# WHEN LOGICS COLLIDE – LEARNING AND STRATEGIC DILEMMAS IN HETEROGENOUS ORGANIZATIONS

## Tony Huzzard and Katarina Östergren[i]
Umeå School of Business and Economics

## Abstract

Most conceptualizations of organizational learning are generally underpinned by some notion of unitarism. Theories typically assume shared visions, values, conceptions or identities. The paper, however, considers the dilemmas faced in organizations where identities and visions are not shared, and where conceptions and ideologies are diverse and possibly in conflict. Such organizations, called here complex hypocrisies, consist of actors with a diversity of conceptions about what the organization is, its purpose, what are considered to be 'good' organizational outcomes and how such outcomes should be reached.

Seeing learning as changes in shared conceptions, the empirical focus is on strategic change in two types of organizations with democratic governance structures. The first is a local municipality, the second is a white-collar trade union. In both cases *three different learning dilemmas* are identified and described. The paper concludes by arguing for the setting aside of unitaristic assumptions and, instead, respecting the inevitability of diversity.

[i] Dr Tony Huzzard, Department of Business Administration, Umeå School of Business and Economics, Umeå University, S - 901 87 Umeå, Sweden. Phone: +46 90 786 51 03, Fax: +46 90 786 66 74, E-mail: tony.huzzard@fek.umu.se
Dr Katarina Östergren , Department of Business Administration, Umeå School of Business and Economics, Umeå University, S - 901 87 Umeå, Sweden. Phone +46 90 786 77 30, Fax: +46 90 786 66 74, E-mail: katarina.ostergren@fek.umu.se

# 1. INTRODUCTION

Early conceptualizations of organizational learning as the aggregation of individual learning in an organizational context now appear to have been superseded by conceptualizations that see organizations as collective entities that exhibit similar learning characteristics to those of individuals. Although a metaphor (Morgan, 1997), the notion of organizations as learning collectivities has prompted a great deal of recent interest amongst academics (Crossan and Guatto, 1996), popular management writers and organizational practitioners. In most cases, at the core of the metaphor, however, is some notion of unitarism. Indeed, this is particularly marked in the more normative approaches to learning that are usually included under the rubric of the ´learning organization´ (Garratt, 1987; Senge, 1990; Watkins and Marsick, 1993; Marquardt, 1996; Pedler et al., 1997).

The unitarism of the 'learning organization' expresses itself through various underlying assumptions such as a shared vision (Senge, 1990; Watkins and Marsick, 1993; Pearn et al, 1995) and shared values (Handy, 1995). Inclinations towards some notion of unitarism are also detectable in many descriptive accounts of organizational learning: the prerequisite of organizational learning is seen, for example, as shared identities (Nonaka, 1996), shared conceptions (Müllern and Östergren, 1995) or a shared culture (Cook and Yanow, 1993). The issue of learning in organizations that do not have homogenous conceptions[ii], however, has been somewhat neglected in research.

Accordingly, the current paper considers the dilemmas faced in organizations where identities are not shared, and where conceptions and ideologies are diverse and possibly in conflict. One managerial response in such a context would be to break up the organization into separate entities that each might display greater learning capability as independent organizations. From a learning perspective such an option is certainly a plausible alternative. On the other hand, there are organizations that draw their strength and even raison d'être from being an amalgamation of disparate entities, and, moreover, such amalgamation can make perfectly good *strategic* sense. Such organizations, called here complex hypocrisies (Brunsson, 1989; Huzzard, 2000), consist of actors with a diversity of conceptions about what the organization is, its purpose, what are considered to be 'good' organizational outcomes and how such outcomes should be reached. The strategic logic of such organizations, ideally built on assumptions of homogeneity and a shared ideology, is accordingly in conflict with their learning logic[iii]. There is, however, a gap in the literature on learning in organizations in this area and it is the aim of the paper to address this shortcoming.

The paper's empirical focus is on two types of organizations with democratic governance structures. The notion of democratic governance implies a different form of decision making than other organizations. Different preferences and political positions are made transparent in such organizations; moreover, the formal political processes that

---

[ii] The term conception is used throughout the paper to denote a mental design, plan or idea. In biological contexts, 'conception' also means the fertilization of an egg; extending this idea (concept), conception also means a start or beginning. In other words 'conception' also suggests the potential initialization of certain action sequences.

[iii] By the term 'logic' we mean that underlying discussions about how an organization should function, what its problems are and what are desirable as solutions. A more developed discussion of the concept can be found in Friedland and Alford (1991).

prevail in such organizations often ensure that there are both majority and minority positions adopted on various issues as they arise. The first organization studied is a local municipality, Botkyrka Council, the second is a white-collar trade union represented here by the Swedish Union of Clerical and Technical Workers in Industry (SIF).

Both these empirical fields witnessed major strategic changes during the 1990s. Moreover, the strategic solutions pursued by both the unions and municipalities diverge considerably from their traditional activities and the solutions can thus be seen as radical within their respective organizational fields.[iv] In Swedish local authorities strategic activities have above all been concerned with introducing different forms of market solutions in response to pressure from politicians to deliver greater levels of efficiency. Examples of these solutions have included purchaser-provider splits, exposure to competitive tendering and means for enhancing consumer choice among service users. In the trade union movement such changes involved adjusting to economic, social, technological and other changes including the increasing diversity of the workforce and changing attitudes of workers both to work and to the unions themselves (Olney, 1996). Change has also encompassed a perceived undermining of traditional notions of collectivity at the workplace, the internationalization of the division of labor and changes in the organization of work (Smith and Thompson, 1998). Union responses have included an increasing focus on production issues as in the Swedish Metalworkers Union policy of 'good work' and an extension of union roles to encompass competence development and new forms of partnership between unions and employers.

The structure of the paper is as follows. We start by describing the distinctive characteristics of 'political' organizations (complex hypocrisies) and the managerial implications of these. The paper then proceeds by setting out our conceptualization of learning and then reporting on learning in the two case studies of the municipality of Botkyrka and SIF. Following a comparative analysis of how learning occurs in the cases and the learning dilemmas evident in each, we conclude with a discussion on learning dilemmas in complex hypocrisies and their implications.


## 2. LEARNING UNDER ORGANIZATIONAL HYPOCRISY[v]

A frequent theme in the literature on management and organizations is that society is becoming increasingly differentiated and subject to increasingly rapid change (Kanter, 1989; Brunsson, 1989; Senge, 1990). For example, markets have been transformed as consumer profiles and preferences are seen as increasingly diverse and complex (Piore and Sabel, 1984). In consequence, the conditions for organizing have changed fundamentally as organizations interact with an increasingly divergent range of

---

[iv] We define 'field' here as being a specific unit of analysis that is associated with the system of conceptions that link a number of actors together. It is somewhat similar to the concept of 'sector' but does not make the same stipulations with regard to the connections between organizations. For a more developed discussion see Müllern and Östergren (1995).
[v] Brunsson (1989) uses the word 'hypocrisy' to describe organizatons that have multiple norm systems thereby prompting managers to say different things to different stakeholder groups as well as prompting inconsistencies between speech and actions. Like Brunsson, we use the word 'hypocrisy' in the neutral rather than the more common pejorative sense.

stakeholders both internally and externally. Moreover, the interaction with such stakeholders will depend on the construction, articulation and application of rules and norms as well as ideas of what constitutes common sense. Underlying these stakeholder interactions are competing and often conflicting demands and interests, and the management of such interests requires the simultaneous adoption of different norms and discourses if organizational goals are to be reached (Brunsson, 1989). The norms that govern the relations between managers and a particular stakeholder group can therefore diverge from the norms that govern the relations between the managers and another group. To preserve legitimacy from both groups of stakeholders managers need to exercise 'hypocrisy' by using different discourses (Huzzard, 2000).

Brunsson (1989) sees two ideal types of organizations, action organizations and political organizations. A central feature of the first of these is agreement – this applies to both the recruitment of personnel and the ongoing labor processes of the organization. The hierarchy is instrumental in co-ordinating organizational activities that, in turn, are guided by a strong, unitary ideology and rules that govern the behavior of internal stakeholders. The shared ideology has the effect of narrowing down the range of sensible decisions and thereby co-ordinates action in an instrumental fashion. In such contexts, an organization cultivates a single perspective and a single idea of how both it and its environment functions.

In contrast to the action organization, political organizations have no consistent norm system. Divergent groups in the internal and external environments support political organizations because they get their own demands satisfied. In terms of recruitment, there is no guarantee that new members will be in agreement with the dominant views of the organization. The attachment to the organization may well be on the basis of conflict, and such conflict may be ongoing as organizational members also have loyalties to other interests and require to maintain bases of legitimacy in the eyes of such interests. Such conflict generates different organizational ideologies. Moreover, such organizations are likely to be characterized by mistrust and skepticism (ibid: 24).

An inevitable feature in 'political' organizations is inconsistency in talk, decisions and actions which, according to Brunsson, are required to maintain a balance between the norms and expectations of competing stakeholder groups. This balancing act need not consist of conscious strategic action but, rather, can involve different groups acting according to their own needs in ways that are mutually inconsistent. Brunsson calls such a phenomenon 'hypocrisy'. This

> …is a fundamental type of behavior in the political organization: to talk in a way that satisfies one demand, to decide in a way that satisfies another, and to supply products in a way that satisfies a third (ibid: 27).

One implication of this is that different units in the political organization can be expected to talk, decide, think and act independently of one another and with inconsistency. Clearly, such inconsistency has problematic implications for organizational learning. On the one hand, a hypocrisy requires a recognition of and respect for difference and diversity, whereas on the other a learning organization requires some degree of shared thinking, vision, culture and/or identity (Senge, 1990; Müllern and Östergren, 1995; Nonaka, 1996). This dilemma raises the intriguing question of how might such a dilemma be managed.

The problem of managing diverse norm systems and ideologies in a hypocrisy is made more difficult where the interests of multiple conflicting stakeholders have to be taken into account. Hypocrisy of such a complex nature can be said to prevail in two organizations we have studied empirically, Botkyrka Council and the Swedish Union of Clerical and Technical Workers in Industry. Botkyrka Council, as with other local authority organizations, is characterized by a separation of powers between its legislative branch from its executive branch (Ring and Perry, 1985). The legislative branch consists of politicians who, in turn, are accountable to a diverse electorate. Moreover, in between local authority elections, actors within the legislative branch are also subject to ongoing interaction with an equally diverse range of pressure groups. The executive branch consists of managers at the central level, managers at more decentralized levels, diverse employees as well as other employees in the organization.

In the case of SIF, there is a similar separation of powers between what Child et al (1973) have termed a representative system on the one hand and an administrative system on the other. In the former, decision-making is entrusted to an elected national congress that meets every fourth year and an elected national executive committee that makes decisions of the union in between congresses. Both these bodies have representatives from across the union's diverse membership profile. The union's administrative system includes the national officials, regional and local officials as well as the staff and specialists operating at each level who both deliver services to the membership and interact with external stakeholders.

It can accordingly be seen that both organizations are complex and require a management logic that balances a wide range of competing interest groups both inside the respective organizations and external to them. Given such complexity, how can organizational learning be possible? In order to investigate the dilemmas of learning in such organizations we define learning as changes in shared conceptions (Müllern and Östergren, 1995). Organizational learning is seen as a process of collective meaning creation in organizations and occurs when a group of individuals have changed their previous system of conceptions. The presumption is that the successful execution of strategic reorientation projects will require a change in collective conceptions across the organization and these, in turn, will be a prerequisite of changed behavior.


## 3. METHOD

This study concerns the learning dilemmas faced by complex hypocrisies. The empirical investigation of learning on which the study is based was undertaken using qualitative methods. Interviews have been conducted with various stakeholder groups in the organizations concerned. A study of organizational learning, however, is not restricted to the learning of individuals but, rather, embraces learning in collective entities. In order to capture such learning, the research designs proposed an investigation of the conceptions of several individuals in each stakeholder group at a similar time period.

The process of selecting our study objects comprised two distinct stages. The first concerned the choice of organization. The selection naturally restricted itself to organizations that could be considered to exhibit the features of complex hypocrisies, that is, organizations that have inherently conflicting logics and norm systems. In the case of the municipality, this manifested itself on the one hand in a care management logic in the areas of care for the elderly and child care and on the other in an economic logic that was introduced in the 1990s in the local government sphere. For unions it

concerned maintaining simultaneous relationships with both the members and the employers with whom union leaders negotiate on wages, conditions and other matters of importance both nationally and at the workplace. In order to obtain legitimacy from both norm systems, unions necessarily have to incorporate different ideologies and discourses for internal and external use.

The second stage involved drawing up selection criteria for the respondents such that interviews could be conducted with actors at different hierarchical levels in the respective organizations. Such an approach enables researchers to capture the actor conceptions in respect of the various reorientation projects being promoted by top management/leaders. By defining organizational learning in terms of the extent that (new) conceptions are shared by actors at different levels, we are thereby able to shed light on whether learning has occurred and, through comparative analysis, we can develop understanding on learning in complex hypocrisies.

## 4. THE MUNICIPALITY OF BOTKYRKA

At the start of the 1990s, Botkyrka Council initiated and carried out two reorientation projects. The first of these was concerned with creating profit centers that could, as far as possible, be managed as independent units with full responsibility and jurisdiction for all operating costs, for example staffing, premises and purchasing. The second project aimed at organizing the social services on a model based on a purchaser-provider split. The advantages of the new organization were trailed as enabling the purchasing function to concentrate on finding cheap but acceptable alternatives for customers, that is, the citizens of the municipality. The providers, in turn, would also enjoy the prospect of focusing more clearly on their duties of supplying quality, cost-effective child-care and care for the elderly.

On the introduction of the purchaser-provider split, the intention of the top management was to expose operations to competition even if this was not fully implemented in a single step. The belief was that increased competition would lead to increased commitment on the part of local authority personnel to improve their product or service provision. The residents of the municipality would also enjoy a greater freedom of choice over the type of child-care and care for the elderly.

The motivation for these relatively radical strategic solutions had its origins in the dire financial situation that local authorities found themselves in at the start of the 1990s. Market solutions were seen as an answer to financial deterioration and as an opportunity to improve organizational effectiveness. One way of bringing this about has been to remove the practice of detailed control and replace it with management by objectives. An implication of this was that the resources that were required to run the various operations would to a large extent be managed by leaders of day nurseries and managers of homes for the elderly.

The introduction of profit centers was initiated by Botkyrka Council in 1991. This started with the introduction of a system of so-called self-administration at day nurseries in all districts. Following introduction, an evaluation was undertaken in which it appeared that those involved in the operational activities were positively disposed towards self-administration. The only critique voiced was that those concerned preferred to be completely independent. Thereafter a further form of self-administration was initiated that was in effect a step in the direction of independent profit centers.

During 1992 further measures were undertaken whereby day nurseries became profit centers. This implied that these each drew up a budget and then decided from a given sum how they would allocate their costs. Previously, they received a grant to run the day nursery at the start of each year. The new model implied that they were paid according to how many children were placed at the nursery, that is, a price was put on each place taken up.

When the profit centers were created, staff at the social services department gave consideration to how such centers could be best developed further. The next organizational change involved the introduction of a so-called purchaser-provider organization. This was implemented in 1993. It implied that the council would 'buy' a number of places at each nursery or a number of hours from a group of home helps every year. Compensation was paid direct to the nursery or group.

The goals highlighted by the management were above all financial. Operating costs would be adapted in line with existing resources. Other goals that affected the purchaser-provider organization comprised the securing of the legal and property rights of local citizens. Irrespective of where in the local authority area one lived, one should be treated in the same way and according to the same guidelines. The new organization implied a refining of the roles of purchaser and provider of both child-care and care for the elderly and both functions came together during processes of negotiation.

To sum up, four reorientation projects were undertaken by Botkyrka Council in the early 1990s. Day nurseries and centers for elderly care were transformed into profit centers. The purchaser-provider model was adopted for management control and involved a change in the allocation of responsibilities with the eventual aim of creating competition between units and more freedom of choice for the customer.

## 4.1 Conceptions of the Botkyrka reorientation projects

In all, four themes stood out in the interviews. The first concerned the *profit centers.* The second and third themes covered the issues of *finance and responsibility* in the purchaser-provider model. Finally, the fourth theme was that of *competition and freedom of choice.*

In terms of the first reorientation project, the setting up of the profit centers, two aspects in particular were discussed, namely responsibility and financial surpluses/deficits. The meaning attached to the profit center concept was similar throughout the authority. Uncertainty about the meaning of the concept was only detectable at the margins of the organization. There was also a generally accepted view about why the profit centers were introduced. Above all, the deteriorating financial situation was cited as a motivating reason. The profit centers were seen by actors to be a largely positive experience and were commonly associated with the notion of increased responsibility.

A certain degree of dissent was noticeable in the conceptions of union actors and at organizational levels 'farthest out' from the center. Actors in such groups expressed some fears about what becoming a profit center actually implied. One such fear was that the change might imply staffing cutbacks. Another concern farthest out in the organization was that any surpluses would be appropriated from them. As a whole, conceptions can nevertheless be described as being relatively homogenous in character. The different levels in the organization infused the central concepts with similar

meanings. On the other hand, there was a divergence of attitudes between groups in relation to the profit centers.

The second and third themes concerned the purchaser-provider organization: the second focused on the financial aspects, the third the responsibility aspects. Many statements were made on these themes. Two aspects stand out as central to theme two: rationalization and quality. During discussions on the motive for introducing the purchase-provider organization, all actor groups appeared to be in agreement that its purpose was to bring about rationalization. Conceptions diverged, however, on the extent to which cost savings had actually been accomplished. Politicians and administrators were particularly positive towards the degree to which savings had been made.

The reasoning of the actors on quality was largely based on perceptions of the negotiations that took place on the purchase-provider model. Those actor groups that saw the purchase-provider model as improving quality thought that this could be brought about through being given the opportunity to choose the alternative with the highest quality at the most beneficial price. Other actor groups, however, saw the measures solely as a means to promote savings rather than quality improvements.

To sum up, the second theme was of central concern to three actor groups: administrators, purchasers and those on the margins of the organization. The disagreement between actor groups on whether the purchase-provider model could reduce financial costs was considerable. The statements of the administrators and purchasers often suggested a positive disposition whereas the union representatives and staff 'farthest out' had difficulty in understanding how the model could lead to cost savings or quality improvements. On the other hand, these groups had clear ideas about what the purchase-provider model amounted to.

The third theme concerned the allocation of responsibility within the purchase-provider organization.  Two distinct discussions crystallized on the issue of responsibility allocation, and the prevalence of such discussions varied between actor groups. Politicians and administrators mainly discussed the changed role of politicians and the concept of management by objectives whereas other groups discussed the new allocation of responsibilities among the assistant home helps.

The statements on the new role of the assistant home helps were not, however, homogenous: two distinct camps could be discerned. One of these, consisting largely of senior management and the purchasers, thought the changes were positive whereas the providers and union representatives were more critical. The construction of meaning on the third theme was characterized by heterogeneity in terms of both attitude and substantive content.

The final theme comprises competition and freedom of choice. An interesting aspect of this theme is how the perception of time differed between the actor groups. The top management discussed the theme from a future oriented perspective whereas the other personnel largely considered that measures aimed at improving competitiveness and freedom of choice had already been introduced. The diffusion of the ideas associated with the theme had not occurred to any great extent. Different actors at different levels spoke in different ways and had different views on the theme. One explanation for the low level of diffusion was that the senior management saw developments in the area as a future project.

In sum, conceptions in Botkyrka were characterized by heterogeneity. Nevertheless, the ideas as such had been diffused to actor groups with the exception of theme four. Heterogeneity is evident in three different areas: language, cause and effect relationships and attitudes. The new operations of the local authority were characterized by a completely different use of language. A financial discourse was constructed that relabeled day nurseries as profit centers, citizens as customers and described children in terms of price per unit. For many, it was difficult to understand such changes and take the new discourse on board. In terms of cause-effect relations, connections were seen as being between how the new change projects would result in more effective and more cost-aware operations. Many were uncertain in these areas and had difficulty in making connections. Finally, a divergence of attitudes towards the projects was discernible between the actor groups.

One explanation of the degree of heterogeneity could be that the reorientation projects had considerable scope and their effects extended across a wide range of employees. Moreover, the content of the projects could be considered as being very radical. For many council employees the projects implied a completely alien way of seeing the authority's operations. In such a situation, the established conceptions were insufficient and needed to be complemented by updated versions. Previous conceptions were constructed on a logic of caring, but these now also needed to incorporate a logic of cost awareness.

## 4.2 Botkyrka: The dilemmas of learning

From a learning perspective the newly introduced reorientation projects at Botkyrka implied a considerable challenge to established structures of thought. Many actor groups were involved comprising individuals with various educational backgrounds, experience and pre-existing knowledge. In most cases, the projects were alien in character: neither language usage nor structures of thought were familiar. Learning was constrained not only by the disparity in various actor groups but also by the alienation of the employees from the top management. This manifested itself most clearly in employee distrust of the management's ideas. The employees knew what the ideas consisted of, but were skeptical about whether, if implemented, they would have the consequences intended by management.

The Botkyrka case exemplifies three distinct learning dilemmas. The first of these concerns the choice of solution, that is, how the management learns to decide which type of strategic solution is appropriate. The two other learning dilemmas concern the diffusion of the new projects. In terms of the choice of solution, they have sought to take on projects with a high degree of novelty: there was an express desire to introduce new and radical solutions. One explanation of this could be the attention that such local authorities gain in the context in which they operate. Local authorities are seen as being successful where they dare to try new radical solutions. Such solutions also have a future-oriented focus. Our data contains clear descriptions of how the solutions should lead to superior outcomes than those reached previously. Market solutions would lead the authorities out of their financial crisis. Finally, the solutions had an *idea focus*. The projects undertaken in the local authorities and in the county councils were relatively difficult to comprehend. The ideas behind the solutions were a central element in the discussions among the actor groups rather than the issues associated with how the solutions would be implemented in practice.

From a learning perspective we can talk about the top management 'setting the agenda' that is, they limit the types of solutions seen as possible by choosing one type for introduction. Through diffusing concepts such as business area, purchaser-provider models, core operations and management by objectives an agenda is drawn up that governs learning in the organization. The language usage of the top management can be seen as a means of creating new conceptions. The 'agenda' metaphor is a way of expressing that at a certain time in a certain organizational field a certain system of conceptions flourish that exclude other systems of conceptions from the agenda. Agenda setting can be said to consist of a drawing of attention in the organization. It is impossible for the top management in organizations to draw attention to all relevant phenomena either within or external to the organization concerned. We shall proceed by referring to this limitation on behavior as *selective attention*. Studies of collective decision making show that selective attention is an important ingredient in such processes, not least for managing complex hypocrisies (March, 1988: 3ff). Agenda setting thereby becomes a tool for focusing attention in a particular direction. Organizational actors select, from an agenda, the rules to be followed, which values should prevail, which possibilities can be seen and which problems are seen as pressing (March and Olsen, 1989: 11ff).

The other two learning dilemmas identified in the Botkyrka case pertain to the diffusion of the new reorientation projects. The first concerns the *interpretation* of the new projects or the so-called agenda. The second concerns the degree of *trust* between management and staff.

A matter of interest from a learning perspective is the understanding of how the diffusion of conceptions actually occurs internally within an organization. It is not enough for conceptions to be diffused in an organization for learning to arise. Learning also requires the various actor groups to interpret the conceptions that are diffused and construct relevant meanings in relation to the project. In the local authority studied here meaning construction is characterized as being heterogeneous both in relation to the content of the new projects and in terms of emotional disposition towards them.

Actor groups other than the initiators of the projects relate to the project initiatives in different ways, that is, there are differences in the way the top management agenda is interpreted. It is by no means given that all actors 'see' the same meaningful entities as the management. The dispositions of different actor groups to a particular theme can be said to reflect the world-views of the group as a whole which, in turn, are formed by factors such as education, previous work experience, esprit de corps, work duties and so on. In the Botkyrka case we can justifiably talk about fundamentally different world-views between, for example the senior managers of the municipality and the care assistants - between the financially oriented management perspective and the carer perspective of the latter. These divergent world-views necessarily result in divergent dispositions towards the agenda.

Our reasoning on agenda interpretation can be nuanced further through extending the discussion to the role of key reference groups. Our conceptions of the reality we encounter, for example in organizations, are often formed by groups from which we seek support and identify with, so called reference groups (Sjölund, 1979). A reference group can comprise a small group of individuals who have tightly coupled interactions within, for example, a work group or group of friends. It can also comprise a larger collectivity within which one feels a sense of belonging, for example, an occupational group or profession. The significance of such reference groups is that the world-views

of various actor groups in organizations are commonly connected to such reference groups. The groups can diverge owing to the relative strengths of their reference characters. The stronger the reference character a certain group has, the greater the group's influence on individuals (Maltén, 1992). The ways in which an actor interprets an agenda thus frequently becomes congruent with the reference groups with whom an individual identifies.

The third dilemma, which is closely connected to the second, concerns the matter of trust between management and employees. The professional structure of Botkyrka Council and in local authorities generally has a heterogeneous composition. There are considerable differences between groups in terms of attitudes to their profession, their work and their own organization. A clear pattern that seemed to emerge, however, was that the 'further away' from the top management the actors were in the organizational structure, the less they identify with their profession. Many care assistants declared that their occupation was merely transitional. Many statements concerning a perceived low status of the occupation were also discernible.

The council employees largely identified themselves with their operating units. They did not see themselves as working for the council but, rather, they worked for the home-help service, a particular school or day nursery. Their identification with the medical profession, day nursery staff or the caring profession also suggests a weaker identification with other groups in the organization, for example, management. The ideas promoted by management are confronted by the ideas promoted by the employees from within their own particular groups. Frequently this creates a degree of mistrust of management.

To sum up, we can conclude that learning in the local authority does not consist of developing homogeneous conceptions that can be unproblematically diffused throughout the organization. In contrast to a strategic logic built on the construction of homogenous conceptions and shared values, a quite different logic prevails in local authorities. Such a logic is built on heterogeneous conceptions with a diversity of different reference groups, each of which has a distinct identity. In complex hypocrisies there is a requirement for another type of diffusion of new projects and another type of learning logic than that of Brunsson's 'action organization'. Before developing our ideas on these aspects, however, we will develop our understanding further by presenting our second case study – that of the Swedish Union of Clerical and Technical Workers in Industry (SIF).

## 5. THE SWEDISH UNION OF CLERICAL AND TECHNICAL WORKERS IN INDUSTRY (SIF)

The 1987 SIF Congress, convened under the slogan 'Union Renewal', considered the possibility that the union's traditional ways of working and focus on demanding laws and agreements had become outdated and SIF was thus at a crossroads. In reflecting on the choices to be made, the Action Program adopted at the Congress contained an exploratory discourse questioning whether the basic beliefs and values of 'solidarity, collective ownership, conflicts of interest between employer and employee, organizational independence from the employer, verticality, local emphasis and individual salaries', were still sustainable (SIF, 1987: 10). The five adjectives selected to characterize the future orientation of the union were democratic, decentralized, strong, offensive and influential (ibid.: 16). Nevertheless, the union was deemed to have a number of choices - over the role of the union ('social movement or insurance

company'); values ('self-interest or solidarity'); strategic agenda ('narrow or broad unionism'); as well as structure ('vertical SIF or an association of professional interests').

In stating that many members had a predominantly instrumental relationship to the union rather than being committed through ideology, the partial identity of 'insurance company' was explicitly recognized (ibid.: 19). Such considerations also required 'space for individual solutions…do-it-yourself with support from the union' (ibid.: 11). The core activities of the union associated with employment and workplace issues were acknowledged as being of continuing importance, but other issues were seen as also comprising part of the union's future agenda, for example the environment, the education and job prospects of members' children, as well as culture. Finally, the question of developing a more specialist focus on the divergent professional groups was seen as necessary in the light of the different needs and identities of each.

The theme of change also dominated the Action Program adopted by the 1990 Congress. However, whereas this was seen as most evident in terms of action at the club level between 1987 and 1990 given the emphasis given to 'local' orientation and the establishment of renewal funds to facilitate experimentation, the 1990 Congress also accepted the need for change in the workings and management of the national union and an emphasis on a new role for the union as a 'competent partner'. This culminated in SIF's Competence Development Project (KUP) from 1989 to 1993 which co-ordinated local projects for competence development and partnership that heralded a departure from adversarial industrial relations.

In promoting a further role for the union as a 'professional service organization' in the 1990s, SIF's national leadership displayed an increasing sensitivity to the diverse occupational identities of the union's membership profile. This served to reinforce the rejection of SIF being seen as a singular collectivity albeit differentiated by a hierarchy of status and job titles. Such thinking also took expression in the setting up of the Engineers Project in 1996, a massively resourced campaign aimed at selling the attractiveness of SIF membership to existing and future engineers. The profession was seen as likely to expand in view of technological change, yet the union saw itself as threatened as greater educational requirements for engineers suggested that these individuals were increasingly likely to be recruited by The Swedish Association of Graduate Engineers (CF), a professional association with whom SIF found itself in competition for members.

The union saw itself assuming a role as helper to members on an individual career trajectory and, to reinforce this, the notion of career 'coach' was introduced into the union vocabulary. The experience from previous campaigns was that putting across a new message through imagery was not in itself sufficient - the translation of ideas had to be reinforced through action. The union accordingly set up a campaign unit and recruited young engineers to staff it on a project basis. Moreover, in order to generate dialogue rather than unidirectional communication, sophisticated interactive IT applications were developed as a campaign resource.

Recent change processes have therefore resulted in SIF acquiring a number of different identities. Such contrasts in identity were seen as the inevitable consequence of maintaining the verticality principle as well as motivations for union membership varying from the instrumental to the ideological (Bruhn, 1999). Moreover, tensions can also be seen in the need to simultaneously mobilize for collective action, develop

companies and maintain workplace democracy. A multitude of interests had to be satisfied; more traditional identities such as that of the ideologically anchored 'social movement' existed alongside newer identities such as the 'professional service organization', 'insurance company', 'coach' and 'pressure group'.

## 5.1 Conceptions of the SIF reorientation projects

How, then, were the various change initiatives seen by leaders in the SIF clubs locally? At <u>Ericsson, Norrköping</u>, little activity was detectable in regard to the Engineers Project, although its rationale was understood and campaigning techniques identified. The feeling was expressed that although the competition for members with CF was real, there were nevertheless dangers of splitting the union in singling out particular occupational groups for special attention. Although the existence of national level goals was acknowledged, they were seen as very distant and the work of the club was seen as being very much driven by local events.

None of the respondents from the SIF club at Ericsson were able to formulate a clear idea of the strategy of the national union, let alone describe what they were doing about it. They stated, for example, that they were unable to take up the role of 'company developer' as envisaged in the competent partner role being promoted by the union nationally. The 1990 Conference document on change was either not recognized or not seen as relevant, and the union's KUP project was not recalled. Although the existence of national level goals was acknowledged, they were seen as very distant and the work of the club was seen as being very much driven by local events.

The semantic similarities of the metaphors of 'pressure', 'brake-pad' and 'counterweight' (each uttered by the three interviewees) to describe the current union role suggest a shared adversarial conception of industrial relations. Nevertheless, a certain divergence in mental models was detectable. One respondent identified the significance of planning work in the club routines whereas the others did not. This respondent also voiced the view that the union needed to change in line with the changed thinking of the younger generation. Although the union's role vis à vis management was described by this respondent as a 'counterweight', its role vis à vis the membership was seen as 'individual adaptation and development'. Society had become more individualized.

Others in the club leadership saw the role of the union in relation to its members differently. In practice the club's role consisted of defending employment protection laws and agreements in the face of a hostile local management and aggressive tactics by employer interests nationally. Although such defensive retrenchment is a departure from the earlier emphasis (pre 1990s) on distributional issues (the union role described as a 'demand machine'), it nevertheless is not the same as that of the Development Department nationally (that of a 'company developer'). The increased emphasis on this newer role in HQ publicity materials was recognized, but the leaders did not recognize a trend of increasing individualism amongst the membership or in society generally. Rather, individualism and collectivism were seen as opposite sides of the same coin. In other words, the mental models of the club leaders were fragmented and, on balance, showed a greater identification with SIF's more traditional union identity.

At <u>Volvo Umeverken</u>, The utterances of SIF club leaders on both key issues and the role of the union suggest little correspondence with the newly evolving agenda of the national union. Although the Engineers Project was considered as a topical aspect of the

union's work, no semantic equivalent of the 'coach' metaphor was evident in the discourse of the leaders. SIF respondents at Volvo saw the role of their union in mixed terms suggesting a diversity in mental models albeit with a tendency to identify with some aspects of the new union agenda being promoted centrally. The necessity of defending past gains on distributional issues was highlighted, particularly on the question of working hours. The metaphor of 'supervisor' was used to define the role of the union indicating a need to monitor and defend laws and agreements. This traditional view was complemented by statements supporting the evolution of a co-operative relationship with the employer if possible where the union was seen as being a 'sounding board' on matters of joint interest on production issues.

In general, however, the utterances of SIF club leaders at Volvo on key issues and the role of the union suggest little correspondence with the newly evolving agenda of the national union. Although the Engineers Project was considered as a topical aspect of the union's work, no semantic equivalent of the 'coach' metaphor was evident in the discourse of the leaders. No mention was made of the KUP Project, although the stated value of constructive dialogue with the local management suggests acceptance of the notion partnership and 'company developer'. On the other hand, the view was expressed that significant change was necessary to meet future challenges. However, the necessary response to change was seen in terms of merger with the blue-collar Metalworkers Union rather than embracing the strategic agenda of SIF nationally. In other words, although some of the ideas of the national union were recognized, there has been little or no diffusion of new conceptions.

At <u>Assa, Eskilstuna</u>, Although the Engineers Project was recognized as a topical matter, it was seen as a national union initiative rather than something to engage the club. Overall, the club's perceived lack of resources meant that its leaders were somewhat overwhelmed with everyday bread-and-butter issues and had not been actively involved in the national union's strategic activities. All respondents had difficulty in articulating the strategy of the national union. Moreover, although some of the issues being pursued by the union's head office were mentioned, for example the recruitment of engineers and the reduction in working hours, these were sometimes seen as not being anchored in the union's representative system and thus lacking legitimacy. In as much as certain national policies were recognized, the club leaders conceded that they weren't necessarily accepted by the members.

The mental models of the club leaders at Assa were fragmented and not always consistent. This suggested a tendency to identify with the traditional union role. This was agreed as being an 'opposing party' to the employer and 'defending' the members. The union role was seen as not having changed significantly, although the environmental context was seen as having been transformed since around 1990 and the acceleration of redundancies at the plant. When asked what was seen as the most important issue facing the union, all respondents mentioned salaries and working hours, the latter being seen as an increasingly contested site at the plant. It emerged, only through prompting however, that competence development was a goal of the club, but little was mentioned of this when the respondents were asked to describe the club's routines. Overall, the club's perceived lack of resources meant that its leaders were somewhat overwhelmed with everyday bread-and-butter issues and had not been actively involved in the national union's strategic activities.

At <u>Alfa Laval Thermal, Lund</u>, the Engineers Project was seen to be totally at variance with traditional union values. Club leaders stated explicit opposition to the project. Not

only was the giving of special treatment to one occupational group against union notions of solidarity, but also it made more sense for SIF to reposition itself by closer working relations with the metalworkers union rather than compete for members with the CF. The club at Alfa Laval has been led by a strong leader who forcefully expressed traditional values and beliefs when interviewed. This included a bemoaning of the absence of traditional ideology in the present-day SIF. Nevertheless, he declared a strong belief in the prioritization of development and training issues over distributional issues. The other club leaders interviewed also saw and acknowledged the importance of competence development, but one leader put rather more emphasis on distributional issues, especially working hours, while the other found it difficult to mention a salient issue.

In terms of the union role, the interviews revealed a mixture of both traditional views and an acceptance of a new development responsibility in the context of the changing situation at the plant. The metaphors of 'brake-pad', and 'bit-between' were used by one leader to express the union's role as an intermediary between the employer and employee, yet another leader, whilst arguing strongly for a 'back to basics' approach on traditional ideology, nevertheless stated that the union had a great deal to offer the company as a development 'partner'. However, the 1989 Competence Development Project was seen either as distant or not recalled. The 'partner' idea is clearly in line with SIF thinking nationally as is the idea of the union being a change catalyst in the company. On the other hand, the adherence to traditional notions of solidarity and collective values is clearly at variance, as is the traditional idea of trade unionism as signified by the 'brake-pad' metaphor.

Overall, in the four case studies there was very little evidence of diffusion of ideas or changed conceptions from the national union to the local level. The national union projects, where discussed at an emotional level, were seen in terms ranging between the lukewarm and the downright oppositional. At best, these national level initiatives were seen as something for the center and not for the club, and in some cases were simply not recognized. There was little evidence of local SIF leaders adopting the metaphors of identity reconstruction associated with the new union roles being promoted centrally. In SIF, therefore, there is clear evidence of a discrepancy between what local leaders are saying and what national leaders are saying as the diffusion stated as occurring by the latter is not recognized by the former.

## 4.2 SIF: The dilemmas of learning

In SIF, change processes have encompassed an ongoing series of identity reconstructions by the national union in the face of what is seen as a diverse and changing membership profile. The discourses associated with the new identities developed are clearly indicative of changed cognition in those voicing them, but such change had not resulted in new routines at either level at the time of the empirical study. Although the Engineers Project, for example, was a massive commitment, it remained to be seen whether any new structures become permanent. SIF's efforts at repositioning itself as a 'competent partner' certainly entailed the construction of a new discourse to sell something new to companies by stressing union competencies as contributing positively to competitive advantage. However, alongside the norm of joint regulation with the employers, there is also a need not just for a single norm of membership mobilization, but also a number of different norms because of the union's heterogeneous membership profile. Such multiple norm systems suggest that organizational learning in a complex hypocrisy is indeed problematic.

A further characteristic of three of the SIF clubs was the perception by their leaders of being under-resourced, particularly in terms of (wo)manpower. This found its expression at Alfa Laval and Assa where leaders stated that resource constraints prevented their clubs from taking on work on new issues. The club chair at Ericsson similarly expressed an inability to move beyond the union's traditional work on distributional issues, but in somewhat different circumstances. On the other hand, the club at Umeverken had consciously attempted to tackle the resource problem by encouraging more members into actively participating in the club's affairs, thereby enabling the devolution of responsibility away from a single strong leader.

It also seems plausible that some of the initiatives undertaken at SIF headquarters have actually been aimed at a different segment of the union's membership than that covered by the study that was restricted to clubs at traditional large, manufacturing plants. If so, the translation of a unified body of knowledge and the management of shared meanings throughout the organization (Smircich and Morgan, 1982) are a considerable problem for SIF because of its fragmented and multi-identity nature. SIF's servicing of a disparate membership profile, both vertically and horizontally, requires a loosely-coupled structure (Weick, 1976) to allow for different discursive arenas to accommodate its diverse member identities. These identity differences mean that local conceptions are frequently different from those at the center leading to less *organizational* sensemaking (Weick, 1995) and thereby fewer opportunities for *organizational* learning.

The difficulties of SIF in diffusing the new ideas associated with its various change initiatives can be associated with a number of dilemmas. The first of these concerns the choice of solution – a new ideology, and the second and third concern the problems of diffusing the ideas of the various reorientation projects. So far as the solutions were concerned, these had a *significant degree of novelty*, as was the case at Botkyrka. In essence, change concerned the construction of a new organizational ideology. A possible explanation of this is the threat the union (centrally) perceives from a changed social climate in the form of more individualism and the tendency for members to change employers more frequently. In such a view it is necessary to change from collective solidarity to a more individualistic ideology. Such solutions can be seen as relatively *reactive* in the sense that actors centrally feel compelled to do something at the national level arising from changes in social structures. Finally, the changes were characterized by a *focus on ideas*. Actors at the national level do not prescribe solutions on how the clubs should work on the newer issues, rather, they produce ideas and discourses for potential solutions. The implementation of such solutions is delegated to the local clubs.

From a learning perspective, we can talk about the national leadership 'setting the agenda', but in this case the threats perceived locally are not the same as those seen nationally. The prevailing ideologies of local leaders in SIF were at odds with those underpinning the new agenda of the national leaders, and such ideological difference was a severe constraint on the diffusion of the ideas associated with the new agenda. This can be interpreted as an acknowledgement of the existence of competency traps (Levitt and March, 1988) and defensive routines (Senge, 1990), and the perception of the respondents nationally was that these were barriers to learning.

The second and third learning dilemmas identified in SIF arise from the diffusion of the new ideas associated with its various change projects. The first concerns *interpretation*

of the new ideology. SIF is a heterogeneous organization in which conceptions are highly fragmented. Although the construction of multiple identities nationally is a recognition of this, there seems no doubt that new conceptions based on newly constructed identities do not travel between actors where such identities are not shared (Nonaka, 1996). Although leaders and managers may indeed construct new organizational identities, it is unlikely that managerial action to align individual identities with these in a democratic organization is possible. The leaders cannot control how the clubs and members feel and think. They can attempt to influence behavior by constructing new discourses, but there is no guarantee that they will succeed. In complex hypocrisies the need to manage a number of different norm systems can require the construction of identities that are mutually inconsistent. Interpretation in such organizations must involve the construction of different world-views and divergent routines and ways of working.

Thirdly, the significance of *trust* between the national and local levels has been identified. At the national level a control system exists for monitoring and follow-up of activities in the clubs including information on goal fulfillment and feedback to the center in its clubs. However, such a control system has no enforcement mechanism as local leaders are accountable to the members locally and sometimes work as volunteers. In other words, hire and fire in the clubs is not available to SIF nationally as a mechanism of organizational control. It would accordingly appear that the successful diffusion of ideas associated with organizational learning requires some form of control mechanism, particularly if there is a mistrust of the new ideologies being promoted. Alternatively, there need to be clear arguments in favor of the new ideas such that local actors understand the links between causes and effects. In the data, the local leaders did not see the same threats as their national counterparts. As a result, they had difficulty in making sense of the new solutions being promoted nationally.


## 6. CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

We commenced our discussion in this paper by pointing out the problems of learning in complex hypocrisies. Most contributions to theories of learning organizations stress unitarism and homogeneity whereas complex hypocrisies build on dissimilarity and conflict. Moreover, in such organizations, the strategic option of disposing of units whose norms are in conflict with the organization's core activity is often not possible. We accordingly asked what this implied in terms of learning in such organizations. In both cases we have described *three different learning dilemmas*. The first was associated with the choice of solution and the second and third originated from the problems of diffusion. The discussion is now developed further by means of a comparative analysis of the two cases wherein we illustrate the three dilemmas of learning in complex hypocrisies.

In terms of strategic solutions, both SIF and Botkyrka Council opted for radical new alternatives. In both cases such solutions involved a completely new way of thinking as well as a new language. In Botkyrka's case the radical strategic choice made was above all prompted by the financial difficulties the council faced in the mid-1990s, a state of affairs that all actors were well aware of. Alternative solutions were notable by their absence. In SIF's case, the reorientation activities were associated with the societal level changes that posed new conditions for union organizing. These included a perceived increase in individualization, changed occupational structures and an increase in

mobility in the labor market. In SIF there was a clear disagreement on whether such changes posed a threat and, if a threat was posed, the type of solution that was needed.

The first learning dilemma arose on the issue of *solutions becoming excluded through extensive usage of rhetoric*: there is no discursive space in which to learn from testing out new alternatives. In the Botkyrka case it was noticeable that the management set the agenda through their opting for market solutions. Rather than allowing a diversity of ideas to flourish on how to meet the perceived threats, these solutions alone were considered to be legitimate. As to SIF, the union leadership acted in a similar fashion, but did not allow the local leaders to set the agenda. Actors at the national level selected an agenda on the basis of threats as they perceived them. However, since such perceptions were not shared locally, the new ideas were seen as erroneous and thereby difficult to understand. Local leaders, instead, continued to perform tasks that they saw themselves as being proficient at carrying out. In the SIF case, therefore, there is either a risk that the national leadership has mis-perceived the nature of the threats facing the organization, or the local leaders have become stuck in competence traps (Levitt and March, 1988) and have fallen back on defensive routines to block the introduction of new solutions.

In terms of the diffusion of the new solutions, we can state that neither Botkyrka nor SIF succeeded particularly well. The second dilemma of learning was thereby that *diffusion was more difficult in an organization that has diverse ideologies.* In Botkyrka's case some degree of diffusion was detectable even though this was somewhat vague on occasions. On the other hand, there was little or no diffusion at all to the local SIF clubs. The explanations for why diffusion levels were low in Botkyrka were largely a difficulty in translation of new ideas into concrete action in the form of changed routines and ways of working. Quite simply, local actors have difficulty in understanding how to proceed with their duties. Rather than identifying with the new solutions, it is seen to be more appropriate to stick with what is considered to be a good solution by one's reference group (for example a professional body). This problem of diffusion has two features in SIF. First, local leaders have difficulty in understanding why they should diffuse to the local level the ideas being promoted nationally, and second they have difficulty in understanding how the solutions could solve their particular problems. The local leaders interpret and understand problems differently from their national level counterparts. The nature of complex hypocrisies is such that actors create a number of divergent solutions to problems.

In a complex hypocrisy it is perhaps even more important that there is a living dialog and climate for experimentation that enables the various groups or 'communities of practice' in organizations to learn better ways of working that are situated in local practice (Lave and Wenger, 1991). The goal of dialog is not the generation of consensus but, rather, concerns itself with accepting and respecting different ideas about executing one's duties. The aim, therefore, is not solely that of finding new routines in communities of practice locally, but also that of an appreciation by managers at the center of experimentation by local units and subsequent choices on new routines. In the absence of sanctions, some variation in conceptions and practices may thus be a necessary price to pay if the ideas of managers and leaders at the center are to have any impact locally. However, such tolerance of difference is no guarantee of diffusion – herein lies the key problem of organizational learning in heterogeneous organizations.

The third dilemma of learning was identified as *the difficulties in introducing mechanisms for control and follow-up on matters of ideology.* Both organizations

evidenced difficulties in the diffusion of new ideas. In Botkyrka the trust between the central management and the subordinate units could be described as low. However, this did not result in efforts by the top management to follow up on whether changes in ideological predispositions had occurred. In the case, however, there was clear evidence of financial follow-up which could be seen as an indication that a change had occurred, particularly if the financial outcomes were positive. In the SIF case, some degree of trust between national and local levels was discernible, but the ideas diffused did not result in new actions locally because of ideological differences between actors at different levels. Clearly, it is difficult to introduce control mechanisms when learning processes are associated with change that is largely about changes in ideology.

In a trade union such as SIF, actors at the local level are either volunteers or elected by the union's members. Managers in voluntary organizations cannot rely on sanctions as a means of controlling labor, and employee conceptions, to the same extent as in local authorities. For this reason, SIF centrally had less capacity to influence learning processes locally than its counterparts in local government organizations such as Botkyrka Council. This suggests that the dilemmas of organizational learning in hypocrisies are inevitably bound up with questions of power. Despite the prescriptive recommendations for decentralization and empowerment as essential features of learning organizations (Senge, 1990), the prospects for organizational learning occurring are nevertheless dependent on the center retaining some degree of power and control. However, this does not mean that the top management promotes new ideas through mechanisms of coercion but, rather, that managers need to take care with regard to assessing whether changes in conceptions are necessary or not and with regard to the ways in which new conceptions result in new routines and working methods.

As stated earlier in the paper, actors in organizational hypocrisies shift within different espoused theories and discourses as they interact with different actors having divergent norm systems. The paper has discussed how such organizations have difficulties in developing shared meanings, visions, ideologies and identities. This being so, it is perhaps time to set aside the unitaristic assumptions that generally characterize models of the 'learning organization' and, instead, respect the inevitability of diversity (Hatch, 1997). Indeed, if learning is a *dialectical* process, then ideological differences may even promote reflection and learning rather than hinder them if the right discursive arenas are in place and they are underpinned by symmetrical communicative action (Habermas, 1984/1987). From our experiences as educational practitioners, students learn best in classroom situations when there is healthy and respectful disagreement and debate rather than shared, common thinking.

**REFERENCES**

Bruhn, A. (1999) *Individualiseringen och det fackliga kollektivet*. Örebro University: Örebro Studies 15, Doctoral Thesis.
Brunsson, N. (1989) *The Organization of Hypocrisy*. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons.
Child, J, Loveridge, R. & Warner, M (1973) 'Towards an Organizational Study of Trade Unions', *Sociology* 7 (1): 71-91.
Cook, S. D. N. & Yanow D (1993) 'Culture and Organizational Learning', *Journal of Management Enquiry* 2: 373-90.
Crossan, M. & Guatto, T (1996) 'Organizational Learning Research Profile', *Journal of Organizational Change Management* 9 (1): 107-112.

Friedland, R. & Alford, R. (1991) 'Bringing Society Back in: Symbols, Practices and Institutional Contradictions' in Powell W. W. & DiMaggio P. J. (eds) *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Garratt, R (1987) *The Learning Organization and the Need for Directors who Think*. London: Fontana Collins.

Habermas, J (1984/1987) *The Theory of Communicative Action (Vol. I-II)*. London: Polity Press.

Handy, C (1995) 'Managing the Dream' in Chawla, S, Renesch, J (eds) *Learning Organizations: Developing Cultures for Tomorrow's Workplace*. Portland: Productivity Press.

Hatch, M. J (1997) *Organization Theory: Modern Symbolic and Postmodern Perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Huzzard, T. (2000) *Labouring to Learn*. Umeå: Boréa, Doctoral Thesis.

Jonsson, C (1995) *Ledning i folkrÖrelseorganisationer - den interaktiva ledningslogiken.* Lund: Lund Studies in Economics and Management 25, Lund University Press (Doctoral Thesis).

Kanter, R. M (1989) *When Giants Learn to Dance.* New York: Simon and Schuster.

Lave, J. & Wenger, E. (1991) *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Levitt, B. & March, J. G. (1988) 'Organizational Learning', *Annual Review of Sociology* 14: 319-40.

Maltén, A (1992) *Grupputveckling.* Lund: Studentlitteratur.

March, J. G. & Olsen, J. P. (1989) *Ambiguity and Choice in Organizations*. Bergen; Universitetsförlaget.

March, J. G. (1988) *Decisions and Organizations*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Marquardt, M. J (1996) *Building the Learning Organization.* New York: McGraw Hill.

Morgan, G (1997) *Images of Organization (2nd ed).* London: Sage.

Müllern T. & Östergren K (1995) *Lärandekulturer: en studie av organisatoriskt lärande under olika institutionella betingelser.* Umeå School of Business and Economics: Doctoral Thesis.

Nonaka, I. (1996) 'The Knowledge Creating Company' in Starkey, K. (ed) *How Organizations Learn*. London: International Thomson Press.

Olney, S. L (1996) *Unions in a Changing World.* Geneva: International Labour Office.

Pearn, M, Roderick, C. & Mulrooney, C (1995) *Learning Organizations in Practice*. London: McGraw Hill.

Pedler, M, Burgoyne, J. & Boydell, T (1997) *The Learning Company.* Maidenhead: McGraw-Hill.

Piore, M. J. & Sabel, C (1984) *The Second Industrial Divide: Possibilities for Prosperity.* New York: Basic Books.

Ring, P. S. & Perry, J. L. (1985) 'Strategic Management in Public and Private Organizations: Implications of Distinctive Contexts and Constraints', *Academy of Management Review* 10(2): 276-286.

Senge, P (1990) *The Fifth Discipline: The Art and Practice of the Learning Organization.* New York: Doubleday.

SIF (1987) *Handlingsprogram för kongressperioden 1988-1990*. Stockholm: SIF.

SIF (1998) *Slutrapport projekt PULS - om fackligt ledarskap i förändring*. Stockholm: SIF.

Sjölund, A (1979) *Gruppsykologi.* Stockholm: Rubén och Sjögren.

Smircich, L. & Morgan, G (1982) 'Leadership: The Management of Meaning', *Journal of Applied Behavioural Science* 18(3): 257-273.

Smith, C. & Thompson, P (1998) 'Re-evaluating the Labour Process Debate', *Economic and Industrial Democracy* 19(4): 551-577.

Watkins, K. E. & Marsick, W. J (1993) *Sculpting the Learning Organization.* San Francisco: Jossey Bass.

Weick, K. E (1976) 'Education Organizations as Loosely Coupled Systems', *Administrative Science Quarterly* 21: 1-19.

Weick, K, E (1995) *Sensemaking in Organizations.* Thousand Oaks Ca: Sage.