

Title: ‘Mind the Gaps’: Exploring conflicting expectations and values created by change.

Author:

Angela Mazzetti
Principal Lecturer
Teesside University Business School
Teesside University
Middlesbrough
England
07732 612870
a.mazzetti@tees.ac.uk

Keywords: Stress; change; culture.

Abstract

Drawing on the findings of a three-year ethnographic study of three UK fire and rescue services, this paper examines how large scale organisational changes resulted in a disconnect in ideologies. The changes, prompted by the UK government’s public sector reform agenda, have led to a change of priorities and focus for fire and rescue services. This resulted in changes to job roles, performance measures and targets, and stakeholder responsibilities and relationships. Both the process of change and its outcomes became key stressors for those working in the sector, leading to cynicism and resistance towards change initiatives. The changes have caused a clash of ideologies between those responsible for implementing the modernisation agenda and those rooted in the traditional values and views of the sector. As a result, gaps have emerged between the values and expectations of managers, firefighters, support staff, and the general public. The data suggests that a lack of contextual awareness led to flaws in the design and implementation of the various change initiatives. The paper highlights the paradoxes which emerge when initiatives conflict with the deeply embedded assumptions and values of constituent occupational subgroups, and provides insights into how contextualised change initiatives can improve the successful implementation of change and reduce the stress impact for those involved.

Introduction

Over the past 30 years, successive UK governments have implemented a series of reforms across the UK public sector with the objective of improving service effectiveness and efficiency (Hyndman & McGeough, 2006; Hood, 1995; 1991). However little is known about the long-term impact of such change and more specifically if the process of reform has been successful in achieving the desired outcomes (Ferlie et al., 2003) or if it has merely deflected attention away from more significant issues, leading to dysfunctional and detrimental outcomes (Broadbent & Guthrie, 1992). The way in which change is managed and implemented, significantly influences how change will be perceived and experienced by those involved (Mackay et al., 2004). Change creates uncertainty (Mackay et al., 2004; Schabracq & Cooper, 2000) as employees face threats to their normal way of functioning which can lower their commitment and trust in their organisation (Schabracq & Cooper, 2000). This paper which draws on the findings of a wider three-year ethnographic research study with three fire and rescue service organisations in England, focuses on how change has become a major stressor for those working in the sector leading to a disconnect in ideologies between the stakeholders involved, and cynicism and resistance to further change.

Defining Stress

Transactional approaches to stress focus on understanding the person / environment relationship and on researching stress as a process (Lazarus, 2000; 1999). The stress process involves an assessment of the significance of a situation, encounter, or event (primary appraisal); an assessment of available resources to cope with the situation (secondary appraisal) and the deployment of cognitive and behavioural efforts to manage and reduce the stress reaction to situations appraised as significant (coping) (Folkman & Lazarus, 1988; Folkman et al., 1986). An emphasis on appraisal (how the significance of an event, an encounter or a situation, is assessed) distinguishes the transactional approach to stress from other approaches by focusing attention on capturing the sense making of the stress experience (Lazarus, 1999). This approach emphasises that stress is not solely a person factor or an environment factor, but that stress is a process involving both in a changing and adapting relationship (Lazarus, 1999; 1993; 1990). The primary appraisal alternatives are harm / loss (which deals with harm or loss that has actually taken place); threat (which has to do with harm or loss that has not yet taken place but is likely to do so); and challenge (which deals with knowing that although there are difficulties ahead, with a positive and optimistic attitude, they can be overcome) (Lazarus, 1999). Lazarus (1999) noted a number of individual factors (goals and aspirations, beliefs about self, and personal resources), environmental factors (environmental demands, constraints and opportunities, and culture), and temporal factors (timing and duration of the event) which influenced the appraisal process. Stress arises when a situation, event, or encounter is appraised as having the potential to impact significantly on values, aspirations or beliefs, to tax available demands, to threaten well-being or disturb normal functioning (Folkman et al., 1986). Appraisal is the critical dimension in this process and failure to explore its significance, impacts our understanding of the subjective nature of stress (Lazarus, 2000; 1999). What some may perceive as stressful, others may not and therefore situations cannot be categorised as 'stressors' independent of a person's reaction to them (Lazarus, 1990). Stress is a dynamic process and appraisal and coping may develop and adapt over time (Aldwin, 2007; Lazarus, 1990). We have 'histories' and 'futures' which shape our understanding and thinking and appraisals occur at points between these 'histories' and 'futures' and are therefore informed by what happened in the past and what we anticipate in the future (Arthur, 2004).

The UK Fire and Rescue Service

Fire and rescue services in England are managed by a local Fire Authority, a statutory body made up of local councillors and the Chief Fire Officer (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2011). The majority of funding for fire authorities comes from central government (approx. 85%) with the remaining funding from local authority council tax (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2011; Seifert & Sibley, 2005). Central government also provides the statutory framework which governs fire authorities through the Fire and Rescue Services Act (2004) which obliges fire authorities to provide the personnel, training, and equipment to meet all 'normal' local requirements (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2011). The number of fire stations, fire appliances, specialist services, and staff will therefore vary to meet local needs depending on the size, geographical demands, and demographic demands of the area covered by the regional fire authorities (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2011). Central government also sets the performance indicators against which the effectiveness of fire authorities is measured (Seifert & Sibley, 2005) with the level of funding dependent on the achievement of a number of service delivery (for example number of fires / number of fire-related fatalities) and corporate health (for example sickness absence levels) performance outcomes (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2011; Seifert & Sibley, 2005).

Staff within the fire and rescue services are classified as firefighters (operational / uniformed staff whose role is that of firefighter regardless of rank / level), control staff (uniformed personnel who are employed to work in fire and rescue service control centres to answer emergency calls), and support staff (non-uniformed / non-operational staff such as staff employed in human resources, marketing, media liaison, finance, strategic planning and analysis, and IT) (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2011).

Operational activities are categorised into three areas: response (providing emergency response to fires, road traffic accidents, floods); prevention (providing education and advice on fire and road safety); and protection (enforcing fire safety legislation) (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2011). Targets are set centrally and locally to reduce the number of response activities and to increase the level of prevention and protection work (Seifert & Sibley, 2005). In addition to attending fires, fire and rescue services also deal with rescuing people from road traffic accidents and confined spaces, severe weather situations including flooding and collapsed structures, and chemical, biological and radioactive leaks and spills and therefore many fire and rescue services have specialist rescue teams for example, animal rescue teams, decontamination teams, or, boat crews (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2011).

In addition to responding to incidents, fire and rescue services are also responsible for protecting the local community by delivering their enforcement duties, performing audits and inspections of non-domestic premises to ensure that the premises meet the required fire regulatory standards (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2011). They also have a duty for prevention and are required to undertake targeted community fire safety checks and campaigns and therefore carry out home safety checks at domestic properties which can result in the installation of fire prevention equipment, and also provide a number of educational initiatives which often involve partnership working either with other emergency services (for example the police) or agencies (for example road safety agencies) (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2011).

The fire services' dispute of 2002-2004 brought to a head the tensions between the fire service and the government (Burchill, 2004; Seifert & Sibley, 2005). In 2002 the Fire Brigades Union (FBU) presented what has been described as an ordinary pay claim (Seifert & Sibley, 2005). However, what started out as a normal pay claim turned into a complex political struggle between the 'new labour' government and the FBU. Using the analogy of *Oliver Twist*, Seifert & Sibley (2005) suggest that the principal aim of the government's opposition to the pay claim made by the FBU was to defend the system in the interests of those who own and run the system and therefore that the government's opposition to the claim served to send out a strong message to all other public sector unions that the government held the power and control in this issue. They suggest that the government's interference was to weaken the trade union and push through modernisation programmes not just in the fire brigade but also with all public sector services. They further suggest that the FBU believed that the traumatic nature of the role of a firefighter was downplayed and the professional and technical skills of firefighters were being undervalued. The focus on reduction targets and therefore fire and rescue service effectiveness being judged on the number of incidents and fatalities led to a further clash of ideologies and cynicism of the system. Firefighters do not create an incident, the public do, therefore firefighters were being measured against a target over which they had limited control and risking their lives in response to an incident which is considered a failure in performance terms (Seifert & Sibley,

2005). The modernisation agenda also led to an emphasis on human resources management and monitoring which created friction in a culture previously characterised by less disciplined attitudes (Penfold et al., 2009).

Methodology

Within the field of occupational stress research, there is a recognised need for more qualitative research to advance our understanding of stress as a complex and dynamic process (Jones & Bright, 2001; Lazarus 2000; 1999; Wainwright & Calnan, 2002). Researching stress as a dynamic and subjective process requires research techniques that have the sophistication to explore in-depth meanings and context (Arthur, 2004; Lazarus 2000; 1999; Mazzetti & Blenkinsopp, 2012). This study entailed a three-year ethnographic study involving three fire and rescue services in England. Ethnography is characterised by its objective to explore the social meaning assigned by groups to their normal everyday activities (Agar, 1980; Atkinson et al., 2001; Brewer, 2004; 2000; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Linstead, 1997; Rosen, 1991; Van Maanen, 2011; Watson, 2011) an objective that requires the close involvement of the researcher in the social setting being studied over an extended period of time (Agar, 1980; Brewer 2004; 2000; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Linstead, 1997; Van Maanen, 1988; Watson, 2011). Ethnography as a style of research enables the researcher to employ a variety of research methods in the collection of data and this study included one-to-one interviews with key informants, focus group interviews with 'front line' staff, and participant observation in everyday activities.

In order to overcome the limitations of a single case study approach multiple case studies were selected. This collective case study approach would enable the study of several instances of the same phenomena (appraisal and coping) in different contexts (Brewer 2000; Eisenhardt, 1989; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Stake, 2005) and therefore improve the generalisability and representativeness of the study (Brewer 2004; 2000) by cross checking and making comparison across the different cases (Brewer, 2000; Eisenhardt, 1989; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Hartley, 2004; Stake, 2005;). Data was analysed using template analysis, a process of thematically organising data which enables researchers to take a structured approach to data interpretation (King, 2004). Through this process similarities both within case and across case (Eisenhardt, 1989) were identified which serves to improve the transferability of the findings.

Ethical considerations are integral to all aspects of management research (Bell & Bryman, 2007) and management researchers have a duty to protect their research participants from harm and to protect their rights (Bell & Bryman, 2007; Murphy & Dingwall, 2001) and ethical dilemmas have surfaced in the production of this paper. By its nature, ethnographic research involves a small number of research settings and therefore there is a greater risk that the identity of the participants might be made visible (Murphy & Dingwall, 2001). The participants shared very sensitive information which could be misinterpreted by others (Hartley, 2004; Murphy & Dingwall, 2001) and therefore none of the services which participated in this research have been identified.

Findings

This paper draws on the findings from a larger study exploring stress appraisal and coping in the fire and rescue service. A key theme which emerged from this wider study was the impact of successive government reforms across the UK public sector and in particular the introduction of service effectiveness and efficiency performance measures which have led to a series of organisational changes including changes to roles and responsibilities, changes to

shift patterns, the introduction of new equipment, revised staffing and command structure, and the introduction of new support functions to implement and report on performance outcomes. These changes have created a sense of loss and threat for those involved in the change process. These losses and threats will now be explored in more detail. During the research study, formal and informal one-to-one and focus groups interviews were held with a variety of different functions including firefighters, support staff, operational managers and support managers. Notes from these meetings are used below to highlight the key themes.

Appraisal of Loss

A recurring theme highlighted by the participants was the greater emphasis now placed on incident reduction and prevention duties within the service. Firefighters highlighted that although they appreciated the importance of prevention initiatives they had experienced a sense of loss of their identity as a firefighter. Their operational managers highlighted the impact that a greater emphasis on incident reduction to measure performance effectiveness had on their role as a manager. In addition, all of the participants (operational and support) considered that engaging in safety awareness activities within the community puts firefighters under unnecessary scrutiny from the public who have a different expectation as to the role and purpose of a firefighter. The operational functions considered that firefighters had lost the support of the general public, which many considered was as a result of the media coverage of the industrial dispute of 2002-2004. They considered that this loss had been further exacerbated in the current economic climate of money and job worries and increased public and media scrutiny regarding public expenditure. However, they also considered that the public had an out-dated view of the role of a modern day firefighter. The participants gave numerous examples of the non-emergency calls they had to deal with and the pressure that the public would put firefighters under to enter fires, jump into rivers, or onto frozen lakes before the risks had been assessed or the necessary procedures put in place to mitigate risk. The firefighters considered that the public no longer valued the importance of their role or more significantly, no longer valued their lives. The participants had experienced a series of changes to their terms and conditions which they considered devalued their role. Firefighters felt powerless to challenge the system and they could not understand the rationale for so many changes. For the middle layer operational managers, this was becoming a major stressor.

Appraisal of Threat

All of the services taking part in this study were going through a process of funding cuts and downsizing. The support staff felt most vulnerable and anticipated that the support roles would be worst hit. They considered that the uncertainty created by downsizing and funding cuts had further widened the gap between the operational and support functions. The support managers considered that it was not just within the sector that their roles were devalued but more generally in society. They considered that the government focus on cut backs to curb public sector spending had led to greater media and public scrutiny regarding their value. They considered that this has led to increased internal competition as departments competed to prove their value and contribution which had led to a break down in team work. The operational functions feared a further erosion of their terms and conditions and at the time of the research a recurring theme was the government's proposed changes to pensions.

The participants in this study describe a sector which has already experienced significant changes to its mission, its ways of working, and the basis on which its performance is evaluated. The current government's comprehensive spending review has created an environment of funding cuts and downsizing across the public sector which the participants consider has led to increased media and public sensitivity to the 'worthiness' of jobs in the

public sector. The process of change has created a series of 'gaps' between the stakeholders involved. Firefighters consider that their identity and status has been devalued and that they have lost the support of the government who continue to enforce changes to their terms and conditions, their organisations and managers who embody and implement these changes, and the general public who no longer value the role they play in society. The support functions feel vulnerable and devalued. They consider that they have lost the support of government who perceive them as 'pen pushers', their organisations who are reviewing which jobs to cut, the public who question the 'worthiness' of their roles, their support colleagues who are engaging in active competition for jobs, and their operational colleagues who do not consider their support roles as important.

Discussion

Change is a key stressor as change is rarely implemented effectively (MacKay et al., 2004). Researchers suggest that many change initiatives fail because the significance of 'context' is ignored, resulting in superficial rather than deeply embedded change (Ferlie et al., 2003; Hofstede, 1981; Hyndman & McGeough, 2006). This study highlights that failure to understand 'context' can lead to disconnects between the stakeholders involved in the change process. The issue of context will now be discussed in more detail.

Occupational Culture

Understanding culture is a key consideration when implementation change programmes (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2008; Heracleous, 2001; Heracleous & Langham, 1996; Johnson, 1992). Cultures have overt manifestations of culture (including dress, rituals and ceremonies, formalised ways of working, and emotional displays), particular 'espoused beliefs and values' which have become embedded in the group's ideology, and taken-for-granted, deeply embedded 'basic assumptions' that underpin the group's thinking and behaviour (Schein, 2004). In order to deliver lasting change it is necessary to bring deeply embedded assumptions, the culture's paradigm (Johnson, 1992) to the surface and understand how this paradigm is expressed and legitimised (Heracleous, 2001) in the overt manifestations of culture including organisational structures, rites and routines, and control systems (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2008; Heracleous, 2001; Heracleous & Langham, 1996; Johnson, 1992). Within the fire and rescue service, the dominant culture is the firefighter occupational culture. Members of distinct occupational cultures derive much of their identity and status from their occupations (Ashford et al., 2008; Van Maanen & Barley, 1984) and occupations who protect the safety and welfare of others and face danger in doing so, internalise a favourable self-image of the value they provide to society as a means of coping with the demands of their role (Van Maanen & Barley, 1993). The implementation of reduction targets for the sector, changes to roles and measures of effectiveness, and changing public attitudes towards the public sector and towards the role of a firefighter have therefore significantly challenged the firefighter paradigm that they represent a highly-valued emergency response function.

Readiness to Change

For change to be effective, organisational members have to perceive that there is a need for change and that the organisation is ready for change (Armenakis et al., 1993). An essential function of culture is to provide stability and therefore challenges to this stability create a paradoxical situation leading to feelings of uncertainty (Schabracq & Cooper, 2000; Trice & Beyer 1993). Occupational cultures emerge as groups who perform the same set tasks develop shared ways of coping with the demands and uncertainties of their work (Schein, 2004; Trice & Beyer, 1993). As cultural identity develops, occupational members come to believe that they collectively know best how to cope with the demands of their work (Schein,

2004; Trice & Beyer, 1993) and society recognises this identity by formally acknowledging the occupation and according specific rights to group members to perform these specialist tasks (Van Maanen & Barley, 1984). With continued reinforcement their shared values and beliefs become deeply embedded into the assumptions of the occupation (Schein, 2004; Trice & Beyer, 1993), and intense apprenticeship programmes pass on cognitive and behavioural norms and values to newcomers (Schein, 2004; Trice & Beyer, 1993). These shared assumptions become the groups' paradigm, their DNA (Schein, 2004) and as such, they are non-negotiable and resistant to change (Schein, 2004; Trice & Beyer, 1993). Therefore changes which firefighters perceive as threatening their stability and which they do not perceive as necessary are likely to be met with resistance.

The operational managers in this study had experienced significant conflict as they belong to both the dominant occupational group (firefighters) but also the organisation's 'administration' responsible for driving through change. This had led to a clash in ideologies for many of the managers particularly those at the middle layers who do not consider that changes are always in the best interests of the service. This may be a particular issue for organisations in which managers are both part of the dominant occupational group and the organisation's administration (Trice & Beyer, 1993). Managers act as organisational change agents and as such, they influence their subordinates attitudes towards change (Cinute et al., 2009). Therefore if managers do not embody their organisation's values regarding change, they will not create a sense of readiness for change in their subordinates (Armenakis et al., 1993; Cinute et al., 2009).

Histories and Futures

We have 'histories' and 'futures' which shape our understanding and thinking. Appraisals occur at points between these 'histories' and 'futures' and are therefore informed by what happened in the past and what we anticipate in the future (Arthur, 2004). A recurring theme raised throughout this research was the strike of 2002-2004. This has led to a general cynicism and mistrust of change as change represents loss. In addition, current government reforms present further threats to firefighter terms and conditions. A recurring theme was the proposed government changes to firefighter pensions and at the time of completing this paper the Fire Brigades Union was preparing to ballot its members regarding further industrial action as a result of these proposed changes. Attitudes towards change therefore need to be understood in the context of an organisation's 'histories' and 'futures'.

Stakeholder Perspectives of Performance

A significant change for public services has been the implementation of private sector style performance management practices to monitor the costs associated with delivering the service against the quality of the output produced and as such, a number of performance measures and practices have been introduced to make services more transparent and accountable to their users (Ferlie et al., 2003; Hood, 1991, 1995; Hyndman & McGeough, 2006). However, there are difficulties when implementing performance management systems which focus on quantifiable output into public sector services (Hyndman & McGeough, 2006) as attention needs to be given to the social (Broadbent & Guthrie, 1992) and political (Ferlie et al., 2003) contexts in which public sector organisations operate (Hofstede, 1981). The public sector is constrained by policy setting, increased media, government and public scrutiny, and ever-changing user expectations and demands (Ferlie et al., 2003). In this context the concept of effectiveness is more complex as the delivery of the service is co-produced (Ferlie et al., 2003) and therefore there is less of a tangible link between inputs and results (Hyndman & McGeough, 2006). Failure to acknowledge these complexities and implement a 'one size fits all' approach can lead to improved transparency and accountability

but not necessarily improved performance (Hyndman & McGeough, 2006), resulting in dysfunctional (Ferlie et al., 2003) and unintended outcomes (Hofstede, 1981). Seifert & Sibley (2005) suggest that the focus on reduction targets and therefore fire and rescue service effectiveness being judged on the number of incidents and fatalities has led to a clash of government and fire service ideologies resulting in cynicism of the system and the public as firefighters do not create incidents, the public do. Therefore firefighters are being measured against a target over which they have limited control and risking their lives in response to an incident which is considered a failure in performance terms (Seifert & Sibley, 2005). The participants highlighted that this had led to a negative view of those responsible for hoax or malicious incidents.

However, the participants also highlighted that the current measures of performance focused on prevention may be at odds with the expectations of the public who are more concerned with response. The participants in this study gave a number of examples of their prevention role bringing them into conflict with a public who perceived them to be ‘hanging about’ rather than ‘fighting fires’. In its 2011 Fire Futures Report, the current UK coalition government highlighted the challenge of a more demanding public who expect more from their public services regardless of funding cuts. The report recognised that the public put great importance on effective and rapid response but have a low awareness of the wider protection and prevention roles that the fire and rescue service provide. There is a need to address the question ‘what are public services for?’ (Ferlie et al., 2003). Public services are not delivered in a conventional sense and therefore managers’ views of performance may be at odds with the public’s view of performance (Ferlie et al., 2003). However, the participants also expressed that public expectations are unrealistic and they perceived that the public have scant regard for their safety. Indeed the UK Health and Safety Executive (2010) state that a particular challenge for firefighters in performing their role is the unrealistic public expectation that firefighters will put themselves at risk regardless of the potential benefits to be gained.

Conclusion

The way in which change is managed and implemented, significantly influences how change will be perceived and experienced by those involved (Mackay et al., 2004). For the participants of this study, change was experienced as a major stressor leading to cynicism and resistance to further changes. This study highlights the importance of context when designing change initiatives and in particular, the values and beliefs of subgroup cultures; the organisation’s readiness to change, the histories and futures which have informed employee attitudes to change, and stakeholder perceptions of the output of change initiatives. Although ‘one-size-fits-all’ approaches to change may be considered a more efficient and more effective way of implementing reform, a failure to consider different organisational contexts may lead to superficial rather than deeply embedded change and therefore actually slow down the process of reform (Ferlie et al., 2003).

References

- Agar, M. (1980). *The Professional Stranger: An Informal Introduction to Ethnography*. New York: Academic Press Inc.
- Aldwin, C. (2007). *Stress, Coping, and Development*. New York: The Guildford Press.
- Alvesson, M. & Svingsson, S. (2008). *Changing Organizational Culture*. London: Routledge.

Armenakis, A., Harris, S., & Mossholder, K. (1993) Creating readiness for organizational change. *Human Relations*, 46, 681-703.

Arthur, A. (2004). Work-related stress, the blind men and the elephant. *British Journal of Guidance & Counselling*, 32, 157-169.

Ashford, B., Harrison, S., & Corley, G. (2008) Identification in Organizations: An Examination of Four Fundamental Questions. *Journal of Management*, 34, 325-374.

Atkinson, P., Coffey, A., Delamont, S., Lofland, J., & Lofland, L. (2001). *Handbook of Ethnography*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Bell, E., & Bryman, A. (2007). The Ethics of Management Research: An Exploratory Content Analysis. *British Journal of Management*, 18, 63-77.

Brewer, J. (2000). *Ethnography*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Brewer, J. (2004). Ethnography, in Cassell, C., & Symon, G. (2004). *Essential Guide to Qualitative Methods in Organizational Research*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Broadbent, J. & Guthrie, J. (1992). Changes in the Public Sector: A Review of 'Alternative' Accounting Research. *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal*, 5, 3-31.

Burchill, F. (2004). The UK fire services dispute 2002-2003. *Employee Relations*, 25, 404-421.

Cinite, I., Duxbury, L., & Higgins, C. (2009) Measurement of Perceived Organizational Readiness for Change in the Public Sector. *British Journal of Management*, 20, 265-277.

Department for Communities and Local Government. (2011). *Fire and Rescue Service Operational Statistics for England 2010-2011*. London: Department for Communities and Local Government.

Eisenhardt, K. (1989). Building Theories from Case Study Research. *Academy of Management Review*, 14, 532-550.

Eisenhardt, K., & Graebner, M. (2007). Theory building from cases: Opportunities and challenges. *Academy of Management Journal*, 50, 25-32.

Ferlie, E., Hartley, J. & Martin, S. (2003) Changing Public Service Organisations: Current Perspectives and Future Prospects. *British Journal of Management*, 14, S1-S14.

Folkman, S., & Lazarus, R. (1988). Coping as a mediator of emotion. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 3, 466-475.

Folkman, S., Lazarus, R., Dunkel-Schetter, C., DeLongis, A., & Gruen, R. (1986). Dynamics of a stressful encounter: Cognitive appraisal, coping, and encounter outcomes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 5, 992-1003.

Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (2007). *Ethnography*. King's Lynn: MPG Books Group.

Hartley, J. (2004). Case study research, in Cassell, C., & Symon, G. (2004). *Essential Guide to Qualitative Methods in Organizational Research*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Health and Safety Executive. (2010). *Striking the balance between operational and health and safety duties in the Fire and Rescue Service*. Sudbury: HSE Books

Heracleous, L. (2001) An Ethnographic Study of Culture in the Context of Organizational Change. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 37, 426-446.

Heracleous, L. & Langham, B. (1996). Strategic Change and Organizational Culture at Hay Management Consultants. *Long Range Planning*, 29, 485-494.

Hofstede, G. (1981). Management Control of Public and Not-For-Profit Activities. *Accounting, Organizations and Society*, 3, 193-221.

Hood, C. (1991). A public Management for All Seasons. *Public Administration* , 69, 3-19.

Hood, C. (1995). The ‘New Public Management’ in the 1980s: Variations on a Theme. *Accounting, Organizations, and Society*, 20, 93-109.

Hyndman, N., & McGeough, F. (2006). NPM and Performance Measurement: A Comparative Study of the Public Sectors in Ireland and the UK. *Irish Accounting Review*, 20, 29-57.

Johnson, G. (1992). Managing strategic change – strategy, culture and action, *Long Range Planning*, 25, 28-36.

Jones, F., & Bright, J. (2001). *Stress: Myth, Theory and Research*. Harlow: Pearson Prentice Hall.

King, N. (2004). Using interviews in qualitative research, in Cassell, C. & Symon, G. (2004). *Essential Guide to Qualitative Methods in Organizational Research*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Lazarus, R. (1990). Theory-based stress measurement. *Psychological Inquiry*, 1, 3-13.

Lazarus, R. (1993). Coping Theory and Research: Past, Present and Future. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 55, 234-247.

Lazarus, R. (1999). *Stress and Emotion*. New York: Springer Publishing Company.

Lazarus, R. (2000). Toward better research on stress and coping. *American Psychologist*, 55, 665-673.

Linstead, S. (1997). The Social Anthropology of Management. *British Journal of Management*, 8, 85-98.

Mackay, C., Cousins, R., Kelly, P., Lee, S & McCaig, R. (2004) ‘Management Standards’ and work-related stress in the UK: Policy background and science, *Work & Stress*, 18, 91-112.

- Mazzetti, A. & Blenkinsopp, J. (2012). Evaluating a visual timeline methodology for appraisal and coping research. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 85, 539-674.
- Murphy, E., & Dingwall, R. (2007). The Ethics of Ethnography, in Atkinson, P., Coffey, A., Delamont, S., Lofland, J., & Lofland, L. (2007). *Handbook of Ethnography*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Penfold, C., Lewis, J. & Tennant, R. (2009). *Attendance Management in the Fire and Rescue Service: Managing sickness absence and managing and supporting attendance*. London: National Centre for Social Research.
- Rosen, M. (1991). Coming to Terms with the Field: Understanding and Doing Organizational Ethnography. *Journal of Management Studies*, 28, 1-24.
- Schabracq, M., & Cooper, C. (2000). The changing nature of work and stress. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 15, 227-241.
- Schein, E. (2004). *Organizational Culture and Leadership*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Seifert, R. & Sibley, T. (2005) 'United They Stood': *The Story of the UK Firefighters' Dispute, 2002-2004*. London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- Stake, R. (2005). Qualitative Case Studies, in Denzin, N., & Lincoln, Y.(2005). *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Trice, H. & Beyer, J. (1993). *The Cultures of Work Organisations*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc.
- Van Maanen, J. (1988). *Tales of the Field, On Writing Ethnography*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Van Maanen, J. (2011). Ethnography as Work: Some Rules of Engagement. *Journal of Management Studies*, 48, 218-234.
- Van Maanen, J. & Barley, S. (1984). Occupational communities: Culture and control in organizations. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 6, 287-365.
- Wainwright, D. & Calnan, M. (2002). *Work Stress: The Making of a Modern Epidemic*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Watson, T. (2011). Ethnography, Reality, and Truth: The Vital Need for Studies of 'How Things Work' in Organisations and Management. *Journal of Management Studies*, 48, 202-217.