"I've got those empty diary blues"

A wee case study of performance management in a Glasgow office.

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ABSTRACT

Friedrich Nietzsche's writings are currently threatened in that he is he treated only as a philosopher or a poet, and his relationship with twentieth century politics and latterly Management theory is largely ignored, excepting of course when he is held to be responsible for the growth in Fascism. In this paper an attempt will be made to show that Nietzsche should not simply be considered as the *deracine* par excellence with no interest with more general humanitarian concerns.

This paper presents a background to Nietzsche and his relationship to Managerialism and then provides a story written in Glaswegian argot of the relationship between a recruit to a Law Enforcement Office in Glasgow, Scotland and his new Manager. An interesting tale about performance management, illustrates how the abuse of power hides personal and organizational dysfunctionality.

Another key feature in the twist at the end of the tale is the manifestation of simulacra in performance measures relating to inspection tasks, where we see that 'work not done but recorded' becomes more important, more 'real' than 'work done but not recorded'. This is the excess of history.

The story is written in the Glaswegian vernacular partly as homage to the renowned author James Kelman, but more significantly in an attempt take us closer to the lived experience of the actors – as opposed to the more usual sanitised accounts which abound in the management literature. The language is surprisingly 'industrial' in what is regarded as a 'professional' setting.

Introduction

The paper has two aims; first to show how Nietzsche and Alisdair Macintyre can be used to illustrate the phenomena of Managerialism and second to offer a case study which genuinely reflects the reality of the management / employee experience in the public services. It reflects the experience of mismanagement where style and presentation are culturally more important than substance and results.

The paper is structured as follows. We first provide a background to the concept of Managerialism. Second, we discuss the methodological approach and then present a story, "I've Got Those Empty Diary Blues", set in a Law Enforcement Office in Glasgow. We then introduce a philosophical context and particularly

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consider the contribution of Nietzsche and Macintyre. We then provide a narrative to 'make sense of the story and consider Macintyre's position on Managerialism, before concluding with a discussion. A short glossary is provided for non-Glaswegian readers.

Managerialism can be conceptualised in a number of ways which in turn shapes the ways in which in organizational life can be analysed. Managerialism has been used in a multiplicity of contexts to either legitimatise management action or to provide moral constraints on the way in which management action is manifested. For example Macintyre has discussed how some writers have seen 'the managers function as that of controlling and suppressing conflict' (1982.27)

The term was first used by Berle and Means (1932) to discuss the separation of ownership from managerial control by large corporations characterised by publicly traded shares. In these large companies there is such a widespread dispersion of share ownership that shareholders are not an homogeneous decision making entity and consequently control rights over corporate assets and policies are exercised by management to the detriment of the majority of shareholders.

It may seem somewhat at odds with the title of this special edition, to draw explicitly from a historical account, but we are comfortable that far from an 'excess of history' we are applying just the right measure. As the cartoonist, Matt asserts in The QI Annual, 'Happy is the country that has no history'. (QI, 2007, p37). All sorts of attempts by 'those in power' to re-write, or worse still, erase our histories are testimony to the dangers of us following suit. No, we need history, but in just the right measure.

On Managerialism

In order to understand the genesis of the term is it useful to provide a brief account of how Managerialism as a concept has developed.

Managerialism has been characterised in a variety of ways. Enteman (1993), for example, describes Managerialism as an international ideology. Davis (1997: 305) claims that Managerialism has swept aside "an idyllic older bureaucratic world .... reducing every relation to a mere money exchange". Managerialism has also been characterised as a "set of beliefs and practices, (that) will prove an effective solvent for......economic and social ills" (Pollitt, 1990: 1).

For Davis, as a result of the development of capitalism, Managerialism has:
"refashioned the world in its image. ...Managerialism signifies the shift from the owner to the professional manager to legitimate the control of individuals, societies and their organisations in the interests of capital" (1997.305)

According to Enteman (1993) management-dominated companies are sometimes called "managerialist" companies, and they have evolved a philosophy of "managerialism". Such a notion assumes a conscious process on the behalf of those who are in a controlling function.

Defining managerial ideology or managerialism seems to daunt many writers. For example, Reed and Anthony's seminal paper (1992) uses these terms and that of managerial work without ever defining either. However, the term managerialism is now firmly embedded in popular discourse, and management and managerialism appear to be used interchangeably. Whilst 'management' is used to define a process or action, managerialism is often used either positively as an organisational ideology, or negatively as a term of personal abuse, or simply to define the process of managing people, Brown (1992). For example, Blake, Mouton and McCanse (1989) do not define managerialism but describe it as a process

or set of processes in which managers engage, Mullins (1996) discusses managerial style, basic managerial philosophies and managerial effectiveness but nowhere does he actually define managerialism. Brown (1992) discusses managerial prerogative, managerial control and managerial authority but again does not provide any definition of Managerialism.

Jackson and Carter argue that 'there has been a tendency to claim that the purpose informing managerial action is that of servicing an objective rationality' (2000.114)

What is apparent is that managerialism is conceptualised in a number of ways by different actors and status groups: thus the use of the term shapes the way in which in which we think about organizational life and respond to the (il)legitimacy of its strictures. Managerialism has been used in a multiplicity of contexts to either legitimatise management action or to provide moral constraints on the way in which management action is manifested.

Methodology

Much research within the management discipline has followed and continues to follow the positivist methodological paradigm (McElwee and Atherton, 2005). However, such approaches have been criticised on the grounds that they are rather static in nature and, as such, are not well suited to exploring and explaining the dynamic nature of management practice. There has been a significant growth of researchers comfortable with subjective research approaches which enable them to further their "understanding of the way in which the individual creates, modifies and interprets the world" (Burrell and Morgan, 1979, p. 3). This study adopts a social constructionist stance approach. Constructionism represents a movement away from the study of facts and towards the study of representation (i.e. language, communication, mental models, etc.).

Adopting a constructionist-based approach, through which the life-world of the manager is recounted, can provide insights into the choices made and may even allow us to examine some of the otherwise 'hidden' motivations underpinning the action.

Thus a key benefit associated with a phenomenological approach to studying management action is that individual experiences and perceptions can be captured that might otherwise, through alternative research lenses such as large-scale surveys, be obscured. Psychological approaches to the study of managers are particularly appropriate if the research is designed to gain an insight into the motivations, challenges and experiences of individuals (Davidsson, 2005). Eisenhardt (1989,534) argues that case study approach to research provides the perfect platform for 'understanding the dynamics present within a single setting'. Furthermore, the use of case studies enables researchers to provide detailed description of in situ actions and behaviours, surfacing hidden meanings and offering the potential to test existing theories.

Mintzberg (1979) argues that rich and descriptive case study research offers the detail and context necessary to explain the relationships exposed or revealed through hard data research approaches. Indeed, as Eisenhardt (ibid. 542) notes, research studies that are rich in qualitative data are particularly useful for providing 'a good understanding of the dynamics underlying [a] relationship, that is, the 'why' of what is happening'.

Such research approaches have demonstrated their capacity in building a better understanding of the nature of the relationship between a manager and his or her business and the impact of critical events or episodes as stimuli for individual learning and development (Cope, 2003).

Although the use of retrospective accounts or narratives has been criticised on the

grounds that such accounts are subject to post hoc rationalisation, we nonetheless agree with Czarniawska-Joerges (1998, p. 29) in that: '.....nothing ever happens right where and when the researcher is observing. All important events happen at some other time, other place ...important events are made into such in accounts.'

As such, our understanding of the value of narrative accounts derives from the idea that they offer an insight into how individuals achieve their personal identities and that, although there may be a temporal lag between the event and its recall, the narrative provided nonetheless configures personal events 'into a historical unity which includes not only what one has been but also anticipations of what one will be' (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 150).

A further issue is the use of the Glasgow argot or vernacular. The account is framed in the style of the Glaswegian author James Kelman whose works celebrate the use of the vernacular. Thus we have a language which reflects the notorious, urban 'ruggedness' of what has been termed - in the long running UK television detective series Taggart based in the Maryhill district of Glasgow – as 'no mean city'. While this stylisation may be argued by some to be an artistic liberty too far, it is argued that this actually renders an account much closer to the lived experience of the main characters; although set in a professional office setting, the use of the vernacular was widespread among the staff. Whilst the application of this style, and indeed the passage of time mean that we quite clearly aren't presenting this as a verbatim account, we nonetheless offer up the story as a 'true' account. As Stephen Fry puts it:

> 'Everything will be true according to the light of my memory, but the truth will be told with tact and with due recognition of fiction's often greater capacity to convey reality than can any bald recitation of fact.' (Fry, 1997, p263-264)

In addition, we are not looking back through a nostalgic lens, longing for the good old days, but rather do so in the spirit of Nietzsche's notion of a 'life examined'. Nor are we trying to re-write history from a heroic perspective, although in offering up such a representation it is reasonable to suppose that our tale will be interpreted as a heroic quest. (Jeffcutt, in Hassard and Parker, 1993, p29). Rather, our story is offered up in the (Nietzschean) spirit of 'amor fati' – we do not wish things other than they were.

It may also be worth noting in advance, that the actors involved are engaged in consumer law enforcement, the irony of which will be explored further in the analysis which follows the story[4].

The story ...
I've Got Those Empty Diary Blues

He was ambling back to his office along the main corridor on the first floor of the Edwardian building that housed the Weights and Measures Department of the former City of Glasgow, now a part of the still unpopular .... fuck sakes man its no a fuckin travel guide yir writin. Anyways, there he wis mindin his business, no bad thing to do, when the Chief suddenly materialised in front of him.

"Right, son, my office, noo and bring yir diary."

Fuck sake, this wis it. He wis right in the shite noo. Bring yir diary. That meant only wan thing. So he scurries back tae his oaffice and picks up aforementioned fuckin diary and trepidly opens it up at the start of the last month. Fuck sake, the first week looks a bit scanty. Wonder how many inspections a did? Second weeks no too bad.

"Hiya. You look a bit worried. Ye aw right. Whit? The wee man wants tae see ye wi yir

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[4] All names have been changed to protect the guilty

diary. Fuck sake. Sounds bad. Sounds fuckin bad."

This, no doubt meant to be helpful, intervention from his colleague merely added to his sense of foreboding. So he ambles back along the corridor, this time diary in hand, beads of sweat on forehead, oxters wringing. He pauses outside the Chief's office and, a bit too timidly for his own good, knocks on the door. Do not enter, indicates the red light. First time he encountered this mechanism he assumed it to be a relic from the Edwardian days when the building had gone up. So he'd knocked the door and went straight in as he had been accustomed to do in the office where he had trained. "Are ye blind son? Didn't ye see the red light outside. The red light means DO NOT enter. Got it? Enter on green. Yir at a big oaffice noo, son. We do things differently here." Fuck sake thought Gladstone had done away wi devices like that?

After what seemed like rather too long to wait when he knew that he was for it, the green light flashed:. ENTER. So he did.

"Right, son, sit yirsel doon at the table. I'll just be a minute. Ye've brought yir diary? Good.."

So he sits doon, by now he was awash wi sweat. He just sat staring at the closed diary, that fuckin diary that would soon condemn him to some god awful punishment; that fuckin diary that was no where near as full as it should be. Fuck sake. Finally, the chief finishes cutting his nails or filling his pipe, whichever of his two favourite pastimes it was exactly, didn't fully register with him, due to the growing volume of sweat, bushels and pecks of the fuckin stuff and still that fuckin diary lay there in silence, ready to fuck him right up.

"Give us it here then", says the Chief as he finally joins him at the table. Right let's see. April ... February ... aye, here we are, week commencing February 21st ... No much

tae show here for a week, is there, son? No fuckin much at all, actually!"

Fuck sake, whit could he say? But before he could mutter the humblest of excuses the Chief cut right across him.
"Right son, tell me what this means here, at the start Monday. ... 'With NS. Av. Wt. inspections' ... How many inspections?"

"Two." His first full reply but far too hesitant, like he really wis guilty.

"Two? Out all day and only two inspections? Jesus, what are ye playin at son?"

"But ..."

"Tuesday ... 'Av. Wt. inspections with NS.' ... How many visits that day?"

"One - things were going quickly down the pan - "but these were really complex visits, Monday and Tuesday. I hud tae get Norrie down frae HQ tae help. The wan oan Tuesday had never been visited and they are pioneering container technology for mastic and the like. It's a nightmare as we've goat tae devise a reliable formula tae calculate the specific gravity of the mastic and propellant. We've even goat the Government interested in it and ..."

"Yir right about it bein a nightmare son. Whit the fuck dae yi think yir playin' at? ... 'Wednesday W/B unit verification.' ... It wisnae your week fur the weighbridge unit, wis it?"

"Naw. But Mr Murray asked me tae dae a verification wi' Avery at short notice. Ah said that I could do it but that as we'd just had a good run wi' the unit a couple a weeks ago there wisnae much else a could dae wi it. An he had said that wis fine tae dae the verification and then just sort of well, ye know, stay oot till it wis time tae come back"

"So ye verified wan weighbridge and went tae the fuckin pub wi the boys frae Avery?"

"Er .... eh? ... aye."

"Fuck sake, son it's no good enough."

By this time he was near tae tears. Bollockins like this had been rare for him in his previous office. The boss there wis a completely different kettle o' fish. Nothin much bothered him, he never lost his temper and he never bore a grudge. But the Chief wis a different proposition. He wis far more worried about lookin after his own back tae be really worried about others. Don't get me wrong, he would help ye wi problems bur only so's he didnae end up in the shite himsel. The worst thing about him wis he had been wan o the biggest skivin bastards of all time oan the joab. An noo he wis the Chief! 'Don't do as I did, do as I say' wis his particular motto. Fuck sake, hypocritical wee shite. But ye couldnae help admiring him. Efter a', he had been wan o the boys an noo he wis the Chief. No bad. But right noo wisnae exactly the best time tae sit there admiring him, because the wee shite wis just aboot tae go fur the jugular. But fuck sake he didnae quite anticipate whit wis tae follow. Naw, it wisnae tae be a written warning, no even a verbal wan. It wis much worse than that!

"I want ye tae be mare like big Boydy."

Fuck sake, whit a bombshell. Mare like big Boydy? But He hardly did fuck all. Well, naw whit a mean is, he hardly did fuck all but ye widnae be able tae tell that frae his inspection returns. The wee bastard met his targets every month. And some months

Analysis

Despite the rhetoric of empowerment, devolved responsibility, collegial decision making and so forth, this story stills reflects the reality of organisation life in the twenty first century.

he never set foot oot his car except tae go tae the café or get his messages frae the shops

"He knows the score. Does his work and records it meticulously and on time. If ave telt ye wance, ave telt ye a hunert times: Work no recorded, is work no done."

Fuck sake. Whit a turn up for the book. Big Boydy bein held up as a fuckin role model. Fuck sake.

"Noo son. Take yir fuckin diary and think about whit ave telt ye. Screw the fuckin bobbin. Understand? And the next time a need tae see yir diary a want it tae be full of visits. Nae mare fuckin aboot. Yir in a big oaffice noo, son. An ave telt ye that oaften enough as well."
And then he motioned his hand casually towards the door and went back to fillin his pipe or cutting his fingernails whichever it was he had been doing tae start with.

"How did it go wi the wee man then? Fuck sake yir no greetin are ye?"

"He nearly ripped ma diary up. Said it wis a right load o shite. Then he telt me a had tae be mare like big Boydy, for fuck sake."

"Jesus Christ! That scyvin bastard?"

"Aye, exactly. Seems like it disnae actually matter whit ye do as long as ye put plenty in yir diary and fill oot inspection cards. Can ye fuckin credit it? He was actually tellin me, though no in as many words that a wisnae goin about ma scyvin in the right way."

However, actors in organisations continually attempt to create meaning in their own day-to-day existence by seeking to, if not legitimate management practice, at the very least attempt to locate it in a 'rational' framework. This was seen in our narrative

above as our hero tried to make sense of what at first glance appeared to be a managerial intervention by his new boss. Well, in one sense it was a managerial intervention but close scrutiny reveals that far from acting out of some clearly defined unitary interests, the manager is acting out of self interest. He carefully constructs his stage to underline his power, from the use of the antiquated entry device to his apparent disinterest through cutting his nails or tending to his pipe. There can be no doubt who is in charge here. But while he uses the trappings afforded him by the organisation he is basically using them to secure his personal goal – an easy life.

One of the advantages of re-visiting this event in the context of a co-authored piece has been to se the event through a different lens. This has subsequently led to a more generous interpretation; not only was the 'boss' trying to ensure that he got what he wanted, he was also trying to ensure that his new charge was equipped to survive; at least to survive in his terms. There was certainly a caring side to the Chief. He had only a couple of months earlier offered good counsel and support to our hero on the death of his father. So, it isn't fanciful to suggest that he was to some extent also looking out for the 'new boy'.

One might also wonder about the double standards here and the willingness of the enforcement staff to bring others into line in the course of exercising their enforcement duties, yet here we seem them back-stage at the office up to all sorts of nonsense. The boss's insistence of 'do as I say, not as I do', and his blatant use of his managerial power to enact it, only serves to highlight the hypocrisy at play and it isn't hard to conclude that there may have been a lot of 'bad faith' and 'inauthentic' behaviour to be found within the office environs.

By extension, learning to play the game is the thing for the boss's charges. But whose game: whose interests are being served?

By implication does Managerialism then negate morality? The position we argue does not legitimate Managerialism but rather is a critique of it. It is those managers who abuse their positions who are guilty of a misuse of the power and authority which has been invested in them by their status in the organisation. But there may be a kind of morality in the relationship between manager and sub-ordinate. The manager may be seen as mapping out a moral compass for his raw recruit. Yes, he uses power, in quite a blatant, brutal manner but there is some hint of caring in his actions. There again, he could be just a wee shite (okay, no more Kelman) abusing his position and bullying all around him?

We have not discussed the concept of authority in this paper, but have touched on the concept of power. One of the dynamics of the management/managed relationship is that 'the managed should feel that the managers are competent and credible as authority figures….that their authority has a legitimate basis' Jackson and Carter (2000.107) Just as managers have a 'right' to manage it is our contention that those who are managed have a 'right' to be managed 'well'. All of this suggests of course that management is, or at least, an attempt to be a rational process and that managers seek consensus of meaning and action. This presupposes that consensus is both possible and desirable.

Philosophical Context

Nietzsche

Nietzsche's revolt was one against Intellectualism, the Cartesian doctrine 'that to think philosophically is to accept as true, only that which recommends itself to reason' Passmore (1970.95) 'To be philosophical is to be seduced by the enticement of the will' (ibid. 95). This revolt began when Kant's 'I must abolish knowledge for belief' was reinterpreted by Schopenhauer. The inefficient search for a thing in itself {(en soi) (an sich)} underlies all

perceived ideas, meaning and significance can only be fond in Will. The early Nietzsche following Schopenhauer, believed that there could be no independent faculty for pure reason in isolation from passion. Cartesian philosophy and British Empiricism he condemned as an abasement of the philosophical spirit. In criticising Egalitarianism, Libertarianism and Socialism, Nietzsche believed the (anti-rational) philosopher is helping the development of a more systematic culture.

Stern (1979) argues that Nietzsche challenges the manner in which philosophy is pursued in a technical-scientific idiom, which extends to modern culture. This notion is extended by Macintyre who regards a contemporary vision of the world as being predominately Weberian in character. In Western culture there is 'no organised movement of power which is not bureaucratic and managerial in mode'. (1982.102) Because of the centrality of Nietzsche's philosophy - irrationalism was presupposed by central arguments of Weber's thought - problematics which still remain largely unresolved but widely debated e.g. Burrell (1997).

Thus, much of Nietzsche's philosophy contributes an interchange between the intimate side of man (sic) and his significant philosophising, being his challenge to the traditional distinctions between literature, art, music and philosophy.
Lavrin (1971) places Nietzsche's philosophy in three categories. First, he poses Nietzsche as an ambitious old fashioned reformer and educator, almost a pedagogue. In this interpretation Nietzsche is heavily influenced by Schopenhauer, who it seems, was responsible for Nietzsche's disenchantment with Christianity. The second stage, Lavrin labels the positivistic or Scientific stage, where Nietzsche had a desire to create the concept of the physiological and philosophical 'higher man'. This culminated in a third stage, embodied in the aesthetic-romantic Ubermensch. The key words, aesthetic and

romantic are not to be understood as dualistic opposites for 'the Renaissance and the Reformation both together constitute a whole. The aesthetic re-birth and the moral re-birth' Nietzsche (1983.120).

Nietzsche, anticipating Foucault, led the attack on the increasing commercialisation of social life. The modern human being, he believed foes not purely live for pleasure. This is explained in Zarathustra. For Nietzsche the secularisation of society has produced a moral and spiritual vacuum the accelerated pace of technical development has stifled cultural development. The creative culture of individual was being hindered and smothered by gigantic industrial productivity and expansion.
'The active external man developed at the expense of the inner man'
Lavrin (1971, 44)

As already indicated, Nietzsche was heavily influenced by Schopenhauer who has been called the philosopher of Pessimism (Copleston (1975). If all individuals create their own moralities then presumably no morality is true. In Beyond Good and Evil, he articulates his antithesis to these concepts by using the concept of power. The right to power should only be granted to those individuals who contain the best material, 'the noble man helps the unfortunate not out of pity but rather form an impulse of superabundance of power' Stern explains that the rule of the Superman embodies a protest against the established moral , legal and religious conventions. Nietzsche attacks the mediocre man who plays the game (refereed by social mores) and does what is expected of him. Passmore (1970) calls this the member type of man. There could be little doubt as to how Nietzsche would categorise the Chief, in our story and he wouldn't be deemed a suitable holder of power; not a person of the right material. Nor is it fanciful to suggest that Nietzsche would not approve of the way that managerial positions automatically lead to the attainment of (formal) power for so many.

To understand the concept of Ubermensch, it is useful to return to pre-Socratic culture and define further those two aforementioned elements in Attic consciousness the Dionysian and the Apollonian.

The Dionysian phenomenon, for Nietzsche, became the orgiastic and ecstatic affirmation of primordial unity between man and nature which, from necessity came before any type of individuality: an almost natural intoxication with life. Counterpoised to this is the Apollonian element, characterised by harmony, love and 'at oneness' with the world, where humans undergo the individuation process. For Nietzsche, the dynamic balance between the two elements symbolises all that was virtuous in Greek Culture. At the same time Attic (Athenian dialectics and language embodied in Art) tragedy was simultaneously Dionysian and Apollonian, Dionysus being the affirmation of the Superman.

Nietzsche believes that all moral and Cartesian philosophers failed to explain why language and morality is suspect.
Nietzsche did not simply confine himself to asking how he could live as an atheist but to how he could 'convert' German society into refuting Christianity and returning to Morality. The most important medium, through which this rebirth could occur he initially believed, would be through music and art. Similarly to Schopenhauer before him, Nietzsche believed that of all of the Arts, music alone was the expression of the 'will to exist'. A new power lay at the root of the German 'Geist', Dionysian in essence, alive and vibrant in the music of Beethoven and Bach, and of course in particular, Wagner whose music, for Nietzsche, embodied the Teutonic equivalent of Greek Tragedy. The importance of the relationship between Nietzsche and Wagner cannot be overstated. Scott Lash (1985.9) suggests that in Wagner, Nietzsche saw the 'Dionysian creator of the future' but after he broke with Wagner in 1878, he decided to

take on the role for himself, which he began to articulate in *Also Sprach Zarathustra*.

In his discussion of Genealogy and the Body, Lash explains that for Nietzsche 'knowledge is functional for the body: indeed the capacity to acquire knowledge is the most important 'organ' of the human body' (ibid. 10). Nietzsche's prescription for the malady of (the already identified) consumer culture is one of total anti-positivism. Because all Art, Knowledge and morality emanate from the spiritual, artistic aesthetic aligned to consumer culture should completely break with the Apollonian element and strive to encourage the Dionysian.

Where does this take us? Nietzsche has been labelled both existentialist and a Nihilist. Indeed, Camus (1981.57) believes that Nietzsche was able to explain Nihilism clinically. Hollingdale reasons that he been called a philosopher of power because Nietzsche's philosophy led to the very Nihilism it was attempting to overcome. This has thankfully replaced the notion that he was the philosophical mentor of Nazism and thus responsible for it. Secondly he was both a Nihilist and Existentialist. However to label him as either of these 'involves robbing his philosophy of all positive content' Hollingdale (1965.309) Although phenomenology and existentialism have their roots in German Romanticism as a protest against rationality, the real progenitor can be considered to be Nietzsche who was positively opposed to systematic philosophy. The life of unreason shone in the Maverick philosophy of Nietzsche. For Merqiuor (1985.146) Nietzsche castigates 'in the vital interests of the present' the whole conception of historical objectivity and thus a whole mistrust of reason and truth when it is employed for the destruction of the subject.
Just as Nietzsche argued vehemently against the role of the state, which he anticipated was about to fill the void left by the death of Christianity (Nietzsche having proclaimed God to be dead!), he would

recognise the growth of 'organisation' and in the context of global capitalism, the concomitant growth of managerialism.

> We live in the period of atoms, of atomistic chaos .... Now almost everything on earth is determined by the crudest and most evil forces, by the egotism of the purchasers and the military despots. The State in the hands of the latter ... wishes that people will lavish on it the same idolatrous cult that they used to lavish on the Church. (Nietzsche in White, 1990, p166.)

We might also, reasonably conclude, that Nietzsche would see much that was noble within managerialism, at least with the enactment of managerialism in our story.

Macintyre

Macintyre regards Nietzsche's quest to throw down the institutions which cause moral degeneration as a negative quest Macintyre (1971.238). For Macintyre any effort to create the blond beast or over man based upon the Dionysian phenomenon and return to the moral virtues of Ancient Greece is negative, impractical and undesirable. Indeed what were those virtues? Macintyre insists that human attributes such as humility, thrift or consciousness could never be considered as virtues. However, sensitivity, straightforwardness and courage are virtuous.

> 'A virtuous man tells the truth fearlessly and takes responsibility for his own actions' (ibid. 238)

Macintyre has discussed how some writers have seen 'the managers function as that of controlling and suppressing conflict' (1982.27). Macintyre suggests that the manager is ascribed particular characteristics.

> 'Among the central moral fictions is the peculiarly managerial fiction embodied on the claim to possess systematic effectiveness in controlling certain aspects of the

social reality.....we are not accustomed to doubt the effectiveness of managers in achieving what they set out to achieve and we are equally accustomed to think of effectiveness as a distinctively moral concept..' (ibid.74)

For Macintyre, many writers about management see managers and their actions as morally neutral.

> 'But what if effectiveness is part of a masquerade of social control rather than a reality? What if effectiveness were a quality widely imputed to managers and bureaucrats both by themselves and others, but in fact a quality which rarely exists apart from this imputation?' (ibid.75)

Macintyre suggests that while the manager is the dominant figure of the contemporary scene he challenges this 'managerial fiction' and asks

> 'But what if effectiveness is part of a masquerade of social control rather than a reality? What if effectiveness were a quality widely imputed to managers and bureaucrats both by themselves and others, but in fact a quality which rarely exists apart from this imputation?' (ibid.75)

Macintyre concludes his argument on managerialism by stating that in a similar way that it is impossible to provide a rational justification for a belief in God, interpretations of what constitutes managerial effectiveness lack any appropriate rational justification.

How often have we heard managers justify the perceived non-co-operation of the subordinates (or indeed superiors) as an inability to work rationally. We are of course making an assumption here that rational action in organisation life is possible and of course desirable. Managers attempt to provide a rational framework for policies which they wish to have actualised, and

justify their actions in a rational manner. Indeed when their policies are not implemented in the manner in which they have stipulated, they interpret the lack of action rationally, rather than reflecting on the extent to which their policies seem rational to others.

Discussion

The above assumes an interactive process with other actors within organisations. It does not assume a unitarist perspective of organisation life. It ought to assume that within the process of engaging with the managerialism debate that individuals are operating on a rational choice model. However, this is not the case. Certainly in what Etzioni (1964) has called closed organisations, actors do not make rational and informed choices. Yet we could say that the actions of the Chief in the story are self referentially rational and managerial, but not unitarist.

In relation to individuals making choices about how they wish to interpret managerialism depends on the extent to which they decide that they have choice to implement or not the decisions which have been imposed upon them. It also assumes that the person limiting that range of actions or choices must be doing so deliberately.
For Morris, the power to implement decisions needs to be examined on the basis of power from knowledge of resource. (1987.138)

This notion of resource is far from straightforward. For it involves legal powers and instruments of coercion and the management of custom and practice even if that practice is to be changed in order for the end goal to be actualised. But there are other more intangible resources which Morris indicates are useful to be considered. For example, and it is worth quoting him at length,

'Some groups with apparently very few resources can maybe have more power......by procuring the help of others who are richer in resources: the *possibility* of doing this is in itself a resource. Protest activity involves an apparently resourceless group making life difficult or unpleasant for another group in order to group support: the support can then be used to obtain desired outcomes. Being able to be a nuisance is a resource. Playing in the conscience of others is another tack which is open to those lacking tangible resources' (ibid. 143)

Although much of this is self-evident it is apparent that those managers who ascribe to, or who are coerced into, following a unitarist approach to people management, either ignore these factors or simply do not regard these approaches as being viable.

As yet the debate within the relationship between power, authority, rational management, does not allow us to provide an advanced theory of managerialism. Clearly the debate is still maturing. It is still important and we think this debate has not reached its conclusions because it is infused with a deterministic and unitarist history of what constitutes 'the organisational', that it is useful to continue to consider not only which individuals in organisations hold the most resource and power but why they hold it, and why and the ways in which they continue to use it. Obviously all organisations have differing power models and the answers to these questions is dependent on the managerial perspective and organisational structure. The bullying in this story is not the excess per se, it is the manager who is using the power gained from his position of authority to shape the action in terms consistent with his personal agenda.
Finally, we would not wish to be seen as saying managerialism, which is enacted on behalf of a unitarist agenda, is good; managerialism, which is enacted for the purpose of self interest, is bad. Our approach here through a phenomenological

case study has been to provide some insight into how managerialism was being enacted within one organisation. It would not be tenable on the basis of that exploration to make any generalisations regarding the nature of managerialism. Indeed we would hope that we have demonstrated that to understand what managerialism means (to the extent that it 'means' anything at all), we must examine the phenomenon through an experiential lens. As Magee (1987,235), speaking of Nietzsche, puts it:

"We are slaves to convention, Nietzsche says – we base our whole lives on attitudes and ideas on whose premises, if we ever get round to examining   them,   we reject. This makes ours an inauthentic way of living, a dead way of living. We must re-evaluate our lives in the light of what we honestly do believe and feel."

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Glossary of Glaswegian Terms

As a preamble, to help attune your ear to the Glasgow argot try the following:

Exercise 1

Q: What is the difference between Bing Crosby and Walt Disney

A   Bing sings and Walt Disney (Walt doesn't)

Exercise 2

A man walks into a bakers shop in Glasgow and pointing to the counter says: Is that a cake or a meringue? To which the sale assistant replies, Naw son, yir right, it's a cake.

(Translators note: 'or a meringue' when spoken in a Glaswegian accent sounds like 'or am a wrang?' which in English means 'or am I wrong?')

Terms

A – I

Ambling – walking aimlessly

Aw – all

Bollockin – severe reprimand, usually verbal; a metaphorical kick in the male genitals

Bushels and pecks – old standards of weights and measures

Dae – do

Efter a' – after all

Frae – from

Goat – got, also a ruminant

Greetin' – crying

He hardly did fuck all – aka a skivin bastard, (see below)

Hud tae – had to

Hunert – hundred

If ave telt you – If I have told you
Local Authority – Local/Regional Government Organisation

Mare – more

Messages – shopping; groceries

Mindin', writin' etc – note routine dropping of the 'g'

No – not, also no

Noo – now

Oaffice – office

Oan the joab – on the job

Oot – out

Oxters – underarms, hairy intersection between shoulders and arms

Screw the fuckin bobbin – think rationally and toe the line, play the game

Skivin bastard – one who is prone to avoiding hard work, or any kind of work for that matter

The Chief – The boss, manager, head honcho, top dog, el supreme

The wee man – the boss etc Note Glaswegians often refer to each other in terms of relative height. Sometimes this can be ironic. So the wee man could be either a small person or a large person. In this case the wee man was a wee man (see *wee* below

Wan –one

Wee – small, little, diminutive, urine, the act of urinating

Whit – what

Wi' – with

Widnae – would not

Wis – was

Wringin – wet through

Yir – you're, your

Yirsel – yourself