of autonomy, but also their steadfast customer focus.

It was great fun to do it with an energized team, a challenging team all pulling together, all thinking consumer as well, for the best interests of the Company. We presented as well so it was really good... I've got the most enthusiasm and excitement around the

projects where you work as an autonomous group. You are given a brief and then you go away and deliver it.

Daniel's work was often conducted in cross-functional teams made up of about ten people with widely different personality types and technical skills. Diversity, autonomy and professional growth were encouraged. Team members did not fulfil strictly distinct roles but were encouraged to ignore functional boundaries and to maximise their contribution to shared activities wherever possible. Frequently, work would take place collectively using a variety of technological supports. Playful interaction was widely deployed as an integral part of daily work to stimulate co-creativity, collaboration and to generate further enthusiasm.

We did really long hours but it didn't feel like you were doing long hours because you had so much fun while you were doing it... we are thinking and playing at the same time. It's not serious. It is just a fun way to work. It's a good fun way of working and people often join in. They will see us having fun down the end of the office and we get people who aren't part of the programme that join in and contribute... We get through flip charts all the time because we think out aloud, we think collectively, pulling in different people's resource.

Daniel's group could be characterised as a compact self-governing team that emphasised horizontal, personal and cross-functional relationships. Collective and informal team celebrations were often an essential part of their work. On these occasions, an element of personal reward was through direct and informal social access to senior management. But reward was not constrained to specific occasions but integrated with work assignments and the intrinsic satisfaction of the work itself.

We did an absolutely ridiculous amount of hours to get the project done and they took the whole team to a top London restaurant... That was part of a reward, but it was like everybody having a laugh together and having fun... Part of the reward was letting the team go on market research and bonding somewhere in London or Munich and getting drunk together.

Daniel's group places great emphasis on informal and personal interaction. These types of relationships also extend beyond their group to interactions with senior management.



We had the whole senior management in the room with us... Will Boddie<sup>148</sup> came over and... started chatting, just having a really informal conversation with us about his travelling. It was cool, a really good environment. So they could feel that when we were presenting, felt the enthusiasm, and felt that we were being informal.

The group's office space is unique by the absence of physical partitions. Its design aims to encourage both equality and the broad, spontaneous and "open participation" and contribution by any member of the group. However, a quiet room is reserved for those who need time to work in privacy. Work at times has taken place remotely from the office such as at a local pub.

Communication is so important. It's not writing notes or even going to see someone in their pigeon. It's the communication that you hear over the desk when you've got no barriers between you. Like I hear my boss talking about something that I am related to and I'll butt in on the conversation. Because we have a reasonably informal relationship, when I am talking about something, often the guys that I work with bundle in on the conversation. They all want their input... But people need to think sometimes so we have a manager's office, not occupied by a manager. Everyone sits together and if you need some time to think alone you just go into that office.

Lutfallah Butrus noticed this during a visit to Daniel's office. He would also like to join this group:

The thing I like about Niche Products is the fact that the LL4's are sitting at exactly the same desks as the GSRs. And they are all working in exactly the same way in a very open culture.

Daniel takes great pride in the deep, immediate and intuitive relationships his group has with consumers. His group has achieved a direct, deep and emotional understanding of consumers through personal and continuing social interactions. These interactions are often perceived as intrinsically energising and motivating experiences.

We'd spent so much time with these consumers. We had been in London with them drinking late and we really got into their heads, not just from cold market research so we just knew what they felt like... We were sitting there with the consumers and listening to them and

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<sup>148</sup> Vice-President, Global Core Engineering

they knew us and they built a rapport with us so you get some really deep insights that you just can't get from normal market research.

Daniel aims for equality and the relative absence of formal hierarchy or status differentials within his group. Nonetheless, the inherent distinctions between general salary and management role within the same flat team structure at times undermine his desire. Daniel aims to coordinate work activities in order to maximise enthusiasm. Work is shared amongst the group, individuals volunteer to take responsibility for tasks that match their unique interests and dispositions, and work can be assigned reciprocally.

We have a fairly open relationship in the way we work together. Even though there's this grade difference... I'm happy for Peter<sup>149</sup> to give me assignments if he is leading a project. I haven't got a problem with that. The other thing is I don't give Peter things that he's not enthusiastic about... if I'm overloaded and I've got something that I need to get done it wouldn't necessarily go to him. He just sort of takes it... So I get my workload from my boss and I look at it with Peter. So this is what I've got to do, that's not going to interest you, I'll do that. What about this stuff - he'll go, 'okay, I'm quite interested in that'. He'll just take that. So he works on stuff that he's enthusiastic about. We all have to work on things that we're not enthusiastic about and he recognises that.

Time in the department has a rhythmic focus and is oriented around self-contained tasks. Daniel avoids fragmentation of his group's work by deliberately reserving continuous and substantial portions of time and even consecutive days to collectively work on particular projects or activities. Scheduling this time is done at the beginning of each week as a response to collective needs.

What we try to do is to chunk time so that all morning we will think about the Niche Project. And then we will go away from it. Break for a while... Because some of these things we have to get into the flow of thinking about and really think about quite deeply. You can't do that in an hour. It just doesn't happen so you need quite a chunk of time. So I try to chunk meeting days together and then chunk out time to just do on Niche.

The hours of work are flexible and structured around practical necessities of both work and non-work activities. Daniel's group is very flexible with work-life

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<sup>149</sup> A general salary role employee

integration and timekeeping and has an active concern for balance between its needs and those of its members. Individuals are free to structure their own time. Trust and freedom are assumed because of the passion, interest, and job satisfaction individuals have for their work. The working day can lengthen or contract according to tasks at hand, the need for personal balance and to honour family and social life commitments.

We have really flexible working hours. Peter comes in at nine sometimes. Sometimes I come in at 7:30, sometimes I come in at 10:00 and I just work to whenever I work to. It's just totally flexible, which is good and works well. So we just feel as though there's a natural stop - it's not work to four o'clock. It's not like that at all... Everything is flexible, when you start, when you finish, everything is totally flexible... I know it won't be abused, because they like working in the department.

Daniel's group exhibits a particularly pure form of the collegial authority exemplified through teamwork. However, in Daniel's opinion, his superior has a particularly authoritarian and opposing management style. Frequently these two authority structures overtly conflict, apparently from different intrinsic motivations. Daniel professes that his team is motivated by satisfying consumer needs, whereas his manager gives him the impression of being more concerned about personal accreditation. In cases of conflict, apparently Daniel's manager often desires to confront and persuade Daniel's team members individually, by "dividing and conquering", as to the merits of his personal viewpoint. However, often Daniel's team will respond by consolidating in order to resist this fragmentary approach. Daniel illustrates this conflict with the narration of a discussion he had had with his management about features planned for inclusion in market research. His manager had just told him, against Daniel's own judgment, what features would be included. What we see is how the collective authority and solidarity of a team can resist hierarchical and authoritarian management pressure. Moreover, authoritarian management exerting its formal authority against team opinion created significant resentment, eroded morale and work commitment, and subsequently had the unanticipated consequence of undermining the same management's authority. Indeed, it led the team to believe that management was acting out of self-interest as opposed to serving the needs of the customer.

I said, 'You're not really leaving much room for a discussion here are you' and he goes 'No! We are not going to go there'. And I said, 'Is that an order' and he said 'Yes'. I said, 'you know I disagree with you, but if its an order it's an order. You're my boss, but it's just totally the wrong thing to do'. So I was really really annoyed. What we did anyway, because the team is stronger than the management, we went back to the team... The team agreed that it was the right thing to do and then Gunther, who's one of the engineering managers, came in to try and argue his case and he lost. He lost with the team and he backed down from all of his positions... So the team won. But you'd like to think that your management was fairly open and had the Company's and the consumer's best interests, not their own interests, best at heart. It's plainly obvious that the guy wants to get his stuff on the programme so he can say once it's in the market place, look how clever I am and not really worry about the consumer. Which really really rubs us up the wrong way.

In strict contrast to the authoritarian style of his manager, Daniel adopts a facilitative style in leading his teams. Daniel sees it his responsibility to encourage a balanced view and to strive for consensus even though this may be in conflict with his own personal view. His own views are never enforced autocratically.

I try to separate my personal view from a balanced view so often I find myself facilitating some views that perhaps I don't agree with. But on balance, when you look at it as an arbitrator, you pick out what's best and what is not best... If there are strong opinions flying about, I try and balance it, and say, hang on a minute, let's try and balance this and get to some consensus.

When asked, if the team was given its own way, would it choose a different manager, Daniel simply and spontaneously answered, "Yeah, definitely." By contrast, Daniel speaks very favourably of his deeply charismatic director. Relationships with this director were noted by being informal, liberating and personal. This director served as a coach to Daniel's entire group by providing encouragement, nurture and support rather than being paternalistic, authoritarian or repressive.

What was good was there wasn't this father-type management attitude approving what we did. It was an encouraging attitude from Mick Bradley, the director at the time... Mick sheltered us from the politicking senior management side, encouraged us and had an absolutely dead informal approach with us, which really worked well. And that is why we got the results that we did. He also encouraged us to be as aggressive as we wanted in our ideas and our approaches... you could just stop him in the corridor and speak to him... You need people that can communicate at the business level and the politicking

level and then give the team below them the freedom to do what they're meant to do. And that's essentially what Mick Bradley did. He was a mentor.

In short, Daniel's group locally practices many of the characteristics of the ideal type of spiritual-family. Nonetheless, apparent is the inherent conflict between the opposing charismatic authority pervading his team, and the legal-rational type as practiced by some superiors. Although the two types are currently accommodated, the former appears to be increasingly willing, and able, to challenge and overcome the authority of the latter. Charismatic authority is about revolution. In Daniel's case it seems to be from one encouraging personal aggrandisement to one encouraging customer service.<sup>150</sup> We will hear more from Daniel below. Having explored how Ford's vision can be enacted in an exemplary department, we can now return to look at life in Dunton more generally. As before, the analysis will be structured using the five elements of the new ideal type.

### **5.3 Primacy of the person**

#### *5.3.1 Personal dignity*

In day-to-day business planning at Dunton, people are usually accounted as impersonal objects or commodified items of economic production like any other corporate resource. For instance, in budgeting engineering resources, an estimate is made of the number of "standard heads" required and equating this through a standard yearly rate to an economic cost. The uniqueness or specific skills such as education and career history of individuals are largely ignored. Engineers are budgeted wholesale as impersonal commodities, and so for instance departments are typically allocated an agreed quota of different graded positions. Peter Solomon, in his early thirties, is currently a project manager for a unique type of transmission being installed in the Ford Transit at the Genk production plant in Belgium. He recalls how at an earlier time how, as an agency employee leading a major advanced

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<sup>150</sup> Revolutions begin with transformations of human consciousness. Outward acts against the old order are invariably preceded by the disintegration of inward allegiance and loyalties. Long before social systems are destroyed by violence, they are deprived of their ideological sustenance by contempt (Berger 1963).

technology project, the centralised and impersonal budgeting of people impacted at the local level, and for him resulted in redundancy:

There was a headcount issue and somebody upstairs said that there were too many people for the manager... and so they had to be gone by the end of the month... So people got moved out of jobs that they had been quite happy doing, in some cases doing fairly well.

As a "reconfigurable unit of production", the person can have little stability and so, ironically for Peter, "I was back on site in a different area within a week". He was made redundant at short notice one week, yet offered employment in a totally unrelated department the next. The commodification of the person is reflected in internal vacancies. Vacancies are advertised by description of the job together with the corresponding requirements for educational achievement and technical skills. Few references are made to the human qualities and interests of potential candidates. The job is defined and an individual sought to match, an approach that had not passed unnoticed. Dennis Peterson, a senior engineer in his early thirties whose job involves improving the fuel economy and performance of future diesel engines: "There's a trend towards having a job function and then identifying an individual with a job function and saying, well that is that individual's function."

In many instances employees are possessed like inanimate and productive resources by their local management and exploited as much as possible before being given the freedom to move to different or even to more suitable positions. Lutfallah Butrus is in his early thirties and works as a business analyst supporting strategic decision-making:

I've been kept in my position for nearly a year and a half. Longer than I should be probably for the reason that I am getting the job done whilst others have moved through.

At the working level, most of the people I spoke with felt undervalued and many unrecognised for their contributions and commitment. Authentic corporate progress in improving the dignified treatment of employees is widely welcomed despite a perceived large gap with current reality. Richard Murphy is an engine development engineer in his mid-twenties. His main tasks are overseeing an engine being tested on a dynamometer to improve the engines combustion system. He enjoys it as it encompasses a range of skills:

There's a token gesture of starting to value employees. I think all big companies have these slogans that employees are their biggest assets. I think everyone says that - maybe they're starting to go down the sort of road of actually valuing them. But I think there's probably a long way to go.

Nonetheless, the range in how individuals can be treated varies by local management style. Patrick Pearce is in his early fifties, has worked in both manufacturing and product development during his twenty-five years service but for the last two-and-a-half years has been part of a team developing a new V6 diesel engine:

You've got people treated little better than robots, and you've got people that are treated as fully functioning human beings, complete with trust and everything else. Again, it varies from department to department.

Employees believe they have greater dignity locally, and especially within their teams, in comparison to the corporate hierarchy. Peers offer greater respect than superiors. Peter Solomon:

Between members of the team, people who work together every day, then you are of more value. As you go higher up the management, the view of people below you seems to be less.

Between, and even within, departments there can be a wide range of how employees are utilised. Individuals in some departments can work twelve to thirteen hours a day whereas in others they can be bored and demoralised from gross under-deployment. In the former cases, many feel they are worked rather than working in that their work controls them rather than them controlling their work. In the latter cases, employees attribute their underutilisation to combinations of insufficient or untimely budget allocation and the absence of management direction. Ravi Chavhan, an experienced chartered electrical engineer, is a quintessential example. He had spent nearly eighteen months grossly under-deployed despite routinely drawing this to the attention of his supervisor. The experience had left him so de-motivated and deeply demoralised that he was considering leaving Ford, despite his three young children and wife depending on his employment. Ravi's circumstances were exaggerated by sharing an office with someone from a totally unrelated field of activity who in complete contrast was grossly overworked. Extremes of over and underutilisation

were juxtaposed. But paradoxically employees can feel their dignity eroded through either underutilisation or excessive work. Chris Lovell:

If you're too busy you can't do the job properly which makes you feel demeaned, and if you haven't got enough to do you think you are undervalued because you haven't got enough to do.

But the erosion of dignity through under-deployment is not constrained to individuals. Richard Murphy explains how an entire department can virtually be left idle for months from an unallocated departmental budget:

My supervisor has been building up the department in preparation for some larger projects and he hasn't got his budget and we have been waiting for that budget... but it hasn't happened, so consequently a lot of people have been fiddling their thumbs... There are a couple of guys in the department who have got a lot of workload - but most people haven't.

A different aspect of underutilisation concerns the appropriate usage of a person's skills and abilities. Work frequently does not always reinforce the worker's dignity through their unique competencies being fully and beneficially utilised. Chris Lovell, who is approaching sixty and works in the build and testing of prototype engines, reveals the frustration this can cause:

Ford's taught me a tremendous amount of engineering skills, business skills and interpersonal skills. I've got them but they're not using them. And they don't seem to want to use them and I've got to the point where I say if you don't want to use them that's entirely your problem not mine.

### 5.3.2 *Uniqueness and recognition*

At the working level there is virtually a unanimous feeling of anonymity. The notion of conceiving oneself as a number routinely and ubiquitously featured in numerous aspects of my discussions to a surprising extent. This self-conception seems to commence during the initial experience of admission, and leaves an indelible mark throughout the employee's career. Often an employee's early employment experience appears crucial in the development of their subsequent commitment and outlook. Debra North, a Ford sponsored engineering graduate in her early twenties, explains her experience of joining a department within Dunton and her sensitivity to receiving impersonal treatment and disinterest in her uniqueness and desires. She expresses the



opinions of others succinctly by attributing impersonal interaction to Dunton's size and the attitudes and behaviours of immediate management - she only met her manager just before leaving his department:

You are not treated as an individual. Most of the time you are a number. What's your FIN<sup>151</sup> number, that's who you are, or your global ID number that we've got on HR.<sup>152</sup> It feels like, as a graduate, you come in and you meet with Training. They send you off to your respective jobs and that's it. You're left in this massive sea of people, because it's a huge place as far as I'm concerned. The feeling thing is amplified by the fact you're in a really big place, supervisors don't have hardly any chance of being with you and you don't even meet your manager. So you don't feel very significant at all. You don't feel unique because no one's taken that interest in you to find out what you're good at, to find out what you would really want to do, to find out what you would want to develop and which aspects you need to work on. There's none of that, they just find a few assignments for you to do and off you go: 'these people will all help you, but I haven't got time for you.'

Even if employees were treated uniquely, at Dunton their psychological personality types are heavily skewed towards particular characteristics. Employees often speak of themselves as a collective, as having homogeneity of thought and behaviour, and being particularly analytical, narrow-minded and inflexible - a rational form of Durkheim's mechanical solidarity. Vincent Fox, a build coordinator for prototype vehicles in his early fifties, with incidentally a passion for kit cars, explains how uniqueness, even when beneficial, is discounted:

Everybody is treated as a number and if they show any real differences to the normal way of things, even if it could help the Company financially, they are cast aside. There's very much a standard way of reacting, a standard way of operating.

Although Ford has an informal dress code, many employees conform to expectations of their local management. Peter Solomon, an inimitable and flamboyant individual, recalls a past supervisor's reaction to his rebellion:

There seemed to be a suggestion that if I wore a tie more often and a white shirt instead of a patterned shirt, tartan work shirts, that I would get on better.

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<sup>151</sup> Ford Identity Number

<sup>152</sup> Human resource record base

Nonetheless, there is a large degree of intrinsic diversity in terms of religious belief, ethnicity and cultural background. Many employees enjoy this limited aspect of diversity. Dennis Peterson completed his doctorate at University of Bath immediately prior to joining Ford:

When I came from the West Country to Essex, I did not expect to have lunch with a Muslim, a Jew and a Buddhist... I have met people from many different countries, many different backgrounds.

Employees tend to be treated uniformly within a salary grade. This can impact on motivation as productive and unproductive individuals are treated alike. Tony Bulos is an experienced mechanic responsible for hand-assembling prototype engines. He has hourly paid status, has worked for Ford for four years and is in his late thirties:

Everyone is on the same money where I work. We're all grade 5's, we're all paid exactly the same money and there are some people who are more competent than others... I can do a certain job in a day, and the bloke next to me is doing the same job in three days. Yet he's on exactly the same money. So sometimes you think why should I do it in one day when I could do it in one day and sit around for two days.

Uniformity applies equally to office space. The office layout at Dunton is extremely standardised with no opportunity for customisation to suit the personal working needs or desires of individuals. Its layout is habitually criticised as employees claim that people work differently and consequently have diverse requirements, as we will see later. The sheer size of the building and this internal layout is blamed for widespread impersonal interaction or "civil inattentiveness". Walking down the long straight corridors at Dunton can be a lonely experience. Little eye contact is made between individuals. Occasionally when acquaintances pass there are token symbols of recognition, but these can be infrequent. Bill Teasdale one day passed me in the corridor looking noticeably forlorn. In the past we had shared a small office separate from the main building. Bill cut to the quick. "I feel so depressed. This place has got too big." Others see the same but differently. Noel Taylor, an engineer in his mid-thirties, is responsible for a fleet of Ford Transit and Galaxy test vehicles in order to understand in detail their in-service performance. He is not based at Dunton but is a frequent visitor from a small satellite location twenty-five miles away at Boreham:

The automatons at Dunton seem to get their lunch at the canteen, queue up with their tray, not look at each other, or talk to each other...

Unless they are friends or people they know, they wouldn't dream of talking to anybody else. I think very much by section, or by department, people tend to ignore others. Because you've got such a huge building here, I think it's very difficult to try and acknowledge everybody.<sup>153</sup>

As we have seen, the Pulse survey provides all permanent employees with an annual opportunity to register their opinions on what is going well and what needs improvement in their work groups and in the company. Although Ford of Europe's overall Pulse results on the whole improved year-by-year from 1999 to 2002, the results for Product Development showed a general decline as will become evident.<sup>154</sup>

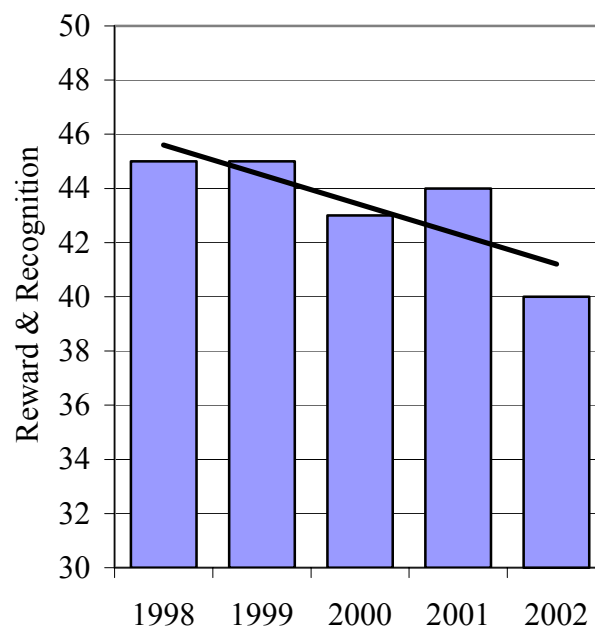


Figure 6: Pulse survey: Reward and Recognition, 1998-2002<sup>155</sup>

As evident in Figure 6, over time Product Development employees have expressed increasing discontent with the levels of recognition they receive. Many employees feel that recognition is vital for them to believe that they are making a valuable and worthwhile contribution. Acts of recognition seem crucial to imparting a feeling of

<sup>153</sup> Henry Ford noted the same as Bill and Noel. Impersonality and objectivity were concomitants of large scale: "A great business is really too big to be human. It grows so large as to supplant the personality of the man. In a big business the employer, like the employee, is lost in the mass" (1922, 263).

<sup>154</sup> The subsequent Pulse results are for *Product Development in Europe*. They are presented together with a linear trend-line for the percentage of respondents who responded "favourably" on a particular dimension. Sample sizes were 2,328, 1,190, 1,186, 2,602, and 1,018 for the years 1998 to 2002 respectively.

<sup>155</sup> Two of the questions for this dimension were: "In this organisation people are rewarded according to their job performance" and "How satisfied are you with the recognition you receive for doing a good job?"

uniqueness, provided such acts are expressed personally and locally. More so, recognition from immediate management seems vital as a fundamental part of the reward system, particularly in cases of diminished intrinsic work satisfaction.

Vincent Fox is a tenacious and diligent employee:

The feeling I get is, it doesn't matter how hard or how little one works, it really doesn't make any difference... it is giving people some recognition of their worth to the Company. That doesn't necessarily mean monetary, just somebody saying to you, you did a good job there.

Although seemingly small acts of personal recognition and appreciation are greatly desired for maintaining self-esteem and motivation, in practice they are more often received through peers or fellow team members than from superiors. Richard Murphy:

I haven't had any recognition from people higher up the ladder. I have had recognition from people at the same working level appreciating what I do... Once in a while it's nice to get a thank you - getting nothing at all, you wonder if there's any particular reason, if it's deliberately not thanking you for anything, or just whether your contribution is worthwhile at all.

### *5.3.3 Autonomous professionals*

Employees frequently express the desire to feel "more in charge of their own lives". Most employees at Dunton have significant personal freedom for their time and are largely self-managed. However, their autonomy is rarely combined with the authority for financial or resource expenditure. These are separately administered through hierarchical approval levels. They have extensive freedom but with minimum authority. Control is externalised. Based on his previous job as an engineer designing exhaust manifolds, Patrick Pearce expresses a common desire for decisions on implementation and interpretation to be made locally and for employees to be given appropriate authority to make and carry out decisions that affect their work. Such measures are seen to advance motivation and to intensify work effort:

Giving the individual chap, whose doing the work, the power to make decisions that affects his work and having the authority to carry it through. Within Ford, although we use terms like empowerment, in reality you have to go through a chain of command and a set of processes.

A desirable quality of superiors is their ability to foster self-management. Dennis Peterson has a particularly experienced supervisor who is much liked and respected by his subordinates (and later promoted):

He's able to delegate responsibility and that means the responsibility is mine to approach him or someone else for help or advice if I come up against something that I can't deal with myself. I think that is the best way for supervision... to allow people to organise their own work priorities and schedules and to effectively manage themselves.

Teamwork often provides high levels of autonomy, concomitant with responsibility to other team members. In some instances, like that of Daniel's exemplary group discussed earlier, the workgroup has autonomy from the formal management structure and controls the setting of the pace of work and the distribution of tasks amongst itself. Such autonomous working can provide high levels of job satisfaction. Brian Smith, an engineer in his mid-forties with a wealth of experience in gasoline engine development, is especially proud of his past key role in developing the engine of the highly acclaimed Ford Puma: "Puma was very good purely because we were working in an autonomous environment and very little supervisory involvement." Conversely, insufficient freedom or autonomy can negatively impact on employee well-being. Dr Mike Mckinnon is the Senior Medical Officer at Dunton's Occupational Health department:

Those employees starting to have difficulties often feel they are controlled by their work situation - either controlled by their subordinates or they are controlled by their superiors or the Company as a whole and they have no control over their situation... With loss of control you end up with competing stresses, which aren't really balancing themselves and conflict and tensions, which then lead to anxiety and depression.

Many employees at Dunton are members of professional bodies and exercise unique expertise and formal knowledge within a particular field. All graduate engineering recruits are encouraged to pursue a route to becoming chartered within their particular engineering institutions. Nonetheless, employee mobility is encouraged to the extent that engineers demonstrating little mobility, by staying on their job for an extended period of time and consequently deepening their knowledge, tend to be regarded negatively and are often penalised in terms of career progression. Currently, stability and technical depth are not highly valued compared with mobility, breadth

of experience and hierarchical advancement. Professionalism is discounted. Others express little point in furthering their academic qualifications as a means of professional growth unless they can perceive a direct career benefit from doing so. Nevertheless, many do combine their high levels of autonomy and self-discipline with the desire to work to the best of their ability and have a commitment to continuous professional development. Figure 7 shows quantitatively and longitudinally how employees increasingly feel less able to use their unique skills to the benefit of the organization and disempowered. Their professional aspirations appear frustrated.

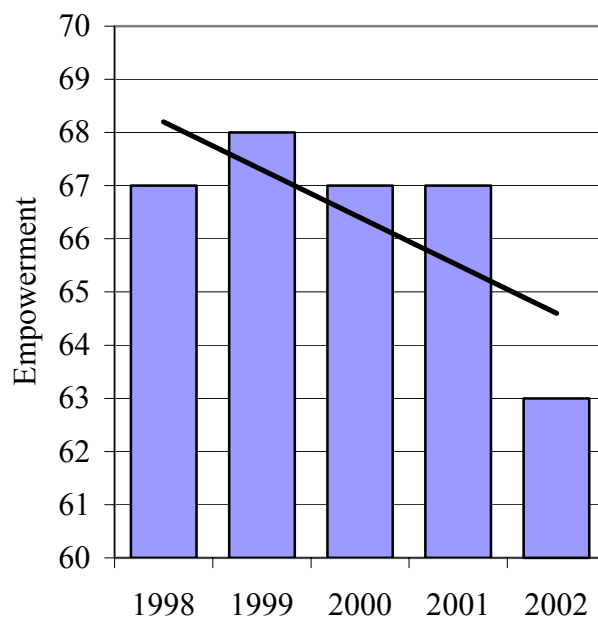


Figure 7: Pulse survey: Empowerment, 1998-2002<sup>156</sup>

For others, a sense of social mission is an integral motivation to their work. These desire their work to include an element of service or contribution towards a greater common good, be it helping humanity, society, the environment or other people, or in short, the potential to "make a difference". Dennis Peterson has for a long time wanted to express his Christian belief as a Methodist through his work:

I wanted to use my engineering in a way that would help people in their day-to-day lives... when I started here, and certainly my work at university which was aimed at improving emissions and economy of motor vehicles, I felt I was doing something to help the environment,

<sup>156</sup> Two of the questions for this dimension were: "My job makes good use of my skills and abilities" and "I participate in setting work-related objectives".

something positive... I felt that working in these areas I'd be helping to produce a cleaner better world.

#### *5.3.4 Personal growth, education and training*

Most employees express the desire for interesting work that permits learning and development opportunities. There is the desire, particularly by younger employees, for a greater emphasis on individuals' development needs, and the organization to provide greater scope for growth as both a unique person and as a team member.

Peter Solomon:

I like the idea of a company that develops you as a person. On the other hand, I don't want it to be pushing so hard that it makes you into its mould - I'd like there to be a bit of leeway on how they want me to develop.

With personal growth there was the expectation of greater autonomy, variety in work tasks and greater participation in decision-making. Many expressed the desire to perform jobs that suit their existing skills and their development requirements, not simply meeting the business's needs. Nonetheless, the reality can be far from this so that internal moves can often fulfil the needs of the organization as opposed to developing the person. Nicolas Evans, a corporate information officer, provides weekly technical and news reviews to a circulation of 8,000, and has stayed in the same job and grade for his thirty-five years at Ford. Nicolas is approaching retirement, is in his early sixties and had recently changed jobs against his will:

The personnel officer was concerned with getting the job done, getting my signature on the dotted line for the change, and was absolutely no way there to ensure that I was being developed as a resource.

Employees frequently assert that progression for them means personal or professional growth above formal hierarchical status or pecuniary remuneration. Astonishingly, none of my informants indicated any desire for hierarchical promotion. Personal or professional growth is often more important than hierarchical ascent. The more potential they have, the greater contribution they can make to the corporation, and the more fulfilled they become. Employees often express a desire to develop themselves continuously through their work and for self-development educational opportunities to be universally and readily available to all staff.

Nonetheless, this aside they express extreme frustration from reaching any form of artificial limit to progression, notably the seemingly impenetrable transition from either hourly paid or agency to permanent staff employment status. Paradoxically, it seems that many managers assume that their subordinates want hierarchical promotion and greater financial reward as opposed to opportunities for developing new skills. Lutfallah Butrus:

My brain is like a muscle that is currently suffering from severe atrophy, because it gets not nearly enough exercise... Promotion is the wrong word. I think what is important is to be learning things that are new. That's not the same as being promoted or more money. What's important is a new skill... Progression doesn't equal promotion. I am not interested in getting more stripes on my shoulder.

Unfortunately Lutfallah could not wait and left Ford a month later. Similarly, job satisfaction is frequently more important than hierarchical promotion, especially for Noel Taylor:

I don't say I'm career minded in as much as I want to climb the ladder and be a supervisor or manager. I think I'm quite happy to be doing what I'm doing. That sounds like I'm underachieving. But I'm happy, I've got my job satisfaction and I think that would be taken away from me if I was to be in a different position.

For some, mentoring is a vital aid to personal development. In Britain Ford has over 200 mentors, drawn from many areas of the organization, supporting graduates progressing towards chartered status within their professional institutions. Mentors understand their position as providing counselling, guidance and advice. They help their mentees develop self-reliance by example and by personal involvement in their lives. Such mentoring is understood as a continuous two-way informal relationship driven with the opportunity for both parties to grow. Mentoring is not limited to a formal role but can be a one-to-one and reciprocal relationship integral with leadership. Lutfallah, as we saw above, has an avid thirst to learn:

One of the best people I've ever worked for was a guy who's now MD of Ford New Zealand. He and I had a very honest working relationship where he knew that I was there to learn from him... And he capitalised on that. So he taught me, and I gave him back more than he taught me in terms of product. Great relationship.



Ford makes extensive education and training resources available to employees to foster their continuous learning. Figure 8 shows that over the six-year time period, the number of masters degrees sponsored has doubled.

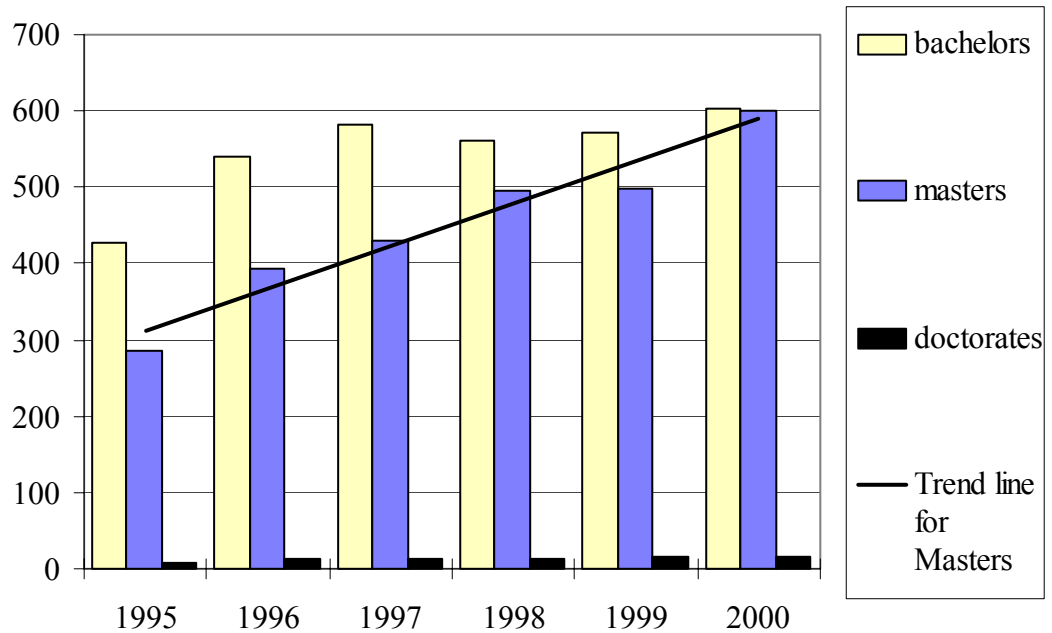


Figure 8: Sponsored Degrees in Europe, 1995-2000

In addition to academic education, Ford offers a wide range of training. Training programmes can be both technical, such as learning new engineering techniques, and behavioural such as the development of interpersonal skills. An "Open Learning Centre" provides ready access for the development of skills such as the use of new software applications. Further educational sponsorship is available through EDAP for leisure, sports and a wide range of other non-work-related pursuits.<sup>157</sup> Individuals are largely responsible for their self-development and career management. A very wide menu of training is available to permanent staff on a self-administration basis. Individuals can choose what training they see as relevant and can attend appropriate courses, all however subject to their immediate superior's approval.

<sup>157</sup> See n.97.

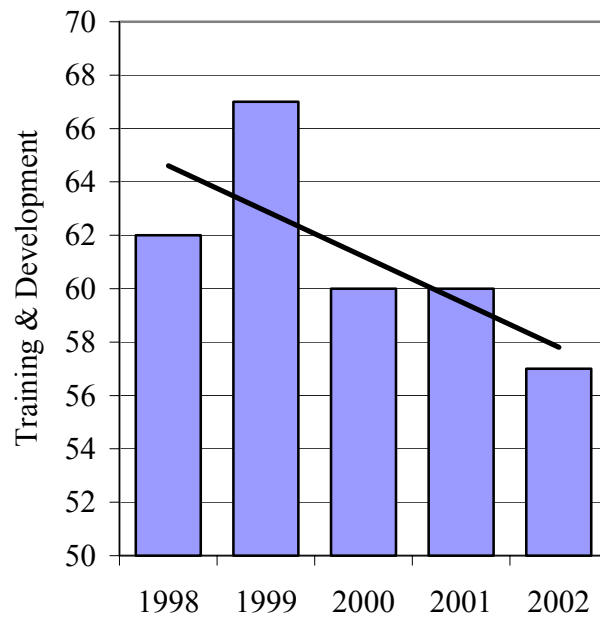


Figure 9: Pulse survey: Training and Development, 1998-2002<sup>158</sup>

Despite this substantial commitment to education and training, employ satisfaction with this dimension has decreased as illustrated in Figure 9. Employees frequently cite three reasons. First of all, much training is bureaucratically administered. For instance, a threshold level of qualification of an internal training course called FTEP<sup>159</sup> is formally required before an engineer can be promoted. This training is required regardless whether it is relevant or not to the individual's current job or career aspiration, is widely regarded as an pointless hurdle both by managers and their subordinates alike, and is not seen as necessarily developing a person's unique potential but more in creating a "standard employee". Patrick Pearce:

Although the person may be the best person for the job through experience, through knowledge gained over the years, through being a bright person, having the wherewithal to make decisions whatever, he is not even considered because he hasn't spent time on loads of courses that may or may not prove useful.

Secondly and connected, there is a desire for courses to be continuous and flexibly integrated with work in terms of timeliness and content, so that they are applied and support the unique and appropriate developmental needs of the person, rather than

<sup>158</sup> One of the questions for this dimension was: "I am given a real opportunity to improve my skills in the Company."

<sup>159</sup> Ford Technical Engineering Program

being intense and disconnected. Mandatory, universal and non-specific training are widely disliked. Brian Smith:

Some of the measures we have had in the past have been a tick-the-box issue. Every person had to have seven or eight days training per year minimum. And it meant you found yourself in November suddenly booking yourself on all kinds of crap courses just to get your numbers up... your supervisor doesn't care what you go on as long as you go on it and tick the box... So many of them are like that, instantly forgotten once you've been on the course. Either that or they'll teach you things on the course that you don't have to apply from day one... training according to me is far better spent on half-day, once-a-month or even an hour a week... and would be much more useful overall than the current block and forget system.

Thirdly, formal educational opportunities are rarely integrated with an individual's work. This often results in the compartmentalisation of work and educational life. Tony Bulos is married with two young daughters and does not want to compromise his family life: "I'm working for my family life, so I don't want to take that away by going to college and working three or four evenings a week."

### *5.3.5 Fulfilment and personal well-being*

Many employees place a great deal of importance on job satisfaction and are particularly expressive on the subject. The more educated in particular have high expectations for intrinsically worthwhile jobs. Some feel that although Ford rewards its staff well financially, it does not always ensure that they are fulfilled or have interesting jobs. There appears a wide variety of job satisfaction experienced in practice. For many employees, job satisfaction can be more important than a salary increase and can have a significant impact on work commitment. Factors that were frequently cited for enhancing job satisfaction were personal autonomy, challenging and varied tasks, participation in decision-making, a good match between job requirements and personal ability, and fully human interactions through fellowship or teamwork. These factors are linked to the aforementioned discussion of human dignity through the sense of being properly and constructively employed. Noel Taylor is an exemplary and relatively unique example of someone who thoroughly enjoys his job, and as a consequence exerts high levels of job commitment and engagement:

I don't always see it as work because I enjoy doing what I do. I don't see it as mundane... I don't wake up in the morning and dread going to work. I wake up in the morning, it's like a new day, and it's a fresh challenge. I'm going somewhere different, or I'm going to do something different. I see that as very satisfying... 100 percent of Noel comes to work... I really enjoy my job. I really enjoy doing what I do.

High degrees autonomy, flexibility and variety, and the trust imparted by his superior are major contributors to his job satisfaction. Noel continues:

The freedom is lovely. Because essentially I'm, for want of a better phrase, my own boss. No one says to me, can you go and do this... it's my decision, my choice to make a date in my diary to say when I'm going to get round to looking at that, and schedule it in. So I'm free to organize my work life as I choose. Obviously within some confines... I have no doubt that my supervisor doesn't know what I do on a daily basis - a lot of it is on trust. It's just that he trusts me to go and do what I need to go and do.

Noel also gains particular satisfaction from witnessing the completion of a package of work and making a tangible contribution to the actual final product. Conversely, many employees I spoke with have substantially lower levels of job satisfaction. Factors attributed to this are repetitive work devoid of intrinsic interest or direction, or a sense of contribution or connection to a larger whole. Employees who report low levels of job satisfaction often claim they disengage from their work, have very low levels of job commitment, no longer use their initiative and contribute the minimum work effort. Patrick Pearce works at the cutting-edge of Ford's engine technology:

Unfortunately I wouldn't think my job was worthwhile at all at the moment. Overall as a group, the tasks and the work that we should be doing is vital... Ninety-eight percent of it at the moment is classified as boring... because a lot of it I can't see the relevance as to where we're going with it, and I can't see where we fit in... The 98 percent boring is as if I'm going through the motions, so there's not as much of me here as should be or could be.

Chris Lovell is another typical example of poor job satisfaction that he attributes to not being able to see the fruits of his work, nor being fully utilised. He enjoys his job, not the way of working and accommodates his situation, like Patrick, by disengagement and reduced work effort. Chris has worked at Ford for thirty years and depends on his hobby of boating as a "safety valve" for stress relief from work:

I used to enjoy the time I was here and I used to put a lot of effort in. I'm afraid I put the minimum effort to get the job done now because I really don't enjoy being here... It frustrates me because I know I'm not giving the Company my best efforts and that really does frustrate me. The reason I don't give it my best efforts is because I can't enthuse myself to do that, I really can't. Because all you're going to get is exactly the same outcome. You can't adjust the outcome any more. Previously, if you put more effort in you got more effort out, you got more feedback out. I could see the fruits of my labour. Now you don't.

Chris, like many others, also copes with this situation by fragmenting his work from his home life. His dissatisfaction with work is so extreme that if his retirement was not imminent he would have to seek employment elsewhere. Chris explains how he comes to terms with a lack of fulfilment and how his thirty-year commitment has changed accordingly. Work has become "just a job":

I cut myself off from the Company as soon as I leave... I go home and completely forget the job. The job is gone. That's the end of that day and I'll unfortunately have to pick it up again tomorrow. But I don't give it anymore time than it gets paid for.

Having known Chris for twenty-two years I was deeply surprised. Sadly, employment dissatisfaction extends beyond Patrick and Chris. As shown in Figure 10, there is progressive deterioration in employee satisfaction as expressed through the Pulse survey.

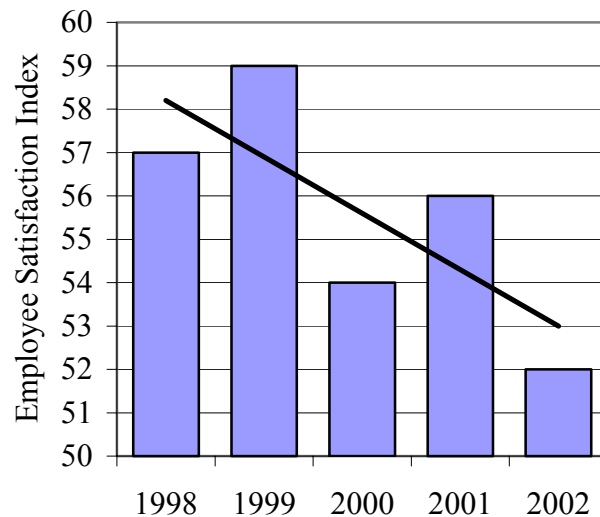


Figure 10: Pulse survey: Employee Satisfaction, 1998-2002<sup>160</sup>

Beyond employment satisfaction, many employees express a desire for work to provide a sense of meaning and claimed their motivation depends on the worthwhileness of their job. Some express despair from continually working under pressure on tasks they think unnecessary. Others appear abandoned in the sense that superiors appeared disinterested whether or not they are motivated or interested in their work.

In terms of welfare, many employees feel that Ford treats them very well. Patrick Pearce was treated extremely favourably during two years of sickness leave and greatly appreciated remaining connected through Dunton's welfare department, his colleagues and participation in some work functions. Nonetheless, the number of employees suffering from excessive work related stress is rising. Stress is a major category of consultation by corporate medical officers and courses and presentations on stress management are very popular and often oversubscribed. Its major causes are attributed to the hectic nature of work and excess workload, but also due to domestic non-work related concerns impacting at work. A significant and increasing proportion of Dunton's occupational health department's work is of personal or psychological nature. Dr Mike Mckinnon's unique position means that he is exposed to concerns that employees may be hesitant about discussing with colleagues or superiors:

<sup>160</sup> A composite of eight questions drawn from the six Pulse dimensions, and illustrated by: "Considering everything, how satisfied are you with your job?"

Where you see a trend is the coming to the fore of the psychological aspects of issues or problems presented to us... there's been more sickness absence from conditions such as depression which are directly caused by stresses at work... there's more discussion, more concern amongst senior management than there would have been ten or twenty years ago... probably the whole range of age is affected by the sort of stress problems we see in the Company.

Nonetheless, a concern for personal well-being varies greatly. For instance, the Pulse survey results for one major project team showed work-related stress as a major issue. As a consequence, its management team initiated a significant programme with outside professionals to identify the sources of stress and to remedy the situation. By comparison, the management of another department appeared indifferent to its abysmal results for the same dimension.

In short, we see the frustrated aspiration of employees to serve as truly autonomous professionals in the fullest possible sense. Prevailing reward schemes encourage hierarchical advancement and mobility over professional development and stability. Employees widely experience impersonal, wholesale and undignified treatment and employment dissatisfaction. Longitudinal and quantitative data from the Pulse survey would appear to support these conclusions.

#### **5.4 Network of interdependent teams**

Teams or networks of teams conduct the vast majority of product development work at Dunton. Product development teams typically cooperate through collaborative relationships towards common goals and "milestones" on the Ford Product Development System. Such teamwork relies on mechanisms of mutual advantage and trust within which knowledge and information are extensively shared. Team-based relationships are often described as having higher degrees of personal intimacy, moral commitment, and sense of belonging. Horizontal relationships are more prevalent, deeper and personal in comparison with the vertical, more impersonal, formal and weaker ones outside teamwork. Juan Castells, a Spanish contractor developing engine management systems for the diesel Fiesta, explains his enthusiasm: "My team's like a family. We even go on weekend breaks together. It's really because of Steve. He's a brilliant leader. He's one of us". A variety of electronic conferencing facilities are extensively used to connect both widely

dispersed groupings and individual members in a globally decentralised yet interdependent manner of working. Each grouping tends to function autonomously yet contributes its specialist competency in a complementary manner. Teams and individuals within the broad Ford communion readily share information and knowledge. The ownership of knowledge becomes less privatised and more collective.

Responsibility for achievement increasingly resides with the team so that ownership both of problems and of solutions is widely shared. Decisions become more collective and participative, and based on professional knowledge and the ability to contribute. Teamwork often involves dialogue so that team members share their thinking and become open to being influenced by the other as a two-way communication process. Peter Solomon: "If you can see the other person's point of view then it's easier for you to define a common ground and work together." Teamwork often helps to develop a sense of solidarity and concern for other team member's well-being. It also appears to enhance an individual's perception of their dignity so that they may see themselves corporately as a commodity but within a team as more special and unique. As a graduate engineer in her early twenties, Helen Ball is undertaking a placement on the Ford training scheme as a programme engineer working on future diesel engines:

People are very aware that it has been a hard time and that people are giving quite a lot to the group... They know they've got to make sure that everybody's okay because if one person isn't, then that's really going to screw up everything else, because everyone relying so heavily on everybody else.

Teamwork has few established administrative structures and participants have relative equality of status. It is often characterised by face-to-face interaction, freedom, and resilience during tough times and a significant provider of employee satisfaction. Entire team groupings routinely gather in during "all-hands" meetings set apart in time and place. Shared rituals, such as personal introductions, feature commonly in team meetings in which members will often describe the contribution they are able to offer to the team. Commitment is often by voluntary association so that frequently individuals have a degree of free choice over the nature and depth of their participation.



Beyond teamwork, generally employees greatly prefer to conduct their work based on personal moral codes to company rules. Corporate rules tend to be treated as minimum or subservient guidelines for daily interaction, and individuals who rigidly enforce written rules are vulnerable to being ridiculed or dismissed as a source of inefficiency. Although employees are aware of corporate rules and values, internalised values often take precedence. Patrick Pearce:

Whatever action you take has to be based on a sound valid personal set of rules be they moralistic or whatever. The corporate rules are really guidelines. They are the minimum that the Company would expect of you and somebody else would expect an employee of the Company to adhere to.

Nonetheless, distrust is generally preserved as the norm of formal corporate life within Dunton, especially when tangible resources are at stake: "their rules assume that they don't trust you at all." Ford is built on control and consequently limited trust is assumed in work regulation. Even if control were not by rules, multi-levels of approval as the norm, even for incidental commitments, convey attitudes of distrust and disempowerment. Such control is epitomised by the Controller department, a comptroller that serves as the principal external regulator substituting self with remote governance. Noel Taylor:

There's so much red tape. Everything you have to get a signature, three signatures on everything to even ship a part anywhere. There's so much control. There're control freaks somewhere. Just to get a shipping document signed you have to get four people involved - someone to write it, someone to authorise it, someone to countersign it and someone to enumerate it.

Duncan Whitehead came round to my desk one-day. The frustration from increasing administration had become too much of a burden. He philosophised: "Why don't they just trust us". Duncan believed a large part of his time was unnecessarily taken up by administration, simply because of a lack of trust.

#### *5.4.1 Aspirations for close personal ties*

Employees frequently express preference for face-to-face interaction. Face-to-face communication enables a deeper level of understanding of the recipient as an

individual, shows a commitment to the other, and is a major contributor for some towards work satisfaction.<sup>161</sup> Debra North:

You can't beat face-to-face communication. It shows interest in the person you are communicating with if you actually go and see them rather than sitting behind your computer and send them a black and white e-mail. That doesn't show any enthusiasm, it doesn't show any interest in seeing the person. By face-to-face you see body language and how they are reacting. And you might be able to understand more about what actually motivates each member... I would prefer a face-to-face for most things. Obviously you can't do it all the time but it needs to be done.

However, despite its alleged benefits, the reality is that most face-to-face contact is with the employee's immediate working group and interaction beyond this group is largely through electronic communication facilities. Electronic communications are extensively used for sharing information at Ford, often as a substitute for interpersonal communication and in preference to engagement with people and external reality. This is manifest to Noel Taylor as a visitor to Dunton:

It seems as if everybody is a slave to Outlook. In fact I had a recent experience where I had a problem with a vehicle where I wanted an engineer to come and look at the vehicle with me... And he said he couldn't possibly because he had over 150 items of unread mail in his inbox that he had to get through. So to him his inbox was more important than actually coming out with me, and looking at an engineering issue.

For some, emotional skills are esteemed as a vital attribute for constructing and wholesome interpersonal relationships and for building solidarity. Such employees make it an important priority to be receptive to the feelings of work colleagues, to express care, and to be available to discuss personal issues. Helen Ball relished the opportunity to talk to me about the emotional aspects of work. Her gift of intuitively understanding the emotional state of colleagues had been recognised and deployed by her supervisor:

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<sup>161</sup> Goffman saw the face-to-face domain as highly personal interaction and the reciprocal influence of individuals upon each other's actions when in one another's immediate physical presence: "Emotion, mood, cognition, bodily orientation, and muscular efforts are intrinsically involved... A critical feature of face-to-face gatherings is that in them and them alone we can fit a shape and dramatic form to matters that aren't otherwise palpable to the senses" (1983, 3 & 9).

I think it's quite important to take time out to just check that if you notice that somebody isn't happy to try and find out why... I would like to think that people I work with I actually care... I'd like to think that if someone had a problem he could come and talk to me.

However, the immensity of the Dunton building and the transitory nature of much interaction are claimed to limit the possibility for deeply personal and fully human interactions. Small and localised organizational groupings seem to encourage more personal, friendly and informal interaction. In comparison, hierarchical relationships are often described as very formal with low degrees of intimacy, self-disclosure or interaction. Dennis Peterson:

Obviously in a huge company you can only know so many people... and you know those closest to you very well and your depth of relationship with others in the Company decreases the further they are from you - perhaps not by distance but perhaps with number of hours of contact.

Many employees desire a sense of connection and positive social relationship with their colleagues, such as considering them friends, even though they do not socialise, or desire to socialise with them outside of work. They claim they work better with people they have more complete relationships with and so, if they have good relationships with colleagues outside of work, then work itself can become more enjoyable. Nonetheless, relationships at work are rarely categorised as deep friendship in the sense of an enduring commitment of the whole person with high degree of personal intimacy. Friendships tend to be constructed outside of formal working relationships, cannot be cultivated falsely and depend upon trust. However, working relationships that are based on personal friendship can be beneficial in times of change and uncertainty and thereby surpass those that are not. Patrick Pearce:

You can have good working relationships with people without having friendship. But I think they fall short of the working relationship that's also based on a personal friendship... A good working relationship is efficient - you can get your work done and everything else. If you add to that a good personal friendship that's built up outside of that, then if you have work-related problems, you feel more open to talk to the person and that person will understand where you are coming from and know that it's not just another crazy request... If everything is running smoothly then it doesn't really matter that much whether or not there is a personal relationship or not. But it's when things get tricky, when things go wrong, times of change, something didn't happen as you expected it to happen... if you've got a personal

friendship in there, then quite often things will happen for you that may not have happened for somebody else that's just got a pure working relationship.

Work-life division and ephemeral or one-way relationships limit the extent of development of friendship. Friendship takes time to develop and involves the whole person, not just the working role. Friendships also involve commitment and reciprocation. Consequently for the majority of employees that live a fragmented work life, colleagues do not feature amongst personal friends, they have no desire to get any closer to them and their social life is divorced from work. There is a clear separation between work and social relationships. Noel Taylor:

I have a working relationship with my colleagues at Ford. I rarely see them socially. I think once or twice a year I might see them socially. It's certainly different to the lifelong friends that I keep in touch with and see regularly... They are totally different... there is a separation between work and social and I see them as work friends rather than social friends... if you go out socially with a work colleague, then you end up inevitably talking about situations at work that you've experienced or things that you need to do together or whatever. So it ends up not being a social thing, it ends up being a work thing.

Friends tend to have similar beliefs, values and attitudes to life. It is difficult to form deep friendships with people of different belief even though they may be working together. Simon West is a specialist gathering technical data on real-world vehicle usage. He has worked at Ford over twenty years and is in his early forties:

You tend to have friends with people that have similar beliefs and similar values... although you can be friendly with people you don't get deep friendships with people that are so different in beliefs to yourself.

The absence of deep friendship often means that personal issues are commonly separated from work. Dennis Peterson:

If I were to need to seek help on a personal problem or situation I would probably take it outside of Ford. I would probably only talk to someone within Ford if it was a directly work related issue, perhaps a problem with a colleague or something.

Ford has a casual dress policy and therefore formal attire needs no longer contribute towards work-life fragmentation. Casual dress is generally adopted to a greater

extent by lower graded employees and formal attire progressively as grade rises to senior management. Consequently, to some extent a person's choice of attire is a clue to their employment grade or indeed aspirations.

#### *5.4.2 Belonging and commitment*

Ford aims to maintain high quality standards by setting an educational criterion of an upper second-class degree as a minimum entry requirement. Its admission procedure is highly selective, both in terms of academic qualifications and behavioural skills. Nonetheless, some employees feel the corporation has a moral obligation to be less exclusive and more inclusive in employing a variety of people and not to be limited by educational levels or other rigid barriers, but more to seek congruence with corporate culture. Philip Laming, who leads a team of engineers responsible for the fuel economy of the Ford Fiesta, is one of them:

We have a moral obligation to employ not just the élite, which is what our recruitment tries to do - we have a moral obligation to employ a cross-section of people. So I can accept that we employ people that are less able than others and we should live with that.

In practice though and educational credentials aside, a relatively large number of persons with wide range of physical disabilities are accommodated and fully integrated at Dunton. This tradition we saw in chapter 4 stretches back to Henry Ford himself. Also as we saw earlier, subject to the above educational requirements, the emphasis of the admission process is on responsiveness and the moral alignment of the candidate with Ford's twelve leadership behaviours. Individuals are primarily accepted from a successful "performance" in a remote assessment centre through a process designed to evaluate team-based behaviours "acted" in an intense setting over a very short period of time. The process imparts negligible moral obligations or commitment towards the corporation or existing employees. A candidate's prior history in the corporation is often ignored. Peter Solomon was successful in transferring from agency to permanent an employee status:

When I was agency, people knew that I worked well, but when I went to be recruited, none of that previous working experience, how well I worked was assessed. It was all part of this strange psychometric test... The way it was done and the role-play type of thing - it could be within those circumstances people just didn't show their best aspects. The fact that they won't let you go to an assessment centre if you've

got below a 2:1 degree means they just miss out on people that would be fine doing jobs.

Ford is earnestly committed to securing the long-term security of its permanent employees. However it does not extend this commitment to its agency staff but instead offers them a two-week rolling contract and poorer terms of employment. For many agency employees, this insecurity not only provides practical difficulties but also creates excessive personal stress, reduced sense of belonging and an erosion of personal dignity. Jadev Tiwari is a chemist in his mid-forties developing lubricants for Ford's engines:

I feel like a second-class citizen being a contractor... there is no prospect of the post becoming permanent after twenty months and if there is only two weeks of security I cannot realistically go out and take a mortgage... the banks would not take that as a security, because after all that's what it is, a form of security and I feel extremely insecure... This is the best job that I have had. I cannot complain about it... but unfortunately there is no level of security... I would like to belong in a company where I am valued. I would like to offer and build on my skills and make them valuable to the Company in return for security.

Ford in Europe avoids redundancy of its permanent staff as a response to downturns but instead tries to reassign employees to other locations or opportunities within the wider communion. However this is not the case for its agency staff. They receive very different treatment. Although many of these are longer serving than "permanent" in employees, periodically they are treated as dispensable and "culled" by not renewing their contracts. Richard Ware told me his experience. After fifteen years service his contract was prematurely ended immediately before Christmas, and with just two-and-a-half hours notice. Ironically, the department subsequently realised they had depended on his unique skills and re-employed him again for three months in the New Year, albeit at fifteen percent less salary. Likewise, Jadev had a horrifying experience of redundancy from his employment in a chemical laboratory prior to joining Ford. The rejection associated with this presented a devastating and enduring impact on his dignity, self-esteem, well-being and attitude to work:

As long as I was surrounded by people I knew I wouldn't go out and kill myself because to an extent rejection drives you to suicide... Redundancy for me has taken its toll. I'm still not the same person... I spent two years in that kind of environment and I think it will be with

me for the rest of my life... I was in a place where I worked for seven years and all of a sudden I was made redundant and I never really understood why... They just said, okay we cut this piece off and chuck it out so it is no longer part of the company - and I felt that I was like rubbish, a piece of trash on the street.

This part of our discussion was highly emotive. Treating agency workers as "dispensable labour" would appear to be wholly incompatible to a commitment to human dignity or corporate social conscience.

Prevailing remuneration policies do not actively encourage teamwork. General salary level employees are remunerated according to their graded position as an individual without any collective component linked to their positions as team members. In rare exceptions, a component of reward is contingent on group achievement so in one instance, the entire team developing the Fiesta received an additional vacation day in recognition for its sustained and successful efforts. Exceptions aside, prevailing remuneration policies can be powerful forces for weakening solidarity. Firstly, in 2000 a new employee evaluation system for management role employees was introduced so that instead of measuring an employee's performance against a set of objectives, the employee was measured against others with similar jobs. This new policy required employees to be ranked from best to worst. Being categorised in the bottom ten percent twice in succession was grounds for demotion or dismissal. Employees reported widespread discontent over the way the ranking system was implemented and claimed that it eroded teamwork. Several managers told me that their pay for performance structure focused their attention on their objectives to the extent of compromising working relationships. Secondly, there can be gross inequality in financial remuneration between senior management and general staff. Nasser earned \$12.1 million in the year 2000, nearly a nineteen percent increase in compensation from the previous year. More so, his total compensation package for 2000 including stock and options could be worth \$17.8 million.<sup>162</sup> This represents an extreme disparity with the salary of grassroots employees and does not go without their notice. Noel Taylor expresses a view shared by many of my informants:

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<sup>162</sup> Source: Reuters. The compensation packages for the next top four executives for 2000 were: Wayne Booker, Vice Chairman: \$3.3 million; Richard Parry-Jones, Group Vice-President for Global Product Development and Quality: \$2.3 million; Wolfgang Reitzle, Group Vice-President for PAG: \$3 million; and Robert Rewey, former Group Vice-President for Global Consumer Services and North America: \$2.8 million. Source: Associated Press, 25 April 2001.

I'm ashamed of how much we pay our management for what they do. I think that's so wrong... I'm ashamed that the Company had to pay so much money to get rid of Jac Nasser. I think something like 15 million they had to pay to get rid of him. That's atrocious - that money that could have been far better spent somewhere else. I can't think any individual is worth that kind of money.<sup>163</sup>

The degree of integration of an employee with the wider corporation often is a reflection of his or her local identification and integration. This in turn is expressed through personal interest and care, and a network of personal relationships and interaction. A caring culture seems to result from an awareness of individuals' vulnerability and mutual interdependence developed over time. Helen Ball joined Ford in 1994 and since then, has spent most her time in the diesel engine group. This positive experience has made her feel very proud and committed to working for Ford:

You only ever feel part of Ford when you are in an area where you feel part. So you feel a connection with the Company, if you feel connected with the group you're with... being part of a group for a longer amount of time, and a group that does actually take an interest in you, causes me to feel connected to the Company.

There is a balance between ensuring an individual feels integrated yet has control on his or her personal autonomy and freedom. Those employees however that do experience high degrees of social integration, especially through teamwork, often express high degrees of employment satisfaction. At the other extreme, contractors are particularly vulnerable to workplace isolation, especially if they work alone and are not part of the team, as they often have little formal support. Jadev Tiwari is a prime example:

I have no one to turn to. I don't have any human resource guys to turn to... My agency don't even know what I do... I exchange maybe no more than half a dozen sentences with my colleague... So that is how isolating it is. It's extremely isolating.

With constant structural change and frequent employee job and office moves, the depth of individuals' personal commitment to lasting relationships decreases. Frequent job changes disconnect individuals from the consequences of their actions,

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<sup>163</sup> At the end of 2001 Nasser was dismissed.



their past and therefore their reputations. Likewise, with frequent staff turnover the welcoming of a new member staff or changes of employment status often becomes routine and thereby insignificant events. Consequently, any "rights-of-passage" can become trivial and contribute little towards positive bonding with the group.

Many permanent employees have a time-based capital of commitment, such as Gavin Matthews who has forty-one years of Ford service. Gavin, who is well into his seventies, attributes his exemplary loyalty to the unique opportunity the corporation provided to expand his personal vision, express himself and develop his potential. Gavin commenced work at Ford in 1959 by working on the 105E engine installed in the Ford Anglia. To this day, Gavin feels indebted for this initial opportunity, and the opportunity Ford continues to provide, and is willing to exert high levels of work effort accordingly. His commitment is irrevocable to the extent that working for competitors for him would be "betrayal". Although Gavin has formally retired from Ford, he continues to work for the company as an independent consultant:

I regard myself as indebted to Ford - always have and still do. Having given me the opportunity, this is pay back time, and my pay back time has no end to it... I mean, to me the sun rises and sets with Ford Motor Company. I don't apologise for it, that's how it is and it will never change... My loyalty to the Company comes next to my family.

Commitment is regarded reciprocally not only for permanent employees but also and in particular for agency or contract staff. Vincent Fox has been contracting at Dunton for over ten years:

It would be much better for agency staff like myself, if Ford made some sort of commitment to employ us rather than use our services via another party. I think that would show a bit of commitment on Ford's part and probably would make myself a bit more committed in the long-term.

Some permanent employees feel this inequality of treatment adversely even impacts on their own relations with the corporation. The lack of corporate commitment to agency staff not only threatens employee solidarity but also is reciprocated in the latter's lower commitment to the organization and their generally lower employment stability. Nonetheless, agency status is not a clearly recognisable identifier and agency personnel would mix in teams without distinction like anybody else. Contract workers typically have skill profiles and conduct work that is very comparable with

that of permanent employees in similar positions. Chris Lovell, is a permanent member of staff:

If we want agency people for six years, we presumably want them permanently. It hasn't done anything for the Ford Motor Company's standing with its permanent staff at all. It's worsened relationships with permanent staff. I've got nothing against agency people. I just think they should be permanent. If they are here for more than x number of months they should be made permanent, because they are obviously a valuable member of staff... why should they have any commitment to the Company? The Company hasn't shown any commitment to them has it? So I can't see why we should expect them to have any commitment.

If contracting does not offer stability, it does offer reciprocal flexibility or freedom for both the organization and individual. Younger agency staff will often use this flexibility to facilitate extended vacations abroad or to seek more favourable opportunities elsewhere. Employees like Chris frequently express the desire for greater equality of employment and claim that any form of inequality creates disunity, and compromises a shared identity and commitment. However, in practice there are major distinctions and levels of benefits and opportunities between salary and hourly paid staff, between agency and permanent staff, and between management and non-management. Philip Laming, a supervisor in his mid-forties is a member of the permanent staff:

We've got an 'us-and-them' attitude between the salaried staff and the hourly paid, and as far as they are concerned, they just can't get into being salaried staff... I hate that 'us-and-them' attitude. At the end of the day we are all after employment and everybody should have the same opportunities.

Belonging and commitment seem to depend upon a culture of inclusion, stability, relative equality, the absence of division and reciprocal obligations.

#### *5.4.3 Collaboration, participation and contribution*

Many working relationships at Dunton are of cooperative nature. Success depends on collaboration between individuals and teams and so for instance, both business and technical reports are frequently prepared as a concerted team activity. However, any selfish response by individuals to the attractions of hierarchical promotion can undermine solidarity and trustful reciprocation. Lutfallah Butrus:

I actively want to help people in the best way I can and I actively want them to use that in good faith, and also to help me back... If I could rely on people to do the morally right thing such that we are all working together, not working to get one up on each other, then I would be a lot more relaxed.

A consequence of cooperation is that social interaction and horizontal relationships are much more prominent than vertical ones for the majority of employees. Vincent Fox:

One has more interaction with people on the same level and people further up the promotional ladder are very remote from the situation of myself for instance - very little interaction there.

Nonetheless, many employees feel disempowered and lacking in authority, especially when coupled with their perceptions of the immensity of the organization. These feelings are often attributed to important decisions being made remotely by management without their input. Decision-making is often exclusive in that participation is not often encouraged and decisions often appear parochial and vulnerable to the influence of particular managers. The concerns of individuals are seldom included in significant decisions, and individuals are rarely encouraged from contributing towards important organizational choices. For minor cases, management may make a decision after soliciting the advice of subordinates but more generally the decision-making process is hierarchical and centralised and people most directly affected by a decision are only peripherally involved. Vincent Fox:

I don't have any power to make any real decisions that affect the workplace or the product overall. I might locally have some decision-making, but at the end of the day I'm a very very small cog in a very big wheel.

Nevertheless, there is a strong desire for involvement and for management to actively listen to employees at all positions, to allow them to contribute and participate democratically in corporate decision-making, and not to be constrained by their prevailing roles. Employee participation is often perceived as being linked to high levels of organizational effectiveness, motivation or work effort, and enhanced relationships with management. Vincent Fox:

The people at the bottom would benefit from having some vision of where the Company's going, the reasoning behind certain decisions

and maybe some input to those decisions... There are a lot of people at different levels in the Company who have something worthwhile to say but because they are not in the position within the Company to be able to express those opinions, those opinions aren't heard.

In many cases though, important decisions are made on the basis of recommendations made through teamwork. Here by contrast, responsible team members are expected to participate in decision-making in an informed and competent manner. However, in reality there is often a residual culture of simply attendance, passivity and non-participation. Lutfallah Butrus:

People go to meetings and often don't say anything. Everyone who is in a meeting should be there for a purpose, contribute towards that purpose and go over things to be done, decisions should be taken. I would be bold enough to take a sweeping guess that sixty-percent of our meetings don't operate with that efficient structure.

Many employees openly express their concern to their management about a lack of involvement in fundamental decisions that affect them, and the apparently poorer quality of decisions that consequently results. Bitterness sometimes results when an obligation for intense work is placed on employees without reciprocity in the form of their involvement. It seems that the opportunity to be involved provides a source of motivation, work satisfaction and acceptance of organizational change. Debra North expresses the point well:

If it's just some goal that's been set by some manager somewhere, 'this is what you have to achieve', you are not going to be passionate about it and you are not going to be enthused and not going to want to attempt to achieve that goal. You are going to make a half-hearted attempt because you have to.

Continuous change is widely accepted by employees. In some cases there is a strong desire for even greater change, provided the change process is not imposed as something external but ensures their participation. Imposed change simply promotes corporate disengagement and displaced personal responsibility. Dr Mike Mckinnon from his position of physician:

Employees do have difficulties changing roles, being asked to do things they don't feel confident about doing... Organizational changes are perceived to be something external outside the control of the individual... because the individual doesn't feel they have any control over, they tend to put all responsibility onto other people. The

Company itself is embodied firstly and given a personality, which it maybe really hasn't got. So they'll project it onto a severe image of the Company, that it is not a caring company.

Related to notions of participation is contribution. The opportunity to contribute appears to be a significant provider of senses of job satisfaction, meaning and belonging. It is an important motivator alongside financial remuneration. Many employees state that job satisfaction and the ability to contribute rank with financial remuneration as fundamental sources of motivation. Their management has a vital responsibility to make subordinates feel they are contributing or "making a difference", especially as an individual's personal contribution may seem relatively small, especially outside of teamwork. There is desire to contribute according to an individual's ability and to recognise that individuals contribute in different ways. Debra North:

You need to feel like you're contributing otherwise what you're doing feels worthless. If you don't feel like you're making a positive contribution then what are you working for? That's demoralising and certainly doesn't motivate you to do anything else. It doesn't motivate you to do a good job and I think that should be the role of the people you work with and particularly your supervisor and manager to make you feel like you're contributing. Because Ford's so big, no matter where you work, it's going to be a tiny contribution relative to the size of the Company so you need to be made to feel that its important.

A person's contribution must be genuine, valuable and reinforce their personal dignity. The detailed division of labour often limits the ability of a person to contribute beneficially, and consequently it can cause stress and dissatisfaction. This is exacerbated for agency status staff, particularly those with high moral standards and job insecurity. Peter Solomon:

I don't want to feel that I'm just filling this space, taking money from the Company without showing anything for it. In my previous agency job in the Emission Lab, it seemed that there were times when there was no work to be done and I would be doing make-work so it would look as if I was busy. I didn't like that feeling. I was doing a very specific job and if the people who were using that equipment were away, I couldn't generate more work that would be of benefit. There were minor things that I could do, that were borderline benefit to the Company but I would prefer to be more gainfully employed. When you are an agency employee you can't go and say, 'I haven't got any work to do'.

#### 5.4.4 *Place as identity and home*

Internally, like the proverbial Ford Model T, workplaces are of uniform design. Vast expanses of floor space are heavily partitioned to produce a standard four-occupant impersonal cell, colloquially called "pigpens". Noel Taylor:

When you come in to one of the floors, you are trying to stand on tiptoes and look and see across these partitions because, literally as far as the eye can see, you have just got these partitions and a few pillars standing in the way.

Intra-departmental boundaries become blurred so that it is not possible to be certain of the part of the organization a person works for. Although effort is made to locate departmental colleagues close to each other this is not always the case. Consequently, employees often share an office space with people with whom they have no functional relationship. All four occupants may be doing very different jobs for different departments or even different employers as pigpens are often shared with resident supplier representatives. Accordingly, people may sit at remote physical distance from the colleagues with whom they do share work. Space design can therefore encourage or discourage interaction and communication between colleagues. Most employees assert that there is a serious mismatch between the types of workspace needed and what is provided. The current pigpen arrangement, although providing some degree of privacy, is widely disliked as it impedes teamwork, direct awareness of the outside world, and individual expression. It has even been formally acknowledged, through one department's Pulse survey, as a contributor to high levels of stress. Very little quiet or private space is provided for most workers. Lutfallah Butrus:

Here you've got massive high walls which is so impersonal... you feel isolated and nomadic. You can hear people but you can't see them. They are cutting off your senses one by one whereas they should be engaging personalisation.



Figure 11: The second floor at Dunton

The partitioned office space therefore discourages horizontal and informal interaction and senses of solidarity and belonging. It seems to be incompatible with teamwork, spontaneous participation and responsive face-to-face communication both with management and other team members. Most employees express the desire to return to a more open-plan office layout even if this would compromise personal privacy. Gavin Matthews nostalgically reminisces over his forty-one years at Ford on a prior arrangement that fostered a keen sense of belonging and community:

I would get rid of all the quads in this place, and knock the walls down and open it up so it's open-plan again... although if doesn't make for such a quiet environment, it makes for a family again which has been against the best interests of Ford Motor Company over the years. We've missed the togetherness, and the oneness, the team spirit that we used to have.

Beyond the standardisation of internal office space, some employees see that architecture reflects the corporate brand, its values and its operating systems. The products are a manifestation of the environment. Daniel Hertz:

You come in to Ford and get exactly what we are about. Because that's what we are about: grey walls and blue carpet, and nothing too emotional and nothing too fancy. So the environment is an embodiment of what our products are.

This is worse news if the same applies to the equally bland and impersonal external appearance. Noel Taylor:

I hate the Dunton building. Just driving past it on the A127, you look across and there's a huge grey concrete block that sits there. And you think, somebody, an architect designed that building. What were they thinking of? They couldn't have made it any more boring if they tried... I just think its slab sidedness, and its colour and just the way it looks. It's just so impersonal.



Figure 12: Dunton viewed from the front

In recent years, many of the tangible symbols of status have reduced in number and significance so that it is sometimes difficult to know the employment grade of staff. For instance, cross-functional team meetings frequently have a mix of managers and salary level employees in which the grading and status of individuals is unclear. E-mail communication often provides few clues of the sender's status. Currently in some instances a person's physical office space does not necessarily indicate their formal grade.<sup>164</sup> But on the whole office, partitioning and segregation instils a hierarchical structure and the progressive isolation of management, whether they like it or not. Peter Solomon:

When it was all partitioned off and you had supervisors in pens and open desks out the front for their minions it was more... hierarchical, especially when the management then had their own separate glass pens with the secretary sat outside. So the management had glass,

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<sup>164</sup> Some pioneering directors located at Warley choose to work with their staff in an open-plan office with no obvious status symbols. Other directors at the same location preferred top-floor offices richly laden with symbolism of status such as size, wood panelling, and a personal assistant. This disparity, juxtaposed at the same location, had not gone unnoticed and was the subject of casual gossip.



floor-to-ceiling pens, then high five-foot pens for the supervisors, and then everyone else just had open desks.

Office space signifies a stronghold of hierarchical control and reveals the formal authority structure. The most senior level management at Dunton are isolated in a non-thoroughfare part of the building's top floor. This arrangement conveys the impression that its occupants are remote, have high status and are alienated from general workers. Even if their offices are unused, they are out-of-bounds to other employees. Special rooms, reserved for senior level management meetings, tend to be furnished with wood panelling, unique dark seating and have an absence of windows, pictures or indeed any inessentials. In comparison with other meeting rooms they give the impression of reinforcing hierarchical status, and sombre bordering on sinister formality. By further comparison, in some notable instances whole project teams reside collectively by occupying an entire floor and even have their own permanently reserved meeting rooms "decorated" with prototype hardware or colourful posters.

In summary, the majority of work at Dunton is conducted in teams. Teams are widely regarded as a positive social structure by emphasising more personal and reciprocal relationships. Within teams, members gain a sense of belonging, their identity is reinforced, and they are able to cooperate, participate and contribute more fully; practices that significantly enhance their employment satisfaction. Any structures that frustrate aspirations, such as decision-making processes, inequality, insecurity, or the physical layout of office space, are widely criticised. More generally, work-life division limits the extent of the development of personal ties between colleagues. Crucially, although the admission process aims to morally align a candidate with shared ideals for behaviour, its expeditiousness does little to impact any form of shared or reciprocal moral commitment to others or the organization itself.

## **5.5 Integration and authenticity**

Many employees express, in one way or another, their desire to live an integrated life so that their work and other roles are not inherently in conflict, and in particular that their work role does not clash with their personal identity or values.

### 5.5.1 *Balanced and integrated work-lives*

Nonetheless, for the vast majority of employees, work is demarcated and strictly separated from the rest of their lives. Some employees, particularly the longer serving ones like Gavin Matthews, prefer to maintain it this way. Others, particularly younger employees desire a more integrated, less fragmented work-leisure life, to be authentic, both in and out of work, and to incorporate other responsibilities such as family and religion with work. They desire to "work to live" and not "live to work". Some cite examples where trustful relationships with their superiors have provided them the flexibility and autonomy to integrate their work and leisure lives to the significant benefit of both the corporation and themselves. Those employees who have successfully integrated their work lives are usually also self-governing like Noel Taylor:

I have a mental set of scales, which say, Noel has given this much to Uncle Henry and therefore if Noel needs to go home at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and go and pick the kids up from school, or go out and do that, then I don't feel any guilt about doing that.

Nevertheless, others are encouraged to conform to cultural stereotypes, to portray a legitimate "image" and therefore to fragment their lives. Often this pressure comes from superiors and is linked to promotional prospects. Consequently, an appointment to supervisor is often associated with curtailed freedom, more "hassle" and "being more shaped into the corporate mould". Lutfallah Butrus is passionate about activity sports. It is worth quoting at length his reaction to his supervisor's pressure to conform:

A supervisor told me that I should take a screensaver off that had activity sports all over my screen because it was not being seen as Ford-friendly... This is just something I love doing. Are people not interested in both the person who comes into work as well as their output? It kills the idea of community, it kills the idea of personalisation, and it kills the idea of work-life balance. Work-life balance isn't just come into work and be a person, go away from work and become a completely different animal. It is you being the same person... I would much rather come in wearing clothes that I feel much more casual with, but I've been told, by the same person who told me to change the screensaver, you have to be seen to be smart to be professional.

Conversely, for others and for the very same reason of promotional potential a strict separation of work and leisure is desirable. Vincent Fox:

One has to separate work and leisure, so if the Company provides a lot of leisure facilities then some people may feel overtaken by these events and feel they have to participate, maybe in activities the Company arranges because it will affect their promotional prospects.<sup>165</sup>

Ford sanctions many non-directly work related activities so that the Dunton site incorporates: a hairdresser, newsagents, a dry-cleaner, a medical department, a gymnasium, a golf driving range, a nature reserve, a prayer room (for Muslims), a counselling service, a welfare officer, and a general store. Conversely many corporate resources, notably its computer systems, are formally and rigorously isolated from work at the threat of severe disciplinary action.



Figure 13: Dunton's nature reserve

In practice the degree of integration and concern for an employee's family depends upon immediate management. Further up the corporate hierarchy work rapidly takes

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<sup>165</sup> This situation is prevalent in Japan where death from overwork, or *Karoshi*, is reported to claim between 10,000 and 50,000 lives every year. The company becomes an integral part of the person's social life and there is little demarcation between work and life outside work. A traditional Japanese company requires its employees to treat each other as an extended social group and there is tremendous social pressure to conform and to deny personal individuality (Harney 2000a). For an illustration at Toyota, see Kamata (1982).

priority over the personal so that, "what is good for Ford must come before the good of individuals". Conversely, at a more local level the response can be opposite. Philip Laming takes particular pride in leading and nurturing his team:

So, recently a bloke who's works on my group, his wife had just had a miscarriage. He had a busy work time and I just didn't even think about it. It is 'go home'. You know what I mean - that's sacred.

Many employees express a keen desire for flexible work arrangements such as sabbaticals, career breaks, various degrees of part to full-time work, and the opportunity to work occasionally from home. A pilot survey was conducted within one department to ascertain employees' interest in taking sabbaticals in the event of an economic downturn. Based on twenty-six responses, the results clearly showed that eighty-two percent, or the vast majority of respondents, were keen to consider a sabbatical, especially if policies guaranteed reemployment and a continuation of pension rights. Many employees also express the desire for a less sharp division between working life and retirement so that as their capacities decrease, the nature and amount of their work is readjusted accordingly. In particular, there is the desire for greater flexibility, a more progressive transition to retirement and an imparting of professional skills to protégés. Chris Lovell is approaching retirement:

They could give older people a run down in their work life. They could say - right you're going to plan to retire in four years time or whatever. When it's two years before your retirement you can work for four days a week, then three days a week and then two days a week but you're got to train the guy that's going to do your job. That way there is not a sudden shock when a person leaves.

Despite this desire for flexibility, sometimes there appears little practical concern for balance and moderation expressed by local management. A survey of the overtime worked in one business department showed that some individuals spent more than fifty percent more hours at work than their immediate colleagues. Management appeared oblivious about personal well-being or the tensions this disparity may produce, but more concerned with budgeting the overtime payment. Indeed the amount of overtime a person worked was frequently regarded as the key indicator of commitment by management, a situation occasionally strategically exploited by the non-scrupulous. In many instances, management often expected their reports to model their own work-life balance, and promotional prospects seemed linked to a

long-hour commitment. Moreover, in areas where self-governance was less emphasised, superiors often dictated the work-life balance of their subordinates through their work demands.

### 5.5.2 *Integration of labour, family and friends*

"Systems engineering" provides high degrees of job satisfaction because it enables the person to complete a package of work, jobs are broader, and conception is united with execution. Systems engineering compensates for and militates against stress and appears to instil commitment. Brian Smith not only enjoys working on engines but particularly the systems engineering approach. Today Brian develops cylinder heads for improved power and emissions performance as part of a cross-functional team, a job that last year meant he spent a stressful nine weeks away travelling:

There are other jobs within Ford that would allow me a much less stressful job... I do enjoy the systems engineering approach where you have the whole system producing real world numbers or working with engine/powertrain people as a total entity. That's much more enjoyable to me than working on an alternator bracket or oil pan bolt... so, I'm prepared to put up with this stress because I enjoy it. I enjoy the job at heart... I have a good level of loyalty to the department because it's a department that does a job that I enjoy... I count myself as a systems engineer. So my job title is Performance Systems Development Engineer... reflecting that it's a systems approach that we do. I have a good level of commitment because I enjoy my work. It maybe stressful at times but I enjoy it.

Conversely, non-systemic or analytical thinking can be extremely inefficient, especially when seen as a whole. As part of a cost saving measure, lower quality paper was procured as a unilateral act. Unfortunately, this lower quality paper rapidly caused malfunction in printers, and the need for their subsequent servicing by highly qualified technicians. One department's independent action cost the corporation dearly. At the micro level, "wooden-dollars" is a term used to describe the artificial currency used in internal spending. Its units rarely scale with reality and employees generally feel little moral responsibility to its expenditure. This artificial currency isolates them from the consequences of their decisions. At the macro level, employment structures can be extremely fragmenting to an extent that Nicolas Evans, who although based in Dunton works directly for a department located in the

USA, thinks absurd: "I'm supposed to work in the American manner, my budget is being administered through Germany, and I am located in England."

The division of labour is often forced and can mean that there is a poor match between employees skills and the role or function that they perform. Nick Purves, a highly qualified doctoral expert in a very specific technological field expressed his deep regret to me of being employed in a totally unrelated field, ironically despite working in a department that desperately needed his same expertise. Nick left Ford shortly afterwards. In his eleven years at Ford Lutfullah Butrus has observed this pervasive mismatch:

Having worked through the Company in many different areas, I've observed a very low use of the right people doing the right work... getting the right people doing the right jobs... work satisfaction is very important, and comes from a balance of being able to get yourself within the right position versus the Company having enough people doing the right jobs.

For instance, one department's planning represented an extreme form of Taylorism as its management divided an individual's time down to minute levels against specific tasks. Despite Karl Stein's best efforts to control and dictate roles and responsibilities, some employees ended up being grossly overworked whilst others were left idle:

Attached I have the latest roles and responsibilities for the department... I made the goals and achievements for year-end 2000 very specific to ensure everyone of you understands fully his tasks. I will also use the project goals for each to compare with year-end achievements in order to evaluate carefully a performance review.

Employees met his approach with hostility and subsequently expressed their extreme dissatisfaction through their Pulse survey and "working-to-rule". Moreover, their "ownership" or personal engagement with their work diminished. Conversely, a loosely defined division of labour, within a defined but broad boundary, encourages flexibility, effectiveness and enhances job satisfaction. Noel Taylor's is a model illustration:

My job's not that well defined. In fact today I'm going down to Bournemouth and it's not exactly in my job remit, but today I'm going to get my hands dirty and to change some components on a vehicle. Because it suits me, it's quicker for me to do that rather than get the

vehicle booked into a dealer. It would take me two to three hours to get the vehicle into the dealership and for the technician to do the job. Whereas I can do it in probably forty-five minutes at the customer's premises.

Employees often express a desire for their labour to be loosely defined, like Noel's, and not constrained by roles, but free to so that they can maximise the amount and variety of their contribution. Employees often say that variety provides job satisfaction and repetitive work, devoid of interest, promotes disengagement. Nonetheless, employees are expected to seek progression through grade increase, irrespective of their match to specific jobs opportunities. The hierarchical focus to advancement seems to encourage discontinuity and a separation between the personality and the job. Such progression through hierarchical promotion conflicts with stability, both personal and organizational, and discounts professional experience. Tony Bulos:

A lot of people seem to say right I'm going for Grade 7, I don't know anything about the job, but I will go for Grade 7, do a good interview and get the job. But that's not giving any value for Ford, is it. They're going to have to train that person.

Many engineers are strictly isolated from their products and desire, "to see how their piece of the jigsaw fits in". Nonetheless, those employees who were able to complete a package of work, or to identify with specific products as a mode of personal self-expression claimed it provided high degrees of job satisfaction and meaning. For Vincent Fox it provides a form of legacy:

It's good to see a new product come out and to have been part of that... I like to feel like I'd contributed something towards some well-being of a group of people or produce something which people recognise as being mine.

Many permanent employees purchase Ford vehicles at discount. As users of Ford products, they are often solicited for their experiences outside of their formal roles and, with their families, are sometimes used to assess forthcoming models. As a consequence, producer and consumer relate directly and collaborate in the production of common goods so that the boundaries between producer and consumer merge.<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> See n.106.

Anne Shell, an engineer working on fuelling systems illustrates by her inclusive e-mail invitation:

Has your family ever said, 'If I was designing a car...' Does your partner think they could design a car better than we do currently? If so, now is their chance to be involved in the design process. We are holding an appraisal on fuel filler flaps and filler caps, systems that customers come into contact with every week, and we would like to invite any non-engineers (both Ford employees and the public) to let us have their views.

Many employees desire to experience fun and humour at work and also for it to be integrated with work. Having fun is an indicator of workplace well-being: "when you cease being able to have fun with your colleagues then the job won't be any good anymore". Nonetheless, for many employees the reality is far from fun. For these, fun and joviality has disappeared as a consequence of extreme and pervasive time pressures. Chris Lovell nostalgically reminisces:

The fun has gone out of the job... We used to get work done in a more jovial fashion. Now nobody's got time for that kind of thing. It's just, get-the-job-done and go home, that's all people really want to do.

At a higher level, cross-functional teamwork can integrate highly diverse disciplines to work constructively and enthusiastically together and provide a high degree of solidarity and collective commitment. In this way of working, leadership can rotate according to prevailing needs and competencies. Daniel Hertz experience of high-performance teams has given him clear vision and aspirations:

We should operate in cells that aren't divided functionally. You should assign a project and have people in that group that have engineering skills, project planning skills, and design skills and that sort of thing. Someone takes the lead. A marketing person might design some market research for instance, but the designers and the engineers and everyone else inputs to that. And you get a far better result. So operating in small cells is just the way things should be done because they are much more effective. There is enthusiasm around them as everyone takes ownership and responsibility, it's not one person failing, it's the team that would fail so they all take responsibility and they all get behind it.

At a still higher level, corporate ownership in Britain is largely by a separate body as the level of employee ownership is marginal. Consequently, shareholder value and



corporate profit has little meaning to the average employee. Employees like Richard Murphy simply do not feel or behave like owners:

The whole shareholder value doesn't really mean anything to me. I guess if I was given a load of shares it might... But I guess for the majority of people it doesn't mean a huge amount.

### 5.5.3 *Employees' and organizational values: aspirations vs. reality*

In one way or another, many employees express the desire for corporate values to align with, complement, and reinforce their own so as to stay "true to themselves". This is illustrated by an extensive quantitative study, based on 308 questionnaires, conducted to investigate the things employees desire from their work environment and the extent they believe them to be present within Dunton's culture.<sup>167</sup> The study found that the overall congruence between the values employees desired in an ideal organization and what they perceived to be present at Dunton was low. Their desire to live their personal values at work was thwarted. Figures 14 and 15 prioritise items that were scored as most/least desired in an ideal organization and as most/least characteristic of the perceived reality at Dunton respectively.

<b>The least desired items</b>	<b>The most desired items</b>
1. People are aggressive	1. Managers are concerned that people are treated well
2. People work long hours	2. People make quality a priority
3. People are constrained by many rules	3. People have respect for the right of others
4. Jobs do not change much	4. Employees are given praise for good performance
5. People are continuously having to change jobs or duties	5. There are opportunities for growth and development
	6. People share information freely
	7. People work in collaboration with

<sup>167</sup> This study was conducted, outside of this specific research, as part of Ford's desire to become an "Employer of Choice". A questionnaire targeted a selection of UK/Irish engineers from all levels, together with all female and ethnic minority engineers. Using a 1-7 scale, participants indicated the extent to which particular values were: a) personally important, and b) characteristic of Dunton's culture. The questionnaire design enabled comparisons between what participants personally valued and perceived as present (Lukac-Greenwood and Day 2000).

	<p>others</p> <p>8. People have a lot of enthusiasm for their work</p> <p>9. People keep a balance between work and non work</p> <p>10. People are expected to perform to a high standard</p>
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Figure 14: Employee values - most/least items desired in an ideal organization

The most desired items largely conform to aspects of the ideal type of spiritual-family through their focus on people, personal growth, collaboration, affective engagement and balance. Conversely, the items least desired are largely those characteristics typical of bureaucracy.

<b>Items least characteristic of Dunton</b>	<b>Items most characteristic of Dunton</b>
1. People are rewarded with high pay for good performance	1. People have considerable demands on them
2. People behave similarly in all parts of the organization	2. People are very busy at work
3. People take risks	3. People are constrained by many rules
4. People keep a balance between work and non-work life	4. People are expected to perform to a high standard
5. People are judged by their level of achievement	5. People work in teams
6. People have a lot of autonomy	6. Employees have security of employment
7. People are being continuously innovative	7. People work in collaboration with others
8. Employees are given praise for good performance	8. People develop friendships at work
	9. There is informality between people at work

Figure 15: Employee values - most/least items characteristic of Dunton's culture

In terms of perceived reality, the characteristics are a hybrid of both the spiritual-family and bureaucracy. Like the spiritual-family, people tend to work collaboratively, informally and in teams. However, like the bureaucracy they are also

constrained by many rules, have a poor work-life balance, little autonomy and are not uniquely recognised. In general, what people considered desirable was more consistent in comparison to what they thought was characteristic of Ford. This indicates that employees are more in agreement about things they desire than in the way they perceive reality. In other words, although the perceived reality may differ locally, the spiritual-family is a more uniform aspiration.

#### *5.5.4 Integration of body, mind, heart, soul and nature*

Emotions are not widely expressed at Ford. That is not to say there is not the desire by either employees or, as we have seen, the corporation to include it if it is constructive. Many employees feel that passion could significantly contribute towards their motivation. Lutfallah Butrus:

There is nothing wrong in my mind in being emotional if it is focused towards a positive outcome. If you honestly believe passionately about something you should be able to share that... there's definitely a place for emotion to warm the place up.

Mostly emotion is discouraged, controlled or restrained, and as we saw earlier, is difficult to convey outside of face-to-face interaction. During senior management meetings discussion tends to be concise, dispassionate, sequential and rational, and the display of emotions strictly eradicated. Individuals remain stoic and restrain their movements. Ironically, senior management simultaneously are deeply concerned that Ford's products emphasise the rational aspects of customer satisfaction and do not have strong emotional appeal. Daniel Hertz:

Look at the products - they are not emotional products... if you haven't got that emotion when you are designing the product, it doesn't manifest itself in the product. It's plainly obvious. But you can't justify that with numbers, and the way we run the business today is totally numbers based.

Many employees believe that intuition and emotion inform morally based decision-making and behaviour, but they must always be used in conjunction with rationality. The heart ensures that decisions are morally grounded and should if necessary override the rational-based analysis of the mind. The heart assures the recognition of a broader "interconnectedness". Dennis Peterson:

The role of the mind is to understand the issues, to understand the figures, the impact and the decision to be made. But there is a role of the heart to say, whatever the financial benefit, one way or the other, in this situation the morally right way is to protect people, protect their lives even if it is a financial loss to the Company.

However, in practice most decisions are rationally based, narrowly focused and isolated from a broader context. They tend to ignore interconnection and holism. Senior management decision-making emphasises rationality and seldom involves intuition or the heart. Daniel Hertz's job has meant that he has interacted with the most senior levels of the corporation:

We've managed to kick out most of intuition from our business decisions so we don't have that ability. I don't see people in senior management that make decisions based on intuition.

Nonetheless at personal level an excess of information and the need to make rapid decisions places a greater reliance on intuition or "gut feel". Some employees claim that the application of a corporate slogan termed the "80-20 Rule"<sup>168</sup> promotes the use of intuition as a way to respond rapidly when certainty or comprehensiveness of information is not available. Moreover, they say they increasingly rely on intuition, that it appears to be reliable, but is an attribute that demands cultivation and application.

Dunton is a pan-religious community by having representation and public expression from a wide variety of religious and belief systems. Both external and internal speakers have delivered a variety of lunchtime presentations on religious topics such as: "The relationship between Religion, Faith, Spirituality and Culture"; Sikhism; Islam; and an Alpha Course on the Christian faith. Between forty and eighty people attend these regular events. The majority of employees were unconcerned when Bill Ford and Nasser asked for their prayers as discussed in chapter 4. For the non-religious or atheistic, such requests are more a reflection on senior management expressing a sense of care, concern and solidarity within the company and do not cause offence, provided they are sincere.<sup>169</sup> However, the more religiously inclined

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<sup>168</sup> The rule serves as a prompt to focus eighty-percent of time and energy on the twenty-percent of the tasks that are most important.

<sup>169</sup> For Macquarrie, prayer can be a manner of thinking and part of being human: "prayer is a fundamental style of thinking, passionate and compassionate, responsible and thankful, that is deeply rooted in our humanity and that  
(*footnote continued*)

feel that these requests are now a responsibility of senior management so that even if the CEO is an atheist, he or she should ask employees to pray in a "defender of faith" role. The CEO is expected to discharge religious responsibilities. Dennis Peterson:

Jac Nasser should be asking for prayers even if he is an atheist. Because he should recognise that many of the employees of Ford believe in God and there is a spiritual dimension to our lives that goes beyond the physical and whether Jac Nasser himself has an experience of that, he must recognise that others do.

Dunton also has a "Christian Fellowship" of eighty members that is part of the Ford Interfaith Network discussed in chapter 4. A few employees candidly and routinely hold prayer meetings in their offices at the start of every day. However, at the moment a dedicated room is reserved to facilitate the religious practices only for Muslims, despite Christian worship groups having existed in Ford for many years. Most religious employees have a desire for dedicated facilities such as a multi-faith place of worship on-site and for some, even a resident chaplain. Dennis is also an active member of the Dunton based Christian Fellowship:

Many people who are not Christians walk into a church that's open and sit in one of the back pews for fifteen or twenty minutes, now and again in their lives when they're facing difficult situations, personal or social, whatever. They may not have a deep faith or any faith at all, but they would recognise that those times that there's a spiritual dimension to they lives. And as spiritual people I think it would be of benefit to have a chapel on site... I would see some sort of place of worship and a place to reflect as a definite benefit.

For some employees, there is little opportunity for integrating their faith with their daily work. For others, the spiritual dimension is just another facet of work-life integration and living authentically since "there should be a place for most things at work". Shourab Devanesen, an engineer in his late forties responsible for the calibration of the engine diagnostic system of the Ford Focus, and a deeply committed Christian:

A lot of people still feel that the spiritual side is completely separate from work life but I feel strongly that they should be very much

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manifests itself not only among believers but also among serious-minded people who do not profess any religious faith" (1972, 30).

interlinked - only to keep a sense of balance. A human can't really have a schizophrenic life, like work is work and this is separate.

For the more religious, spiritual beliefs increasingly affect all areas of life and therefore inevitably influence workplace decisions, actions and relationships. Spiritual values serve as a moral guide for decision-making, especially in the absence explicit corporate guidance. Shourab also plays a key role in Dunton's Christian Fellowship:

Spiritual issues impact the way one works and so sometimes you are at conflict saying a truth in the right way or saying a truth slightly modified to suit other things, which others might reckon is still the truth but it's not telling the whole truth... When there are no hard and fast rules for doing anything I always find myself going back to my Christian values and beliefs, which I always find a straightforward guide.

Indeed, in one instance members of the Ford Interfaith Network successfully acted as a corporate moral guardian by exerting pressure on the organization to make a major change in the Ford SportKa advertising campaign held in Europe. Members felt that the campaign's literal promotion of the "triumph of evil over good" for this car termed the "Evil Twin" was morally offensive.<sup>170</sup> Religion is not strictly relegated as a private concern outside the workplace. However, if emotions and religious aspirations can be included in the workplace, nature certainly is not. As we saw earlier, the Dunton building is heavily partitioned that has a further consequence that few people have direct awareness of the external natural environment. This means that little natural light enters the office and most employees will be virtually isolated from the outside world or nature during their time at work. For some this is a source of stress, for most it is a significant source of dissatisfaction. Dennis Peterson:

We're all creatures of the earth and we do need to know whether it's sunny outside or whether it is snowing. Sometimes if you're a long way from a window or fresh air, then I think that it can affect you physically and therefore that can impact on your mental, emotional and spiritual states.

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<sup>170</sup> Ironically, in the context of secularization Wilson notes, "the advertising industry has replaced the church and the school as the source of modern values" (2001).

### 5.5.5 *Authenticity and openness*

Some employees express the desire for personal authenticity to the extent that they insist that people must be their "true selves" and never act a role. Professionalism is a moral quality and not external image. People must learn to tolerate individual differences and allow persons to be themselves. Debra North, a bubbly and inspiring visionary:

You have to be yourself! It means you don't have to pretend to be something that you are not. You don't have to pretend to be serious if you are not, if you are a happy-go-lucky type of person. You should express things the way you always express things and if you use emotion with what you say, then why not.

Personal hypocrisy appears as a failing that is perceived and most widely criticised by all levels of staff. Most often, examples of inconsistency are severely accredited to superiors, and more specifically any form of duplicity between their words, behaviour and actions, or simply "not walking-the-talk". For instance, Julian McGinn, an experienced manager scathed his superiors for the hypocrisy between their personal witness and their work-life balance rhetoric. A commitment to authenticity demands a commitment to expressing truthfulness and sincerity regardless of the consequences or social pressure to conform or do otherwise. Such truth and honesty, it seems, are expressed more fully during informal than formal social interaction. A person will be frank with peers but less so with superiors. Debra North whose job was designing the manufacturing processes for the Ford Fiesta:

You need to improve your confidence to stand up for what you believe in and not back down just because everyone else doesn't believe in what you believe in and they don't have the same values, or the same morals, or the confidence to stand up and say, 'I will not lie, I will not say this, I'm going to tell the truth', without fear of losing your job and being pushed into the corner and never to be seen again.

Many employees are sensitive to discrepancies between Ford's corporate claims for environmental responsibility and its actual response to market pressures. Some employees pragmatically accept the need to accept fragmentation, compromise their authenticity and not bring the whole selves to work. Role distancing provides protection. For instance Philip Laming at times compartmentalises his ethical values

and limits the way he asserts them as a way of coping with their incompatibility with corporate behaviour. He expresses a common frustration:

My moral ethics are just put in abeyance when I walk through the offices and deliver the job that I need to deliver... for India, we have put on a very very low specification catalyst on that vehicle that, quite frankly, probably is not durable, we don't know. It does not meet Stage 4 legislation here - it meets the legislation that the Indian Government set... You know we are forced to the lowest common denominator, because if we at Ford took the moral high ground and said, well we're going to give them what we think is morally right, then we'd be cost uncompetitive. So I can see that, there is a little moral dilemma there. And so when you are in the business you've got to put your morals and your personal code, to a degree, in abeyance while you walk through the building.

Through his involvement in work-related stress, Dr Mike Mckinnon has found that for some employees, significant levels of such incongruence between personal and corporate values can be a source of personal stress and tension:

I've certainly come across employees who feel the Company's taking a line along a management issue that is immoral, to use a strong word, so they feel strongly about that. So that causes them to be stressed and frustrated.

Despite the tremendous increase in constant and extensive communications there seems to be an avid, and almost insatiable, desire for widespread open, transparent and honest communication. This is not just at the local level but between non-consecutive hierarchical levels and even two-way with the most senior level management. Secrecy and lack of openness is abhorred. Brian Smith has been with Ford twenty-four years and whose work has meant he needed to interact with colleagues based throughout Europe. He sees a substantial improvement in openness:

The politics of we can't tell you that because that's our data and not yours has tended to vanish a lot in recent times... there's no great secret hoarding on how to do things. There's definitely an improvement in that aspect.

The common ownership of knowledge and shared access to information, typical of teamwork, encourages transparency and undermines opportunities for secrecy. Likewise, Nasser's "Let's Chat" communications are widely esteemed for their



candour, openness and moral guidance. Brian is an advocate for them and calls them "epistles":

That's the best thing that's happened to this Company in twenty years. Because you may not enjoy it, it may be totally bullshit, but for me, I'm left in no doubt as to where Jac's going and what he wants from the Company. And it is a good thing... It's what he wants in the Company and therefore he's sharing that with everybody what he believes where we should be going... There aren't any great secrets left. You are all left in no uncertain terms what the situation is.

An absence of transparency or candour in communications increasingly becomes self-evident. For instance, internal communications are required to become timely and truthful to avoid conflict or contradiction with external communications in the public domain. It is impractical for managers to withhold information as communications rapidly travel across boundaries through cross-functional teamwork. The greater the intended withholding of information, the greater it is disseminated and shared.

Nonetheless, many employees, like Ken Miller, disparagingly believe that management still only listen to communications from superiors, "their ears only work upwards". For others, mid-management levels seem to be an inhibitor for effective or "distortion-free" communication resulting in disconnects between the most senior level management and grassroots level employees. Indeed, "roll-outs" limited by leadership level and notions of secrecy are extensively used as the mechanism for formal corporate communication. Patrick Pearce:

Senior management put out the dictates and by the time it gets down to us mere mortals, it's totally different... It's the fact that we've got this mid-layer that's filtering everything and making it difficult to communicate effectively.

The same can happen in the opposite direction. Vital communication may not always flow upwards. One day James Booth came round my desk flushed and seething. A young manager, who had rapidly risen through the ranks, had inadvertently revealed that the secret of his success was only communicating upwards or sideways, never downwards. James was a team player and vowed never to share his strategic business analysis with this manager again. One of this senior manager's principle sources for

strategic decision-making had been instantly curtailed.<sup>171</sup> "Skip-level" meetings are however deployed as a formal mechanism to encourage upwards, candid and unfiltered vertical communication through bypassing intermediate management levels. However, even here, there is concern that open communication is restricted by fear of retribution and many subordinates, especially agency staff, feel that the culture does not encourage open dialogue with management but instead breeds fear and compliance. Philip Laming's nature means that he finds it difficult not to tell the truth:

I'd love to tell Jac Nasser exactly what is wrong with this place, but I don't because at the end of the day it would get back to Roy and then my life would be hell.

#### 5.5.6 *Time structures*

Both task and chronological orientations to time coexist at Dunton. In many instances, particularly in teamwork, there is a task-orientation so that work is structured around a development cycle and activities are self-contained. The overall calendar of product development is a primary integrating force. Programmes are timed relative to "Days to Job 1", individuals, suppliers and contractors are given tasks during team meetings, and contracts are awarded for packages of jobs. A task-orientation to time can readily increase employee fulfilment as individuals visibly complete packages of work. Chris Lovell:

You can put a hard day, eight or ten hours in and if its been fruitful and a good day it's still different to it being eight to ten hours of a bloody hard slog and achieved absolutely nothing at the end of it... The whole of you feels different if you've achieved something at the end of the day.

However for other employees, time could appear as unstructured and continuous the typical of a chronological-orientation to time. Some employees, especially the younger, desire to structure work around actual necessities and so their working days lengthens or contracts according to need. Such employees desire to change from an "attendance culture" to one where individuals manage their own time in a flexible

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<sup>171</sup> This is a quintessential illustration of the contemporary reaction against social exclusion that Castells terms, "the exclusion of the excluders by the excluded" (1996a, 374).

and self-responsible manner as trusted professionals. They desire only to work for as long as is necessary to satisfy necessary demands and requirements. It is worth quoting Helen Ball at length as she lucidly expresses this aspiration for a task-orientation to time:

If I don't have anything to do at quarter-past-four that needs to be done, that can't wait until tomorrow, then I will go home. I'm conscious of what I need to do and what needs to get done and I wouldn't leave until I had done everything that I needed to do... I would try and dispel the belief that as long as you are at work you are doing work. I mean, if you've not got anything to do just go home. As long as you've done everything that needs to be done, just go home. If it comes to quarter-to-four and you've got nothing to do that can't be done tomorrow, then go home. Don't stay until a quarter-past-four just because you finish at quarter-past-four. That's stupid. Pack up and go home. Don't have coffee breaks for two hours in the day and then claim overtime for two hours in the evening. Just because you sit here all day, doesn't mean you're doing a good job... The onus is on you. If you do finish at lunchtime on a Monday you make up the hours on Tuesday and you don't feel like you need to claim for every 15 minutes because the Company has done you an injustice.

There can however be conflicts between task and chronological orientations to time. As we saw earlier, depending on the local management there may be an hour-focus to time so that the assessment of an individual's commitment and motivation is through their overtime claims. Working long hours more readily gains recognition and reward than effectiveness or efficiency measures, measures that are rarely even noticed. Most departments have a rigid time structure for the day that defines starting and finishing times, and the timing and duration of lunch breaks. However, some enterprising departments have adopted flexible structures. For instance, the managers of one business unit desired to encourage an atmosphere of "effective" time rather than "face" time and to provide more autonomy to the individual. This group decided that an employee's attendance is mandatory in core time, from half-past-nine until three o'clock, during which time team meetings can be scheduled. Outside of this time individuals are free to structure their own day. The day then becomes rhythmic with a daily schedule that describes a central period reserved for collective interaction combined with other flexible times for personal tasks such as report writing or honouring non-work commitments. Employees choose their own start, lunch and end times and are trusted to work their remunerated number of hours accordingly.

In summary, most employees desire integration and openness, both personally and socially in relation to their work. For many this aspiration is frustrated by prevailing promotional structures or the approach of their local management. Nonetheless, for others, trustful relationships, and the introduction of a variety of other initiatives, increasingly seem to integrate employees across a range of different domains. A loosely defined division of labour, a systems approach to working, and simply having fun enhances employment satisfaction. Quantitatively, most employees' ideal workplace closely corresponds with the ideal type of spiritual-family, especially with regards to personal and collaborative relationships and a task or rhythmic orientation to time.

## **5.6 Social mission**

Many employees express through various ways a desire for their work to provide some feeling of greater purpose or meaning in their lives. First amongst these was an opportunity to contribute towards social welfare.

### *5.6.1 Knowledge, capital and personnel*

For many corporate citizenship refers to relationships with customers, employees and suppliers and reflects ethical values beyond simply financial profit. Many believe that organizations of Ford's size and global reach have major moral responsibility and opportunity to contribute towards societies around the world and to serve as agents for beneficial social change. They gain much pride from Ford's existing activities in these areas and express the desire for Ford to be rated by its social mission in addition to its financial performance. Dennis Peterson:

As well as creating money and creating profit for shareholders and all of the others, I think as a company we have a moral responsibility to those that we share the world with. We have great power as a multinational company, a power that transcends the different countries and continents of the world.

Although most employees reluctantly believe that Ford's exclusive purpose is economic, others see signs of change and that financial profit is a means to an end, but not an exclusive end in itself. Gavin Matthews is able to reflect over his forty-one years service: "The purpose of Ford Motor Company was to make money. It's

changing now... It's changing towards a more community minded company." For some, corporate citizenship means a sense of corporate family, loyalty and morality, and feeling part of an extended family: Lutfallah Butrus:

It's a sense of family-ship, loyalty, and morality... Family-ship in that we are all part of the family as an employee, towards each other and your morality within the world and how you engage the world around you... it's a lot about family values actually... feeling part of a family.

Many employees also believe that Ford should provide leadership and contribute towards public debate on political and social issues. For instance, employees frequently express the desire to collaborate with legislators and governments in addressing mutual concerns, and to diminish any divisions between legislators and the legislated, or even business and personal interests. Philip Laming's job means he is particularly well informed on this issue:

Because it's in the transport business Ford has a big responsibility towards the environment. And in a sense it should be lobbying the government for more stringent fuel economy and emission standards... pushing for higher standards and saying, we are fully with you government. Just this is what is deliverable, it's going to cost and we will walk up to the mark on this.

Most employees feel that corporate citizenship should be local, is about morally "doing the right thing", and doing this in the area in which the company is based. Many believe that Ford can be of enormous service to local communities through help, expertise and the loan of corporate resources and personnel. In some instances, opportunities were expressed for this help to be a constituent part of work-life integration policies such synergistically with retirement strategies. Chris Lovell:

The Company has a big role to play in an area such as Basildon. It could do more for it's local school children... There are things I could teach children... Whether they would want to learn about engineering is a different thing but certainly life skills. They're things that children should know... I wouldn't mind doing that for one or two days a week on my run down to retirement. We could put something back into the community. The Company has got a lot of people that could do that.

Longer serving employees are especially proud of Ford's heritage of encouraging and endorsing various forms of their support to local communities. In most instances this support was informal and disinterested such as by enabling individuals to serve in

trade union activities and as magistrates. Prior to working Dunton, Patrick Pearce worked in manufacturing:

When I worked at the Tractor Plant, we supported one of the local charities for mentally handicapped children. And that was mainly by the workers, strongly supported by the unions and helped by the management. But the help was not official... And this was back in the Seventies. So all this community service that's taking place in the late Nineties is just an official rendering of something that happened in a smaller Ford community.

For others, especially the younger, there is a greater desire for their work to provide senses of meaning and personal authenticity by contributing directly to social improvement. Often the desire to contribute is attributed to personal exposure to Third World poverty, recognition of a degree of interdependence with and an obligation to the larger human family, and awareness of gross material inequality. The ideal job integrates a significant element of social mission. Work becomes a moral statement. Richard Murphy is in his mid-twenties:

The longer I've worked the more I've thought it would be nice to do something that is pretty relevant. And if I can get a job that I enjoy doing and is relevant, i.e. helping the environment or other people, something like that, then that would be idea... feel like I'm doing a worthwhile job... I feel a bit hypocritical, trying to save some money for some new clothes, a new car, materialistic kind of things and you see pictures of people suffering in Third World countries and feel that I could definitely be doing more to help those people... You see people starving in the Third World and you see us lot driving around in company cars or brand new cars and things like that. That's not quite right to me.

Employees often believe that Ford's contribution could be more than charitable donation. It should actively include cooperation and knowledge transfer using its employee's professional skills and knowledge, directly or indirectly through sabbaticals. Richard continues passionately:

If they really wanted to help, they could help Third World countries by setting up some sort of community projects out there... they've got a type of personnel who could make some changes in the community especially in Third World countries and they could set up some sort of programme where people could do sabbaticals. Maybe just something like a three-monthly break where people can apply some of their engineering knowledge in building up irrigation systems, water systems, something like that... I don't think it would be too

tricky for them as they probably have the actual skills within the Company to do that kind of thing.

In addition to benefiting the recipient organization, "community service days" are often a significant source of enthusiasm and fun, well attended and a real-life means for building teams solidarity. Although they are a major contributor to employee satisfaction, they are rarely integrated with work. At these events, participants frequently and favourably comment on being able to witness their contribution and on doing something for others. Generally they do not want explicit recognition for their work. However, these events are often seen as a token contribution towards a broader definition of social responsibility. Richard adds:

The current community service where people can spend a couple of days a year is a good step in the right direction... I think it was great for the group. It was good for teamwork. We chose some good projects and I think, to be honest, people love doing that type of work... I don't think anyone particularly enjoys work. You have some good days and some just dull days. And you know it's not a lot of fun and camaraderie. One of those community services is pretty much the only thing like that.

Employees widely agree that corporate citizenship must be authentic by being based on a sound foundation of internal ethical health as indicated in the way the company treats its employees. Daniel Hertz:

Corporate citizenship is just the way the company conducts itself to its employees, let alone outside. So how can you be a good corporate citizen externally if you treat your employees internally, the way they treat them... I think it's important that they give something back to society. I think you need to do it genuinely... maybe Bill Ford does believe it, but the rest of the Company I don't think does... I don't think it's a genuine thing. It's felt that you have to do it because it under the label corporate citizenship, and you have to tick-that-box.

Nonetheless, as Daniel alluded to, managers often see community service events as a mandatory annual management objective rather than an opportunity or moral duty. Managers, and even one of the directors I spoke with, often express the view that the purpose of Ford's business is purely economic, and corporate citizenship simply a constraint. Consequently community service activities are seen as a separate part of daily life. During departmental meetings community service activities usually fall to the bottom of agendas, are treated with low priority, frequently department

management do not actively participate in community service events, and corporate citizenship concerns are rarely integrated in business level meetings. This is not say that employees are not provided with the opportunity or encouraged to contribute to local communities. During 1999, eight hundred Dunton employees undertook 3,200 hours undertaking corporately sponsored community service and some claimed their interest in charitable activities had increased as a consequence.

Corporate citizenship extends to socially and environmentally responsible products and avoids any hypocrisy such as by claiming environmental responsibility yet marketing cars of minimal legal emission performance in developing countries. Noel Taylor expresses a view shared with many others:

I think we should be more responsible in terms of the kind of vehicles that we produce. I don't always see there is the need for these high-powered fast cars... so I think the Company's strategy is wrong in terms of building bigger cars that are polluting the atmosphere and using up valuable resources on the planet. We should be more environmentally responsible in what we're doing and how we produce things.

Adopting an ethical stance also means that employees must feel free to criticise what they perceive as immoral or unjust situations, those situations that can create inner tensions and stresses. Dr Mike Mckinnon:

I think if a company is striving to be a corporate citizen, striving to establish it's full citizenship an ethical stance more strongly, I feel that employees need to feel empowered to speak up more and take stances on things

### *5.6.2 Mixed motives*

Most employees feel that corporate citizenship should never be done for publicity or economic gain but grounded in a conviction that morally motivated action will be recompensed in the long term. Philip Laming:

What the Company wants, which is not very good, is recognition for the morally good things that it does for the local community... It ought to do things because it believes that that is the right thing to do and to hell with the rest of it. And if, through osmosis the outside world finds out that's what's Ford is doing, which it will do if it's morally the right thing to do, then it will find out about those things.



Some are particularly cynical about corporate motives and believe that they simply represent a very distasteful and possibly immoral marketing initiative for improving sales. Consequently, the authenticity and ultimate purpose of Ford's involvement is paramount. Richard Murphy:

I often feel that there's a reason for helping the community. Not necessarily out of the goodness of their hearts. Maybe more of a marketing tool... I feel a lot of the money that is distributed in community service projects is basically set up so that the community see Ford doing well and thinks next time I'm going to buy a car it will be a Ford.

However, this view is not universally shared. Others firmly believe that Ford should gain publicity from its otherwise unknown corporate citizenship activities. Brian Smith had spent a day helping out at a local wildlife refuge centre: "There was no Ford advertising because Ford's doing this for the community. It was a great missed opportunity. The local press weren't involved."

Some employees believe that the excessive executive remuneration we saw earlier is incompatible with a corporate social conscience. Indeed, one interviewee surprised me by even expressing a willingness to take a reduction in salary if the company contributed a reasonable percentage of its profit to worthy causes. However, the incompatibility of his gesture with prevailing levels of executive remuneration would prevent him from doing so.

In short, employees are in strong agreement with Ford taking an active, or even greater, role in social transformation. For some this is a way of integrating personal desires. For most it is a responsibility for any organization of Ford's size. Nonetheless, any such activity must be securely based on a morally sound foundation, and for most, conducted disinterestedly.

## **5.7 Two conflicting authority structures**

Essentially two very different authority structures exist at Ford. One, a traditional bureaucratic hierarchy based on the power and status of legal-rational authority, is superimposed on the second, a very flat team-based structure based on charismatic authority. Bureaucratic behaviour is manifest to a purer form higher up the hierarchy, and conversely, a team-based structure is practiced at the lower levels. The inherent

tension and occasional overt conflict between the two opposing structures are often evident. In particular the team-based structures are increasingly willing and often successful in challenging the existing bureaucratic and hegemonic order. Organizational hierarchy is sometimes seen to be more valuable to managers' personal needs than the needs of teamwork, or indeed "serving the customer". Richard Murphy expresses this central organizing idea most quintessentially: "I think there is a very flat working level staff. And then after that there's a huge ladder on top. Whether you need that one I don't know." Implied in his statement is his view of the relative insecurity, or even precariousness, of the bureaucratic hierarchy.<sup>172</sup> This situation is exacerbated by our knowledge of the propensity for radical change, or indeed revolution, as an intrinsic characteristic of charismatic authority.

### 5.7.1 *Appointment*

Currently, an employee's superior has a pivotal role in his or her potential promotion to a more senior position with little involvement from the employee's subordinates or peers. Once a person is promoted, it is extremely unusual for them to be demoted. Either they remain in position, experience a prematurely curtailed career, or are promoted further in the future. There is no fixed term of office.

Most employees believe that a free-choice or elective method for leadership selection would frequently, but by *no* means always, result in a different appointee to that made by superiors as the criteria that superiors use for selection are often different to those subordinates would naturally choose. Any disparity in these criteria can readily result in appointees lacking respect from their subordinates. Alternatively, the democratic or collegial selection of previously known individuals to the position of superior would be much more likely to gain recognition, commitment, and respect from subordinates, especially in times of crisis. Patrick Pearce has worked at Ford long enough to see a variety of leadership abilities and the progression of many new recruits. He expresses the experience of others well:

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<sup>172</sup> Henry Ford II was also acutely aware of the same dependence of management on subordinates: "Unless people agree with senior management's orders, nothing much happens. If enough people are strongly convinced that something needs to be changed, the people with titles have to respond in order to retain their positions" (1970, 23).

A manager is appointed, a leader happens. You can throw twenty people into a situation and somebody will develop as the leader, because he's got the right ideas... Or you can throw twenty people into the same arena and say: 'he's your manager, he's your boss - he's your leader. You will follow him - you will do as you're told'. It may or may not work out... how many people you can think of that have been made managers that have astounded you... certainly in one instance where the person was here as a student. He virtually lost his job... and had such a damning report that a more senior manager asked the supervisor to rewrite it in more pleasant terms... A few years later, the person who virtually lost the job at student level is now a manager and he hasn't changed that much. And he's got on to the amazement of most people that knew him previously and currently. So obviously the criteria that Ford used for the selection of management material is somewhat less than natural selection would have chosen... I would never ever work for that person. And there are other people over and above the call of duty because of the respect that I have for them.

The prevailing practice of promotion by appointment can encourage superiors to exploit their subordinates or even entire groups for their own gains. Such practice often leaves survivors demoralised, devastated and deeply resentful. Subordinates frequently despise managers they perceive putting self-interest, notably their careers, ahead of subordinates, the greater corporate good or even serving the customer. Lutfallah Butrus:

I hate certain type of characters that I've seen in this Company, which is 'I will step all over you, take work from you and use that for my personal benefit'... I have been treated very badly by certain people who have managed me over the years - who have taken credit for my work... I've been physically treated, more than half a dozen times quite seriously in terms of, I will take your work and use that to progress my career thank you very much.

In one department, called here Advanced Engineering, this condition of "proper selfishness" was exaggerated to the extent that many subordinates felt so dissatisfied they either left Ford, or tried to move laterally to other departments but were prevented. When the manager eventually obtained his promotion and was reassigned elsewhere the surviving members of the department breathed a sigh of relief. Figure 16 illustrates how the Pulse survey clearly reveals their dissatisfaction. Ten of the thirteen Pulse categories are significantly lower than the corporate base and the five items beneath forty-percent are officially classified as "causes for concern". The overall measure of Employee Satisfaction is extremely poor. Not shown in this figure

is the significant historical year-on-year deterioration in each of these categories. In instances like this, managers lose moral authority over and respect from their subordinates, and increasingly need to depend on extreme forms of authoritarian control.

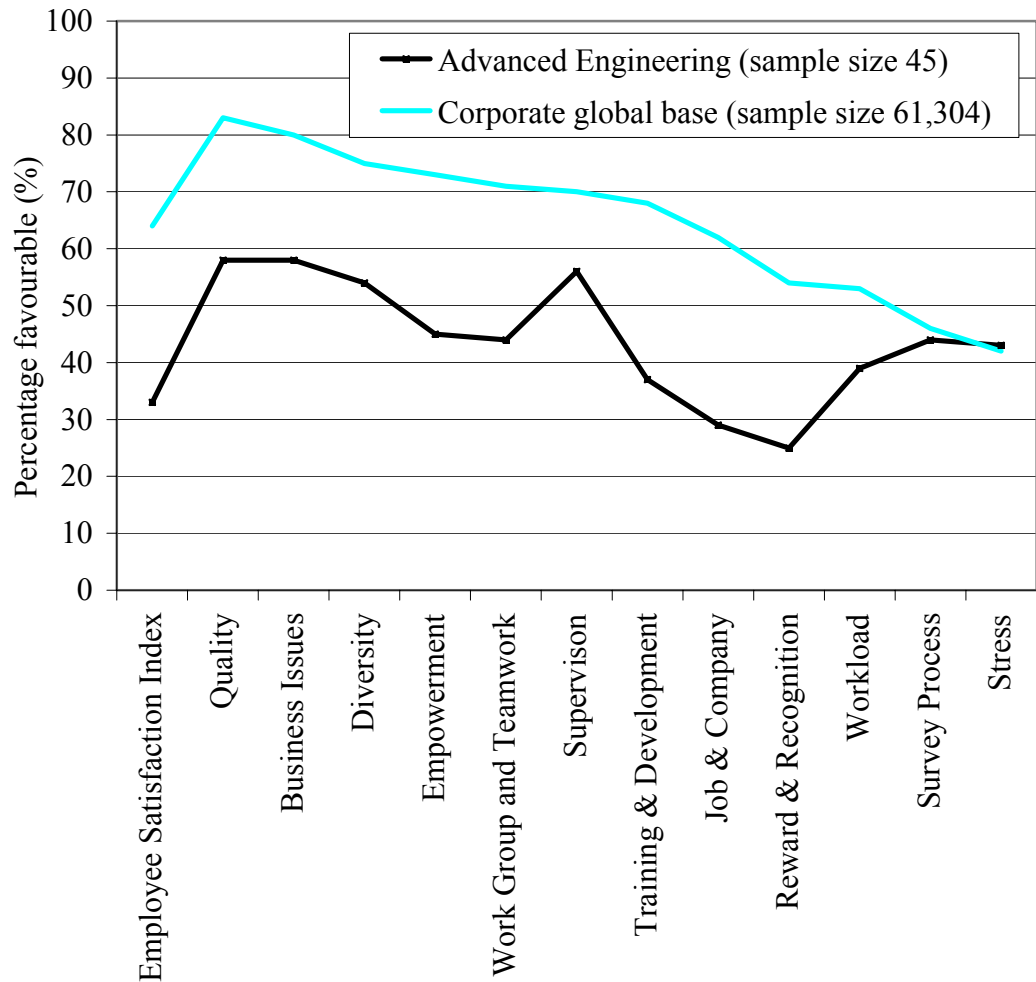


Figure 16: Exposure through Pulse survey results

### 5.7.2 *To serve or be served*

Many subordinates desire their relationships with their immediate superiors to be one of reciprocal help and assistance, and for their management to encourage participation and to facilitate their work. Vincent Fox:

I think it matters a lot to have management that we feel are assisting in some way. Personally it would be very difficult to cope with the situation where my immediate management placed no value on my views whatsoever... Listening to one's views and reacting on them, even if it's unfavourably, at least reacting in some way rather than being totally dismissive.

Employees appear to freely and harshly criticise superiors if they feel they are not serving their needs, but seem much less willing to criticise their co-workers unless these have failed through lack of effort or conscientiousness. By common consent the manager of Advanced Engineering was judged as being preoccupied with his career progression to the detriment of concern for department members. Indeed, this same manager confined himself to his office, interacted only occasionally with subordinates and then only with an authoritarian approach, never personally. It reached the stage that during one departmental meeting, Charles Hayes, a junior member of staff publicly and blatantly alerted him of his negligible respect: "At the moment people think you are a nerd, but if you continue to remain in your office then people will think you are a wanker". Although the ideal leader serves like a facilitator balancing opinions and striving for consensus, the reality is that many current leaders, like the manager of Advanced Engineering, are often those who are most autocratic. Daniel Hertz:

Unfortunately, the way we look at leaders is who has the strongest opinion, and who shouts the loudest, and who enforces their opinion. Unfortunately that's the way we look at leaders. I think that's all wrong.

As we have seen, the Pulse survey can identify such individuals. But for others, feedback through Pulse surveys and 360-degree appraisals can also have a significant impact on their chosen behaviour. This feedback fosters a "servant leadership" style that inverts the conventional hierarchy by encouraging superiors to act more democratically and to respond to the needs of subordinates. Philip Laming takes his feedback seriously as it enables him to serve his team more effectively but recognises his divided loyalties between his superior and his subordinates. He wants to enhance his team's effectiveness but remuneration structures favouring his superior can dissuade him:

360-degree and Pulse are important because I think the appraisal from the chaps is probably more important than the appraisal that you get from your management... In terms of how I am going to improve the way I operate personally I will react to what my manager says because he is responsible for my pay increase, but I am really curious to know what my chaps think of me... what I get back from the Pulse is good and it will influence how I behave in that I'll serve them rather than serving my masters.

Philip is not alone. Figure 17 shows an increase in the response of management to previous Pulse survey results. This noteworthy rise clearly indicates that Dunton's management, on the whole, is increasingly listening and responding to subordinates.

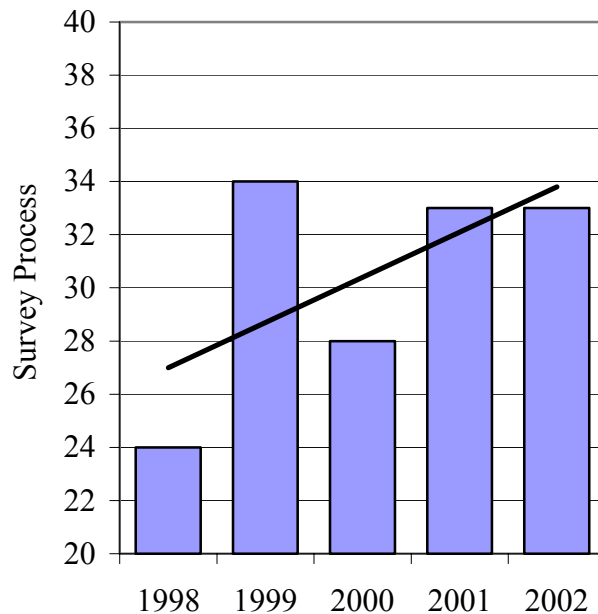


Figure 17: Pulse survey: Survey Process, 1998-2002<sup>173</sup>

A major asset is having a manager who uses his or her abilities for the benefit of others, who places priority on the development of a department as a whole as opposed to one who is selfishly concerned with career progression. Such a manager is a greatly valued source of motivation, respect and has vital impact on productivity. Brian Smith speaks very favourably of his manager as an exemplar. From Brian's perspective, his manager appears to be the exception rather than the norm by gaining his subordinates' wholehearted respect and commitment:

The fact that we have a manager for the first time in five years who truly wants our department to succeed and promote it is a big asset. We've actually got a manager who is interested in the department as a whole as opposed as a step up the career path. It's a major bonus... the management we've had during these times has all been tick-the-box foreign assignment, tick-the-box career path, done this job, whatever. To have those kinds of managers is frankly useless. It doesn't serve Ford very well at all... A good manager pushes the department. From that you get a department that wants to work for

<sup>173</sup> This dimension focuses on whether leaders share Pulse results with employees, discuss the results, identify actions and implement those actions. One of the questions for this dimension was: "I have seen positive changes because of the last Pulse survey".

him and if you've got enthusiastic people who want to work for the manager because they realise what he's doing is good. You do a better job, you are more enthusiastic in your job and you deliver more.

Management has a significant influence on team well-being and performance. Effective managers have a developmental consciousness, possess coaching skills and assist their subordinates develop self-management skills. Consequently, a major and unique asset is having a manager who adopts a teaching or coaching style as an approach to enhancing productivity. Brian Smith adds:

He's steering the department the right way. He knows what he wants from the department and... where we are failing to deliver and what we are good at. He's promoting the good side and dragging us up on where we're poor. So putting the measures in place to make sure we perform better. And that's a distinct improvement to have a manager who is interested in what the department delivers... a novel departure from the previous five years.

Managers also fulfil the development needs of individuals not just of the team. Debra North explains that personal interest and coaching would make her exceptionally motivated:

More interaction with your supervisor and manager and them actually taking an interest in what you are doing and trying and give you pointers on how to do it better without being patronising or critical, but actually taking a genuine interest... They should be able to nourish your development whether it is your personal development, your technical development. It's what a leader is supposed to be.

Nonetheless, this aspiration is largely unfulfilled. Managers are rarely perceived as committed to nurturing direct relationships with those they lead but more often with their superior, the person most likely to influence their career progression.

### *5.7.3 Social conflict: distance or integration*

As self-evident by now, although relationships with immediate managers are crucial, there is a range of social integration or isolation between managers and their subordinates. This range often depends upon the personal characteristics of the individual superior and how well he or she is respected. Daniel Hertz:

I like my job, I like the people and work with. It's good fun. It's just the daily, or weekly piss-off factor of the boss making some of the comments that he makes that just really frustrate the hell out of me.

Respected superiors have high regard for their workforce, make time for them, and apply rules only as guides. They command a high degree of respect, trust and loyalty. Typically they treat staff as individuals, listen and respond to them, and are candid and truthful. In many areas of Dunton, it appears that such a superior exhibiting most of these personality traits can be a rarity. For many, from the perspective of subordinates, it is because they seem to be consciously distancing themselves from subordinates or focusing excessively on their own career progression. Noel Taylor:

Very often I'm going into a company and I'm meeting the owner of the company, the managing director of the company, and we are on first name terms. I'm able to talk to him as an individual, as a one-to-one. Whereas Ford managers, either they don't want to talk to you, or they feel it's beneath them to talk to you... I have no relationship with Ford management at all whereas I have a quite a good relationship with external customers who are managers or owners of their own companies.

Managers can be living witnesses to share values. A manager's behaviour is often seen as a fundamental indicator of their core beliefs. By their very behaviour they endorse similar behaviour among others. Although employees often expect their superiors to transmit their shared standards of behaviour, in practice they frequently reject them as role models and rarely find any inspirational. Lutfallah Butrus:

I think that the unfortunate reality is that the number of people that I really look up to, who stimulate me are so the minority. Maybe I'm just not looking hard enough.

Superiors are expected to be not only authentic and demonstrate congruence between their beliefs and behaviour both at work and in their personal lives, but also to embody the values of subordinates. Helen Ball recalls her manager's views on ethnic and gender issues. Knowing her reserved nature, I was surprised just how strongly she felt:

I have sat in an All-Hands meeting, one of those Spirit of Ford's, and I have had my manager, at the time, talk about women and ethnic minorities and I have had him leaving me feel so disgusted that I would never want to work for him again.



This aside, there is a desire, particularly by graduates, for immediate superiors to serve as potential role models, especially for work-life balance and trust. For instance, the claims for end-of-year achievements made by the manager of Advanced Engineering were far from shared with the commonly held views of subordinates. The self-evident disparity only further undermined his subordinates respect or trust for him.

Sometimes, the collective authority of subordinates, particularly as expressed through teamwork challenges the formal authority of superiors. When management, particularly those with authoritarian styles, assert different ethical codes to their subordinates they can cause stress, taint working relationships and erode trust. However, the solidarity of teams underpinned by their more collective decision-making process is sometimes able to challenge and resist this type of authority. By refusing to cooperate, teams can therefore undermine the authority and moral credibility of superiors. Peter Solomon provides an example of a situation that could have had devastating impact on the corporation if he had dutifully obeyed his superiors' orders.<sup>174</sup> If a similar situation arose in the future, Peter would resort to using the team's solidarity to confront an authoritarian managerial hierarchy. By asserting their will on a controversial issue, superiors compromised Peter's future cooperation:

In the past I've had people above me that have had different ideas of where we should be going. We had a concern for safety... the supplier of the equipment had suggested it wasn't 100 percent safe for road use. When the managers were pushing for that to be used on the road, I felt that was an error... I was putting my case against someone else who was a more senior engineer and I had to argue a case that to me sounded obvious whereas they had the benefit of a higher rank... I would just be more wary of that person afterwards given the situation that they were happy to approve something that I wasn't... so I may not take their word for it. Next time I will be asking other people in the group, are we really sure about this.

In another instance a supervisor insisted that his name appeared on an application for a recognition award despite his lack of involvement in the project concerned. The team that conducted the work considered his command a gross abuse of his position

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<sup>174</sup> Incidentally and alarmingly, this event coincided with heightened corporate concern and commitment to safety. See Nasser's pledge to employee safety p.120.

by rebuking his order and threatening to withdraw their application rather than acquiesce to his authority. In short, the team's moral solidarity can at times exceed the command of superiors, especially if instead of benefiting the team superiors look for personal aggrandisement.

Traditional management allegiance is vertically upwards whereas team allegiance is reciprocal and horizontal. Consequently, it is often the intersection between teams and the traditional hierarchy, or the position of supervisor that is subject to the most conflict. Supervisors need to decide whether their primary allegiance is with their superiors or their teams and subordinates. For most supervisors it is the former. In practice, many supervisors spend more time with their manager and are preoccupied with their own activities to the exclusion of interaction with their subordinates. In such instances, social distancing widens. Noel Taylor:

I think a lot of Ford management are very aloof as to what is going on, it's like a class system... If I'm writing something to someone with a question then I don't feel empowered to copy management on it... management don't necessarily talk to underlings down in the office. It's almost like an army regimental system. You've got us soldiers at the bottom and obviously colonels and generals at the top and the two don't meet or mix.

This situation is compounded as the interaction of general salary employees is predominantly with peers. These horizontal relationships tend to be much more informal, deeper and reciprocal as opposed to the more one-way communication with superiors. Helen Ball:

I find it a lot easier to bond and form relationships with people I can just chat to without worrying about it. Whereas when I meet a manager I'm a bit on edge about what I say.

But exceptions exist. Staff is notably inspired when their managers prioritise spending time communicating face-to-face. But more generally the two different structures of management and teamwork can limit communication flow and shared social experience. Consequently there can be a wide range of relationships and social distances between managers and subordinates, and two different conceptions of reality often emerge. In the ideal case, a manager knows his or her staff by name, has some form of individual relationship, shows personal concern and care and is fully integrated with teamwork. Such a manager uses his or her unique abilities for the

benefit of others collectively or individually and is committed to building and nurturing direct personal relationships. Brian Smith's manager incidentally is a foreign national from Germany:

He's definitely a people man and he gives the individual credit where it's due as well as collective credit where collective credits due. That's a big bonus. He took it on himself as a major task to learn who everybody was in the department, and I won't say on a one-to-one basis, but he walks around the department and he knows everybody by their first name, which is a refreshing approach.

Immediate management has a vital role in providing recognition for an individual's contribution and a crucial influence in developing organizational commitment. The responsibility for human resource issues increasingly appears to be an integrated part of their job. Helen Ball:

When you have a good manager who recognises you and speaks to you it makes you want to work for them better... It makes you feel as though somebody actually cares... it makes you work better because you are happier. Whereas if you have a manager who doesn't know who you are, or never has a good word to say to you, or is always coming and shouting at you, then it doesn't make you want to work for them. In fact it probably makes you go the other way and want to leave as soon as possible.

Often though, the superior-subordinate relationship can be extremely impersonal with an absence of managers' participation in communal events, such as birthday or Christmas celebrations, either in or out of work. In one department, throughout the duration of his assignment, the manager never spoke with his subordinates on personal issues or inquired about their levels of work satisfaction. His discussion was purely on assignment status. In some instances, the geographical isolation of superiors further discourages the formation of personal relationships with subordinates. In a department where face-to-face interaction with management was severely limited, access to the supervisor who was located in Germany was primarily limited to relatively impersonal communication by e-mail. In this case, a Dunton based subordinate needed to wait eight working days to speak to this supervisor on an urgent personal issue. The same supervisor's subordinates were not generally aware that he was getting married or that he would be subsequently taking a six-week honeymoon break. Consequently, discussions on personal issues atrophied. In extreme cases where employees are denied participation in decisions that

fundamentally affect them, heightened conflict can result with devastating impact on employee satisfaction and well-being. Nicolas Evans' worst experience at Ford was when his manager, based in America, unilaterally decided that someone else would do his job and he would be reassigned. I was surprised that Nicolas did not ask me to turn the recorder off during this stage of our discussion:

At one point I actually said to my wife that had I been of a completely different temperament, I could well have become suicidal at this point. I felt that it was a great pity and a great weakness of my management that they didn't realise this... It was at this particular point that I joined the trade union... because I felt that I may well need trade union representation in negotiations with my management.

In comparison with the more formal, stilted and limited interaction with superiors, communication amongst peers and within teams can be extensive and light-hearted. The latter occasionally express exasperation about a lack of involvement in decision-making, and suspect their management are not responding to or are simply ignorant of their real needs. Local management can simply live in a different reality than their subordinates. Noel Taylor:

My supervisor... sits and writes e-mails and replies to e-mails all day. That's all he does. He sees that as an important part of his job and that is his method of communicating. I would much rather he came and talked to me than sit ten feet away and send me five e-mails every day. He could come and talk to me about it or at least we could have a weekly meeting.

Associated with this range of management approaches is the way any apparent loss of control or failures in prevailing practice is accommodated. One way is through the greater application of bureaucratic control. Another is by greater integration with subordinates. A consequence of the former approach can be a widened cleavage between management and subordinates and of the latter the converse.

#### *5.7.4 Senior management*

Senior management are also not immune to their hegemony being challenged or experiencing a "widening gulf" with grassroots employees. Employees appear ready to debate amongst themselves the legitimacy of their senior management by questioning why they should respond to disruptive demands, especially if it means compromising commitments made to their work teams. In some instances,

incongruence between the projects that the teams desire to work on, and assignments allocated down through the hierarchy creates tension and can diminish respect. Daniel Hertz: "The boss just accepts stuff from senior management so it looks good. So he looks good." At other times for others, the traditional hierarchy gives the impression of justifying its position, not adding value, but ratifying decisions already made by teams. This gulf or structural disconnect can apply to the perceived reality of organization status. During one departmental meeting, Kenneth Adams in frustration alerted his manager: "Does Malcolm Thomas<sup>175</sup> have any idea of the actual situation at Dunton? Do you think he knows it isn't working, how inefficient we have become?" Such disconnects occur despite many senior managers routinely making themselves available for live and informal dialogue with employees. Such dialogues may simply cover-up essentially different structures. Senior management meetings strongly contrast with typical team meetings. Unlike team meetings, the former are extremely formal and are used to report status, not to conduct work or even to develop status. Typically the most senior manager will exert a strong and commanding influence, communication tends to be emotionless and sequential with little dialogue. Language is factual, terse and esoteric. Attendees remain fixed to their seats with little extraneous movement, enter or leave meetings silently without any greeting or farewell and report the status of their particular functional role. Such meetings appear quintessentially bureaucratic.

Employees frequently express the desire for a stable management structure and less "leadership churn". In one notable incident previously mentioned in chapter 4, Nick Scheele and David Thursfield publicly made personal pledges to stay in their jobs until a particular business strategy was successfully fulfilled. When their commitments were not honoured, some employees felt severely deceived as they felt that these pledges had been personal obligations from one individual to others, as opposed to a commitment to the corporation. The commitment was simply understood to be personal rather than organizational. This disappointment caused some younger employees to severely question the integrity, trust and confidence they placed in senior management. Other more long-serving employees had simply

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<sup>175</sup> Dunton's most senior manager

experienced the same duplicity before and had diminished expectations. Career as before had taken precedent over community obligations.

Senior managers do not always represent the commonly held beliefs and values of grassroots employees. For instance, they can make poor witnesses to both corporate pronouncements and employee ideals for work-life balance and responsibility to their families. In an interview for Ford's corporate magazine Martin Leach<sup>176</sup> told employees that for relaxation at weekends his priorities are motor racing and tennis, "and if I'm not doing one of those two things, I'm reintroducing myself to the family. I don't usually see them during the week!" Such instances undermine respect for them as potential role models. For some, this has reached a critical level. They have become impatient as they see the personalities of senior management entrenched and intrinsically incompatible with their understanding of prevailing needs. Respect and recognition has diminished to dangerous levels. Daniel Hertz:

I would really rip the Company to pieces. I would probably sack all of the senior management... We've tried to retrain our senior management to think differently - and they don't. They might talk it but they can't do it, you know, it's difficult to do. So you could try and train them. Fair enough or just sack them. Just totally go through them with a meat cleaver and start hiring people. You need to start leading by example.<sup>177</sup>

The corporation has recognised the same. According to one of the directors I spoke with, senior level staff that did not "fit in" with Ford's future vision was already being "eased out" of the organization. Perhaps worse still, is any public discrediting of senior management. In a highly embarrassing US court battle between a former executive and the corporation, the court essentially called David Thursfield, Executive Vice President, Ford International Operations and Global Purchasing, the superior of the executive concerned, a liar: "The Court finds the testimony of David Thursfield to be internally inconsistent and thus, discounts the testimony as less credible and convincing".<sup>178</sup> Internally, this event caused some employees to

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<sup>176</sup> Vice-President, Product Development, Ford of Europe.

<sup>177</sup> We will discuss the (in)ability of managers to respond to "paradigm shifts" in chapter 6.

<sup>178</sup> Borman (2004, 13). The external implications of events like this are substantial. *Autocar*, a prominent motoring magazine, headlined a three-page article dedicated to this incident with: "Phone-tapping, interrogation, smearing, ostracising - this must be the world of high government. But no - this was Ford of Europe last summer" (Bremner 2004). Thursfield later "elected to retire". In another embarrassing "Front Page" incident, *(footnote continued)*

question the credibility of their management team and how its conduct correlated as role models against Ford's stated leadership behaviours and shared values. Senior management behaviour was conspicuously deviant and untrustworthy. Moreover, the event undermined some employees' commitment to respond to corporate urges to make savings as this event had made the company liable for up to seventy-five million dollars compensation. The effect on internal morale and pride in the corporation could have been devastating.

#### *5.7.5 Personality types: the foundation of authority*

Employees readily observe that an individual's personality can have a significant influence on their leadership or managerial abilities. Leadership is seen as an innate characteristic. Patrick Pearce: "Anybody can be a manager. It takes a certain skill and natural ability to be a leader." Employees understand inspirational leaders as rare individuals who pursue alternative visions and beliefs with conviction and without fear of ridicule, and who are open, honest and authentic. Such leaders are seen to have personalities and drive that impel individuals to want to follow their lead without having to resort to coercion.<sup>179</sup> They are widely preferred but seldom experienced. Tony Bulos: "A leader is someone who has a sort of personality and drive about him that you want to do what he's aiming for. A manager has to tell you what he wants you to do." Likewise, many subordinates see that leadership is more about empathy, recognition and personal relationship whereas management is about the application of centralised autocratic control. Gavin Matthews has worked for many superiors in his forty-one years at Ford:

A good leader has got to be able to tune in on the same wavelength as his people... People will follow a good leader who comes across and who can relate to them, and they can relate to him. They will respond, and they will give off their best and then go the extra mile... it's a question of them being able to relate to the people they're leading and

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police were called in to probe an alleged multi-million pound fraud (Mackintosh 2004). Others are simply covered up.

<sup>179</sup> According to authorities, managers and leaders do have very different personalities. Managers aim to create ordered corporate structures, and are impersonal and emotionally detached from their work. Control is so central to them that highly motivated or inspired behaviour are virtually irrelevant. Leaders by contrast, direct their energies toward innovation and change and are inspirational, visionary and passionate. They place heavy reliance on intuition and authenticity. Managers and leaders differ in psychological type, motivation, thinking style and behaviour, and in personal history to the extent that the process of developing managers tends to inhibit their leadership abilities (Kotter 1990; Zaleznik 1977).

form. He's got to be able to be a team former. The manager should be a good team former but sometimes isn't. One is about relationship - one is more about commanding.

As we saw earlier, for Weber personality characteristics are fundamental to authority structures, a central theme of this thesis. The Myers Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI) is one of the most developed and respected psychometric instruments for identifying personality types. It is based on Jung's psychological types and is even used to facilitate spiritual growth of individuals. The MBTI is increasingly being used within Ford to facilitate culture change interventions, to increase employees' awareness of human diversity, and in certain instances even to help to identify suitable candidates for particular management positions. The MBTI looks at eight possible preferences organized into four bipolar scales to create sixteen personality types, each of equal value as shown in Figure 18.

Extraversion	E	↔	I	Introversion
Sensing	S	↔	N	iNtuition
Thinking	T	↔	F	Feeling
Judging	J	↔	P	Perceiving

Figure 18: Eight

MBTI preferences

The "Thinking" and "Feeling" variables in particular have very different underlying values and consequential leadership styles. The Thinking leader tends to lead and influence through impersonal logic and reasoning and as necessary through forced compliance. By comparison, the Feeling leader tends to lead personally through appealing to emotions, ideals, and draws from innate charisma. The Thinking leader makes decisions based on logic, the Feeling leader based on values. Likewise the mental processes for "Judging" are different to those from "Perceiving". The Judging type's nature means they plan their work and try to control change as opposed to the Perceiving types that work through inspiration and tend to be flexible by adapting to change. In short, the combination of the Thinking with the Judging variable reflects a personality type extremely compatible with Weber's ideal bureaucratic official. Antithetically, and as an extreme case, the combination of the Feeling with Perceiving variables could be likened to Weber's charismatic leader for which the "ENFP" combination makes a quintessential example. ENFP types are especially charismatic and often so filled with conviction that they readily motivate and inspire those around them. The ENFP's ideal organization makes a difference on important



global concerns, and emphasises values, the uniqueness of individuals, democracy and discussion on all-important concerns. They combine charismatic with collegial authority, are adept at integrating their work and leisure lives, integrate coaching with their style of leadership and can serve as role models. Although, ENFPs would appear to be eminently compatible with the ideal type of spiritual-family, in practice they are rarely seen in organizations.<sup>180</sup>

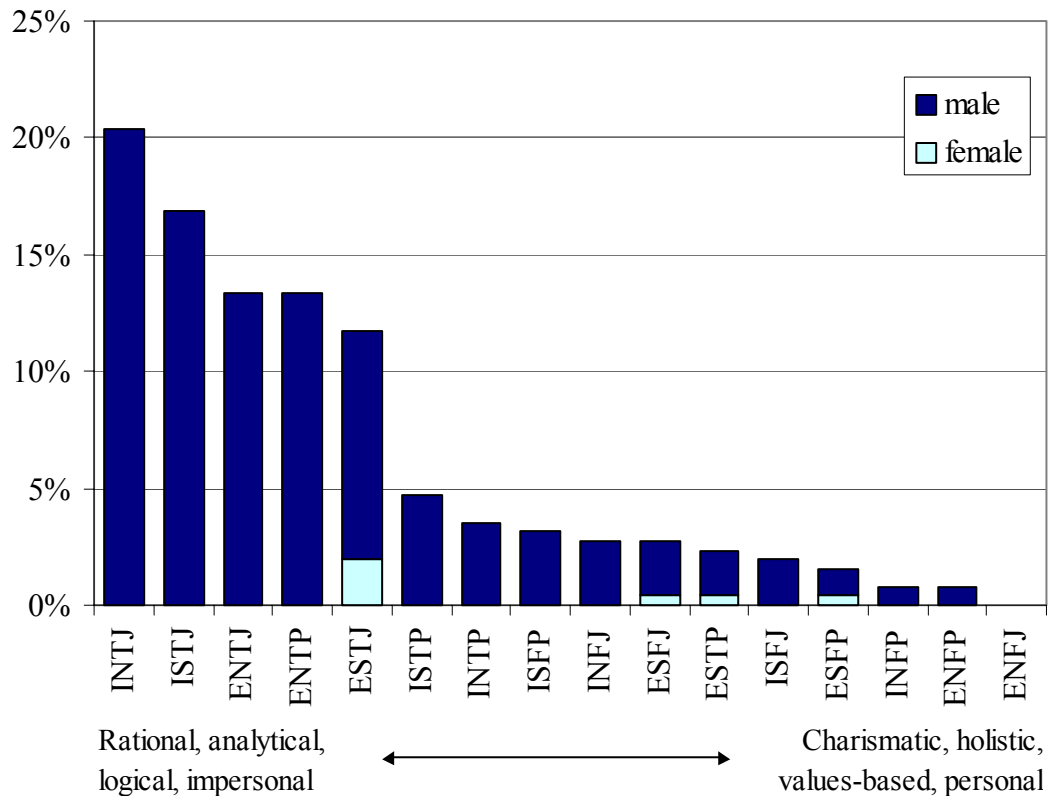


Figure 19: MBTI personality types: Diesel Management Team

Figure 19 shows the distribution of MBTI personality types within a Dunton based management team responsible for developing future diesel engines.<sup>181</sup> The distribution, based on a census of sixty-four individuals, is heavily skewed and characterised by the Thinking variable, particularly when coupled with the Judging variable. No less than eighty-six percent of this population are characterised by the

<sup>180</sup> Keirsey (1998), Briggs Myers (1980), Rogers (1997). Management consultants specialising in this field claim the enthusiasm of ENFPs frequently earns them disciples. ENFP leaders inspire by the way they go to the heart of the values issues in their work units. Trust, openness and respect for customers have high priority in ENFP-led groups. ENFPs are usually determined to "walk-the-talk" by ensuring that shared-values are lived by everyone, including themselves. The ENFP style of delegation is to distribute responsibilities on an informal collegial basis. Personal development and coaching are integral to their style of managing and they often show considerable ingenuity in blending work and home (Management Futures n.r.).

<sup>181</sup> Gathered as part of a cultural change intervention.

Thinking variable and sixty-two percent when it is combined with the Judging variable. Liz Roberts, an organization consultant who extensively applies the MBTI within Ford told me how "Ford as an organization is almost off the scale on the 'T' side". In stark comparison, the population is also characterised by the relative absence at just fourteen percent of Feeling types. When coupled with the Perceiving variable this reduces to only six percent.<sup>182</sup> In other words, the personalities of the vast majority of these managers will encourage them to lead through impersonal logic, reasoning and analysis, and as necessary coercion. Only an insignificant minority will naturally tend to lead through personal charisma and relationships, and to emphasise values. In short, the personality types of this management team would have a natural affinity with Weber's legal-rational as opposed to his charismatic authority structure. Their personalities will be especially compatible with a bureaucratic organizational form and be adverse to the spiritual-family type. Nonetheless, these personality types must always be treated as an innate preferences and not deterministic ways of behaving. MBTI guides emphasise that each individual is an exception to the rule. Asaf Badawi, a long-serving employee: "I've seen many different approaches from different supervisors and from different managers. You can't say one of them is the standard and that's a Ford way." Even so, there is still a fundamental discord between the innate preferences of existing managers with the ideal traits of the charismatic leader. Employees, as we have seen, are keenly aware of the incompatibility between the styles of prevailing management with the future visions and ideals pronounced by the corporation. Indeed those, especially the younger, whose sole socialisation and formative training has been in the participative and facilitative style of teamwork, and who have avidly absorbed corporate pronouncements about new ways of working, are becoming intolerant and appear more willing to be assertive in confrontation with "traditional style" of management. Challenge is becoming imperative. Some, like Daniel Hertz above, believe that leadership style is such a reflection of inherent qualities that change will only come through new and apposite appointments. Debra North is another:

Things that would make me more committed is to accelerate the changes that we're going through at the moment. Try and get rid of the, I call it old style in inverted commas, management and bring in

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<sup>182</sup> This distribution is very similar to the sample of 6,528 participants of Cambridge Management Centres' programmes (Rogers 1997).

all the new leadership ideas that they have got. I know they've already started changing the grades for leadership levels, which I think is good, but they need to change people's attitude, and that's going to be the hardest part. They can change what they call it, but they need to change the people.

Like Debra, Bernard Morgan, an engineer responsible for computer modelling engine performance, laments that radical change does not appear to be forthcoming or associated with prevailing management appointments. Indeed in Bernard's experience, and to his disappointment, the impact of a change in manager appears unnoticeable. He sees it difficult for a manager's leadership style to be different. Bernard simply dismisses them: "All Ford managers are shaped in the same mould to get where they are". If the desire for leadership is frustrated, then worse is the dogmatic enforcement of an authoritarian personality. Such enforcement can be devastating for personal morale and work satisfaction and can result in a widening cleavage with the team. Daniel Hertz:

So the group is functioning and working, trying to work in this progressive way but the manager doesn't get it. He just doesn't get it. He operates in the way that he's always operated.... It's not his fault. He's got to change. He's got to be more open, more balanced in his views. The problem is he's got very strong views and he enforces that on everyone else... It destroys morale in the group. Visibly, people just don't like receiving direct orders.

This section can be summarised by its opening paragraph. In essence there are two mutually incompatible authority structures at Dunton. The historical form that prevails as a conventional management hierarchy is based on legal-rational authority as characterised by bureaucracy. Underlying this is a team-based structure grounded in charismatic authority, and one in which over recent years new recruits and existing employees have been socialised into. If the locus of power continues to relocate towards teams, these organs are not only more willing, but more able to challenge the legitimacy of the bureaucratic superstructure.

The prevailing structures for the appointment of superiors favour progression in the traditional management hierarchy. However, this very same process can radically undermine the individual's authority in the eyes of subordinates. Through time, these same structures have selected, and helped to form, individuals particularly compatible with the historical bureaucratic organizational form. However, today the

innate characteristics of these same individuals can be largely improper as evident through their rejection by subordinates.

## **5.8 Conclusions**

This grassroots view of working at Ford has expressed a widespread but frustrated desire of not only the new business model pronounced in the previous chapter by spokespersons, but also for a way of working congruent with the ideal type of spiritual-family. The aspirations of official spokespersons and grassroots employees largely are in agreement. If these desires are compared against the table of essential differences between the bureaucracy and spiritual-family as shown in Figure 1, then twenty-one of the twenty-three variables describing the spiritual-family in principle reflect the general aspirations of grassroots employees. The notable two that do not are the variables "ownership" and "admission". The employees I spoke with had little understanding of the notion of employee ownership. Just one owned shares, given to him as a part of corporate award and none I spoke with expressed any desire to become a corporate shareholder. Similarly, although it was rare to receive favourable comments about the existing expeditious and "role-play" admission procedure, none proposed alternatives anything remotely resembling the Benedictine notion of a protracted, probationary and moral process. The closest to the ideal type of spiritual-family were nostalgic reflections on prior apprenticeship-type schemes. These aside, this part of the investigation has emphasised the desire also by grassroots employees for a fundamental shift in organization structure to a type resembling the ideal type of spiritual-family and in a way that can be sociologically understood as a fundamental change in underlying authority structure. More specifically, there appears a general incompatibility between the personality characteristics of management with teamwork, and the potential recognition by team members.



## CHAPTER 6

### OVERALL CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has four parts. The first reviews and compares the previous two chapters to see how the new ideal type of spiritual-family helps to understand the reality of industrial organization as practised at Ford. The second and third review and discuss the entire exploration, and suggest directions for future work. The final part briefly explores the coherence with broader social trends and other workplace studies.

#### **6.1 Case studies at Ford**

Chapter 4 illustrated that Ford desires a new business model based on a conviction of the need to "serve the customer". It desires a culture of service to permeate the organization. Ford believes that its leaders, as charismatic individuals, have a crucial role in this fundamental change to a social structure that emphasises the person as an individual, familial and deeply personal customer relationships, wide-ranging integration, and social mission. On face value, Ford advocates a transformed structure that is described by the ideal type of spiritual-family. Chapter 5 showed that employees, at the grassroots level, express a widespread desire for a new way of working that is not only compatible with formal corporate pronouncements, but also with this new ideal type. The official spokespersons and the grassroots level employees are fundamentally in agreement as to their aspirations for a transformed Ford. They both have similar hopes and desires. If anything, employees are in closer agreement than the official spokespersons as in principle the greatest differences between their views and the new ideal type relate only to the two variables "ownership" and "admission" of Figure 1 (p.103). The employees I spoke with had little conception of employee ownership at Ford. It simply was not a subject they had given much thought to. Likewise, although several people spoke unfavourably about the prevailing expeditious and "role-play" admission procedure, the notion of a moral and protracted concept intrinsic to the spiritual-family was generally beyond their normal experience and outlook. Exceptions were those who reflected on prior apprenticeship type schemes. In short, the ideal type of spiritual-family accurately

informs the reality of the *aspirations* of Ford from the poles both of senior management and grassroots level employees and in a way that the bureaucracy simply does not.

Chapter 5 showed however a large disparity between these aspirations and reality from the perspectives of grassroots employees. Notably, the same had been candidly confessed many times by corporate spokespersons as we saw in chapter 4. In terms of the first element of the ideal type, the primacy of the person, many employees are frustrated in their aspirations to serve as truly self-governing professionals. For instance, prevailing reward structures discourage the stable development of professional proficiency and instead encourage hierarchical advancement and role mobility. Remuneration practices emphasise external material rewards and not intrinsic opportunities for challenge, greater autonomy, variety or personal growth. Employees widely receive wholesale and undignified treatment as impersonal objects and not as unique and self-governing persons. As Vincent Fox told us, "everybody is treated as a number" (p.193). The culture emphasises rationality, discounts intuition, and restricts emotional expression.

In terms of the second ideal type element, a network of interdependent families, the majority of work at Dunton is conducted in teams. Teams resemble a form of "micro-communion" and exhibit characteristics consistent with the spiritual-family. They tend to emphasise more personal, horizontal, reciprocal and face-to-face relationships, and some sense of belonging. Within teamwork members cooperate towards shared goals and participate in decision-making. Nonetheless, notable incompatibilities exist through structural inequalities in terms of conditions and status of employment (Jadev Tiwari told us on p.214, "I feel like a second-class citizen being a contractor"), individualistic and excessive executive remuneration, an expeditious admission process, pervasive distrust and the physical layout and scale of office space. Outside of teamwork, bureaucratic structures tend to predominate.

In terms of the third ideal type element, namely integration, authenticity and transparency, most employees' private lives are sharply segregated from their working lives, few participate in any form of ownership and many find promotional structures in conflict with aspects of their personal values and aspirations. Nonetheless, those employees that have trustful relationships with their superiors, a

loosely defined division of labour, or a system's approach to working appear more readily to integrate the various domains of their lives.

As for social mission, Ford provides the vast majority of employees the opportunity to contribute towards their local communities through its community service programme. Moreover, the corporation adds to this contribution through significant pecuniary donations and occasionally by the free loan of its resources. Although most of this philanthropy is conducted disinterestedly, the overall magnitude of social mission is relatively insignificant relative to the commitment of other corporate resources.

In terms of authority structures, the reality appears to be an accommodation of both charismatic and bureaucratic forms. There is a conventional bureaucratic hierarchy of management based on legal-rational authority located above, and underpinned by, a team-based structure more grounded in charismatic authority. Richard Murphy cogently described this as "a very flat working level staff. And then after that there's a huge ladder on top" (p.250). Values seem to be more prevalently shared *within* but not *between* these two authority structures. Values appear to be shared to a greater extent across, and less up, the organization. Predominantly from my informants' comments, the style of management can conveniently be categorised into two types reflecting these two different authority structures. One type has affinity with the spiritual-family. But the other type, the majority, the affinity is with the bureaucracy. This latter group sometimes appears to need to assert an exaggerated imperative or even authoritarian management style to maintain their positional authority and to counteract the dissent, and at times insubordination, of employees exhorting team-based working behaviour. On the whole, the innate personality characteristics of existing managers seem to be highly appropriate for legal-rational authority structures and consequently largely improper to the ideal type of spiritual-family.

The prevailing structures for the selection of superiors favour conventional progression upwards in a management hierarchy. These structures select, and help to form individuals particularly well matched to the ideal type of bureaucracy. However, concomitantly these same structures can also serve to appoint individuals conspicuously incompatible with the spiritual-family. The process then can radically undermine the appointee's recognition and consequential authority from the



perspectives of his or her grassroots subordinates. This can be problematic as the promotion of unworthy individuals from the standpoint of team members not only undermines their legitimacy, but also the latter's support for wider corporate initiatives. The appointed leader may simply not be recognised as a leader. Consequently, there can readily be dissonance between the appointee and the demands of team leadership. The opinions of subordinates appear to matter.

Overall, the ideal type of bureaucracy generally describes the *reality* of Ford at Dunton more accurately than its alternative, the spiritual-family. However, this generalisation can be very dependant upon the local character of superiors. As we saw earlier through the case study of Daniel Hertz's department in chapter 5 (p.183), there are enclaves that are staffed by a "servant style" of leadership that are adequately described by the spiritual-family. Likewise, we saw supervisors striving to apply its principles like Philip Laming saying, "I'll serve [my chaps] rather than serving my masters" (p.254), and Brian Smith's manager being "interested in the department as a whole as opposed as a step up the career path" (p.254). Nonetheless, most departments are staffed by a bureaucratic style of management and exhibit a mixture of bureaucratic and spiritual-family working practices.

Over recent years new recruits and many existing employees have been socialised into team-based manners of working. If more product development work becomes conducted in teams, or an even larger percentage of the workforce is socialised into this form of working or internalises the pronouncements of corporate spokespersons, it is likely that the ideal type of spiritual-family will reflect reality more closely and the social cleavage between the two different authority structures widen. Although both the official Ford and grassroots employees share a common aspiration for a reformed organization, the processes for selecting and forming superiors appear to contribute significantly towards undermining its achievement. First line supervisors, like Daniel Hertz, are permanently placed at the confrontation between these two different authority structures and are increasingly asked to decide their allegiance between the ones they had been socialised in, or promoted into. In contentious circumstances their choice can often be between responding to their superiors' dictates or the expectations of subordinate team members or even, as the company has discovered, simply "disengagement". The potential for conflict arising between the first two can be compounded as the professional knowledge and expertise

embodied in teamwork can withstand the kind of control normally exercised by the formal authority of bureaucratic superiors over subordinates. We saw how Daniel proudly proclaimed, "the team won" (p.188) as victory for his team over his management. Teamwork can therefore subvert a conventional management hierarchy. Insofar as the formal management hierarchy sanctions teamwork, it also sanctions its collective authority built more on persuasion and indirect control and accordingly undermines its own imperative authority and monocratic decision-making prerogatives. In short, the new ideal type of spiritual-family accurately represents the *aspirations* but not the bureaucratic *reality* of Ford. The disparity largely appears as a direct consequence of two conflicting and mutually incompatible authority structures. The system for the appointment of superiors appears to sustain a bureaucratic structure whose legitimacy the team-based structure has power to challenge.

## **6.2 A review of the overall investigation**

This thesis commenced by introducing the spirituality at work phenomenon whilst noting the absence of specifically and well-grounded sociological research to date. Prior investigations have focused almost exclusively through the disciplines of management, psychology or theology rather than through social science. This thesis developed a definition of spirituality based on existing definitions drawn from leading exponents in the field. In brief, spirituality involves a lifestyle, a commitment to interior growth and integration, and is grounded in moral values. A plethora of research instruments have been developed that claim to measure spiritual well-being and its related concepts. Several scholars have developed and extended these instruments, applied them to specific populations and published normative data for a range of groups. But even if the expressions of spirituality and its correlates can be measured, these offer little guidance to the structural conditions that promote or inhibit high levels of spirituality within a social body. This is the subject of sociology, the unique focus of this work and touches on what Mills termed "the sociological imagination" (1959). Chapter 1 also showed how spirituality and its impact on work have been continuous through recent history. Spirituality has not vanished but has survived over time. It is already embedded in sociology, partially described through concepts such as charismatic authority, organic solidarity and

morality, and conversely its absence by notions like alienation and anomie. Spirituality has endured, at times embodied in institutionalised forms like the guilds and the Quakers, but not always explicitly and directly referred to. Weber is an exception by drawing attention to the relationship of spirituality to work through his notable essays on the Protestant work ethic. This thesis might be understood as a long-overdue update of his study, as well as a pioneering sociological enquiry of an emerging workplace phenomenon.<sup>183</sup> But unlike the spirituality ensuing from the Protestant Reformation, contemporary spirituality in the context of work can be understood as a commitment to become a fully authentic, self-governing and integrated person. It is likely to involve a person discovering their life purpose, and living their ultimate values and ideals in a balanced and interconnected way as a committed member of an extended community. Such a lifestyle is expected to contribute towards the fulfilment and the respect for the dignity of all persons and the health of the planet.

Chapter 2 investigated the Benedictines, as an extreme form of organization that explicitly combines work with spirituality, so as to understand the essential social structures that facilitate its expression. It found that monks are highly unique and the foundation of monastic life which is lived within a small solidaristic community. Monastic life emphasises integration, balance and a rhythmic concept of time. The monks' primary work is understood as social mission, and their leadership is selected strictly by free election. What is novel about this study is this reference to an extreme form of organization that explicitly combines work with spirituality in an environment that appears to promote and facilitate high levels of spirituality as an explicit goal. As an extreme case, the Benedictine monastery poses the issues with the sharpest clarity and therefore is especially informative as the basis for a new ideal type. Prior researchers into the spirituality of work have largely overlooked monasticism as a quintessential case.

Chapter 3 introduced the notions of the ideal type and in particular Weber's ideal type of bureaucracy as a means for understanding social structures. Past discourse on bureaucracy has limited the sociologist's ability to see alternative structural

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<sup>183</sup> As mentioned at the end of chapter 1, the emphasis of this research is to enhance the understanding of how a new ideal type can illuminate reality, not to compare this case study of Ford with prior automotive workplace studies. Such comparison however is included in appendix I.

possibilities or even the aforementioned historical forms that may be informed by spirituality. The main way in which sociologists have acknowledged the limitations of Weber's bureaucracy is by referring to informal social relations. Others have identified an alternative ideal type of the professions. New to this thesis is the proposition of an ideal type of spiritually informed social structure called the spiritual-family. This structure consists of five-elements: a) primacy of the person; b) network of interdependent families; c) integration, authenticity and transparency; d) social mission; and e) charismatic authority and has been operationalised through twenty-three variables as tabulated in Figure 1 (p.103). A detailed descriptive and tabulated comparison with the bureaucracy illustrated their sharp, if not antithetical, differences. We saw through the above review of the Ford case studies of chapters 4 and 5, how the spiritual-family captures the reality of the essential aspirations, if not emerging policies and practices, of one contemporary industrial business together with its employees. Nonetheless, contemporary studies of workplace behaviour based on the ideal type of bureaucracy will probably continue to reveal a reasonable degree of congruence with prevailing reality, subject to the acknowledged limitations of Weber's ideal type. However, such an approach is unlikely to correspond with aspirations or even emerging policies. The bureaucracy is only likely to highlight the negation of aspirations, not inform what they are. Contrary to such negations, the spiritual-family is an apposite and alternative model against which any emergence of organizational spirituality can be assessed.

We saw from content analysis of Nasser's employee communications that the language of Ford's president and CEO was continuously spiritual, especially when compared with that of employees. Over a four-year period, his use of "spiritual" vocabulary virtually doubled. More so, Ford is in the process of instilling policies and making formal commitments underpinning such language. If Ford's most senior executive repeatedly and publicly emphasises spiritual discourse, and simultaneously speaks pejoratively of bureaucracy, then these communications can hardly be described as merely the informal modification of bureaucratic rules. Such aspirations are better described as a paradigm shift. Of course, a cynical interpretation could be that Nasser's choice of language is simply a devious and calculated means of extracting more work from employees. However, the evidence presented would suggest otherwise. For instance, Ford's formal commitment to corporate citizenship

activities was honoured at times when other widespread cutbacks were made. We saw in chapter 4 that nearly 25,000 Ford employees have directly interacted with consumers. Was Nasser a maverick and did his policies continue after his departure from Ford in 2001?<sup>184</sup> Certainly since then there have been many radical changes in *business* strategy, but to a substantially lesser extent there have been changes to the underlying structures described here by spirituality. The dignity of work, and the work-life integration policies have not been revoked but if anything accelerated. The notions of systemic thinking and of conceiving brands as autonomous and unique, yet part of a larger Ford communion remain, as illustrated here through Mark Fields' introduction to employees from his new role as executive vice-president, Ford of Europe and Premier Automotive Group<sup>185</sup> (PAG) in May 2004:

The challenge of [my] role is... how can we make our European operations greater than the sum of their parts... The strength and individuality of our products and brands are paramount... rest assured that both PAG and Ford of Europe will remain integral - and separate - parts of the Ford group.

In chapter 4 Jim Padilla described the essential shift in leadership authority central to this thesis: "the biggest challenge we have as a management team is how we face our changing roles as we invert the pyramid" (p.165). Jim is now Ford's chief operating officer and chairman of its automotive operations. Consequently, he is likely to have an even greater influence on realising this transformation. Likewise, as we have seen, Bill Ford has a personal interest in spirituality, has adopted an even greater leadership role with Nasser's departure and is therefore likely to want to instil a still greater spiritual dimension to his inheritance. However, a considered response to the above question must be left to the future and to a subsequent researcher.

The crucial missing element in realising a spiritually informed organization is "elective leadership". This is primarily for the two reasons Weber identified. Firstly, election is a means whereby charismatic authority structures can be routinised in an anti-authoritarian direction and thereby become anti-bureaucratic and democratic. Secondly, the position of the elective leader is contingent on followers and not on

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<sup>184</sup> At the end of October 2001 Bill Ford replaced Nasser as CEO, and Nick Scheele became the new chief operating officer.

<sup>185</sup> Aston Martin, Jaguar, Land Rover, and Volvo

superiors, so the leader's legitimacy becomes freely recognised and he or she becomes the servant of those led. By extending the elective principle, the social structure becomes one of service and the traditional understanding of hierarchy based on progressive concentration of power inverted. The elective principle is also fundamental to our exemplar spiritual-family, the Benedictines together with its precursor from the Egyptian desert, and also appears widely in our spiritually informed alternative social structures. Although many appointments at Ford are entirely in agreement with corporate aspirations and simultaneously gain full recognition and authority from subordinates, the principle of appointment can be a powerful force for enabling, sanctioning and endorsing the dictatorial and even unethical behaviour of many others. Managerial selection is critical. The decisive point of realising the spiritually informed organization is that leaders are unreservedly recognised by their subordinates and never imposed upon them, a process most purely assured by election in one form or another that is first amongst an array of possible modern counterparts. This point is so vital it cannot be overemphasised. The equivalent of the ballot box of yesterday can be the familiar web-based "check-box" of today. Of course there are many essential differences between the Benedictines and Ford Motor Company. A conventional criticism may be that commercial organizations need to survive in the market and therefore make a profit unlike the monastery. They are exposed to instant threat by the stock market and cannot afford the "luxury" of elective leadership. However, survival is by no means an alien feature of monastic life. As we saw in chapter 2, Br. Dunstan came to Douai from a monastery that had gone bankrupt, and Douai's own history is replete with formidable persecution, survival in exile and reformation, to the extent that today the monastery is making a radical strategic change in its mission. But the Benedictines self-ownership gives them much greater discretion and negates a vulnerability to external shareholders. The Benedictines have adapted and survived with an unbroken heritage of 1,500 years compared with the 100 years of Ford Motor Company. Furthermore, the elective principle already exists in commercial organizations like Mondragón and Scott Bader. Mondragón has been long seen as emblematic of an alternative work structure and cannot be dismissed. Incidentally, like Scott Bader, it also participates in the automotive industry as a component supplier.

The method of this research was exploratory. It deployed the grounded theory approach pioneered by Glaser and Strauss in which theory is developed from close observation of the world (1967).<sup>186</sup> Glaser and Strauss argue that the development of grounded theory should draw from a "constant comparative method" and should sample "theoretically" and so theories are produced which are grounded not only in empirical data but also in the real social world. As a tool for exploratory research, the researcher starts to develop categories and then collects further data to see if they fit with these categories. Grounded theory contrasts to formal or abstract theory that is developed by testing hypotheses against observations. Grounded theory avoids allowing theory to dictate the parameters of evidence as in the cases of the quantitative studies that measured spiritual well-being. It is unconstrained by the customary methodological checks, such as of random samples and cross-tabulations, which will be invaluable to subsequent research. Exploratory research simply does not provide the opportunity to apply such rigorous quantitative methods. Investigating a nebulous concept like spirituality means that ready-made questions simply do not exist. Instead the challenge is to discover what to ask, or even where to start. Accordingly, Glaser and Strauss's theoretical sampling approach was adopted whereby the decision on what data to collect next was based on prior analysis and the emerging analytical model, in conjunction with gathering whatever data was available that might illuminate the research question. At the outset of the investigation there simply was little guidance in the literature as to the type and relative value of different data. Interviewees were selected that represented a wide range of variables such as between permanent and agency employment status, between religious and atheistic staff, and between the particularly significant variable of employment satisfaction. Quality and intensity of interviews and their analysis were judged to be more important than quantity. As the emphasis was on exploration rather than hypothesis testing, interviews were non-directive. The interviewer aimed to be open to new and unexpected phenomena by adopting a deliberate naïveté combined with respectful and attentive listening. Interpersonal interaction was emphasised. Substantial insights and confirmation of the emerging analytical model were gained outside these recorded one-on-one interviews from the researcher's unique opportunity as *being*, rather than *going*, a "native" participant observer. His

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<sup>186</sup> Becker illustrated this approach in his study of medical students (1970). Also see Strauss and Corbin (1997).

position also facilitated the access of extensive and creative sources of internal documentation, archive material, and miscellaneous data. Much of this, like the Pulse survey results, the distribution of management personality types, and the employee value survey provides a rich and highly relevant source of quantitative empirical data that complements an otherwise qualitative focus.

Although Ford's culture normally does not foster the discussion of more personal issues at work, interviewees are probably more willing to discuss them with acquaintances than strangers. This researcher's privileged position as a long-standing and full-time employee helped immensely and provided an advantage not available to anonymous external researchers. Such researchers *may*, in exceptional circumstances, be officially granted limited access to employees to administer pre-approved questionnaires or pre-approved formal and structured interviews. However, it is extremely unlikely that they would ever have anything approaching the relative freedom that this exploratory approach capitalised on. Methodological freedom was both a necessary and a rare privilege.

### **6.3 Future work**

This research was exploratory. A significant part of the investigation of the official Ford was based on corporate aspirations, not reality. Likewise, Douai Abbey is just one community within the EBC, and Dunton is just one location within Ford Motor Company. Generalisations, and more specifically new paradigms, tentatively advanced on the basis of limited cases are inevitably subject to modification as data from further cases become available. Fear of being proved wrong, however, should not restrain researchers from deriving general inferences from exploratory but empirical findings, for even generalisations that subsequently must be rectified contribute more to the growth of sociological theory than none at all. Consequently, a vital role of future work will be to quantify actual reality in other social settings and against hard metrics.<sup>187</sup>

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<sup>187</sup> This point cannot be overemphasised. Aspirations are not guaranteed to correlate with reality. Aspirations similar to those pronounced by our official spokespersons are similar to those articulated by notable predecessors. For instance, in 1969 at the Harvard Business School Public Affairs Forum, Henry Ford II sharply criticised the impersonal, inflexible and inhuman characteristics of large bureaucracies and advocated that managers need to listen and respond to the needs of employees (1970).



This research has developed a detailed five-part definition for the structure of an ideal type of spiritual informed organization, and has operationalised this construct in terms of twenty-three dichotomous variables shown compared with the bureaucracy. Future work should proceed primarily, but not exclusively, along a quantitative path using conventional methodological procedures in terms of design, sampling strategies and questionnaire designs<sup>188</sup> with the aim of refining this ideal type against further cases. The first stage would involve the selection of indicators for each of these variables using conventional methodological procedures. Central will be those indicators that concentrate on the mode for *The Selection of Superiors* and how such individuals are identified, and those that explore the nature of superiors' relationship with and recognition by subordinates. Illustrative questions would be: "I would have selected my supervisor"; "my supervisor shares my values"; "my supervisor does a good job"; "my supervisor responds to my concerns"; and "my supervisor encourages participation in decision-making". Likewise, illustrative questions to ascertain the extent to which *Relationships* are adversarial or collaborative might be: "there is close cooperation amongst my colleagues" and "the people I work with cooperate to get the job done". Similarly, for the conception of *The Human Being* could be "I feel valued as a member of the company" and "my uniqueness is valued in my workgroup". This process will need to be extended for all twenty-three variables.

Future researchers will have a number of choices to make during the process of operationalising these concepts through questionnaires. First of all they will have to decide what form of question to ask. Questions may be open-ended by allowing respondents to compose their own answers rather than choosing between a number of given options. This approach may be more likely to provide valid data since respondents can say what they mean in their own words. However, their responses might be difficult to classify and quantify. Answers to these types of questions must be interpreted carefully before the researcher is able to quantify results and subject them to statistical analysis. If open-ended questions are used, and the researcher wants the data to be in statistical form, it will be subsequently necessary to code the answers by identifying a number of categories into which the respondent's answers can be placed. Alternatively, questions could be a closed or fixed-choice form that

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<sup>188</sup> See Judd, Smith and Kiddler (1991), Haralambos and Holborn (2000) and Flick (1998).

requires a choice between a number of given answers, as illustrated by the examples given above. They are pre-coded in the sense that categories are set in and the respondent simply has to choose one or rank some. However, by choosing the available responses, the researcher is imposing his or her choice of alternatives on the respondent. Once collected and classified, data from both types of questions can be analysed through methodologies like multivariate analysis to determine the relationships between variables.

Once the reliability and validity of the operational definitions are assured, these can be seen how well or how poorly they measure structures that promotes spirituality by examining how well their relationships with the results of other measurements match the relationships that are theoretically expected. At such a stage it would be appropriate to apply the measuring instruments to specific populations in conjunction with the scales for measuring spiritual well-being and to see how well or how poorly these relationships match and correlate with the aforementioned similar studies.<sup>189</sup> Following the example of this thesis, a valuable comparison would be between the responses of quintessential spiritual organizations, such as the Benedictines, other monastic or religious communities, or even Mondragón industrial cooperatives against modern corporate organizations like Ford. A more focused and particularly fruitful comparison could be between departments of such corporate organizations exhibiting high and low levels of employment satisfaction as indicated through workplace surveys like Ford's Pulse.

In short, a significant aspect of future work will be the translation of the definition of the new ideal type into forms that can be measured and verified. This process is likely to entail a shift from the essentially qualitative nature of this study to a quantitative approach typified by questionnaires. As questionnaire research can use larger samples than qualitative methods, it can be used to justify generalisations about a wider population, especially when used in conjunction with sophisticated sampling techniques.

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<sup>189</sup> Such as Bufford, Paloutzian and Ellison's (1991) or Trott's (1996).

## 6.4 Affinity with broader trends

In chapter 1 we saw how Weber noted the importance of Protestantism to the rise and development of modern capitalism. Weber saw an affinity or coherence between the social values following the Protestant Reformation with the "spirit of capitalism". The following analysis is a present-day counterpart of Weber's argument. It locates "the spirituality of tomorrow's capitalism", or the spiritual-family within contemporary social trends. To an extent it is therefore speculative.

### 6.4.1 *Affinity with external social context*

The theory of industrial society claims that industrial production processes determine the institutions, culture and progression of this type of society. Its values become those of the entire culture. Now, from the perspective of Ford spokespersons, these passive processes are transformed so that the industrial organization wants to be active in not only shaping, but vitally in responding to or even anticipating, the changing values of prevailing society. For instance, in chapter 4 we saw a managing director saying, "we believe at Ford in helping to foster a global society that is more open and tolerant, and one that values diversity" (p.115). Such active evangelization is not without risk. Through modern communication, any discrepancy between corporate and social values can become highly visible and subsequent reactions against industrial organizations pronounced. Corporations across the world, like Ford, struggle to become more responsive to protest groups as people from all social categories increasingly take direct action against practices and values they disagree with. Just as significantly, growing numbers of educated consumers, shareholders and employees expect companies to behave in ethical and responsible manners and shape their actions accordingly. Consequently, the relationship, and particularly the congruence, between corporate and social values are of substantial consequence. Maintaining an affinity between a corporation and its external social context is essential.<sup>190</sup>

Modernity and postmodernity are terms used to describe different eras in the development of societies. Although there is ongoing debate as to which most

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<sup>190</sup> Notable examples of harsh criticism are Klein (1999) and Hertz (2001).

accurately describes contemporary society, there is general agreement that significant changes have taken place or even, as in Castells' opinion, that we are living at the point of a major paradigm shift in history (1996b). Postmodern theorists tend to argue that people no longer believe in the inevitability of progress and the ability of science to solve all of humanity's problems without undesirable consequences. Societies have begun to move beyond the scientific rationality of modernity. The Enlightenment's absolute faith in *instrumental* reason is discredited. Beck for instance talks of "reflexive modernisation" and advocates a "rationality reform" by the abolishment of instrumental rationality.<sup>191</sup> Inglehart is noteworthy by conducting extensive quantitative and longitudinal analyses grounded in the *World Value Surveys* to argue empirically how a paradigm shift to postmodern mass values and attitudes is taking place, largely as a younger generation replaces an older one (1990; 1997). Culture changes in advanced industrial society are leading to a de-emphasis on economic growth as the dominant goal and the decline of economic criteria as the implicit standard of rational behaviour. Postmodern values give higher priority to self-expression than to economic efficiency. There is a shift in work motivation from the maximisation of income towards a growing insistence on interesting and meaningful work. Based on a combined nine-nation European Community sample of 13,484, Inglehart found postmaterialists more than twice as likely as materialists to choose "working with people you like" and "a feeling of accomplishment" to "a good salary" and "a safe job".<sup>192</sup>

There is also a growing emphasis on more collegial and participatory styles of management and a rising emphasis on individual autonomy. Postmodernists place greater emphasis on self-expression and self-realisation, values that inherently conflict with the structure of hierarchical bureaucratic organization. Postmodernists favour giving employees a say in the choice of managers. They are less respectful of élites and more likely to challenge them. Inglehart found that between 1981 and 1990 support for joint employee-owner choice of management increased in thirteen of eighteen countries, and support for the owners' right to determine management fell in

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<sup>191</sup> Beck (1992; 1994; 1998)

<sup>192</sup> Inglehart (1990). For Inglehart, materialists-postmaterialists values are a component of the broader modern-postmodern cultural shift.

eleven of the nineteen countries respectively in which changes were observed.<sup>193</sup> This declining respect for authority, and a growing emphasis on participation and self-expression makes the position of élites more difficult and even precarious. Postmodernists want democratic institutions and more adept at applying pressure to acquire them.

In brief, if the core project of modernisation was economic growth then for postmodernisation it is the maximisation of individual well-being. In postmodernism, the desire for self-expression and meaningful work become more crucial, motivation changes from an emphasis on maximising income towards an increasing emphasis on the quality of the work experience. To the extent that Inglehart's trajectory of broad social values represents reality, corporations are likely to need to reject bureaucratic structures if they want to maintain congruence with these external trends. If the bureaucracy suited modernity, the spiritual-family with its emphasis on the person, participation and meaningful work would appear to have a natural affinity with postmodernity.

#### *6.4.2 Affinity with internal workplace trends*

Other more focused workplace surveys have found the same as Inglehart and myself. It is insightful to start with recent graduates, the cohort of potential employees who by their age are especially likely to reflect postmodern values. Qualitative research conducted by the *Association of Graduate Recruiters*<sup>194</sup> found that graduates conception of progression is far broader than hierarchical advancement (Sturges and Guest 1999). Graduates value challenge and job satisfaction much more than money, and want to believe that they are making a valuable and worthwhile contribution. The association found that graduates are not especially motivated by money but particularly by recognition, being valued, and continued learning and development rather than purely hierarchical advancement. Graduates appear to confirm Inglehart's analysis and reflect postmodern values by their preference on self-realisation over hierarchical and economic criteria.

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<sup>193</sup> Inglehart (1997)

<sup>194</sup> Based on a survey of five leading graduate employers and in-depth interviews with fifty graduates.

Gallie and others conducted a large-scale empirical analysis of work experience and employment relationships in Britain between the 1980s and 1990s (1998). They found a very consistent and widespread rise in skill levels that had enabled decentralised decision-making, enhanced employee responsibility, and the reduction and delayering of middle management positions. Participative decision-making practices and a concern for personal development appeared to be an especially powerful mechanism for generating higher levels of employee commitment, favourable response to organizational change, higher work quality, positive views on management and for reducing levels of absenteeism and job turnover. Based on a sample of 3,458 employees, among those who had a high level of involvement in decisions about work reorganization, forty-six percent described relations in the organizations between management and employees as very good, whereas among those who had no say the proportion fell to only sixteen percent. The researchers also found three broad determinants of subjective well-being at work. Firstly the extent it avoids fragmentation and repetition but provides autonomy and opportunity for the application of initiative; secondly the degree of social integration into a workplace community; and thirdly the degree of participation by employees in decision-making. Conversely, job insecurity consistently very negatively impacts on people's involvement with their jobs and personal well-being. Fifty-four percent of the researchers' sample thought that job security had become more important to them and of greater importance than good pay. Job security ranked first in order of importance compared with good pay that ranked only sixth. Likewise, in another extensive British workplace survey, job satisfaction and employee commitment were found to be promoted by providing employees with secure jobs that were not too stressful, acknowledging their lives outside of work, encouraging their skill development and involving them in workplace changes (Cully et al. 1999). Commitment and job satisfaction had a very high degree of association. Based on responses from 23,386 employees, of those employees who voiced very high levels of commitment to the workplace, eighty-eight percent were satisfied with their job overall compared with just five percent where employees had very low commitment. Conversely, like the former survey, job insecurity was associated with low morale and commitment. It would appear that autonomy and participation not only promotes employment satisfaction and commitment but health and well-being.

A growing body of research shows a positive link between a company's performance and employee ownership. Integrating both profit sharing and employee participation in decision-making contributes most towards productivity. Employee ownership initiatives on their own do little to motivate staff. Employee ownership also helps to assure the primacy of persons over capital as there are no external investors whose primary interests tends to be the maximisation of economic returns. When ownership becomes separated from management, returns become the purpose instead of the means. These points are illustrated by Ben-Ner and others mega-review of previous studies (1996). They found that productivity is significantly enhanced in firms that link participation in control with participation in economic returns. It seems that greater control and return rights help to better align interest across groups. The researchers found that return rights divorced from control rights have limited positive or even negative impact on organizational performance. Similarly, employee control, when divorced from return rights is also potentially quite damaging to productivity because of the total separation of decision-making responsibility from financial gains. However, the combination of return and control rights gives the strongest productivity results.<sup>195</sup> Likewise, the *Centre for Tomorrow's Company* found a positive relationship between employee ownership, participation in wider policy decisions and a company's level of performance.<sup>196</sup> Employee ownership on its own did not correlate with profitability but required a participative style of management. In brief, when employee ownership and participation are integrated, corporate performance is enhanced and the well-being of employees is greater assured.

An extensive study of work-life balance practices in Britain found a high level of support for work-life balance and a substantial demand for flexible working time arrangements from employees.<sup>197</sup> The main advantage of work-life balance, referred to by forty-three per cent of workplaces, was having happier staff. Work-life balance practices improved work relations and staff motivation, happiness and commitment but concomitantly increased managerial workloads. Seventy-two per cent of

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<sup>195</sup> The researchers cite Mondragón (see chapter 1) as an exemplar whose employees have dominant control rights together with majority return rights.

<sup>196</sup> Cleverly (2001). Based on over forty UK-based employee-owned businesses.

<sup>197</sup> Hogarth (2001). Based on three sources: a) a survey of 2,500 workplaces with five or more employees; b) interviews with the head offices of 250 of these same workplaces; and c) a survey of 7,500 persons in employment in workplaces with five or more staff.

workplaces reported that work-life balance practices fostered good employment relations. However, fifty-one per cent of workplaces reported that work-life balance practices increased managerial workloads. Likewise, a study conducted by the *Institute for Employment Studies* found that "family-friendly" practices that allow individuals to combine employment and caring responsibilities, reduced casual sickness absence, improved retention, productivity and recruitment, and improved morale and commitment.<sup>198</sup>

This brief and inevitably limited review of workplace surveys tends to confirm Inglehart's paradigm shift in values. Other researchers are reporting the same findings we discovered in chapters 4 and 5. These changes in values are not limited to Ford. Especially evident in recent graduates, but confirmed by large-scale analysis is that employees increasingly are motivated by structures that offer them autonomy, participation, self-realisation and well-being, and integrated lifestyles. In the same manner that Weber noted that the capitalist enterprise had a high affinity with the Protestant ethic, today it would appear that an organization characterised by the spiritual-family would have a high affinity with the value changes being claimed for postmodernity. In the same way that postmodernity represents a paradigm shift from modernity, the spiritual-family represents a paradigm shift from bureaucracy.

#### 6.4.3 *A paradigm shift in management theory?*

Paradigms are frameworks for guiding the assumptions, theories, and methods that define particular approaches to scientific problems. Their sociological use in understanding radical social change derives from the influential work of Thomas Kuhn (1970). Discontinuous change, or transformation starts when the prevailing paradigm is confronted by an excessive number of inexplicable anomalies that question its most fundamental assumptions and a point of "crisis" is reached. Simultaneous to this discrediting, a new paradigm develops which can explain these anomalies but cannot compete on the basis of its current problem-solving accomplishments. Despite early versions of a new paradigm tending to be crude and having few supporters, it is however selected on its promise of future success. Such a

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<sup>198</sup> Bevan (1999). Based on semi-structured interviews and focus groups with managers and staff, and also on business and employment data collected in eleven companies of sizes ranging from 22 to 600 employees.



change meets with extreme resistance from those trained and successful in prior theories.<sup>199</sup>

Huczynski identified the essential ingredients of the popular management ideas of the twentieth century (1996). He argued that successful ideas meet enduring managerial needs, are timely in their launch and are promoted by the evangelical passion of their developers. Those ideas that have the greatest impact integrate separate mini-ideas into unified wholes and provide solutions to critical or ongoing corporate problems, promise internal motivation, and assist organizational change. Huczynski considered spirituality as a noteworthy future workplace paradigm, as exemplified by *new-age training*. This focused on human consciousness and its links to organizational performance by placing the mental and spiritual development of employees alongside the pursuit of profit as valid business goals. It overtly emphasised creativity, holism, intuition and spirituality. The organization benefited to the fullest only when the employee participated as a whole person - body, mind, emotions and spirit. Although spirituality fulfilled most of Huczynski's requirements for adoption as a management idea, he predicted that this extremely subversive paradigm will not be wholeheartedly and seriously embraced but "at best it will be paid lip-service". Despite its focus on customers, it directly challenged and potentially threatened those most needing to promote and adopt it by replacing top-down, hierarchically based control by professional managers, with a model that put customers and employees at the centre. Huczynski was in agreement with Kuhn. It would seem that a crisis would be necessary to force its adoption.

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<sup>199</sup> Lawler for instance considered participative management, a central notion of the spiritual-family, as an example of a paradigm shift but noted that its adoption in a wide range of American industries, including the automotive, was delayed because it threatened, personally challenged and was resisted by those most needed to implement it (1989). Senior managers had reached the top of organisations because they were good at traditional top-down management and were handsomely rewarded for their successes. There was a question of whether they could successfully practice the new management style as obtaining their senior positions was based on a particular set of skills. The adoption of this new paradigm increased dramatically with time through the increased dissatisfaction with the traditional style of management and the loss of worldwide competitiveness. Like Kuhn's theory, crises forced its acceptance. The same happened at Ford in the 1980s. See Pascale (1990) or Starkey and McKinlay (1994). In the history of spirituality itself, mystics, or unique individuals of high spiritual development such as Saints Teresa of Avila or John of the Cross, have often led paradigm changes. For an apposite elucidation see Bartunek and Moch (1994), and for "corporate mystics" see Hendricks and Ludeman (1996). Similarly, in the spiritual tradition prophets have been concerned with the most elemental changes in social structures. Often they have engaged in de-legitimising existing social structures whilst energising persons and communities towards an alternative consciousness: the "prophetic word concerns a radical turn, a break with the old rationality, and a discontinuity between what has been and what will be" (Brueggemann 1978, 105).

In short, workplace trends are both shaped by and shape external social forces. The trends discussed above, and particularly those that Inglehart documented to support his postmodernity thesis, have a natural affinity with the ideal type of spiritual-family. Despite the relative immaturity of this new ideal type, it does offer the promise of future success. However, its realisation involves a paradigm shift in consciousness, a transformation that will not readily happen until extreme crises are reached. The current level of crises reported in chapter 5 in terms of Dunton's Pulse survey results and the personal failures of senior management are still relatively minor and unlikely to be of sufficient extremity to overcome the resistance of those well placed to promote such a fundamental change. Nonetheless, a perplexing question might be why, if the people at the very top of Ford are committed to the "spiritual-family" model and are also ultimately in control of senior management appointments, have they nevertheless not been able to bring about effective change? Several related explanations can be suggested.

Firstly, there is a question of the capability of Ford's management to enact wholesale the new management style. The average age of Ford's top fifty executives is fifty-eight years old. Consequently, on average they were born around the mid 1940s. If they had joined Ford in their early twenties, then they would have been socialised into the prevailing corporate culture of the mid 1960s to early 1970s. Such culture was very different to contemporary Ford culture, and fundamentally incompatible with the aspirations described by our spokespersons in chapter 4.<sup>200</sup> Then Ford managers operated in a harsh, confrontational, and fiercely competitive setting where naked power rather than leadership was exercised. Ford's management structure and culture stressed continuity, caution and control, and was analytical and ruthless (McKinlay and Starkey 1994; Starkey and McKinlay 1994). For our top fifty executives to have reached their current positions, they are likely to have internalised and practised their early socialisation particularly effectively. Essentially they had been socialised into being ideal and exceedingly successful bureaucrats. Now thirty years on these former virtues, instilled from their early socialisation, are highly

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<sup>200</sup> Starkey and McKinlay provide a striking illustration of socialisation from their interview with a Detroit-based human resources adviser who had joined Ford in 1966 at the age of 25. The prevailing culture was described as: "don't disagree with the boss; don't rock the boat; look busy, even if you're not; don't smile, let alone laugh too much; be obsessive about getting your numbers right, estimates won't do; if a colleague gets into trouble with the boss - don't help, be grateful it's not you; observe the dress code; and CYA (cover your ass)" (1994, 979).

improper to the conflicting demands of the spiritual-family. Much of their learning gained from their formative years is now highly inappropriate. Of course thirty years is a long period of time and many, or perhaps even most, of these executives would have changed appreciably along with the evolving Ford culture. Nonetheless, their early socialisation is likely to have left an indelible, or at least highly influential mark, on their subsequent behaviour styles that some may find it difficult to relinquish. Furthermore, the new managerial paradigm may be excessively intellectually and psychologically wrenching for many of these long established managers. As Daniel Hertz told us: "We've tried to retrain our senior management to think differently - and they don't. They might talk it but they can't do it, you know, it's difficult to do (p.262)." It seems that behaviour is more important than rhetoric, a point also noted by our corporate spokespersons. In chapter 4, David Murphy, Vice President, Human Resources told us: "unless they see strong models coming from the very top of the company, employees will continue to do what they've been doing for the past 10, 20 or 30 years. That is to say, that they will not take action" (p.169). Like it or not, for the most senior staff who have been trained and achieved success in a bureaucratic culture, there is need for their wholesale and radical personal change, and for them to serve as role models or living witnesses for the spiritual-family.

Secondly, although the people at the very top are ultimately in control of the appointment of their immediate subordinate managers, and perhaps have significant influence with these managers' selection of their own subordinates in turn, they have substantially less influence in the appointments of managers further down the hierarchy. These people, notably in the mid-layer positions denoted by leadership levels three to five, constitute the bulk of managers, and most probably will be largely unknown by the people at the very top. Nonetheless, their influence is substantial in the daily operations of Ford and in the shaping of its culture, and can even act as a bureaucratic layer opposed, or at least resistant, to cultural change. As we heard Patrick Pearce say in chapter 5: "Senior management put out the dictates and by the time it gets down to us mere mortals, it's totally different... It's the fact that we've got this mid-layer that's filtering everything and making it difficult to communicate effectively" (p.241). Like Ford's top fifty managers, these managers have been largely trained and successful in the bureaucratic model. Although Bill Ford may be willing to appoint new immediate subordinates, it is inconceivable that

he will replace the entire middle management team. The inherited bureaucratic management culture may be so deeply embedded in the prevailing hierarchy that its transformation may well involve the undertaking of a generation rather than the accomplishment of a specific campaign, no matter how ambitious.

Thirdly and associated, allowing for time for such radical change to percolate through the structure by generational change and natural attrition, there is even the question of whether there is an adequate pool of suitable candidates. Our analysis of the personality types of current managers (Figure 19, p.265) indicated that the vast majority have a natural affinity with the bureaucracy. This analysis was of a cohort primarily at the lower leadership levels, the principal recruitment ground for future mid and ultimately high-level managers. As only an insignificant minority of this cohort had personality characteristics naturally compatible with the spiritual-family, the pool of apposite potential candidates may well be very limited indeed.

Fourthly, with flattened management structures, the number of opportunities for hierarchical promotion becomes severely limited. Such flattened structures also reduce an aspirant's exposure and accountability to his or her superior, as the latter simply has a greater number of subordinates to interact with. For some this may be compounded with geographical remoteness of office location. Consequently, candidates vying for promotion by appointment may need to become more competitive, and as Michels observed (p.94), more obsequious towards those on whom their promotion depends. Accordingly, they are more likely to demonstrate even more exaggerated bureaucratic characteristics to be successful, not less.

But these four points greatly over-emphasise the part of management selection, key as it may be to effective change. As we discussed earlier, other extremely substantial changes are also needed. Apposite leadership selection is simply not enough. If individuals *were* appointed that are sympathetic to the notion of the spiritual-family, then these same persons will have the substantial task of fulfilling the other transformations necessary to bring about this paradigm change. Amongst these undertakings will be the radical reduction in their own remunerations,<sup>201</sup> a substantial increase in employee ownership, and a reduction in the perceived size of

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<sup>201</sup> See n.162.

organizational units, all formidable tasks in their own rights. Again, there is also the issue of time for maturation. As Lawler noted, it took virtually thirty years after the publication of the seminal works underpinning the practice of participative management before its wide scale adoption (1989). If relatively minor corporate change interventions have gestation periods of decades, then immediate adoption cannot be expected for a change anywhere near as significant as this new paradigm.

In chapter 1 we looked at the broader impact of institutionalised forms of spirituality. In particular, we saw how the theological ideas developed by the Protestant reformers not only significantly shaped the workplace but also helped to foster an increasingly rationalistic world-view that ultimately led to a movement away from traditional religious authority to the secular rational-legal authority of modernity. The successful realisation of this new paradigm shift, in terms of the large-scale emergence of genuinely spiritually informed organizations, would advance this movement further by the wholesale substitution of rational-legal authority with charismatic authority. The implications of this substitution are potentially immense and far-reaching. If Bill Ford and the people at the top of Ford were successful in being able to surmount the substantial impediments in bringing about this paradigm shift, the Ford Motor Company might indeed be leading the next industrial revolution.<sup>202</sup>

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<sup>202</sup> For this aspiration see p.111.



## APPENDIX I

### METHODOLOGY

This study was focused in the period from the mid-1990's to the first years of the new millennium. It was geographically centred in the south of the UK and specifically at the Ford's Dunton Technical Centre based near Basildon in Essex and at Douai Abbey near Reading in Berkshire.

A grounded theory approach was adopted through which an analytical model was developed inductively from close observation and continuous comparisons between the worlds as lived at Ford and Douai Abbey. Four fundamental sources of data were gathered with the aim of providing methodological and data triangulation: a) one-on-one semi-structured qualitative interviews; b) extensive one-on-one informal and unplanned discussion; c) extensive participant observation and ethnography; and d) the inclusion of the results of selective independent corporate studies. These secondary sources of principally quantitative data were used to complement and validate the hypothesis developed by the three primary qualitative data sources. In a few instances, and contrary to Ford's formal claims to transparency, access to certain corporate studies like one on "leadership churn" was denied to this researcher. Others like one on "employee engagement and morale" were provided in outline form only. A significant source of data was the corporate pronouncements and policies accessible through Ford's intranet. All data was coded and analysed using proprietary commercial computer aided software.

Insight into the spiritual concerns of individuals was also gathered by the attendance of a series of six retreat workshops at Douai Abbey on *Spirituality in the Workplace*. These events provided deep and unfiltered understanding, albeit from a limited range of participants, as most were Christian and in the general field of management consultancy. For ethical reasons, no material from these events, or its participants, is *directly* included in this thesis. However, such material did contribute towards subsequent interview schedules at Ford.

During the duration of this study, further insights were gained by visits to Worth and Ampleforth abbeys. Like Douai, these are also members of the English Benedictine Congregation and also are actively participating in the spirituality at work phenomenon through providing seminars on the application of the Rule of Saint Benedict to the workplace. Beyond Benedictine monasticism, the author also visited Greek, Russian, Serbian, Romanian, Bulgarian and Coptic Orthodox Christian monasteries located at Mount Athos, Russia, Egypt and the UK; Buddhist, Hindu and Jainist monasteries in India; and the principal sites of monastic ruins and Celtic monastic settlements in the British Isles. These visits not only provided visceral understanding of notions such as "a sense of community", but a greater understanding of the general category of monasticism through exposure to its expression in different geographical, religious, cultural and historical settings. Likewise, during 2003 short visits were made to two Mondragón cooperatives in the Basque Country of Spain.

## **7.1 Exploratory and grounded theory approach**

The purpose of this exploratory research was the construction of a grounded analytical model. As the research idea could not be formulated very well at the beginning, it maximised the benefits of an eclectic approach and aimed to respond to Hart's caution for the collection of empirical data:<sup>203</sup>

Beware of allowing theory to dictate the parameters of empirical evidence. The development of theoretical knowledge in sociology must depend upon a willingness to engage the full range of evidence of social organisation and not allow research to be dictated by rigid paradigms. (1994, 26)

Consequently, a gradual sampling strategy was adopted based on "theoretical sampling" as developed by Glaser and Strauss and proposed as "the genuine and typical form of selecting material in qualitative research" (Flick 1998, 69).

Theoretical sampling is the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes and analyses his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in

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<sup>203</sup> Hart's caution is based on her severe criticism of Goldthorpe and his co-workers methodological approach in their study of the Affluent Worker. See n.204.



order to develop his theory as it emerges. This process of data collection is controlled by the emerging theory. (Glaser and Strauss 1967, 45)

In this approach, the sampling of individuals is not based on the usual criteria and techniques of statistical sampling but instead according to their anticipated level of new insights in relation to the prevailing state of theory development. Consequently individuals were chosen on the basis of their promise for providing the greatest insight, viewed from the perspective of material already gathered and the knowledge gained from it. They were selected according to their relevance instead of their representativeness and therefore included both extreme and typical cases, as we will see below. As I did not want to be passed from one like-minded person to another "snowball sampling" was strenuously avoided. More rigorous methodological constraints, such as the use of random sampling and cross-tabulation, will be invaluable to subsequent research but would be an inappropriate restriction at this exploratory stage.

## **7.2 Interviewing**

Initial interview schedules were based on the review of the literature reported in chapter 1. Its themes were introduced to the interviewees a few days in advance of the interview situation itself. This approach primed interviewees to the scope of the forthcoming interview and provided an opportunity for them to reflect before the interviews situation. Although interviews were focused on particular themes, they were neither strictly structured with standardised questions, nor entirely non-directive. Less-structured one-on-one interviewing was employed. Questions were briefly phrased, easy to understand and devoid of academic language. The overall goal was to maximise the richness in contribution with an emphasis on exploration rather than hypothesis testing.

The method was evolutionary and iterative through a process of interview, transcription, coding and analysis leading to the development of the subsequent interview schedule as new insights and questions emerged. I transcribed the interviews verbatim and each was preliminary analysed in its raw state. Subsequently both the transcribed interviews and these preliminary analyses were subsequently coded. Before inclusion in this thesis, verbatim were rendered into a more readable

form in accord with the interviewee's general style of expression. A further emphasis was to have fewer interviews in this research, and taking more time to prepare and analyse them. Quality was judged to be more important than quantity.

If the number of subjects is too large, then it is not possible to make penetrating interpretations of the interviews... if the aim of the study is to obtain general knowledge, then focus on a few intensive case studies. (Kvale 1996, 102)

The works of Terkel, in addition to those of Kvale, particularly influenced my style of interviewing. Terkel developed a conversational style, having learnt that the "question-and-answer technique" of conventional interviews was little worth in the discovery of people. Terkel had discovered that, "in time, the sluice gates of damned up hurts and dreams were opened" (1970, xxi). By my eighth interview I had discovered the same when two of my prime interviewees had raised in the context of work the topic of suicide. For many interviewees, it was a unique opportunity to express himself or herself to someone who was attentive and wanted to listen to their views, frustrations and anxieties.

I aimed to show openness to new and unexpected phenomena rather than having ready-made categories and schemes of interpretation. I emphasised a deliberate naïveté combined with attentive and respectful listening. Interpersonal interaction was fundamental and where valuable, periods of silence were used to allow the interviewee time to reflect. The interview approach relied on an emphasis on listening to what was important to the interviewee. Although the word spirituality was initially avoided unless raised by the interviewee, this appeared to be an unnecessary limitation and subsequently relaxed. Nonetheless, no interviewees spontaneously used the term. The interview process sought to describe specific situations from the interviewee's world and not general opinions and, if necessary, to encourage the respondent to give his or her own views, and not clichés or restated corporate pronouncements. Prior to the interviews situation, interviewees were given a clear understanding of the later use and probable publication of extracts via this thesis. Additional to these one-on-one interviews, substantial informal focus group interviews were conducted by seeding "coffee, lunchtime and corridor" discussions with provocative statements. In these occasions, I both listened and contributed towards subsequent discussion. These informal discussions were used to confirm

emerging thoughts and discuss more sensitive issues off-the-record. An inevitable limitation of this approach, and indeed more generally the evolutionary approach, was the impossibility of quantifying findings. Consequently, in the text, caveats such as "some", "many" and "most" are used much more than I would desire. A total of twenty-eight recorded qualitative interviews were conducted, twenty-three of which were with Ford employees and the balance with monks from Douai Abbey. The average interview length was seventy minutes. At Douai Abbey interviews were conducted within the monastic complex. At Ford the majority of interviews were conducted over a cup of coffee in the quiet location of Dunton's spacious canteen. This location is significant by being unique. Most workplace studies are conducted outside of work in employees' homes, in bars, or in trade union facilities. Few are actually conducted in the workplace and therefore workplace-based studies are rare.<sup>204</sup> By adopting theoretical sampling at Ford, interviewees were selected that explicitly embodied the following variables: a) supervisory role, general salary role and hourly paid employees; b) permanent, non-permanent agency and contract staff; c) professional and administration staff; d) employment satisfaction; e) status (married, single, divorced, parent), gender and age; f) those undergoing sponsored degree programmes; g) recent graduates recruits and employees approaching retirement; h) religious, atheistic and agnostic employees; and i) those returning from extended sick leave. Dunton's medical officer was also formally interviewed as a source of secondary data from his more confidential and personal interaction with employees, and his unique insights into employee well-being and workplace stress. Non-attributable informal and non-recorded discussions were held with four directors

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<sup>204</sup> As part of their classical study, Goldthorpe and others did interview a non-random sample of eighty-six male assembly-line workers, aged between twenty-one and forty-six, from Vauxhall Motors at Luton in their places of work and but later and more extensively in their own homes (1968a, 1968b, 1969). Womack and others conducted a five-year study on the future of the automotive industry and in particular the differences between mass and lean production. They accessed thirty-six automotive companies "from the factory floor to the executive suite" (1990). However, these authors provide negligible detail of the study's methodology. Graham worked "undercover" in the Subaru-Isuzu plant near Lafayette, Indiana for six months, keeping covert participant observation records of her experiences and those of her co-workers (1995). Garrahan and Stewart investigated the implications for labour of Nissan's managerial strategy at the company's Sunderland plant in the North-East of England. The authors do not claim their interviews to be wholly representative. Nonetheless, a major limitation their study is that it is based on a very slim empirical base; thirteen interviews with Nissan male line workers (including one sacked worker) and one female employee. Moreover, interviews were not conducted in the workplace but at workers' homes (1992). Kamata, a free-lance journalist, provided a first-hand, and extremely disturbing, account based on his diary of Japanese automobile factory life from his employment, somewhat in the manner of Graham, as a temporary unskilled manual worker at the Toyota plant in Nagoya for six months from 1971-72 (1982). Beynon (1973) and Starkey (1994) conducted studies of Ford as referred to later. None of these studies directly addressed spirituality and all were by outside researchers.

and several other senior executives located in the UK, America and Germany, and the Human Resource Consultancy group located at Warley. I had a relatively free access to an extremely wide range of informants. No one refused my request to be interviewed. Indeed on the contrary, interviewees appeared to enjoy someone listening attentively to their concerns, and as a consequence usually made recommendations, both to myself and to others, for subsequent interviews. However, as mentioned above, snowball sampling was avoided and therefore these offers were not exploited. Unfortunately the pressures of their work and their limited amount of free time did prevent me interviewing two expectant mothers-to-be. This was a disappointment as I expected them to provide rich insights from my earlier informal discussions with them. At Douai Abbey, the principal variable range was between novices and fully professed monks. Individual monks were selected from a limited pool based on the recommendation of the prior. As at Ford, no monk refused an interview, and all were generous with their time. Pseudonyms, whilst maintaining gender and ethnic identity, are used to protect interviewees' anonymity with the agreed exception of Dr Mckinnon. The distribution of their academic qualifications is presented in Figure 20.

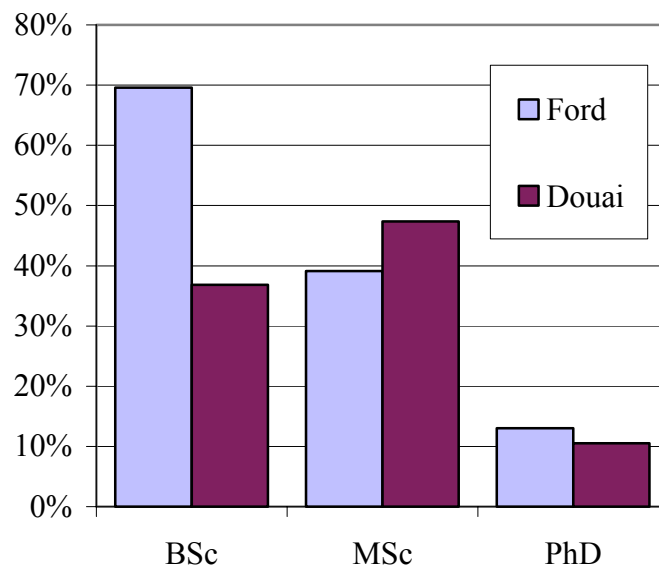


Figure 20: Academic qualifications of participants<sup>205</sup>

<sup>205</sup> Ford data is for interviewee sample, Douai data for entire community

### 7.3 Participant Observation

As a full-time employee serving at different times during this study as chartered engineer (with formal mentoring responsibilities) and business analyst, there was always the opportunity to complement the attitudinal evidence gained elsewhere with participant observation. By this eclectic method, I observed behaviour in real-life settings as a participant. The social world and could be studied in its undisturbed natural state as an independent source of information:

[Participant observation] involves the ethnographer participating, overtly or covertly, in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions - in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research. (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995, 1)

In some instances I tested my colleagues to see if they had observed the same phenomenon and to gain their understanding of particular incidents. During the period of research, I worked in three different departments for totals of four different managers and five different supervisors. These residencies exposed me not only to different local cultures and management styles, but also to the manner in these departments interacted with other internal groups and external organizations. Nonetheless, this investigation was focused at Dunton, just one of many Ford locations worldwide. Inevitably, cultures, management styles and employee perceptions will vary, perhaps tremendously, in other sites. Exploring other Ford locations will need to be left to future research.

I spent more than a dozen weekends at Douai actively participating, as far as possible, with the monastic and liturgical life of the community. I stayed in the monastic enclosure (complete with tepid showers and draughty cells) not the guesthouse, ate my meals in the monastic refectory not in the guest dining room, and at times helped monks with their work. At other times I joined them for cycle rides, walks and even the occasional beer in a pub or a trip to the local supermarket. I am sure that my familiarity led at least one or two to think I was considering or even exploring a potential vocation with their community.

Consequently, from the participant observer perspective, my methodological position in Ford was not greatly dissimilar to that at Douai. At Ford I had the unique

opportunity of *being* "native". At Douai, I did my best to *go* native. However, there was a fundamental difference. At Douai, the monks openly knew about the nature of my doctoral research and frequently would inquire how it was progressing. This was not generally the case at Ford. Although, as we have seen, Ford senior spokespersons openly employ "spiritual language", this is not often the case with all employees. While many employees knew that I was undertaking doctoral research of the workplace from a sociological perspective, as a safeguard few were aware of the precise topic as some of these could confuse spirituality with religion, and therefore may understand my study as an improper subject of sponsored research. The universal exceptions to this were the directors I spoke with. Nonetheless, I was widely encouraged in my endeavours as many employees expressed work like mine as helping to emancipate them from oppressive conditions. Their encouragement expressed like this was always well received although their expectations at times may have been excessive. At other times I felt I was fulfilling an "agony aunt" role in being a "listening ear" and someone to whom frustrations could be expressed.

#### **7.4 Privileged sources of data**

Several unusual sources of data were also gathered at Ford in order to shed further light on both the formal corporation and its grassroots employees. From May 1997 Nasser commenced a series of weekly e-mail communications called "Lets Chat" as a means for sharing his business thinking and experiences, and as a teaching tool and forum for employee participation. Let's Chat was a communication specifically aimed at Ford employees. Each of these thousand word epistles was analysed from the period of their introduction until March 2000 for both content analysis in terms of counting the frequencies of particular words and phrases, and also in the more general construction of theory. A total of 142 communications were analysed. Similar to this was the longitudinal content analysis of a selection of sources: for instance a) the chairman and chief executive officer's messages to shareholders contained in the corporation's annual reports over a five-year period from 1995 until 1999; b) the corporate mission and value statements from 1984 until 2000; and c) the rating tools for leadership behaviours for the years 1999 and 2000.

Ford published on its intranet the ten most popular FCN web pages "hit" by its employees during the previous week. These "top-tens" provided a rich and

quantitative source of worldwide employee interest for a wide range of formal corporate communications. They were analysed over a one-year period stretching from March 2000 to February 2001 during which hits ranged from 18,400 to 3,265 with an average for the top-ten of 5,474 for a given week.

Another example of a popular intranet web page was "They Said It". This page, posted and updated once a week, provided quotes from external business leaders on key topics and trends from outside sources selected by Ford's Public Affairs department for their alignment with corporate strategies and intentions. These aphorisms, in themselves akin to the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers*,<sup>206</sup> provided a rich and creative source of insight into the corporate philosophy of Ford senior management and were collected and analysed for the period January 2000 to March 2001.

An additional less significant but novel source of information was analysing the way grassroots employees sign-off e-mail communications. For instance, how personal or formal were their sign-off gestures, and whether they include their job title or indications of qualifications. In addition, Nasser sign-off was analysed over the period May 1997 until October 2001. For instance, at the start of this period, Nasser would conclude his e-mail communications to employees with the words: "With the focus on quality, cost and speed". At the end this had evolved to: "An inspired and global team - customer-focused and shareholder-driven". Further minor data sources were the monitoring of the frequency of office rotational moves and whether occupants functionally interacted with each other as part of their jobs, and analyses of the disciplines and levels of attainment of educational qualifications for Ford's top fifty-three managers.

One of the benefits yet frustration of this liberal and creative approach to exploratory research was the ready access to considerable quantities of data. As a framework developed, prior wrong turnings and irrelevant data were exposed. Earlier interviews inevitably failed to explore topics as appositely as later ones, and in many ways were naïve. My first interview asked the question, "what is the meaning of your work",

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<sup>206</sup> These sayings, or "Apophtegmata Patrum" apply to collections of monastic anecdotes, maxims and practical wisdom. They originate for the most part from the fourth and fifth century Egypt, and in particular from the deserts of Nitria and Sketis. See Merton (1960), Gould (1993), Ward (1986).

idealistically expecting my interviewee to have a ready-made and coherent response. At the end I found questions like, "what's the first change you'd make to the current workplace and way of working", or "what qualities make good managers and leaders and bring out your best" allowed interviewees not only the opportunity to express frustrations and dissatisfactions, but also provided the opportunity for them to describe the features of their ideal workplace and how these correlated with reality. In short, the researcher also grows and develops through the research process. I learnt to listen actively and to steer an interview through gestures with the minimum of verbal intrusion. Consequently, the value of latter interviews greatly exceeds those of the first. Knowing that this is an inevitable feature of exploratory research helps to compensate the frustration from reviewing and realising the immaturity of earlier interviews. Mistakes and wrong turns are unavoidable.

### **7.5 Computer-Assisted-Qualitative-Data-Analysis**

Computer aided analysis was extensively and rigorously used throughout this research. In particular, QSR NUD\*IST (Non-numerical, Unstructured, Data: Indexing, Searching and Theorising) proprietary software was selected for its ability to search and index textual documents and for its facility of constructing and re-ordering a hierarchically structured tree of index categories.

The analysis of thousands of text segments in interviews, participant observation notes, and a host of miscellaneous data would be an insurmountable task without a computer. Unlike full-time researchers, my research needed to be extremely well organized and portable to make use of the time available outside of my paid work. The use of this qualitative analysis software made the management of a huge and varied corpus of data relatively easy, but still laborious and at times frustrating. Preliminary data was imported into NUD\*IST software and coded with little attempt in the beginning to group or analyse categories. However, as more data was imported a hierarchical structure was progressively developed that ultimately served empirically to underpin the five elements of the new ideal type. In parallel, data was repeatedly read both in complete transcript and note form to ensure familiarity with the text. A particular frustration was the ongoing process of structuring a large number of 233 emergent categories into a meaningful analytical framework. My version four of NUD\*IST did not facilitate this as much as the manufacturers would



lead you to believe. To begin with I somewhat naïvely expected the ideal type of spiritual-family to somehow automatically emerge through the process of working with NUD\*IST. This task actually took substantial deliberation, reflection and an "intuitive leap", and continued along with the emergence of its twenty-three associated variables, well into the final stages of this work. For me, NUD\*IST was predominantly used as an invaluable data storage, search and sorting system and for indicating the relative density of coding against a hierarchy of each particular category. This last usage helped to preserve the grounded nature of this approach.

## **7.6 Methodological issues in practice**

Exploratory research of this type poses several difficulties. First was the need to limit the scope to a containable amount but an equal challenge was to gain access to the inner concerns of individuals. Although Ford's culture typically does not encourage employees to discuss more philosophical and personal issues at work, interviewees are probably more willing to discuss them with friends, acquaintances and fellow Ford employees rather than total strangers. My privileged position as a long-standing employee of twenty-two years at Ford helped immensely here and provided an advantage not available to an anonymous and ephemeral external researcher. But this position also has its disadvantages. I needed to avoid bias from being a field worker and be strongly aware and sensitive to my own personal religious and spiritual ideals.

Even where he or she is researching a familiar group or setting, the participant observer is required to treat this as 'anthropologically strange', in an effort to make explicit the presuppositions he or she takes for granted as a culture member. (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995, 9)

Moreover, the role of participant observer is not without its dangers, both personal and lawful. On the personal level, the observer by definition participates in *all* the experiences of the observed. In instances, these can be far from pleasant - a point rarely mentioned in research methodology texts. It is one thing remotely to analyse responses to questionnaires on workplace stress, but quite another to dwell voluntarily in a social setting where it pervades. At times the experience caused me to question my ability to continue. For instance, part way through I noted in my research diary the experience as (*sic*):

... living in hell on a daily basis by being a participant observer in the [name removed] department. This firmly put him in the same shoes as other employees who did not have the ability to leave. He felt he could have been researching the inside of a prison as a participant inmate.

Situations like this were exacerbated from my familiarity with corporate aspirations for concerns like employee well-being. Consequentially I was particularly sensitive to their occasional blatant ignorance and disregard by both management and grass-root employees. For me, any hypocrisy between pronouncements and reality were especially conspicuous. As a participant observer there is also the danger of responding to the temptation of interfering or becoming unnecessarily involved in the phenomena one is investigating. This point raises ethical issues. For instance, what does a researcher do when commanded to execute instructions known to endanger lives? How compatible is whistle blowing, or conversely the protection of one's own career, with the role of neutral observer? Such issues are very real and were experienced by myself. As Schneider warns, research in the area of spirituality is self-implicating, often at a very deep level, and the transformation experienced through study reverberates in the ongoing research (1990).

On a professional level, conducting research this way also leads to a particularly schizophrenic existence. My time was spent between creating business plans for the Fiesta's powertrain and developing a host of new engine technologies such as gasoline-direct-injection and diesel variable-valve-actuation systems (and also leading my department's community service activities) during the day, juxtaposed with sociological analysis at lunchtime, evenings and weekends. Such a mix does not always sit comfortably alongside spirituality, and particularly the Benedictine one that emphasises balance and integration. Nonetheless, conducting sociological research at Ford was a unique privilege and one not often granted. Despite its iconic status, most of the extensive published works of Ford are historical, biographical, philosophical, or simply popular interviews.<sup>207</sup> The few social science investigations

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<sup>207</sup> Principle texts: a) Historical: Nevins and Hill's authoritative and comprehensive accounts with details on every aspect of the business and on the executives who determined policies and practices (1954; 1957; 1962); Meyer's historical study of the Ford automobile worker and the relationship between technological innovation, managerial ideology, and working class activity (1981); Wilkins documentation of Ford's international activities from the early 1900s to the early 1960s (1964); Banham's glossy account given to Ford employees as part of Ford's centennial celebrations (2002); Brinkley's recent and carefully updated business and social history, although just a sixth covers the period where the account by Nevins and Hill ends (2003); a recent two-volume *(footnote continued)*

predominantly focus on assembly line work, not on today's "professional knowledge worker", and most are now somewhat dated.<sup>208</sup> The notable investigations are Friedman and Meredeem's retrospective account of the Ford Sewing Machinist strike of 1968 (1980), Mathews' documentation of Ford's labour relations policy leading to the strike of British workers in 1971 (1972), Beynon's very critical account of assembly line work at Halewood in the UK (1973), Starkey and McKinlay's examination of the introduction of employee involvement and participative management into Ford of Europe (1994), and to a substantially lesser extent Womack and others' general study on the future of the automobile (1990). Unlike these studies, this thesis constructs theory, a new way of understanding contemporary workplaces beyond Ford rather than simply documenting particular (and often conflictual) cases. Their research certainly did not look, or expect to find, anything remotely resembling spirituality. Friedman and Meredeem's study focused on the dynamics of industrial conflict and how a previous deferential group of workers experience an "explosion of collective consciousness" by throwing themselves into a militant ideological struggle. This collaborative study is unique in that the authors are the two principal opposing actors in the strike. One is the former convener who led the workers out on strike, the other a manager of Ford's industrial relations staff whose initial refusal to meet the workers' demands triggered events that led to the subsequent stoppage of work. Like our study, Friedman and Meredeem's study provides two contrasting accounts through the eyes of management and those of shop stewards. Unlike our study, this retrospective was prepared almost ten years after the events drawing from the memories of interviewees, newspaper articles of the time, and Ford internal records of proceedings and agreements. Similar to our study, Mathews' was based on interviews with shop stewards, union officials and manual workers. Interviews, recorded both during and after the strike, were transcribed and

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history on Ford's European history (with comprehensive bibliography) produced by an international research team of almost thirty scholars from a dozen countries (Bonin, Lung, and Tolliday 2003); and Studer-Noguez's historical business analysis of Ford's global strategies (2002); b) Biographical: Gelderman's comprehensive, respected and recent biography of Henry Ford (1981); Sorensen's largely autobiographical but personal account of Henry Ford from his position as production manager (1957); Lewis' examination of the media's portrayal of Ford and his company as well as the company's efforts to influence that portrayal (1976); Lacey's authoritative account of both the public achievements and private events in the lives of members of the Ford family (1986); and Hayes' biography of Henry Ford II, from his position as vice-chairman of Ford of Europe (1990); and c) Philosophical: Henry Ford's own thoughts and reflections on ways of working (1929; 1922; 1926; 1931); and Henry Ford II's views on the role of business in society (1970).

<sup>208</sup> Ford's Archive department do not even possess a bibliography of prior social science investigations.

edited to form a coherent narrative. However, unlike our study Ford management was not consulted or involved. Beynon's account, like our study, was written from the position of a university research student using employees' own words. Unlike our study, Beynon narrates the story of Ford line-workers as an outsider, often outside the actual workplace. His story is "made up of the activity and conversation of men and women in the pub, the factory, on the picket-line or in their homes". Like the previous two studies, it was based in a manufacturing plant, in this case Halewood. Like Mathews' study, Beynon does not even register the existence of Dunton and is unashamedly one-sided from the perspective of the employee. Starkey and McKinlay's examination, like our study interviewed employees in the workplace, but in their case predominantly at Ford's European headquarters at Warley. Unlike our study, their focus was historical and largely based on managers' memoirs, had a limited opportunity for participant observation and was conducted by outsiders.

Unlike our study, Friedman and Meredeen, and Beynon did *not* use pseudonyms for informants. This is unfortunate. Their work had left a significant mark on those employees from whom opinions and attitudes had been solicited, and had had the impact of restricting access to subsequent researchers (Mortimer 1991). For his exceptional opportunity to conduct this *extended* and *contemporary* sociological study of this iconic organization, *in* the workplace, with free access to *all* categories of staff, as an *insider* and long-serving employee this researcher is therefore especially indebted. To use a popular insider expression, "Thank you Uncle Henry".

APPENDIX II

CONTEMPORARY BUREAUCRATIC ORGANIZATION COMPARED WITH  
THE SPIRITUAL-FAMILY

	<b>Bureaucratic organization</b>	<b>Spiritual-family</b>
<b>Attitude to change</b>	Emphasises stability and certainty	Emphasises responsiveness and journey
<b>Division of labour</b>	Clearly defined area of responsibility	Clearly defined area of competence
	Deskilling: reduction of skill requirements and job-learning times to a minimum	Upskilling: maximisation of opportunities for professional development and learning
	Fixed job description	Flexible job description
	Individual accountability	Communal accountability
	Individual performs single and specific job	Individual performs multiple and broad job
	Separation of indirect or preparatory tasks from direct or productive tasks	Integration of indirect or support tasks with productive tasks
	Work fragmentation	Work packaged into systems
<b>Hierarchy</b>	Increases in power and status	Increases in service and integrative capacity
<b>Labour</b>	Regarded as variable cost dismissed in downturn	Regarded as fixed cost redeployed in downturn
	Treated with uniformity yet with relative inequality <sup>209</sup>	Treated with uniqueness yet with relative equality
<b>Regulation and control</b>	Directive and authoritarian	Supportive and facilitative
	Efficiency	Effectiveness
	Minimum standards	Continuous improvement and stretched objectives

<sup>209</sup> Illustrated by the classification of individuals through hierarchical grades.

	Subordination of personal convictions and conscience	Supremacy of personal convictions and conscience
<b>Relationships</b>	Autocratic	Democratic
	Competition	Cooperation
	Contract	Obligation
	Impervious boundaries	Porous boundaries
	Indifference	Friendship
	Isolation	Multiple stakeholders
	Temporary	Enduring
<b>Remuneration</b>	Variable pay deployed to provide individual incentive	Variable rewards to create equity and to reinforce group solidarity
<b>Structure</b>	Associations of capital	Associations of persons
	Centralisation	Decentralisation
	Rigid	Flexible
	Status symbols deployed to reinforce hierarchy	Minimum status differentials deployed
	Superiors socially isolated	Superiors socially integrated
<b>Time</b>	Chronological and commodified	Rhythmic and task-focused
<b>Training</b>	Learning in isolation	Integrated learning
	Low investment	High investment

*A P P E N D I X I I I*

WEBER'S BUREAUCRACY COMPARED WITH THE SPIRITUAL-FAMILY

	<b>Weber's Bureaucracy</b>	<b>The Spiritual-family</b>
1.	Administrative staffs are personally free, observing only the impersonal duties of their offices.	Members commit themselves to living genuinely the shared values of their family.
2.	There is a clear hierarchy of offices.	There is a clear hierarchy of leaders.
3.	The functions of the offices are clearly specified.	The personal competencies and aspirations of members are clearly identified.
4.	Officials are appointed on the basis of a contract.	Members are elected on the basis of their moral attributes.
5.	Officials are selected on the basis of a professional qualification, ideally substantiated by a diploma gained through examination.	Members are accepted on the basis of the congruence of their values, ideally substantiated through their moral witness over an extended probation.
6.	Officials receive a salary, and usually pension rights. The salary is graded according to position in the hierarchy. The official is free to leave this position, and under certain circumstances it may also be terminated.	Members are rewarded in proportion to their contribution towards the family's goals. The member and community make enduring and reciprocal moral commitments to each other.
7.	The officials post is his or her sole or major occupation.	Members are encouraged to contribute their unique talents and competencies and towards a common good.
8.	There is a clear career structure and promotion is possible either by seniority or merit, and according to the judgment of superiors.	Progression through personal development is continuous and the family decides election to positions of greater service.
9.	The official may appropriate neither the post nor the resources that go with it.	The member is a professional and participates in the ownership of the family's resources.

10.	The official is subject to a unified control and disciplinary system.	The member is committed to self-government and collegial disciplinary system.
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## GLOSSARY

**360-degree.** An appraisal system that deploys feedback from subordinates, peers and superiors.

**80-20 Rule.** Also known as the Pareto Principle, states that a small number of causes (twenty-percent) is responsible for a large percentage (eighty-percent) of the effect. The rule serve as a prompt to focus eighty-percent of time and energy on the twenty-percent of the tasks that are most important.

**Alienation.** The estrangement of individuals from themselves, others, their work, the things they produce, and the resources with which they produce them.

**Anomie.** A condition in which social control becomes ineffective from the absence, breakdown or confusion of social norms or values in a society or group.

**Apostolate.** The mission of a monastic community.

**Asceticism.** A practice in which sensuous pleasures are denied for the enhancement of the spiritual self.

**Authoritarian leader.** A leader who makes all major group decisions and assigns tasks to group members.

**Authoritarian personality.** A personality type characterised by extreme conformity, submissiveness to authority, rigidity, and arrogance towards those considered inferior.

**Authority, charismatic.** Power legitimized on the basis of a leader's exceptional personal qualities.

**Authority, legal-rational.** Authority that involves obedience to formal rules that are perceived as rational, fair and impartial.

**Authority.** Power generally accepted as legitimate by those over whom it is exercised rather than coercive.

**Blue Oval.** Physical name badge universally evident on all Ford vehicles.

**Brother.** Member of male religious order, especially an unordained monk.

**Bureaucracy.** An organizational model characterized by a hierarchy of authority, a clear division of labour, explicit rules and procedures, and impersonality in personnel matters.

**Capitalism.** An economic system characterized by private ownership of the means of production, from which personal profits can be derived through market competition and without government intervention.

**Chapter.** The assembly of the members of a religious house to transact the business of a monastery.

**Charism.** Religious identity

**Charismatic leader.** A unique, non-rational, extraordinary quality that people attribute to an individual to the extent that that individual seems to inspire other individuals to follow his or her lead. The charismatic leader can do so without formal authority or coercion for compliance.

**Chronological-orientation.** A person's relationship to the measurement of time so that time becomes the principal currency, and his or her labour bought and sold by the hour and budgeted like any other commodity.

**Church.** A large, bureaucratically organized religious organization, governed by legal-rational and traditional authority that tends to seek accommodation with the larger society in order to maintain some degree of control over it.

**Civil inattentiveness.** Paramount technique that makes life among strangers possible.

**Coenobitic.** Living in a community

**Commitment, affective.** An employee's emotional attachment to, identification with, and involvement in, an organization. Employees with strong affective commitment remain in an organization because they desire to.

**Commitment, continuance.** The costs an employee associates with leaving an organization. Employees with strong continuance commitment remain in an organization because they need to.

**Commitment, normative.** An employee's feelings of obligations to remain with an organization. Employees with strong normative commitment remain in an organization because they feel they should.

**Communion.** A form of community characterised by close personal ties, belongingness and warmth between its members. It is distinguished by trust, friendship, reciprocity, loyalty, and a shared and meaningful identity.

**Conformity.** The process of maintaining or changing behaviour to comply with the norms established by a society, subculture, or other group.

**Congregation.** A group of monasteries united under a superior, usually known as Abbott President or Abbott General. The purpose of the union is to maintain discipline, but individual monasteries retain their autonomy.

**Content analysis.** A systematic method of classifying and quantifying the contents of communication so as to bring out their basic structure.

**Dehumanise.** To deprive of human qualities such as individuality or compassion, and to render mechanical and routine.

**Democracy.** A social system in which power is evenly distributed.

**Deskilling.** The reduction of scope of an individual's work to smaller, simpler and unskilled tasks. This continuous fragmentation process replaces any integrated skills and comprehensive knowledge of the worker.

**Deviance.** Any behaviour, belief, or condition that violates cultural norms.

**Discernment.** The prudent evaluation of the presence or absence of God, or the presence of an evil spirit, in decision-making.

**Divine Office.** The daily public prayer of the Christian Church. Its recitation at stated times differentiates it from other liturgical services.

**Division of labour.** The assignment of specified tasks or work to certain specified individuals, groups, categories, and classes of people.

**Élite.** A minority group that has power or influence over others and is recognised as being in some way superior.

**Enneagram.** A highly nuanced instrument for spiritual and psychological growth.

**Gemeinschaft.** Type of community characterised as a living organism with solidaristic social relationships based on emotional depth, personal intimacy and involving the whole of existence, rather than just segment of it.

**Gesellschaft.** Type of characterised as a mechanical aggregate with large-scale, rational and impersonal relationships.

**Hegemony.** The domination of one class over others.

**Ideal type.** A heuristic device developed for methodological purposes in the analysis of social phenomena. Ideal types are hypothetical constructs that define the essential elements of a phenomenon in a pure form.

**Individuation.** The process of realising the uniqueness and fullest potential of the individual person.

**Industrial Revolution.** The profound technological changes beginning in England in the 18th-century associated with the rational organization of work and the spread of a market-driven system of production.

**Infirmarian.** The person in charge of the sick-quarters in a monastery or religious house.

**Instrumental (or formal) rationality.** Taking impersonal quantitative calculation, such as money, in provisioning for needs. A way of describing Weber's rational action oriented to practical goals

**Language.** A system of symbols that express ideas, enable people to think and communicate with one another, and reflect the culture of a society.

**Lavra.** Colony of anchorites living in separate huts but subject to a single abbot.

**Let's Chat.** A weekly e-mail communication that Jac Nasser sent to all employees with the intent of sharing the strategic direction and performance of the corporation.

**Mendicant.** Members of religious orders that were forbidden to own property in common. Unlike monks, mendicant friars work or beg for their living and are not bound to one convent by a vow of stability.

**Modernity.** A theory in the belief in progress, the benefits of science and humanity's capability to control the world.

**Monastery.** Residence of a community of monks.

**Monasticism, Christian.** A form of religious life motivated by the desire to seek God through a life of asceticism and prayer and involving a celibate life and a certain amount of seclusion from the world.

**Monk.** Member of a religious community of men living under vows, especially of poverty, chastity and obedience.

**Moral relationship.** Feeling of responsibility for the welfare and well-being of the other. Responsibility is moral to the extent that it is totally selfless and unconditional.

**Morally motivated action.** The needs of others become the basic criterion of choice.

**Novice.** A probationary member of a religious community.

**Opus Dei.** "The Work of God" and Benedictine designation of the Divine Office.

**Paradigm.** A framework of guiding assumptions, theories and methods that define a particular approach to problems.

**Participant observation.** A methodology in which researchers observe behaviour in real-life settings while being part of the activities of the group they are studying.

**Personality.** The complex patterns of thought, feeling, and behaviour that make each individual unique.

**Postmodernity.** A term contrasted with modernity that signifies a new condition in which contemporary advanced industrial societies are alleged to have reached.

**Postulant.** A person undergoing a preliminary stage of testing as a candidate for a religious order before admission to the noviciate.

**Power.** The probability that a person can carry out his or her own will regardless of resistance.

**Product Development.** Organizational part of Ford responsible for the development of new products.

**Profession.** A high-status, knowledge-based occupation that involves high levels of autonomy and codes of conduct formulated and administered by other members of the occupation.

**Protestant ethic.** As used by Max Weber, the rational pursuit of the ultimate values of the ascetic Protestantism led people to engage in disciplined hard work; and that disciplined and rational organization of work as a duty influenced the development of modern capitalism and rationalisation.

**Pulse survey.** A Ford corporate survey administered to measure the degrees of employee satisfaction or morale at corporate and individual workgroup levels and to identify actions to improve work environments.

**Qualitative research.** A research method that uses interpretive description rather than quantitative measurement.

**Rationalisation.** A variety of related processes by which every aspect of human action becomes subject to calculation, measurement and control and through which affective, supernatural and religious ideas lose significance.

**Role.** The expected behaviour associated with a particular status position rather than by the person's own individual characteristics.

**Secondary analysis.** A research method in which researchers use existing material and analyze data that was originally collected by others.

**Secularisation.** The process by which religious beliefs, practices, and institutions lose their social significance.

**Self-actualisation.** The realisation of one's full potential as a human being.

**Social structure.** The enduring, orderly and patterned relationships between elements of a society.

**Socialisation.** A process of social interaction and communication in which an individual learns and internalises the social norms and culture of a social body.

**Solidarity, mechanical.** Social cohesion based on resemblance as characterised by more primitive societies. Members share the same beliefs and values, their individuality is negated and the division of labour is minimal and interchangeable.

**Solidarity, organic.** Social cohesion characterised by specialisation, individuality, and interdependence. The individual as a unique person asserts itself.

**Spiritual-communion.** A widespread communion consisting of a network of various diverse local spiritual-families.

**Spiritual-family.** A fellowship of professionals, based on a foundation of charismatic authority, through which members have opportunity to reach their self-realisation whilst contributing to the common good.

**Spiritual health.** The ability a person has to develop their spiritual nature to its fullest potential. It includes a person's ability to discover and articulate their own basic purpose in life, learn how to experience love, joy, peace and fulfilment, and how to help themselves and others achieve their full potential.

**Spiritual intelligence.** The intelligence with which problems of meaning and value are resolved and through which actions and lives are placed in a wider, richer, meaning-giving context.

**Spiritual well-being.** The expression of a person's underlying state of spiritual health.

**Spirituality at work.** The enduring commitment to become an authentic, self-governing and integrated person in the fullest possible sense. This is likely to involve a person discovering their purpose in life and living their ultimate values and ideals in a balanced and interconnected way as a committed member of an extended community and in a way that contributes towards the common good, the fulfilment and the respect for the dignity of all persons, and the health of the planet.

**Spirituality.** Involves a lifestyle, a commitment to interior growth and integration, is based on moral values, conveys a sense of meaning and purpose, defends human dignity, takes place within a network of relationships, principally that of community and last but not least, a willingness and ability to challenge the status quo.

**Stage 4.** An emission standard for vehicles sold in Europe.

**Status symbol.** A material sign that informs others of a person's specific status.

**Status, achieved.** Any social position held by an individual as a result of their personal accomplishments.

**Status, ascribed.** Any social position allocated to an individual either by birth or by family background and which cannot be altered according to personal accomplishments.

**Subsidiarity.** A principle that a central authority should have a subsidiary function, performing only those tasks that cannot be performed at a more local level. Consequently, a social body of a higher order should not interfere with the internal life of one of a lower order, depriving the latter of its functions, but rather should support it in case of need and help to coordinate its activity with the activities of others, always with a view to the common good.

**Substantive rationality.** Taking value positions in meeting human goals and needs as ultimate ends.

**Task-orientation.** A person's relationship to the measurement of time to naturally occurring phenomena and rhythmic cycles, such as the time between sunrise and sunset, or the time it takes to complete a particular task, with the complete disregard for the artificial units (minutes, hours, days) of chronological-time.

**They Said It.** An intranet based organ of Ford's Communication Network that promotes the views of senior Ford management.

**Unstructured interview.** A research method involving an extended, open-ended interaction between an interviewer and an interviewee.

**Value.** A collective idea about what is right or wrong, good or bad, and desirable or undesirable in a particular social body.

**Vespers.** The evening service of the Divine Office.

**Visteon.** Component supplier, formerly part of Ford.

**Wooden dollars.** A term used to describe an artificial currency used in Ford's internal spending.

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