MAKING SENSE OF ORGANIZATIONAL SUCCESSION

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is an attempt to make social scientific sense of common sense knowledge involved in the social production of organizational succession, where succession is defined as the change in the incumbent of an organizational position. Past succession research is typified in terms of two approaches, both of which are made problematic by the present study. The conventional quantitative approach ignores concrete activities and actors' meanings involved in the succession process, and reifies the formal structure of organizations by literally interpreting them. The qualitative approach also reifies formal structures, and has failed to yield explicit theoretical propositions concerning succession.

The present study attempts to overcome the limitations of previous research by engaging in theory construction which focuses on actors' meanings and sensemaking practices related to succession. Ethnomethodological concepts and concerns form the background to an approach which assumes succession is inextricably related to the interpretive procedures and practices actors utilize in accomplishing and discussing succession. The concept of programmatic construction is developed as a scientific concept describing an important sensemaking practice whereby structurings of the life world are methodically enacted and employed as interpretive schemes in common sensemaking. Such structurings or programatically constructed entities include 1) the social order, 2) social institutions, 3) organizations and 4) persons. Persons are recurrently typified in terms of one or more of four analytically distinct selves; the physiological self, the financial self, the social-psychological self, and the professional self. Characteristics of these
programmatically constructed entities and the process of programmatic construction which are discussed include the important suggestion that each entity is verbally constructed in one or more of three typical forms - as a model of functional integrity, compliance or style.

Five substantive types of succession are outlined - succession due to the death of a predecessor, voluntary resignation, status degradation (demotion or firing), retirement and advancement. Stages in cases of succession are also discussed. Orienting propositions are then outlined as the basis for the current research. These propositions relate programmatic construction and sensemaking to the types of stages of succession.

Data for elaboration of the orienting propositions were collected by preparing transcripts from tape recordings of unstructured interviews with ten administrators - five administrators from each of two different organizations, a government and a college. Each respondent described cases of each of the five types of succession.

Qualitative analysis of the case descriptions is undertaken in five chapters where each chapter focuses on one type of succession by applying the theoretical concepts to the case descriptions. A low order substantive theoretical model of each type of succession is inductively constructed: propositions in the substantive, succession-type specific models relate programmatically constructed entities to respondents' determination of the causes and consequences of predecessor departure, successor selection, and the stages involved in succession. The substantive models therefore explain members' meanings and practical activities related to the accomplishment and common language description of each type of succession.
The final chapter of the dissertation involves a comparative analysis of the types of succession, and a discussion of human sense-making as a general theoretical topic. Substantive succession-type models are integrated into higher order propositions which explain the similarities and differences among specific cases and types of succession. Programmatic construction of entities is found to be an important sense-making practice underlying the accomplishment of organizational succession and descriptions of succession. The concept of programmatic construction and the types of entities produced in succession cases are given extensive consideration. Other sensemaking practices involved in succession are then discussed: certain practices proposed in previous ethnomethodological studies are related to current findings, and several additions are offered to a preliminary list of sensemaking practices. Finally, the broad implications of the present research are discussed in terms of 1) differences among the present approach and more conventional approaches to succession research, 2) future research on succession and 3) the importance of studying human sensemaking in other substantive contexts.
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Chapter 1

AN INTRODUCTION AND PRELIMINARY THEORETICAL CONCEPTS

There has been a growing concern in recent years with developing innovative theories and methods for enriching our understanding of social organization. While there are innumerable potential means of accomplishing this, four possibilities discussed in current literature seem particularly useful. First, theorists have developed an interest in human cognition, sensemaking practices, and 'natural language' which are linked to the social construction and enactment of organizational realities (Berger and Luckman, 1966; Gephart, 1978a; Jehenson, 1973; Pondy and Mitroff, 1978; Weick, 1969, 1977a). Related to this, several social scientists have suggested that increased attention be given to the study of mundane, everyday life activities and common social practices (Garfinkel, 1967; Douglas, 1970; Turner, 1974). Weick (1974) in particular, has directed this suggestion to potential innovations in organization theory. Third, researchers are concerned with encouraging generation of hypotheses (Lundberg, 1976), armchair theorizing (Weick, 1977b), and the discovery of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Finally, there is renewed interest in qualitative research methodologies (Campbell, 1975; Pondy and Mitroff, 1978).

The major purpose of the present research is to enact these suggestions. This is accomplished by examining the substantive phenomenon of organizational succession from a metatheoretical orientation based in social phenomenology (Schutz, 1962), ethnomethodological analysis (Garfinkel, 1967; Turner, 1974), and cognitive sociology (Cicourel, 1972, 1973b). Qualitative data obtained through interviews with organizational participants will be analyzed in a search for the practices
and processes whereby participants theorize about, account for, and make common sense of cases of different types of organizational succession. The concern is, therefore, to develop a social scientific theory of common sense theorizing (Schutz, 1962) about organizational succession. Before discussing the present approach it will be useful to briefly outline previous succession research in order to provide points of contrast and departure for the present approach to understanding succession phenomena and human sensemaking practices.

PAST LITERATURE ON ORGANIZATIONAL SUCCESSION

Members of organizations commonly are assigned, acquire, or achieve some formal status denoted by a term invoked to locate them as occupants of a position in a formalized (written) hierarchy termed 'the formal structure of the organization'. Succession in organizations may be defined as the process whereby the particular incumbent of such a position changes. Succession therefore involves status changes of two or more persons, the predecessor and the successor.

The topic of organizational succession can be approached using a variety of theoretical perspectives and research methodologies. Such perspectives are often complementary, with each theory and/or method shedding light on specific aspects of succession. It seems useful for present purposes to typify these studies in terms of two rather distinct approaches.

The most common approach involves the search for, and testing of hypotheses relating to, concomitants or correlates of organizational

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1 A more extensive literature review, on which the present statement is based, may be found in Gephart (1978b). Helmich (1977) contains a recently published literature review, although this review is extensively criticized in Gephart (1978a, 1978b).
succession. Such an approach relies heavily on quantitative data and quantitative analytical techniques for comparative case analyses. This approach has matured considerably in recent years, moving from examination of simple relationships among two or three variables using the chi-square test statistic (e.g. Grusky, 1961) to complex multivariate designs (e.g. see Pfeffer and Salancik, 1977). Most of this research uses published organizational data in the form of *Fortune's 500*, *Moody's Industrial Manual*, *Standard and Poor's Register of Corporations, Directors and Executives* (Grusky, 1961; Helmich, 1974; Helmich and Brown, 1972; Pfeffer and Leblebici, 1973) or baseball records (Grusky, 1963; Gamson and Scotch, 1964; Gordon and Becker, 1964). Other studies have used questionnaires (Kreisberg, 1962; Pfeffer and Salancik, 1977).

Numerous insights have been generated by this approach. However, as is the case with any perspective, there are certain limitations or tradeoffs in this research. Aggregated statistical data used in the studies are oriented to macro questions regarding aggregates of organizations. Yet such research tends to uncritically presuppose, without direct examination or study, the microsociological processes, language use, and sensemaking practices which produce the data or facts and structures available for quantitative analysis in the research endeavour. It therefore fails to make problematic the entities treated as 'facts' and used as resources in social scientific theorizing. This would not be worrisome if one accepted the assumption of an 'objective world' external to human cognition, populated by concrete, stable entities, and knowable by scientific practices. However, as Weick notes, "There is no methodological process by which one can confirm the existence of an object independent of the confirmatory process itself." (1977a:273).
One is thus faced with the prospect of viewing entities such as 'the organization' and the various 'facts' of succession as the products of sensemaking practices (Berger and Luckman, 1966; Gephart, 1978a; Weick, 1977a). The events in members' worlds and scientific knowledge of such events are under the present assumption enacted by sensemaking. Therefore scientific understanding of these entities requires understanding of what events and entities are perceived by members, what they mean, and indeed how members produce or enact these phenomena. This is the case simply because succession does not have an existence apart from sensemaking practices of members which create a social world with succession as one bracketing of the flow of experiences constitutive of that world.

Related to this general point is the possibility that the common approach to succession research is limited by an exclusive concern with the formal organization. Only the formal organization constituted by formal positions as defined by organization charts is examined. This orientation ignores the manner in which positions and statuses are negotiated and change (Cicourel, 1972), the meanings created and utilized by organization members, and the entire range of informal organizational phenomena to be found in the organizational setting. Thus in general, the predominant approach to the study of organizational succession is limited by its exclusion from consideration of a large range of important phenomena including the theories, language and meanings of organization members which produce succession as a recognizable common sense and social scientific phenomenon.

A second approach to the study of succession involves analysis of specific cases of succession and the effects of succession on the organization. Studies included in this approach are those by Gouldner (1954), Christensen (1953), Guest (1962a, 1962b), Kotin and Sharaf
Methodologically such research uses participant observation, interviews and documentary analysis to provide accounts of members' activities, meanings, and concerns.

These qualitative case analyses are empirically rich descriptions of succession, but are limited in their concerns. First, theoretical and conceptual schemes which emerge in the studies are insightful, but are underdeveloped and fail to organize the vast array of reported and reportable events into a coherent general framework. Thus, Zald (1965) is one of the few qualitative researchers to develop an explicit propositional set. Second, most studies focus on successor selection and give little attention to the stages involving predecessor departure. Finally, many concepts such as 'the organization' are not clarified or linked to a theory of participants' meanings and sensemaking.

Related to this case analytic approach is Olsen's (1976a, 1976b) excellent study of decision-making in the selection of a dean at a major American university. The study applies a range of methodologies to test the adequacy of various decision models and cognitive balance theories. Despite the relevance of the study to understanding organizational succession, it diverges somewhat from present concerns. First, cognitive balance theory underlies Olsen's orientation to sensemaking. However, the theory is primarily psychological and not sociological. In some ways, one could represent this distinction by referring to balance theory as a theory of structures with unspecified content changed by cognitive balance processes. Thus the theory, as a psychological theory, fails to look at, hypothesize, or theorize about specific entities members construct in sensemaking. For example, while balance theory may predict change in cognitive structure of an individual given he has two discrepant conditions about an organization, the theory fails to predict or specify 'the
organization' as a socially provided structure which members in general are likely to utilize or encounter. The theory thus predicts cognitive and perceptual change given certain cognitive conditions but fails to deal with the social processes which provide such conditions or the entities members experience as 'concrete' and recurrent impositions on their perceptual apparatus.

Further, while the process of the social construction of reality is hinted at, no explicit analysis of this process is undertaken. The social world may be built from psychological and perceptual processes, yet for members it is populated by entities such as 'the work organization', 'the family', and so on which members reciprocally assume one another perceives in similar fashion. Such entities and the assumption of reciprocity are themselves socially constructed, available, and enforceable resources for sensemaking. They may provide the substantive content of the unspecified structures of cognitive balance theories. Yet they are more than psychological entities internal to human perception and cognition. They are external structures, the externalization of which is accomplished by social activity, and in particular, human speech acts. The present study therefore diverges from the concerns of Olsen (1976a, 1976b) and cognitive balance theories by emphasizing and seeking to examine, social processes of sensemaking involved in the construction and utilization of socially available resources and entities. The nature of such phenomena and the sociological character of the present research will be made clearer at a later point in this paper, and is a primary issue of concern.

In summary, this brief and selective review of succession literature indicates that there is a need for theory and research which emphasizes the role of human sensemaking practices and the social
production and enactment of social entities in the accomplishment of organizational succession. The next section of the paper therefore addresses the concept of 'sensemaking' in an effort to theoretically clarify the issues of central concern in the present study.

**HUMAN SENSEMAKING**

The first question which must be answered is 'what is sensemaking?'. While the concept has received some attention in the literature, it is in a seminal stage of development at present and the present research is oriented toward the theoretical and empirical elaboration of the concept. However, certain preliminary conceptions can be expressed at this point. Weick (1977a:271) presents one of the more explicit treatments available in the current organizational literature.

"Sensemaking ... involves individuals examining reflectively their own actions in order to discover what they've done and what the meaning of those actions is."

His statement is related to Lyman and Scott's (1970:112-113) classic treatment of accounts and explanations,

"By an account, then, we refer to a statement made by a social actor to explain unanticipated or untoward behavior whether that behavior is his own or that of others, and whether the proximate cause for the statement arises from the actor himself or someone else.

... we should at this point distinguish accounts from the related phenomena of 'explanations'. The later refer to statements about events where untoward action is not an issue and does not have critical implications for a relationship. Much of what is true about accounts will also hold for explanations ...".

Except for the fact that Weick limits sensemaking to individuals' reflections on their own actions, one can see that accounts and explanations are both sensemaking endeavours. In the present treatment I shall remove the 'self-reflection constraint' (as Weick himself seems to
suspend the constraint when using the term) and define sensemaking generally as 'the processes whereby individuals reflectively examine the activities of themselves or others, or any events or phenomena of which they become aware, in an effort to discover what has occurred and what the meaning of the occurrence is.' In the empirical portions of the present study I shall use the term to refer specifically to instances where reflective activity is manifest in speech acts. Sensemaking thus involves verbally discussing, interpreting, accounting for and/or explaining some phenomenon by linking it to other phenomena in some verbally indicated world(s) of experience. Further, one may distinguish two analytically distinct forms of sensemaking 1) common sensemaking or 'anyman's sensemaking activities' to which he (she) or others do not affix the term 'scientific theorizing' or some related label, and 2) scientific sensemaking, the practices of someone identified by self or others as engaged in scientific theorizing, accounting and explanation. Employing the term 'sensemaking' as an analytical device to talk about common sensemaking is a form of scientific sensemaking or theorizing.

Ethnomethodology and Sensemaking Practices. Ethnomethodology (EM) is a form of social scientific theorizing about common sense knowledge which is concerned with the methods by which social actors produce, construct, and maintain everyday social realities. The central foci of EM have been the interpretive procedures, background expectancies, and sensemaking practices involved in the ongoing production of these social realities. Indeed, Heap has defined EM as "a descriptive science of sensemaking" (1975:107). Since speech acts constitute a primary medium for sensemaking, EM has tended to focus on verbal behavior and in particular, conversational utterances.
A review of an experiment by Garfinkel (1967) may serve to display some of the concepts, interests and tactics of ethnomethodological research. Undergraduate students were solicited for the experiment which was allegedly "being done in the Department of Psychiatry to explore alternate means of psychotherapy" (79). Each subject (S) was assigned to a counsellor, asked to describe the background of some personal problem to the counsellor, and then allowed to ask a series of questions permitting a yes or no answer from the counsellor. The counsellor heard the 'yes-no' questions and gave answers via an intercom from an adjoining room. The S then tape-recorded his own comments to the counsellor's response prior to asking the next question. In actuality, the responses of the counsellor were randomly determined.

S's recorded comments displayed several interesting features. First, despite their random nature, Ss saw the answers as sensible answers to the questions asked. This suggests that everyday life social reality is commonly perceived as 'sensible'. Second, this sensibility was not merely assumed, but was a managed accomplishment by Ss. For example, inconsistent answers by the counsellor led the subjects to reinterpret their own questions and/or earlier answers as well as to provide surplus meaning for the answers by stating what the counsellor 'really meant' in light of past utterances and the relevances of S. This tactic of reinterpreting previous utterances in light of later information, and the finding that Ss sometimes waited until hearing later counsellor answers to fully explore the meaning of earlier answers, exhibit what Cicourel (1970) refers to as the 'retrospective-prospective sense of occurrence'. This sense of occurrence is one of a number of sensemaking practices which Cicourel reviews.
Third, the subjects assumed they shared certain things with the counsellor. For instance, it was assumed that there was some shared, general practical purpose for the encounter at hand - specifically the goal of 'accomplishing psychotherapy'. The experiment also demonstrates another of the sensemaking practices outlined by Cicourel (1970) - assuming a reciprocity of perspectives. Ss assumed that if they could 'change places' with the counsellor, each would see and hear what the other sees and hears. Indeed, Ss assumed that counsellors were 'working at' this exchange of perspectives to the extent that they saw and understood what Ss meant and hence had adequate information and insights to provide useful answers. Further, Ss consulted specific institutionalized features of the collectivity, that is, social structures Ss took for granted as shared with the counsellor. These were used as interpretive schemes. But the structures constructed and used were not just 'any' structures; they were the "normatively valued social structures which the subject accepted as conditions that his decisions, with respect to his own sensible and realistic grasp of his circumstances and the 'good' character of the adviser's advice had to satisfy" (Garfinkel, 1967:93). These social structures involve the normative features of collectivities - such as the family, the experiment, various organizations and so on - to which the subjects directed their interests and which from the subjects' viewpoints were definitive of the collectivities and subjects' membership in these collectivities.

Subjects thus took for granted and used certain background expectancies and interpretive devices as stocks of knowledge relevant to finding the meaning and sensibility of answers to their questions. The subjects also assumed the counsellor both shared such knowledge and saw the familiar character of the realities more or less as subjects themselves experienced
these realities. For example, subjects presumed that general expectancies of what constitutes "the family" were shared among themselves and the counsellor. Thus one subject, discussing problems with his parents regarding the religion of his girlfriend, posed the following question:

"Subject: ... If we were to get married would it be best for us to live in a community where we will not be in contact with our parents ...?

Experimenter: My answer is no.

Subject: Well, I kinda tend to agree with this answer ... perhaps it would be one of those things in life that eventually you would just be willing to accept ... we are not going to work it out if we run away from our problems." (1967:83).

Here one can see S has constructed the families of his girlfriend and himself. S assumes the counsellor shares with him somewhat similar general images of "the family", its normative properties, and its interactional dynamics. He also assumes that the counsellor values harmony among parents and offspring. Further, it is assumed by S that E also shares knowledge of certain ways religion may become an issue in the family, and indeed that the counsellor is proposing potential solutions to such problems. Thus the counsellor's responses are seen as sensible answers to specific questions, and this sensibility is achieved by constructing, displaying, and assuming the taken-for-granted-as-shared knowledge of concrete collectivities such as 'the family'. Knowledge of these collectivities is used to provide interpretations of relevant phenomena.

Garfinkel's (1967) research displays ethnomethodology's basic interest in the processes and practices of human sensemaking. Cicourel (1970), following the seminal work of Garfinkel, has compiled what he acknowledges is an incomplete "list" of the sensemaking practices. This list includes the reciprocity of perspectives and the proppective-
retrospective sense of occurrence, as noted above. The interesting question which emerges is 'exactly what are sensemaking practices, that is, what do various sensemaking practices have in common and how might they be identified?'.

Heap (1975) has addressed this question, and notes that "it seems clear that interpretive procedures have no common features except that they are used in sensemaking" (1975:111). Heap solves this problem by asserting that:

"No definition in terms of common features or practices is sensible. Rather, the answer is that the practices and features of sensemaking are only whatever can be called 'practices and features of sensemaking'." (1975:114).

Sensemaking practices are related by their family resemblance based on common origins as speech conventions in a community of language users - ethnomethodologists. When discovering and enunciating the sensemaking practices, what is important is that the features can be reproduced and that they display similar properties when used by different people. Virtually any feature of sensemaking could be posed as a sensemaking practice merely by wording the feature in a transitive form. Thus the reciprocity of perspectives is a sensemaking practice (qua practice) insofar as one proposes actors 'do' a reciprocity of perspectives as a means of producing a sensible reality.

Garfinkel's (1967) experiment also displays that, in human sense-making, various social collectivities are invoked or used in typified forms as collections of expectancies and normative properties that furnish interpretations for social phenomena. These collectivities (the family, the organization, and so on) are essentially produced as social structurings - components of the social worlds of members that members themselves actively produce on an ongoing basis as part of the general process of the social
enactment of reality(ies). While Bittner (1974) suggests that a certain type of collectivity - the organization - is produced in typified forms used as interpretive schemes, Garfinkel (1967) has not explicitly addressed these forms. And neither Garfinkel nor Bittner address the issue of typical means and forms in which social actors as individuals might be constructed. It seems to me that the construction and use (in certain typical forms) of social collectivities and actors as structurings of external reality and as interpretive schemes could be regarded as a sensemaking practice. A more extensive examination of how such collectivities and actors are produced and used as interpretive schemes for sensemaking is therefore an important task for social scientific research. Such an examination is a fundamental task for the present research.

Programmatic Construction Defined. Verbal construction and use of interpretive schemes such as social collectivities and other significant aspects of everyday life reality are central to human sensemaking. The present argument suggests, then, that 'entities' populating the social world must be treated as conversational resources. The ontological status of such entities is thus given by their social production, rather than by some objective nature of these phenomena locatable outside the activities of specific human actors. One means of social scientifically discussing this social construction process is offered by the concept of 'programmatic construction'.

Programmatic construction may be briefly defined as the process whereby certain entities are linguistically constructed and methodically employed as interpretive schemes. Such entities are referred to in specific terms by members, and thus are significant aspects of members' worlds describable by them in 'natural language'. 'Programmatic' is used as an adverb to modify the verb 'construction' and therefore the concept denotes
constructing some entity as at least in part a set of policy guidelines for action. The term 'programmatically constructed entities' (PCE's) will function, in this study, as a noun used to describe entities which are programmatically constructed.

The concept of programmatic construction has not been widely researched or explicated as yet, and is somewhat complex. In the following theoretical discussion I shall elaborate certain criteria for identifying programmatic construction, and thus shall be more explicit about the meaning of the term than I have in the brief definition. Development of the concept follows closely the phenomenological interest in developing theory by building social scientific concepts or concepts of the second order from members' first order, common sense terms (Schutz, 1962). It will be useful at this point to illustrate one programmatically constructed entity (second order, metalanguage description) - 'the organization' (first order, common sense term) - which has been considered in earlier literature theoretically concerned with what is now referred to as 'programmatic construction'.

The Concept of Organization. Bittner (1974) proposes that the formal organizational scheme should not be regarded as a normative idealization used by members. Bureaucrats themselves do not take the formal scheme literally; they take for granted a background stock of knowledge which fills in the literal, rational scheme, makes it sensible, and is basic to the mode in which it is used in actual activities. The task for a more adequate approach to the study of organization is:

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2 I first heard the term programmatic construction suggested during a seminar given by Professor Roy Turner, Sociology Department, U.B.C. The present conceptualization is greatly informed by Professor Turner's ideas, but departs substantially from his interests and concerns, hence the present author should be held solely responsible for the current exposition.
"the study of the methodical use of the concept of organization (which) seeks to describe the mechanisms of sustained and sanctioned relevance of the rational constructions to a variety of objects, events, and occasions relative to which they are invoked." (Bittner, 1974:76).

From this perspective, the meaning of concepts such as organization "must be discovered by studying their use in real scenes of action" (1974:75), that is, by studying how participants involved in those scenes use their everyday life constructs to make a variety of everyday life events, objects and activities meaningful.

The organizational scheme "emerges as a generalized formula to which all sorts of problems can be brought for solution" (Bittner, 1974:76). Thus the formal organizational chart and rules are not mere static representations of the ideal structure of the organization. They are schemes "for interpretation that competent and entitled users can invoke in yet unknown ways whenever it suits their purposes" (76-77). The schemes are invoked in new situations in a creative manner to explain behavior, prescribe and justify sanctions for deviance, and generally to give a distinctive organizationally relevant meaning to phenomena which otherwise would not have such meaning. Thus the 'organization' is constituted by linguistic devices and interpretational schemes members use to make sensible certain conduct, events, and states of affairs and to methodically locate such as falling within the purview of 'the organization'.

Bittner (1974) has proposed, and Gephart (1978a) has recently elaborated, three forms in which actors methodically and typically construct the organization. These constitute the forms in which the organizational world of members is programmatically constructed. The first one is the gambit of compliance which refers to actions by members whereby they invoke a conception of the organization as an entity demanding compliance. The
organization thus includes a set of rules which may be used to define behavior. The existence of the rules is asserted to warrant conformity or adherence to their prescriptions. Doing a gambit of compliance involves verbally describing rules which are then shown to define some situation, event or behavior and which in part constitute the organization. The set of formal rules which are invoked - and the rules invoked as if they were formal - may involve reference to other formalized documents such as the organization chart which specifies organizational positions and incumbent duties. The various 'organizational' rules, charts and the hierarchy may be verbally assembled and displayed in conversation. In so doing, the actor produces the organization as a model of compliance. This model is often displayed as the 'cause', rationale, or warrant for certain events, outcomes and behaviors.

The second typical form involves the organization as a model of stylistic unity. Here the entity is a conception employed methodically by actors who seek to display a 'proper form' for organizational behavior. The proper form is shown or presumed by actors to be embedded in the organization although not officially or formally prescribed. Thus there are certain proper styles of behavior that indicate a 'good' member and these styles are seen by actors to be inextricably tied to the organization in a general sense. The organizational scheme is thus a metaphor providing both an image of proper behavior and a background against which the odd, improper, uncouth, and untoward activities (behavior in bad taste) of fellow participants are identified.

Third, members use the organization as a corroborative reference that integrates a variety of seemingly unrelated events and relates them to 'the organization'. Members will do work to demonstrate how some (perhaps seemingly irrelevant or unrelated) activity or events effect the functioning
of the organization. That is, the organization as a corroborative reference integrates disparate phenomena under the rubric 'the organization'. Related to this, Gephart (1978a) suggests members also have images and theories of 'the organization' as a unified entity with functional requirements or 'needs' for maintaining this integrity. The functional integrity is linked to a global image of organizational relevances. Members' methodical construction of the organization as a functionally integrated entity involves producing the organization as a model of functional integrity.

The organization emerges in the conversational work and everyday practices of members. The shared nature of conceptions cannot, however, be presupposed but is problematic to members on a continuing basis. As members confront practical problems, they invoke the organization as a scheme furnishing solutions, but this scheme gets reconstructed and negotiated continuously to fit the practical problem at hand.

Following this perspective, the emergence and change of the organization involves members' changing conception of the organization as an interpretive scheme, that is, as a linguistic resource for and product of sensemaking activities. The process is dialectical: conceptions are essentially vague and members must 'do work' to define activities as falling within the organizational scheme. Attempts to implement or apply the scheme therefore involve verbal and nonverbal explication of it and demonstration of its 'facticity' or determining power over activity (Berger and Luckman, 1966). Where activity is repeated and the environment is reasonably stable, the activity may become routinized and recipes emerge as part of the scheme outlining standard means for producing typical results.

However, the shared nature of 'the organization' is invariably problematic not only because of its essential vagueness, but also because of unique biographies of members (Schutz, 1962), and a social distribution of
knowledge about the scheme (Berger and Luckman, 1966). Thus while surface aspects of the scheme may be assumed by members to be shared, situations arise where assumption of a shared scheme are demonstrably incorrect; various competing schemes may emerge with proponents and adherents of each. Negotiation of a common scheme becomes the problem at hand as each member or coalition seeks to negotiate and enforce agreement on their scheme as 'proper', correct, real, moral, and so on. Further, the environment may change and therefore recipes may fail. Members are then confronted with the necessity of constructing new schemes and related recipes to produce desired outcomes. Thus members' conceptions of 'the rules demanding compliance', their model of stylistic unity, and their schemes of the organization as a functional integrity may evolve in a dialectical process as common sense theories of reality are confronted by, and imposed on, concrete situations, activities, and meanings.

The study of organizational behavior thus requires examination of the negotiated creativeness of the organizational scheme as a linguistic construct of members. Research must focus on the programmatic construction of the organizational scheme as a resource used in the practical accomplishment of organizational behavior.

Programmatic Construction in General. The utility of Bittner's model of organization as a scientific device for analyzing members' sensemaking practices has been illustrated through previous empirical research of the present author (Gephart, 1978a), which will be reviewed a bit later in this dissertation. Yet members' sensemaking practices in organizational and other social settings involve use of a number of other schemes for explaining observed phenomena. I have referred to these as 'programmatically constructed entities'. Characteristics of such entities and the process of programmatic construction may now be outlined.
Programmatic construction may be related to the process of attribution in sensemaking. Guiot (1977) argues that when a person (P) constructs the identity of some other (O), other is commonly viewed as either 1) the performer of a social role, hence O's behavior is attributed to social institutional factors, or 2) a 'person' endowed with distinctive personality characteristics which explain O's action. Guiot's theorizing is concerned with establishing conditions where P attributes social role vs. personal factors as causes of O's behavior. Guiot concludes the factors are complex and situational hence no predictive inventory is currently available. The basic distinction, however, seems important. To display 'causes' of behavior for attribution purposes, P must construct either social or personal entities which involve causative processes and agents.

Programmatically constructed entities are thus likely to be of two general types. One type comprises schemes of the person or self, including: 1) the psychological, motivational self; 2) the physiological organism; and 3) the financial, economic self. Here I extend Guiot's (1977) distinction to embrace personal characteristics beyond personality per se. Second, schemes external to the person are seen as causal factors and include: 4) 'the organization' as outlined above; 5) social institutional schemes including, particularly the family, peer group ('my friends'), and professional or occupationally relevant associations; and 6) the legal order basic to society.

Programmatic construction has several distinctive characteristics. First, as indicated above, it involves use of linguistic devices which refer to certain concrete phenomena of the real world. Thus while the social scientific concept of family as a programmatically constructed entity (PCE) refers to the manner in which 'the family' is produced through talk, members use the term as indicative of a 'real life' entity composed of living and
breathing humans. Similarly, 'society' and the legal order are conceived by members as 'real' with concrete manifestations such as court rooms, trials, and policemen. One may thus speak of the programmatic construction of 'concrete aspects' of the common sense world of everyday life.

The second salient characteristic of programmatic construction is that it involves building typified models characterizing the reified entities. These models, constructed from generalizing Bittner's (1974) and Gephart's (1978a) notions, may include: 1) a model of compliance, 2) a model of stylistic unity, and 3) a model of functional integrity. The model of compliance refers to constitutive specifications which demand compliance and display behavior-event-context assemblages which are consistent or inconsistent with such compliance demands. Thus 'the organization' is conceived as having rules which demand compliance because: 1) such rules exist and this existence is sufficient condition for requiring compliance and 2) compliance and noncompliance will have differential effects on the reified entity.

A second model employed in programmatic construction is a model of stylistic unity. The scheme, as a metaphor, is provided as an image of proper style, thereby displaying behavior and/or events which are 'in good taste' or 'capture the spirit' of the scheme. The model of style also displays behavior-event-context assemblages which are 'in bad taste' and/or otherwise inconsistent with the 'essence' of the scheme. The legal scheme, for example, provides a metaphor for identifying behavior which is not illegal but which is, nonetheless, 'shady' or of questionable moral/ethical content. Similarly, embarrassment exemplifies a human reaction to socially inappropriate behavior. Finally, the woman who says "I could never wear a blouse like that - it's just not me" is utilizing a model of stylistic unity of her social-psychological self to account for her preferences (which constitute the expressed manifestations of the model of style) and her
avoidance behavior vis-à-vis wearing the blouse.

Finally, programmatic construction involves building a model of functional integrity. Such a model or image integrates a variety of seemingly unrelated events, behavior, or phenomena and relates these to 'the continued existence' of the reified referrent. Thus failure to eat will be displayed as jeopardizing the continued good health (and eventually the life) of the physiological self; and being fired may be viewed as endangering the financial integrity of a person.

A third characteristic of programmatic construction is the provision of causation and a basis of action. Locating some behavior-event-context assemblage as within the purview of a PCE links the assemblage to a program of action. Thus finding one has a pain which persists for a few days may result in one's locating the pain within a scheme of the physiological self. And this scheme may include a program of action such as "go to the doctor when you have a pain which persists". Other examples may be offered. Thus, the man arrested for breaching the social order can hire a lawyer and fight his case, and the haggard husband may obtain a divorce to retain his sanity. The nature of the entity to which the phenomenon is referred will thus prescribe solutions or programs, ascribable to the entity, which 'deal with' the behavior-event-context assemblage in a sensible manner.

Essential vagueness is a fourth characteristic of programmatic construction. As invoked by members, PCE's are essentially fluid and open-ended, though determinant. That is, no member can enumerate all aspects of 'the family' in general or his in particular; nor can he (she) state all possible events which could become family concerns. Yet in the practical conduct of everyday life affairs, members recognize events and determine relevant constructions for dealing with these. There are habitual modes of accounting
for and dealing with recurrent phenomena; thus recurrent arthritic pain, once apprehended as such and referred to the scheme of the physiological self, may be treated by taking aspirin, a prescription of the programmatically constructed model of physiological self-maintenance. Nonrecurrent, unique, or unexpected phenomena may of course prove problematic. Here, it is assumed the actor will attempt to 'handle' these by assembling various schemes to see which one 'works' and indeed to elaborate and explicate these to fit the phenomenon at hand. New threats to psychological stability may be encountered and defined as such; and the organizational scheme may be elaborated to provide rules for employees in a new division. The point is that members 'do work' to construct a scheme suitable for present purposes at hand. Although based in conventions and previously constructed appearances of the entity, any given employment of a schema requires social construction of the schema which has, at that moment in time, essentially unique aspects and constitution. Nonetheless, human typificatory processes and sensemaking practices also involve display of the continuity of the entity as presently constituted with previous manifestations or uses of the scheme.

Programmatic construction elaborates essentially vague schema which have continuity in constitution, yet are necessarily 'open' schema which are elaborated to fit present conditions at hand. The essential vagueness is, however, not a product of imprecision of the scientific construct. I have stated rather explicit characteristics of programmatic construction and PCE's as second order, social scientific concepts, and hopefully the present research will lead to even greater clarity in the conceptual and empirical meaning of the term. The essential vagueness is, then, a characteristic of the manner in which members themselves do programmatic construction. Use of terms such as 'family', 'self', 'organization' and 'society' in the common
sense world invite and require members to fill in the vagueness of the term. The vagueness is a property of common sense reasoning, not of the scientific theorizing which attempts to make scientific sense of this. Scientifically, one may attempt to discover and display how the vagueness arises and is used in everyday life settings. Scientifically, one may be explicit about common sense vagueness.

Programmatic construction has thus far been outlined in terms of several characteristics or properties. PCE's are manifest in conversational activity and hence may be considered 'exterior' to the actor despite the obvious implications of cognitive structurization. Consistent with this, one may propose that elements integrated in programmatic construction include the following: 1) actors, 2) physical settings, 3) behavior, 4) spatial/temporal modes, 5) stocks of knowledge, and 6) props or 'physical resources'. Thus programmatic construction is conversationally manifest as a discussion of these elements which seeks to organize and interpret these. Changes in PCE's involves changes in the content and structural (relational) assemblage of elements under the 'umbrella' of the entity as a general organizing principle or scheme.

One major theoretical advancement accomplished in the present study is development of the term programmatic construction as a general theoretical category. A major empirical task is, then, to discover how the process occurs in members' conversational practices, and thus to understand how PCE's are employed in sensemaking practices and organizational behavior.

The nature of programmatic construction is such that any given phenomenon referred to two or more schemes for interpretation will likely result in different interpretations, and different proposals for action. Such differential interpretations may conflict extensively. Such conflicts
and differential interpretations may occur within a particular type of scheme, such as between two schemes of organizational reality; or it may occur between two different types of schemes, such as between an organizational scheme and a family scheme. Thus different members of an organization may hold different schemes of the organization; one scheme which may suggest a member's behavior as evidences grounds for promotion, the other scheme may suggest the behavior is cause for dismissal. Similarly, a man's behavior such as working overtime for an extended period may be interpreted within the family scheme - by his wife - as a reason for seeking a divorce. The man's boss invoking an organizational scheme may interpret the behavior positively as evidence in favor of a salary bonus.

A point of research interest is to examine interpretational conflicts which emerge and the manner in which they are resolved. Resolution could involve simultaneous implementation of unmodified versions of each scheme (husband gets promoted, looses wife), modification of one scheme to be consistent with another (wife decides husband really is a good husband as he works overtime to provide economic extras for the family), or adoption of one scheme as dominant and enforceable (husband quits working overtime after announcing "my family comes first").

The process is not simply that of 'role conflict' although 'role conflict' is subsumed by our more general discussion. Whereas role conflict refers to conflict in behavioral expectations, the issue is more basic as it involves analyzing the manner of constructing general interpretational schemes. A member can programmatically construct 'the family' to provide notions of how the husband appears to outsiders as a 'poor husband' (model of stylistic unity) and jeopardizes the continued integrity of the family by disrupting parent-child relations and causing dissolution of the marriage (model of
functional integrity). Further, one would expect conversations between the husband and wife and conversations with their peers and children about the matter, to involve display of 'wider' implications of the husband's behavior. Thus conflict between interpretational schemes is manifest in conversational activity, and involves members' construction and display of these 'theories' in an effort to implement the scheme and enforce it as reality.

In concluding the theoretical discussion of programmatic construction, one can note that the process assembles 'causes' or a source of causes of behavior. Behavior is accounted for in terms of 'because of' (retrospective) motives and 'in order to' (prospective) motives (Schutz, 1962) which are made sensible by the larger background provided by the scheme. Thus refusing to work overtime 'because of my wife' and 'in order to preserve our marriage' are motives which are seemingly senseless unless a background scheme is invoked to fill in the relation between the motives and behavior. The family (and particularly the wife) is implied as a causal mechanism with determining power over the behavior of individual members, and working overtime can be seen as jeopardizing a marriage only when one invokes a wider scheme of marriage and family which requires partners spend time together, share interests, reach agreement on basic issues, and so on. Programmatic construction is, then, a basic process in human sensemaking and the social construction of everyday life realities.

ORGANIZATIONAL SUCCESSION: AN ETHNOMETHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

I have stated that past research on organizational succession is limited in its consideration of sensemaking practices related to the accomplishment of succession. An ethnomethodological approach to succession would advance knowledge of succession by focusing on status and succession as processes in social life constituted by everyday life activities and the sensemaking practices of members (Cicourel, 1972a). And it would seem useful
to develop a typology of successions which employs members' differential meanings and theories as a basis for distinguishing among the types. Such a typology would include factors beyond simply the rate or frequency of change of position incumbents, and would reflect members' subjective understanding of intersubjectively apprehended phenomena of their life worlds. The remainder of the study attempts to accomplish these tasks.

Succession, as a concrete event in everyday life settings, occurs along some temporal dimension. It does not happen 'instantaneously' but rather can be apprehended as segments which occur over time. Logically, these segments would seem to include at minimum a presuccession phase. Succession phases wherein a predecessor leaves a position and a successor enters the position, and a post-succession phase. Past research and theorizing (Gephart, 1978a) suggest that members segment events into such phases and typify succession in terms of 'cause of predecessor leaving', a linguistic practice which glosses the presuccession and the successor leaving phases.

Working from this information, I have developed the following preliminary typology. Succession is considered by members to be caused by a predecessor's 1) death, 2) retirement, 3) degradation (demotion, firing, dismissal, and such), 4) voluntary resignation, and 5) promotion, transfer, or advancement to a different (better) position. I presume that each type of succession has its unique aspects, meanings, activities and effects. One direction for research is to 'fill in' these categories with empirical examples describing the activities and concerns of organization members, that is, how each type of succession gets done and what it means to members. Thus a critical research task is to explore phenomena that have been overlooked by previous studies which fail to focus on members' sensemaking practices.
Organizational Realities and the Process of Succession. In preliminary studies, the longitudinal analysis of a case of status degradation of the leader of a Graduate Students' Centre Operations Committee (GSCOC) was undertaken. It was found (Gephart, 1978a) that the (programmatic) construction of schemes of the organization was central to accomplishing succession. Two coalitions emerged in the GSCOC (Gephart, 1975) and each coalition constructed a different scheme of 'the organization' during talk at committee meetings (Gephart, 1978a). The scheme constructed by one group (denouncers) made certain behavior of the leader visible and salient as breaches of the scheme which called for the degradation (removal) of the leader. The other coalition constructed a scheme which displayed the behavior of the leader as 'organizationally proper', and this scheme was used to defend the leader from attack. When a majority of GSCOC members present at a meeting actively produced the 'denouncer scheme', the scheme became a significant resource for the successful ouster of the leader. The primary denouncer was subsequently chosen to be the successor because of his important role in constructing and exemplifying the now dominant and generally accepted scheme of the organization.

The studies were useful in developing the present approach to understanding succession. However, relative to discussion of corporate positions and to types of succession other than status degradation, the case itself occurred in a situation where actors had a rather limited interest, limited investment of self, and where a limited range of socially constructed entities appeared relevant to making sense of the leader's behavior. Thus the major entity which was programmatically constructed was 'the organization'. However, in corporate or political succession, as well as in forms of succession other than status degradation, these other entities (financial and physiological self, the family, and 'society') may be quite important as
resources for sensemaking. What is required is thus a wider investigation of succession carried out under the orienting proposition that the programmatic construction of entities other than the organization (as well as construction of the organization) will play a significant role in members' endeavours at 'making sense' of the events members apprehend as succession.

Several questions can serve as tools in such a wider investigation of succession. One may ask:

1. How does succession occur? What actors, activities, problems, places, events, resources, stocks of knowledge, and stages constitute it?

2. Assuming different types of succession occur and are apprehended as such by members, how are these types similar to and different from one another? How do members distinguish the types?

3. What are the differential effects of succession, as seen by members, on the successor, the predecessor, families, peer groups, and the organization?

Theoretically, the process of succession may be described as follows. First, one should note that succession is itself an event of common sense importance as well as a term in natural (English) language. It would seem to necessarily involve breaches and problems in the 'old' social order and to require concern for patching and reconstructing this order. The reason for this is that any change in the incumbency of an organizational position by definition involves departure of one person and arrival of another, thus severing social relations vis-à-vis the particular predecessor of the position. Socialization of the successor is necessary, and the successor comes to the position with background knowledge and expectancies. Presumably he will try to enforce some of them on the other members and some ongoing adjustments in activities and expectations are necessary. The departure of the predecessor may itself be quite disruptive, particularly in cases where he did not depart of his own accord, such as cases of firing. In many cases one would common
sensibly expect conflict among members regarding whether or not an incumbent should leave a position, and if so, who should replace him and how the successor should be chosen. Thus succession requires the attention of members and has an intrinsic interest to them because the succession may well effect their organizational position and activities.

One can assume then that succession is an event of common sense importance, which seems to demand by its very nature that members be concerned with it and account for it in some manner. Furthermore, succession does not occur in a behavioral vacuum; it requires certain members to behave in a manner which produces a predecessor and a successor, and these behaviors certainly include verbal sensemaking practices. One can thus assert that interpretive, sensemaking, reality constructive procedures are necessary to produce succession.

Members attempt to make sense of succession - and numerous other social phenomena - in both a prospective and a retrospective manner. Thus prior to succession (prospectively), members seek to interpret events and find a basis for action. Such interpretations of a particular behavior-event-context assemblage are based in stocks of knowledge at hand which were built up from past experience. And these interpretations will involve, among other things, deciding if succession is a possible outcome of the phenomenon observed, and if so, what the course of events constituting and following succession will be. The stocks of knowledge brought to bear on the phenomenon include programmatically constructed entities. Retrospectively, the question "what happened?" regarding a succession will elicit statements describing members' stocks of knowledge (theories and such) which account for the succession. These retrospective accounts may of course be conditioned somewhat by the context of their elicitation. Nonetheless they evidence the events which transpired and reflect the saliences of members in apprehending
succession and differentiating relevant from irrelevant aspects of the flow of experience from which 'succession' was assembled and recognized. And these retrospective accounts also constitute the prospective stocks of knowledge with which members 'see', accomplish, and explain future successions. Thus I assume that the retrospective accounts of today are the prospective accounts of tomorrow, and asking members "what happened?" provides information not only on past phenomena, but also on how future phenomena will be dealt with.

Stages in Succession. Succession would seem to involve several stages which unfold in temporal progression and involve conversational activity, negotiation, and sensemaking. The present discussion follows Gephart (1978a) and hence the stages involved in actual cases may differ somewhat in cases of succession other than status degradation. First, in the pre-succession stage, 'business as usual' is occurring and some behavior-event-context assemblage happens and is referred by various actors to a potentially wide variety of programmatic constructions for explanation. Succession always involves implementation of an organizational scheme, yet such a scheme will not necessarily initiate the succession. Thus someone informed he has terminal cancer has had a scheme of physiological self with a model of functional integrity constructed. The 'dying of cancer' phenomenon may then be referred to a scheme of the family, and the person may decide that the proper thing to do is to spend as much time as possible with family members. To accomplish this, quitting work may be required and only at this point does the organizational scheme receive consideration.

The second stage of succession is thus having succession as a considered possibility. The person in our case recognizes succession as an outcome of his interpretations and predicament. He constructs a scheme
of the organization to decide whom to inform and how. When this is done, others also become cognizant of succession as an outcome. Members often search for more facts ("Has he been to the specialists at the Mayo Clinic? Are they sure it's cancer?"), and attempt to interpret the organizational meaning of the events. Agreement on 'the facts' may occur and will generally involve some negotiation of them, such as "Are you sure you're going to quit soon? When?". This stage involves the process whereby key succession producing agencies and agents become aware of the imminent departure of the incumbent.

Once agreement is reached on 'the facts' which must be dealt with, the programmatic constructions are used to furnish potential solutions to the question "what next?" which represents the third stage of succession. During this stage, various aspects of the successor's departure are likely to be discussed and means of choosing a successor proposed. Recruitment and selection may occur at this point, or later. The organizational scheme may be also linked to other schemes such as the family and plans made to use organizational means to solve problems of the other scheme. For example, it may be decided that the company medical policy can be used to furnish supplemental medical aid to the departing actor and get well cards may be sent and disability pay may be speeded up "to help the family along now while they really need it". (The scheme of family provides knowledge such as why the money will help.)

The fourth stage of succession involves predecessor departure. His actual departure occurs and becomes general knowledge; mundane details of cleaning out the office are undertaken. At about this time, arrival of the successor occurs. He may or may not have been selected earlier. If not, negotiation of rules outlining successor selection now occurs. This
stage also involves the initial days at work in the new position - moving into the office, being introduced to associates, being briefed by the predecessor, and so on. And finally, the successor having been installed in office, the post-succession stage occurs.

One would not expect all stages to have the same substantive components for all cases of succession. And indeed it is possible that the order of stages varies somewhat among succession types. In particular, the point at which a successor is chosen would seem likely to vary; perhaps sometimes a person of outstanding skills and reputation becomes available, and others are shuffled to make room for her. However, the issue of stages and temporal sequencing remains a significant area for empirical research. I would propose the above stage model as an initial attempt to specify the sequences in the process of succession, while expecting that research will suggest modifications of the present model.

The process of succession involves more than the simple negotiation processes suggested to this point. Social rules, particularly those rules invoked in demanding compliance to the organizational scheme, are likely to evolve over the course of succession events. In an earlier study (Gephart, 1978a) results indicated that status degradation attempts were based in gambits of compliance with organizational rules. Where the rules were not formal the attempts often failed, but resulted in formalization of the rules and subsequent degradation which members perceived as demanded by the newly formalized rules.

Indeed the process of constructing an organizational scheme which accomplished succession involved development and explication of various rules. One could generalize and assert that elaboration, explication, and/or formalization (putting something in writing) of problematic aspects
of any PCE invoked in succession-related sensemaking are likely to occur. An employee requesting a transfer because he 'is sick' will probably be asked to elaborate on this sickness, which is problematic to the organization. In so doing, the sickness will be constructed as an elaborated model of the physiological self, perhaps one more elaborate than any which the employee previously constructed for display to organization members. And it is quite likely a medical report will be required before the transfer is granted. The negotiation process may thus be seen to involve elaboration, explication and/or formalization of various aspects of programmatic constructions employed as resources to account for certain phenomena and to provide bases of action.

I have now reviewed the process of succession in general by providing a theoretical outline of succession phenomena. At this point, we must consider some similarities and differences of the five types of succession enumerated earlier.

Types of Succession. The first type of succession to be examined is death. Death is of course accounted for in terms of a scheme of the physiological self and this may be linked to other PCE's. This may seem obvious, but I refer here not to just the 'moment of death' but to descriptive accounts which trace the etiology of death. Thus the actor may be constructed as a physiological self with a history of some disease and this history makes the death sensible and perhaps expected. Further, organizational demands could be linked to physical inactivity which precipitated a heart attack. Similarly, a scheme of the family could be used to display an unhappy marriage which caused alcoholism and eventual liver disease. Therefore, it seems likely that the death will be described in terms of its cause and the cause may be given as a complex
set of phenomena rather than merely the abrupt and simple dissolution of
the physiological self qua functional integrity.

A second type of succession is voluntary resignation or quitting,
defined as an employee resignation which was not requested or forced by
management. The causes of quitting are potentially quite varied, and may
be located by a number of PCE's. The employee about to quit may account
for this by invoking a scheme of the family ("If I don't, my wife will
leave me"), the organization ("I hate this place. It's too restrictive"),
the social-psychological self ("I can't express myself here"), physiological
self ("I'm rather ill and can't do the work"), economic self ("I can't
afford to work here - it doesn't pay enough"), and so on. Thus one can
see quitting may be accounted for by any of the constructions although as
in all cases of organizational succession, negotiation in stages following
the presuccession stage will also involve construction of some model of
'the organization'.

Status degradation includes demotion and firing of the predecessor,
and may be defined as the lowering of the formal status of the member in
terms of the formal organizational hierarchy (Gephart, 1978a). In
demotion, the member remains a member of the organization, and in firing,
the predecessor loses all claims to membership. Status degradation is
produced by construction of an organizational scheme and rules of compli­
ance which display that the person to be degraded has transgressed these
rules. Such rules must be considered important by members and/or schemes
of the violators' selves must be constructed which display him as a
'deviant type' actor.

Generally speaking (that is, for all types of succession), the
successor chosen will be determined to some extent by problems involved
the succession process. Thus employee misbehavior which caused a predecessor to be fired will be a factor in successor selection. The scheme of the organization constructed to dismiss the predecessor will highlight certain positive features of the organization and behavior, e.g. emphasis on adherence to certain rules. The successor selected will be one whose behavior epitomizes prescriptions of these rules or at least is compatible with them. Thus the successor will be chosen in part because his qualities and behavior are compatible with the schemes enforced as social reality, particularly with the compliance demands, the model of proper style, and functional requisites outlined in the organizational scheme. Successor selection is therefore accountable in a manner similar to our discussion of predecessor promotion-transfer-advancement and indeed may be one or the same. Thus a fired executive may be replaced by someone promoted from within the organization's membership and this would involve a 'double succession'.

Retirement is a scheduled status passage where members can predict the likely date of the passage. The passage is managed and accounted for by organizational policy which demands compliance. Early retirement may be explained within physiological schemes (sickness, ill health) although of course made possible where provided for by the organizational scheme. Failure to take early retirement is likely to be 'caused' by economic need for continued salary (economic self-functional integrity) and social-psychological needs such as "something to do to keep from going crazy". Delayed retirement may also occur where the organizational scheme is modified to allow the incumbent to remain in office beyond the mandatory retirement date. Such cases would involve explanation in terms of organizational functional integrity - the incumbent was simply too good, or too necessary to be replaced without adverse organizational implications.
Advancement, promotion, and transfer occur where the predecessor is seen as moving up the corporate ladder, or at least following a path of career advancement. The predecessor's movement will be explained in terms of the organizational scheme, and in particular, his positive exemplification of its requirements, partly through a constructed model of his social-psychological self relevant to occupational performances - for example, he is a hard worker - highly motivated.

I have now outlined a theoretical argument which covers many aspects of the succession process, yet it leaves many others untouched and unexamined. This is due, in part, to the tentative nature of my theorizing, based as it is in limited empirical data and research. The goal of the current study is to extend and elaborate the present theory, as well as to examine its basic adequacy. Thus the task is to gain insight into the process of succession and in particular to unearth findings which will allow one to conceive and understand how social actors make sense of organizational succession. The theory is an incomplete exploratory tool with which I hope to explore the world of common sensemaking practices and the social production of organizational succession. Hopefully many missing tidbits will be discovered and included in the elaborated theory which is the goal of the present research.

SUMMARY

The purpose of the present research is to explore the process of succession as it is understood by organizational members, and to then develop a scientific theory of members' theories of succession. Particular interest is in the role of programmatic construction of interpretational schemes used in making sense of succession events. To accomplish this task, several questions, concepts, assumptions and orienting propositions
have been formulated. Taken together these constitute a preliminary model of organizational succession, based in part on the results of an earlier research endeavour (Gephart, 1978a). The propositions will function as 'orienting propositions'. Their purpose is to direct and guide research rather than to stand as 'once and for all' statements of the empirical world to be tested and either accepted or rejected by present research. Instead, it is assumed that these propositions will be modified and extended through applying them to empirical data.

**RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

1. How does succession occur? What actors, activities, problems, places, events, resources, stocks of knowledge, and stages constitute it?

2. Assuming different types of succession occur, and are apprehended as such by members, how are these types similar to and different from one another? How do members distinguish these types?

3. What are the differential effects of succession, as seen by members, on the successor, the predecessor, families, peer groups, and the organization?

**CONCEPTS**

Programmatic construction involves verbal construction of interpretive schemes used by members to make sense of worldly phenomena and which are referred to in specific terms representing significant aspects of members' realities. Elements of the theoretical category of programmatically constructed entities: 1) the legal order, and society 2) the organization, 3) social institutions, and in particular 'the family', 4) the psychological self, 5) the physiological self, and 6) the financial-economic self.

Characteristics of programmatic construction:

1. accomplished through conversation activity.

2. refers to concrete phenomena of members' worlds.
3. develops and employs typified interpretational schemes for explaining phenomena, including:
   a. **Model of Compliance**: specifications which demand compliance and display behavior and events which are consistent or inconsistent with compliance demands.
   b. **Model of Stylistic Unity**: the scheme as a metaphor providing an image of proper style, thereby displaying behavior and/or events which are 'in good taste' or capture the spirit of the scheme, as well as behavior or events 'in bad taste', that is not satisfying implicit stylistic indications of the scheme.
   c. **Model of Functional Integrity**: an image integrating a variety of seemingly unrelated activities and events which relates them to the scheme and continues the existence of the integrity of concrete manifestations of the scheme.

4. provide a basis for action.
5. produces essentially vague entities.
6. different schemes may lead to different interpretations of the same phenomena.

**Succession** is a change in the incumbency of a formal organizational position; involves simultaneous status passages of two or more persons, the predecessor and the successor. **Types of succession** include:

1) quitting or voluntary resignation, 2) promotion, advancement, or transfer, 3) retirement, 4) death, and 5) status degradation.
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Assumption 1: Attempts to construct and implement schemes of social reality involve negotiation of them through conversational activity.

Assumption 2: Human activity in everyday life settings involves a process of practical theorizing or sensemaking whereby schemes of social reality are constructed and utilized as resources to interpret activity-event-context assemblages.

Orienting Proposition 1: Members will describe and exemplify distinct forms of succession, as identified above: such forms will be distinguished by cases which vary in terms of -
1) specific causes, 2) elemental configurations, and 3) temporal stage ordering and constitution.

Corollary 1-1: Specific causes of succession, as identified by members, will be located by reference to 1) organizational schemes, 2) schemes of the legal/social order, 3) social institutional schemes including particularly 'the family', 4) schemes of the psychological self, 5) schemes of the physiological self, 6) schemes of the financial-economic self stages.

Orienting Proposition 2: Succession occurs where:

a. Schemes are programmatically constructed and displayed as relevant interpretational schemes for behavior-event-context assemblages.

b. Schemes display the assemblage(s) as requiring activity or concern because of the relation of the assemblage to 1) compliance demands, 2) the model of stylistic unity, and/or 3) the model of functional integrity.

c. The outcome or activity of concern specified by the scheme is a constitutive aspect of succession, such as predecessor departure, and possibly successor selection.

Corollary 2-1: Succession requires programmatic construction and implementation of a scheme of organizational reality as an interpretive possibility for a behavior-event-context assemblage.

Corollary 2-2: Succession may also involve construction and implementation of other types of schemes.
Corollary 2-3: In accounting for succession, members will employ gambits whereby meeting compliance demands of a programmatic construction is linked to the continued existence and/or integrity of the concrete referent of the programmatic construction.

Corollary 2-4: During the negotiation process, compliance-integrity demands will be displayed as sources (causes) of predecessor departure. These will be indicated by members as follows:

a. retirement: demanded primarily by the organizational scheme, secondly by physiological needs and institutional pressures.

b. quitting or voluntary resignation: causes may be located within any of the programmatic constructions.

c. death: caused, ultimately, by physiological factors: indirect causes located by any of the programmatic constructions.

d. status degradation: determined by organizational compliance demands linked to a scheme of the person's social-psychological self.

e. promotion, transfer, advancement: based in compliance with organizational demands and linked to a scheme of the social-psychological self.

Corollary 2-5: During the negotiation process, accounts by members will refer to the organizational scheme and a model of the social-psychological self as the basis of successor selection.

a. The successor will be chosen for his (her) compatibility with (exemplification of) positive aspects of programmatic entities, especially the organizational scheme.

b. Positive aspects include compliance with schematic demands, exhibiting proper style, and contributing to functional integrity. Important significant areas of compatibility are aspects of the scheme made salient before and during the stage of predecessor removal.

Orienting Proposition 3: Succession is followed by changes in conventional and incipient aspects of the organizational scheme relating to successor activities, as well as changes in the manner of invoking formal aspects of the scheme as undertaken by the successor (relative to the predecessor). Such changes will be linked by members to conceptions of a psychological motivational scheme, characterizing the successor and referred to as 'successor's style'.


OVERVIEW OF THE DISSERTATION

In chapter 2 of the study I shall outline the manner in which the empirical examination and elaboration of propositions and concepts will be conducted. Chapters 3 through 7 each focus on one type of organizational succession. Case descriptions are presented and analyzed and a low-order substantive theoretical model is constructed for each succession type in the respective chapter. Chapter 8 of the study contains the general theoretical conclusions. I review the findings from earlier chapters and integrate them into higher order propositional statements regarding the process of succession. The meaning of various concepts is elaborated, components of descriptive accounts are reviewed, and the process of sensemaking per se is given consideration by proposing a list of sensemaking practices. General implications of the dissertation are then discussed.
Chapter 2
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the qualitative methodology utilized in conducting the study. First I review the method of data collection, unstructured interviews, and next the data analysis procedure is outlined. Finally, substantive methodological issues involving reliability and validity are discussed.

RATIONALE FOR USE OF QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY

My earlier arguments (see Chapter One) essentially concluded that previous succession research has failed to ask or answer certain basic qualitative questions concerning succession, and particularly those questions which would provide for a social scientific theory of succession which explains members' views of this phenomenon. When one asks the questions which are posed herein, such as 'what is succession and how is it produced?', one asks qualitative questions. To answer these qualitative questions concerning the social construction of everyday life, one must utilize qualitative methods which discover and display the richness of the concrete worlds of common sense thinking.

Glaser and Strauss (1967) have indicated social science has generally adopted a perspective emphasizing verification of the a priori generated theories of 'great men' and hence favors quantification with its allegedly more 'objective' verification procedures. Yet much remains to be discovered about the social world. Discoveries and the construction of 'grounded' theories to fit these discoveries are often best facilitated by qualitative research strategies. Qualitative data are "...still the best and richest for theorizing about social structures and social systems" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967:17). One may also find qualitative techniques are "the only way to obtain data on many areas of social life not amenable
Indeed, this is the situation faced in the present research. Here, the interest is in members' sense making practices and meanings constituted by verbal utterances in the form of conversation. And it seems that little or nothing is available in the form of quantitative methods for the analysis of verbal utterances or conversational data. Further one finds it difficult to visualize how verbal meanings and linguistic patterns may be captured by mathematical meanings or discovered by methods which presuppose that such linguistic utterances are transformed into mathematical terms before analysis can proceed. The nature of the phenomena we wish to examine, then, seems to require the use of qualitative methods.

Conventionally, social scientists have eschewed the use of qualitative methods because of their lack of 'rigor'. However, Campbell (1975), who was formerly a staunch denouncer of qualitative methods, has recently noted that qualitative studies need not arbitrarily spot an advantage to 'more rigorous' quantitative methods. He notes that qualitative methods (and case studies in particular) gain advantages or 'degrees of freedom' by examining richer data and multiple theoretical implications within a single case.

We see then that there are certain advantages to qualitative methods and a reasonable defense may be made for qualitative research which is scientific in nature. Having briefly legitimated the use of qualitative research strategies in the present study, we may turn to a discussion of the particular strategies to be employed herein.

**METHODOLOGY OF DATA COLLECTION**

**Suitability of Method.** The use of unstructured interviews was considered to be the data collection methodology most suitable to the research problem. The research sought to analyze members' descriptions of cases of succession. A variety of cases were sought, and the emphasis was on study-
ing how the respondents generated what they considered to be sensible descriptions of the cases.

The choice of the interview method was based on several considerations. First, interviews are situations where some respondent describes some state of affairs to the interviewer, hence this was a suitable method for generating the kind of data the research enterprise required - respondents descriptions of cases of succession. Second, it was an economical tool. It allowed collection of several cases from a number of respondents in a relatively brief time and at a relatively low cost compared to other case collection methods such as participant observation. Third, the method allowed respondents to remain anonymous to other members of their organization, including other respondents and thus encouraged them to be more candid and open in their discussions. Finally, the major phenomena of interest - the descriptions produced in the interview - were subject to accurate preservation on audio tape. They could thus be obtained simply and rapidly, and recorded for future use, without much potential for observer basis and inefficiencies to arise during data recording. In contrast, taking field notes would have been problematic as the utterances could not be recorded rapidly, many utterances would undoubtedly be unrecorded, and the researcher would not have the opportunity to 'replay' the utterances to attempt to ensure the completeness of data recorded.

Interviews were unstructured because the interest was in theorizing about how members produce sensible descriptions. It was thus important to allow respondents to decide what to report, while minimizing the degree to which researcher demands and questions effected the content and structure of their descriptions. Also, as the research enterprise involved theory construction and elaboration, there was not a rigid and elaborate theoretical framework available a priori for generating a long series of specific
questions. The unstructured interview thus was a suitable method for producing data which exhibits a minimum structuring in terms of research demands, and was sensible because adequate demands in the form of a large set of explicit, theoretically important questions were not available at the initiation of the research endeavor.

Generating the Sample. The sample of respondents and organizations was obtained by a method which may be termed 'research criterion contingent snowball sampling'. It basically involves asking some person 'A' to name other persons who may be willing and able to supply information on the research topic, then contacting these other persons, 'C' and 'D', who then name other persons, C₁ through Cₙ and D₁ through Dₙ, who could and would supply desired information, and so on.

The method is research criterion contingent where certain snowball generated others are disqualified by predetermined, supplementary sample characteristics. Thus they are not interviewed because the researcher decides that they would not provide relevant data and/or because other research contingencies and constraints prevent the interview. Thus a respondent may suggest the researcher interview some other person, who may be disqualified by the researcher because 1) the other is a member of an organization which is already 'oversampled', or is not going to be sampled, 2) the interview would have to occur in Florida and hence the researcher can't afford to do it, or 3) the respondent to be is at an inappropriate organizational level, and so on. Major contingencies and constraints in the present study will be detailed below.

The actual sample used in the present study was generated as follows. First, the preliminary sample criteria were constructed. The researcher decided to interview four to five respondents in each of two types of organizations, with four possible types being originally proposed: govern-
ment, educational institution, business corporation, and medical care organization. The aim was to interview three members (or more) per organization who were relatively senior administrators who would describe primarily senior level successions and one (or more) members who held a lower level administrative position and would report succession in unionized positions. All members were to recount one case of each of five types of succession, and all interviews were to be conducted at settings within a few hours drive of the researcher's residence. Cost and time thus functioned as constraints in limiting the sample. The researcher also decided to approach only those 'suggested respondents' with whom the referring respondent had indicated a personal acquaintantship beyond that of 'mere acquaintance'. This was indicated by the ability to provide a phone number for the other. The intent was thus to approach persons who were sufficiently well known to the referring respondent so that the referring respondent's assurance that the other would do the interview and provide needed data seemed accurate. Also, the referring respondent could then be invoked to the other as 'the reason' he was approached and it was expected that this would minimize the refusal rate.

The snowball was initiated by asking two members of the UBC business faculty to suggest the names of someone whom the researcher could interview regarding succession. The snowball proceeded as follows (see Figure 2-1, next page):
Figure 2-1

Snowball Sample

business faculty member 1 → QR: medical organization → STOP: refuses sn: medical organization

→ [members of business organizations]

business faculty member 2 → EF gov org → AB gov org → CD gov org → GH gov org

→ [UV]

[qr's st: college]

IJ college → KL college → OP college

↓

MN college

→ [members of other college orgs]

→ [member of business organization]

The figure displays the evolution of the sample. Capital letters refer to respondents who were interviewed, underlined capital letters stand for interviews included in the present study, small letters and brackets denote suggested respondents who were not interviewed and arrows designate path of referral. We can see several things in the figure. First, one original source (faculty member #1) led to a snowball that was prematurely stopped. The medical organization was undergoing a severe crisis which was receiving much publicity, and the second respondent 'to be', sn, refused the interview request because she claimed that she had been in the organization an insufficient period of time to be able to report the range of desired cases.

The second original source (faculty member #2) initiated the snowball which picked up all included respondents. The first one, EF, referred the researcher to AB and GH within the government, as well as to high level business men in major corporations whom the researcher was hesitant to
approach as EF did not know their phone numbers and was not very precise in specifying where they might be contacted. AB was then interviewed and his referrals led to meeting the sample needs without turning to EF's suggested respondents.

The actual conduct of interviews is summarized below in Table 2-1. One may note that EF was actually respondent number seven. Although he was contacted early and he suggested others, he was just leaving on vacation so the researcher postponed the actual interview until his return.

Table 2-1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview</th>
<th>Respondent</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Conducted</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>QR</td>
<td>Manager</td>
<td>Health Centre</td>
<td>8:45-10:00</td>
<td>his office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a.m.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>July 10/78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>AB</td>
<td>Assistant Director</td>
<td>Personnel Dept.,</td>
<td>10:30-11:45</td>
<td>my office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>a.m.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>July 13/78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>CD</td>
<td>Senior Personnel</td>
<td>Personnel Dept.,</td>
<td>1:30-2:45</td>
<td>his office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Consultant</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>p.m.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>July 19/78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>UV</td>
<td>Director</td>
<td>Legal Dept.,</td>
<td>11:00-12:00</td>
<td>his office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>a.m.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>July 20/78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>IJ</td>
<td>Vice President, Finance</td>
<td>College</td>
<td>3:00-5:15</td>
<td>his office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p.m.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>July 20/78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>KL</td>
<td>Academic Dean,</td>
<td>College</td>
<td>3:30-5:30</td>
<td>his office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Former Acting President</td>
<td>College</td>
<td>a.m.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Aug. 23/78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>EF</td>
<td>Director of Employee</td>
<td>Personnel Dept.,</td>
<td>2:15-3:30</td>
<td>his office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Training</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>a.m.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Aug. 28/78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>MN</td>
<td>Current President</td>
<td>College</td>
<td>9:30-10:45</td>
<td>his office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a.m.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Aug. 31/78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2-1 (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview</th>
<th>Respondent</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Conducted</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>OP</td>
<td>Director of Personnel</td>
<td>College</td>
<td>9:30-10:45 a.m.</td>
<td>Sept. 11/78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>GH</td>
<td>Junior Personnel Consultant</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>9:30-10:30 a.m.</td>
<td>Sept. 20/78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From this table it is clear that interviews were conducted in an eighty day period between July 10, 1978 and September 20, 1978. No interviews were conducted between July 20 and August 23 as the researcher and/or respondents were away on vacation. All interviews except one (AB) were conducted in the respondents' offices. Finally, case descriptions from nine respondents - five from the government and four from the college - were utilized in the final 'write up' of the project.

The snowball sampling plan - as opposed to other possible plans - was used for several reasons. First, it is consistent with the everyday life information gathering methods of administrators, and is effective for the same reasons. Administrators commonly ask others to name qualified and willing consultants. A personal referral enhances the possibility one will get cooperative assistance from the other person, and it is also more likely than a random choice to generate a knowledgeable respondent, as the referral is a specific solution to the question of 'tell me who knows about subject X'.

Second, a random sample is the major alternative sampling plan to the snowball. To conduct a random sample, one must specify the population sampled and some rules for random selection of the sample subset. This is difficult to implement for a population which consists of 'all government, medical, business and educational organizations with offices within two
hundred miles of Vancouver, B.C.' No list was available to insure all members had an equal opportunity (a priori probability) of being selected, and any sample would have been characterized by some biases. Further, the researcher needs a starting point including names of specific persons who hold office in the organizations to be studied. The actual incumbents and positions for any organization cannot be known without an organization chart, and obtaining one presupposes organizational entry. Thus selecting respondents, given one had selected the organization, would require a large amount of time and energy while one convinced the senior administration to 1) provide an organizational chart including incumbents and 2) allow employees to be randomly chosen and interviewed. Snowball sampling provides a set of organizations, individuals and related positions more rapidly and without the problematics of gaining entry through the top, then obtaining agreement and finally selecting subjects. In the random design, subjects may refuse at a high rate, thereby biasing the 'unbiased' random sample.

Third, the snowball sampling plan is assumed to lead to greater openness and a lower refusal rate on the part of respondents. Personal acquaintances were approached and the researcher mentioned this, i.e. "I'm phoning because so and so suggested that you could help me." Assuming 'so and so' is a trusted acquaintance, the solicited respondent is unlikely to refuse without 'good reason'. This was supported as only one of eleven respondents who were approached, refused, and she did so 'for good reason' as noted earlier. Also, the respondent may open up more because if he trusts the referring agent, he may tend to trust the researcher more. A random sample might lead to respondents who were suggested by the random design plus the organization chart, and a supervisor who granted permission to approach them. There is no reason to assume any one particular, consistent relationship between respondents and the agent granting entry permission
who would also be invoked to legitimate the request. If respondents did not like him, thought he was spying on them, or whatever, their responses would be influenced in an unspecifiable manner.

In the snowball plan, respondents (except one) knew the referring agent and expressed positive regard for him. This was consistent across respondents. So it is assumed that they were complying with research requests in an effort to help the researcher, as a favored acquaintance of a valued colleague, rather than because they felt it was necessary in order to avoid sanctions from their superior or whatever. Further, I assume they were rather 'open' in their responses because they reasoned I was trusted by their colleague. This is supported with the following evidence. One interview (with respondent UV) was done following an approach where I informed him that he had been selected for reasons of random sample design, and I failed to mention AB as the referring agent. His responses were noticeably more guarded than those of all other respondents, the descriptions he presented lacked detail, and he generally avoided talking about specific cases or actors unless pressured to do so.

Quality of responses is another reason the snowball sampling plan was used. Respondents were not simply some randomly selected actors who may or may not know of interesting cases of succession. They were actors who some other actor selected from a personal stock of acquaintances as the person(s) who could best provide the needed information, i.e. they knew of cases because they had been directly involved with them. This was a legitimate reason for approaching them, as one respondent noted about the cases he was about to describe.

"I think that's what AB had in mind when he recommended that maybe you want to talk to me because I think its probably from a research point of view a very interesting sequence of events" (Respondent ID).
Another, and perhaps sufficient reason for preferring the present sampling plan to the primary 'random' alternative is the use that is to be made of the data. Random designs are necessary where statistical tests are to be used, as these generally assume a random sample. Further, the randomness is taken to be a guarantee of the generalizeability of results. In this study no statistical tests will be conducted, so the random sample assumption is irrelevant here. Further, the task here is theory construction. While it is hoped that the theory will be useful in understanding other cases, the first task is to construct a model that explains whatever data is gathered. The need for generalizeability to other cases is delayed although the use of a constant comparative case method, outlined below, ensures the theory is generalizeable from one included case to another. That is, external validity can only be assessed later, although the use of my stock of knowledge allowed comparison tests with a multitude of cases external to the sample. It seems that a random sample does not guarantee a good, inductively constructed theory, and a non-random sample does not preclude a good theory. Even if one could propose how to implement a random design in this study - and I assert this would be difficult - the contribution of a random sample to the adequacy and generality of the inductively constructed theory would still be questionable, particularly as the cost of doing one may well outweigh its benefits in terms of expense and time.

Finally, we have the problem of 'randomize what?'. While I have been speaking of sampling organizations, the case 'description' is actually the basic unit of analysis in the study. Respondents do not choose cases randomly, and for the researcher to randomly select from those cases which are reported would weaken the study. The rationale for including cases (outlined below) pre-empted a random choice procedure and precludes its implementation.
The snowball sampling plan was thus used because it provided the type of data needed in the study in an efficient manner, insured good quality data - detailed cases and open discussions - and resulted in a very low refusal rate. It also parallels the method by which administrators gather data and hence had both legitimacy for them and an intrinsic subjective appeal to the researcher.

**Contacting Respondents.** The general characteristics of the sampling plan and the respondents have been outlined. The precise manner in which they were contacted and the information they received about the study now requires elaboration. Once the name and phone number of a respondent was obtained, the respondent was telephoned. The researcher identified himself as a researcher, affiliated with the Faculty of Commerce and Business Administration at UBC, who was undertaking a project on organizational succession for his Ph.D. dissertation. The referring agent was identified as someone "who suggested I talk with you about the subject." Respondents then asked what the researcher wanted, and the researcher replied that what was needed was an interview wherein the respondent would recount one case of each of five types of succession. The types were identified and the researcher asked for an appointment with the respondent, noting that once the appointment was arranged he would send a letter detailing the project to the respondent. A time and date was arranged after the respondent had agreed to participate. In two cases (EF and GH), the respondent agreed to participate but asked the researcher to phone him back at a later date to arrange a time. And with one case (MN) the researcher was unable to speak directly with the respondent on the telephone and arranged the interview through his secretary. Here, the letter was mailed and MN phoned the researcher to personally acknowledge receipt of the letter and to express his interest in the project.
A letter outlining the project and requesting permission to tape record the interview was mailed to all respondents within a day or so of contacting them by the telephone. This letter, presented in appendix one, was sent in the standard form as presented, with certain respondent contingent modifications. First, in the fifth paragraph, specific examples relevant to the type of organization of which the respondent was a member were included in an effort to display the meaning of 'relatively similar organizational positions'. Second, in the letter written to MN, the referring agent was mentioned in paragraph one as the impetus for writing the letter, and the researcher noted that he had arranged the interview through the respondent's secretary and hoped that it was satisfactory. Third, with GH and OP respondents asked about unionized positions - paragraph five, sentence one added the terms "which fall under the union agreement" to the phrase "relatively similar organizational positions". Fourth, the next to last paragraph, and letter heading included the specific names and interview times for respondents. Finally, in later respondents (GH, MN and OP) the paragraph requesting further referrals was deleted. The reader may also note from the letter that anonymity of the respondents was guaranteed and emphasized.

An Overview of Organizations in Which Respondents Were Members. The respondents used in this study were all members of one of two organizations. Both organizations are located in the pacific northwest, a geographical region generally characterized by its desireability as a residential location. Indeed, several respondents indicated one reason they accepted a position in their present organization was because of its geographical location. It should be noted that all respondents were males, aged thirty to fifty five, and have college degrees. These range from a bachelor's degree (GH), an M.Ed. (MN), an M.B.A. (IJ), to a Ph.D. (KL).

The government organization is one of the larger regional government
organizations of its type, in the pacific northwest. It has several thousand direct and indirect employees. The organization is governed by a board or council composed of publicly elected members and senior civil servants. The board is chaired by a chief politician who is directly elected for occupancy of the chief position. The elected officials are supplemented by a very large civil service organization. At the top of the civil service is the administrative manager's office which includes the administrative manager and his deputy assistant. Various departments, divisions, and branches exist, and department heads report directly to the manager.

All the government respondents are members of the personnel department. This department supplies personnel services to the range of subunits in the government. All civil servants are hired, promoted, and released through processes which involve agents from the personnel department which is therefore one of the major departments in the government.

The college organization is a medium sized collegiate institution. Its governing body is a board or council composed of 1) members appointed by the provincial government, including the Chairman of the Board, 2) senior administrators, 3) representatives appointed by the academic staff, non-academic staff and students, and 4) representatives appointed by local high school boards. Three respondents were among the four or five most senior level administrators. The fourth respondent was the head of the personnel department.

Conducting the Interviews. The researcher arrived on time for all interviews. He was attired in the same dress pants, short sleeve dress shirt, and tie for all interviews. After greeting the respondent, the researcher asked, "is it ok if I tape record?" The respondent invariably replied yes, and the tape recorder was then brought forth and turned on.

A small cassette tape recorder (Panasonic RQ 212 MS) with the stan-
standard extension microphone was utilized. The tape was battery powered so the researcher did not disrupt the situation by asking the location of an AC outlet. Ninety minute 'low noise' cassettes of various brands were used as the recording medium.

All interviews except one (AB) were conducted in the respondent's office. The interview was preceded by various preliminary talk and once the respondent indicated he was ready to begin, the interview was considered 'started'. Generally respondents asked if there were any instructions. The researcher replied, "no, unless you have questions, just describe one case of each of the types of succession." The respondent then began by stating, e.g. "Well, in the first case..."

The tape recorder remained on throughout the interview. Respondents generally asked their secretary to "hold all calls" so only three interviews were interrupted. The interruptions were brief - all were regarding incoming phone calls - and the tape recorder was shut off during these interruptions, once they were under way.

The researcher provided the necessary affirmations, nods, and so on (e.g. "m hm") during the course of interviews, and seldom asked questions. The questions which were posed were generally attempts to keep the respondent talking when it seemed as if the description he was providing was about to be terminated and had been extremely brief and lacking in any details. Questions were not systematic with the exception of questions asking the respondent to provide a description of a yet undiscussed case type.

The tape recorder remained on until the respondent indicated he had finished all cases, the researcher had no more questions, and was ready to leave. Only one respondent (EF) suggested that the researcher turn the tape off. (This is discussed more fully below in the section on respondent
reactivity).

The interview was thus unstructured. The only hidden agenda the researcher held was that the interview cover or mention five case-types of succession, and that respondents provide names of other respondents. The data presented in data chapters display the general nondirective nature of the interviews. By far the most common researcher utterances were "m hm" and "mmm". Further, the researcher generally responded 'no' when asked if he had more questions, so the respondent was left to decide what constituted a sufficient description. The interactive nature of producing descriptions is discussed more fully in the theoretical chapter at the end of the dissertation.

DATA ANALYSIS

Transcribing the Tapes. Transcription of the tapes was begun only after all interviews had been conducted. This timing was important because the researcher was both the interviewer and the transcriber. To maintain the unstructured nature of interviews, with nonsystematic questioning, I reasoned it was advisable to delay detailed hearings of each interview until all interviews were completed. Premature detailed hearings would probably have altered the researcher's saliences by making visible the various important topics and lacunae in descriptions.

The researcher himself did the transcribing for two reasons. First, he was interested in detailed transcripts, with overlapping utterances, pauses, mistaken grammar, and so on. It appeared it would be difficult to locate a person to do transcribing who would be able or interested in producing such detailed transcripts. Second, training a person to transcribe in a detailed fashion would have been time consuming and costly. The financial constraint was probably the main factor which prevented the researcher from hiring someone to do the transcribing. The transcription of 13
hours of audio tape required over 200 hours of transcribing time, and would have cost at least $1200.00 it if had been done by some other person.

The transcribing method was a direct 'tape to typewritten document' process. The researcher used a dictating/ transcribing machine with a variable speed control which slowed or speeded the tape as a means of clarifying utterances. At foot peddle forward-reverse control allowed the researcher to type the transcript as he was hearing it. Three transcribing units were used at various points, a Sony BM35, a Lanier Edisette II and a Sanyo TC4000. Different machines produced slightly different 'hearings' of the material on tape. The Sony sound was much clearer and more distinct than the others but the machine produced a high frequency 'hum' which disguised softly spoken utterances. The Lanier and Sanyo machines suffered from 'vibrating bass' tones, independently of the loudness of the speaker's utterances. When problematic sections of a tape were encountered, they were replayed on other machines to produce a more adequate 'hearing' and if the utterances still were not clear, the passage was labeled 'indistinct' and, along with the 'clearest hearing', was recorded on the written transcript.

The transcripts which appear in the text of this dissertation are edited versions of the more detailed original transcriptions. Editing involved deleting redundant, repetitive utterances and symbols for pauses. In a very small number of instances a letter or word was added to make utterances meaningful or grammatically proper. Conversational embellishments such as 'uh' and 'you know', which some respondents produced very often, were reduced in frequency in the edited transcript when they did not contribute to the clarity of the utterance. For example, the utterance: "well, uh, I think, uh that I that uh I uh would, you know uh like that," would be reduced to "well uh, I think that I would, you know, like that."
Of course respondents were more lucid in their responses than the sample utterance, and so editing was not as extensive. The purpose of editing was to enhance the 'readability' of the transcripts while reducing the sheer length of them, in an effort to minimize the length of the dissertation.

Selecting the Case Descriptions. Transcriptions of nine interviews yielded thirty distinct cases of succession. As more than one respondent sometimes described a particular case, forty-two descriptions of succession were obtained. Most descriptions, as produced by respondents, involved predecessor departure via some mode, plus advancement, so essentially I had forty-two descriptions of advancement plus cases of other types of succession. The table below summarizes these. Note that the number of cases does not total 30 nor does the number of descriptions total forty-two, because of overlap in the advancement and other types categories.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Succession Type</th>
<th>College Respondents</th>
<th>Government Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>advancement</td>
<td>10 cases: 17 descriptions</td>
<td>20 cases: 25 descriptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>status degradation</td>
<td>3 cases: 4 descriptions</td>
<td>5 cases: 6 descriptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voluntary resignation</td>
<td>2 cases: 3 descriptions</td>
<td>4 cases: 4 descriptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retirement</td>
<td>2 cases: 3 descriptions</td>
<td>6 cases: 6 descriptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>death</td>
<td>1 case: 1 description</td>
<td>2 cases: 5 descriptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td>18 :27</td>
<td>37 :46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Once transcription was finished the researcher reviewed the range of cases and descriptions. There were simply too many cases and descriptions to analyze them all in the body of the dissertation, and some of the cases appeared to be somewhat sensitive and difficult to report while concurrently
preserving the anonymity of the respondent and/or his organization. A sub-set of the total set of cases was then selected for analysis.

Cases chosen for inclusion and analysis in the dissertation were selected by the following criteria. First, only successions involving non-union positions were included, with the exception of the one case of retirement in the college. As union positions are qualitatively distinct in some ways, according to respondents, it was reasoned that including these cases would require further elaboration of background resources, comparisons of union vs. nonunion cases, and hence would force an expansion of the size of the research report, rather than a reduction. But only one retirement case was reported for the college; this happened to involve a union position, and it was included so that the retirement 'cell' would not be empty for the college organization.

Second, only cases which occurred 'inside' the two focal organizations were selected. One respondent from the college, MN, reported several successions in other organizations. These were deleted for purposes of standardizing the sample of descriptions. Third, several sensitive, ongoing cases were reported in the government. These are not analyzed because of the anonymity and confidentiality guarantees, and respondents' post hoc requests that the cases not be explicitly recounted and discussed. In most instances, they requested I not use sensitive material; they had 'opened up' in the interview and released perhaps more information than they would have retrospectively wished to make public. They left the researcher to decide what was sensitive, and I hope I have met their expectations by deleting those cases and utterances which are not included.

Fourth, if there were only one or two cases of a particular type for an organization which were not excluded by the above criteria, these cases were all included. Where there were several suitable cases, the one
or two best cases were selected by preferring those where 1) two or more
descriptions of the same case were available and/or 2) the case had con­
tinuity with specific other cases which had already been selected for
analysis.

The final set of case descriptions chosen for analysis includes the
following, identified by the chapter where they are analyzed. Note that
the category 'advancement' overlapped all other types, so that all other
type cases included advancements and the number of case descriptions in
the advancement chapter is thus rather small.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type and Chapter</th>
<th>College</th>
<th>Government</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>advancement: ch.7</td>
<td>1 case: 3 descriptions</td>
<td>general discussion only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>death: ch.3</td>
<td>1 case: 1 description +</td>
<td>2 cases: 5 descriptions +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>general discussion</td>
<td>general discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voluntary resignation:</td>
<td>1 case: 2 descriptions</td>
<td>1 case: 1 description +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch.4</td>
<td></td>
<td>general discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>status degradation: ch.5</td>
<td>1 case: 2 descriptions</td>
<td>1 case: 2 descriptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retirement: ch.6</td>
<td>1 case: 1 description</td>
<td>3 cases: 3 descriptions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One can see that in the present study the analysis includes twelve
cases involving twenty descriptions as well as respondents' general dis­
cussions on four types of succession. The data base is sufficient for the
theory construction endeavor, as it includes a range of cases and several
multiple description cases. This allows not only intercase, intertype and
interorganizational comparisons and contrasts but it also provides the
opportunity for interrespondent, intracase comparisons.

Analyzing the Transcripts. Once the cases were selected for analy­
sis, the analysis was begun. The types were analyzed in the order in which
the substantive chapters appear in this dissertation - death, voluntary resignation, status degradation, retirement and advancement. Death was selected for the first of the chapters as the data base was smallest for this type, and advancement was analyzed last (although it was also analyzed in each chapter) because it is temporally the last aspect in the common interrelated predecessor departure - successor arrival (advancement) succession sequence.

The analyses proceeded by applying relevant concepts and propositions to each substantive case, in a manner which follows the method used by Gephart (1978). This method is a form of analytical induction (Robinson, 1969). First, a given transcript was inspected on a line by line, utterance by utterance basis. Significant examples of theoretical concepts were noted and discussed in the analysis which parallels the transcript. Discoveries were made at this point where some aspect of an utterance seemed interesting to the analyst, but was not covered, explained or subsumed by pre-existent theoretical concepts. The analyst notes such discoveries and elaborates them in theoretical terms. The primary concept was 'the programmatically constructed entity'. The transcript was reviewed with a particular interest in locating such entities. The analysis notes these and provides a theoretical explanation and discussion of how the entities were indeed programmatically constructed.

The next step in analyzing a case description transcript involved inspecting the analysis, and summarizing in table form the programmatically constructed entities as they were discussed in the analysis. The transcript was again inspected, and events were summarized in a table which outlines the stages or chronological sequence of events, as the respondent reported they originally occurred.

After all the cases for a particular type of succession had been
analyzed, the discussion for each type (and corresponding chapter) was written. The discussion involved comparison and contrasts among the different case descriptions and cases, centering around different substantive entities constructed and differential theoretical components used in the constructions. The adequacy of previously specified propositions was then assessed by discussing the results of the analyses as these related to the propositions relevant to the succession type.

Finally, the conclusion section for each succession type (chapter) was prepared. The conclusions are presented as indirectly constructed propositions which elaborate the previously specified propositions, subsume the results of the analyses, and incorporate various discoveries made in the process of analyses and discussion. The propositions thus form a substantive theoretical model relevant to members' descriptions of the particular type of succession. The substantive models emerge from a comparative analysis of the various case descriptions.

RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

Reliability and validity are two issues of central interest in conventional methodology. Both presume an objective world 'out there' which is measurable more or less accurately. Reliability is concerned with the consistency of this measurement across repeated attempts to measure, and validity describes the accuracy per se. Interview reliability would thus be conceived as the degree of similarity of descriptions of some phenomena across various respondents and interviewers. Validity is the extent to which accounts accurately describe 'what really happened'.

The present research departs extensively from conventional research assumptions (Gephart, 1978b). Following Weick (1977) we have asserted that knowledge of the world 'out there' is inextricably tied to one's means of knowing, hence validity of data is no longer a sensible question in
conventional terms. There is no objective reference point for evaluating the validity of respondents' descriptions. Similarly, reliability of data is made problematic by theorizing that descriptions are context dependent, and the context itself is a resource integral to the fashioning of the description, as are the biographies of respondents and their particular relevances. Thus descriptions of what is ostensibly the 'same case' may differ between respondents due to differences in background knowledge, perceptions of the needs and interests of the hearer of the description, differences in the organizational positions of respondents which are related to the visibility of certain events and practical interests, and so on. The problem at hand is not to display the complete, practical similarity of descriptions but rather to provide a theoretical explanation of similarities and differences in descriptions. The problem is theoretical, not methodological.

Validity and reliability of the data analysis methodology are also conventional concerns. Let us deal with reliability first. The reliability of the analysis, across descriptions (interanalyst, interdescription reliability of analyses) may be assessed and judged in a qualitative manner by the reader. The analyses are made explicit and thus the consistency between them is an issue for the reader to decide. The question of interanalyst reliability is answered in a similar manner. The reader has available the 'raw data', the analyses, discussions and theoretical conclusions. The reader may conduct the analyses him (her)self and compare these to the researcher's. I have not utilized multiple analysts in the present study due to the limited financial resources with which the study was conducted. Put simply, such a multiple analyst methodology would be quite costly. Also, clear comparative qualitative criteria for judging reliability are not available. Perhaps the most direct test of the interanalyst reliability
of the analysis is not whether one can generate an identical analysis, but rather, whether one can sensibly 'follow' and understand the analyses of the researcher. I assume that the reader can do so: if he cannot, the analyses lack interanalyst reliability.

Two major questions may be posed regarding the validity of the analysis. First, one may ask if the analyses correctly and properly employ the concepts. This question may be answered directly by the reader. The data, concepts and analyses are explicitly presented so the reader may decide if the concepts and propositions are properly applied and evaluated.

The next question involves external validity - to what extent may the findings of the present study be generalized to other cases, other descriptions, and unfolding succession events as an observer apprehends them? First, the study is a theory construction endeavor. The extent of support of the theory in various tests is a future endeavor which must await construction of the theory. Conventionally, researchers assume some correspondent between interview accounts, and the events they purport to describe. For our purposes, it is assumed that members' post hoc accounts rely on and include many of the facets of events which were salient and 'talked about' as these events transpired. A theory of events constructed from such accounts is thus likely to illuminate important phenomena encountered in directly observing such events. Thus while the explanatory import of the theory generated in the present study must await future research, and while I assume there is no one to one correspondence between accounts and events as seen by the researcher and/or other members, constructing a theory from interview data seems like a reasonable manner in which to proceed. This is one way of proceeding which has been used by innumerable social scientists in the past.

Second, a theory of succession events and elements is not the pri-
mary goal of the present study. Rather, the major interest is in scientifically theorizing about members' sensemaking processes vis-à-vis succession. Thus whether or not members' accounts are generalizable in substantive form to other cases of succession, this substance is of less interest than the manner in which substance is generated. A metaphor provided by transformational grammar may clarify this. Considering accounts as "surface structure", we may say that these are generated by "deep structure", and two highly dissimilar accounts may be generated by the same deep structure. In this study, we are interested in surface aspects to some extent, e.g. the substantive entities which are programmatically constructed, and the substantive forms these take. But the fundamental interest is in deep structure, i.e. how do members programmatically construct various social phenomena in explaining succession, and how are the explanations warranted as sensible ones? Thus the interest is in how the 'whatsoever bits and pieces' of the events the respondent recalls are assembled into demonstrably sensible descriptions of specific cases. The bits and pieces chosen may vary across respondents, yet it is presumed some bits will be selected, and that standard ways of using these bits and pieces will be discovered.

Third, analysis and theory of practical reasoning concerning succession as done by members in an interview situation is likely to provide insight into their practical reasoning processes in non interview situations. Thus

"The practices through which a feature is displayed and detected ... are assumed to display invariant properties across settings whose substantive features they make observable. It is to the discovery of these practices and their invariant properties that inquiry is to be addressed" (Zimmerman and Pollner, 1970:95).

SUMMARY

Essentially the research involves unstructured interviews with nine respondents from two separate organizations. The respondent sample was
generated by a snowball sampling plan. Interviews were tape recorded and these recordings were transcribed to form the data base. A subset of 42 descriptions of 30 succession cases was then selected for analysis. Analytical induction was undertaken as theoretical concepts and propositions were applied to the data. The application of these theoretical tools involved reviewing the qualitative data on an utterance by utterance and description by description basis to display the utility and meaning of the concepts, and to unearth necessary supplementary theoretical resources. Comparative case analyses were undertaken; the analyses were then summarized in the form of elaborated, succession-type specific propositions. Finally, the substantive type specific theoretical models were integrated into a more general theory of succession.
Chapter 3

DEATH AS A BASIS FOR ORGANIZATIONAL SUCCESSION

Death is relatively unexamined as a phenomenon in organizations, particularly where the event is treated as the basis for organizational succession. In Gouldner's early (1954) study of succession, the death of 'old Doug', the predecessor, was the starting point of a series of succession events. Yet Gouldner focuses on past death events and does not link the precise form of predecessor departure (i.e. death) to particular characteristics of the case, or to later aspects and effects of the succession process.

Succession research in the twenty-five years following the publication of Gouldner's (1954) classic has done little to advance our knowledge of what happens when someone dies while holding an organizational position. Indeed, there appear to be no studies in the academic organizational literature published since that date which treat as a topic the death of a position incumbent. And while research on the social organization of death continues to expand in quantity and scope since Sudnow's (1967) seminal research on the topic, this other research area has yet to be linked to recurrent organizational processes such as succession.

Yet death is clearly one means of departing an organizational position, and its occurrence is marked by significant rituals and a great deal of discussion among associates of the deceased. While death may be the "end-of-life", it can also be an important releaser of advancement processes in organizations, a symbolic "end of an era" and consequently the beginning of a new era. For example, the death of Mao Tse Tung is commonly regarded as a significant point in contemporary history and the political management of the largest country in this world.

It seems likely, then, that the death of an organizational member has
implications for and meanings to other members of the organization. The purpose of this chapter is to explore these implications and meanings by analyzing descriptions of death based succession. The major concerns will be in discovering the various linguistic devices members use to construct a sensible case account of death, the stages or sequence of events which are recalled, and the issues and topics assembled when members are asked to describe a case of death based succession.

In chapter one, it was proposed that different forms of succession would be differentially described in terms of causes, elements, and stages, and a number of analytical constructs were offered as scientific devices for making theoretical sense of the various types. In this chapter, we will begin to utilize these concepts to see what, if anything, they unearth. And by attending to the substantive phenomenon of death, the material will be provided for a later chapter comparing and contrasting the various types of succession.

DEATH AS A RELATIVELY INFREQUENT CAUSE OF PREDECESSOR DEPARTURE

Respondents in both organizations indicated death was a relatively infrequent cause of a person departing an organizational position. This view was more extreme in the college, where respondents all noted that they were not aware of any cases of deaths at the level of either management or the support staff, although a limited number of faculty members had become deceased. The following statements exemplify this contention. Numbers given in parentheses refer to interview number and utterance number. Utterances in brackets were made by the researcher.

VP, Finance: "... I make a basic observation that's interesting because you uh identify five different cases or I guess causes potentially I have never been involved in any case where somebody died [hmm] and that would have caused any kind of succession [mhm] so I cannot relate anything to you based on that." (15: 10-14).
Later nondirective probing of the VP led him to explain why he was unable to provide cases of death.

"...well let's say it this way I'm only thirty eight which means my professional career as a manager [mhm] is really restricted to the years since I graduated in seventy one...so uh even mind you and considered when I saw your letter I considered if I had uh observed anything out of a nonmanagerial before and I do not recall that in my working life I've ever been known ever been aware of uh a case where a worker died [mhm] cannot recall one." (I5: 718-737).

Other respondents from the college provided similar statements:

RG: "...um the other thing I was thinking of is we really didn't talk about death."

KL, Dean: "never had any we have not had a person die in a management position we've had one faculty member drown one commit suicide but they were Joe Faculty [mm] they were not a coordinator." (I6: 800-812).

MN, President: "...ok as I mentioned to you [on the telephone at an earlier time] I have no first hand experience with uh death as a a cause of succession." (I8: 13).

RG: "...you haven't had any deaths of of your unionized employees er or too many you said"

OP, Personnel Director: "no we've had one death of a faculty member...it's all that's ever happened here." (I9: 283-288).

The college was not asked to elaborate on the deaths of the faculty members although the personnel director later recounted some details of one of the deaths (to be discussed below). With the exception of this case, no other examples of death were reported by respondents from the college.

Respondents from the governmental organization reported having observed cases of death, although only two different cases were described. Indeed all four respondents reported the same recent case of the death of a department head, and one respondent merely reported an additional one which occurred much earlier. Even here, the cases often took some 'prompting' and in one instance a respondent initially indicated a lack of knowledge of cases of death prior to recalling and recounting a case.

RG: "you there are a few questions um one you never really
touched...one form of succession is when someone actually
dies and there is a need for immediate replacement did you
have any?"

AB, Assistant Director of Personnel: "ok...I can give you
one right now." (I2: 545-547).

GH, Junior Personnel Consultant: "ok the first one um which
is the toughest one with the city uhh death as being one of
the succession [ya uh huh] now we don't have that many eh
cause we've six thousand employees..." (I10: 25-27).

CD, Senior Personnel Consultant: "...five separate cases
and uh one of each uh unfortunately I couldn't come up with
a death, ok?..." (I3: 7).

later, RG: "um you said you didn't have a case of death uh
can I take it from that that having a position become vacant
due to death is a relatively rare occurrence here or

CD: "Ya relatively rare one has just occurred just recently
I don't know if AB has mentioned it to ya." (I3: 187-189).

Analysis: Respondents clearly accepted and acknowledged the propri­
ety of recounting a case of death as part of the interview. That is to
say, they accepted as legitimate and reasonable the researcher's request
for describing a case of death. This acknowledgement of the legitimacy of
(and their cognizance of) the request is indicated by the finding that all
respondents made utterances which addressed the matter of death, the need
for a case, and if no appropriate case was provided they provided an explan­
ation of why they were not describing such a case. For example, CD stated
"I couldn't come up with a death, ok?"

The VP, Finance is the most explicit respondent regarding why he can
provide no case description. He accounts for this 'lack of a case' by con­
structing a model of his psychological and professional self: his rela­
tively young age and inexperience are the explicit elements of this con­
struction, yet even such a construction is incomplete and requires a back­
ground to be 'sensible'. The implicit theory is, seemingly, that a wide
range of experiences (which comes with age) is composed of observations
in many settings, and the wider the observational range the greater the
likehood one would witness a particular type of recurrent (but not situationally isomorphic) phenomena such as "death of a predecessor". The Finance VP's 'self' is essentially vague and the listener (researcher) is expected to "fill in" the proper theory to find the "reason I can't give you a death" to be sensible and excusable.

The college is relatively young and, according to respondents, many employees are themselves young. One could thus "explain" the relative lack of death in the college by constructing 1) a demographic model of organizational members, as indicated above (young, young employees) and 2) a general model of physiological selves which indicates death occurs relatively more frequently in older persons. Such an explanation may have been implicit in statements of respondents such as the President's who merely noted that he has not "seen" a case of death. Such an explanation is complementary to that of the VP, Finance and clearly involves programmatic construction of certain entities outlined in the theoretical chapter of this study. But whatever the precise theory or knowledge required to turn a statement wherein a respondent describes himself, or merely says "I haven't seen such a case", into a "justifiable reason" for not providing the case, the important point is that both researcher and respondent take for granted that the essential vagueness is or can be resolved by each of them. CD's utterance demonstrates this as he ends his initial statement of inability to furnish with "ok?" implying we can both understand and accept based on our constructions of certain entities that I cannot give you such a case. RG's acceptance of this resolution of vagueness is given in his statement to CD where he reiterates CD's inability claims thereby displaying he accepts these.

The point that "death is relatively rare" as a cause of succession deserves further comment. One must ask how it is that researcher moves
from the statements by members that they cannot provide cases of death, or
the finding that (in the municipal organization) respondents in different
organizational positions report the same case, not differing ones, to the
conclusion that "death is relatively rare". Certain implicit theories are
clearly involved. First, the limited experience notions of the Finance VP
involved in the construction of his 'self' can be inverted and generalized,
then linked to a model of the organization. The researcher holds an image
of the organization, and locates respondents as relatively high status mem-
bers. He theorizes that they are "experienced" in several organizations
(construction of others' selves), are sufficiently socially competent to
recognize deaths, and would be motivated to report these to him. In parti-
cular, I theorize that respondents' views of events within their current
organization should include [allow them to see] most if not all "succes-
sions"; that is, the researcher's image of the organization obtained through
imaginatively taking the position of respondents includes a construction of
the scenic events available to persons in such organizational positions.
The conclusion, stated simply, is that the respondents should, could, and
would witness and report cases of death if such cases indeed occurred.
Their general inability (college) or limited stock of cases (government)
thus evidence the relative infrequency of death. Not only is the Finance
VP (the least experienced and youngest respondent from the college) unable
to provide cases, the others (more experienced) also have difficulty. If
death were frequent, the more experienced members would be expected to re-
call more cases than they do.

This analysis has taken as a point of departure the finding that both
respondents and the researcher conceive of death as a relatively infrequent
and hence unusual cause of succession. The concern is not to display death
as infrequent and hence unimportant in terms of succession variance accounted
for or whatever or to establish the factuality of this quantification. To respondents, quantification of the frequency of death based succession is undertaken for practical purposes of completing the interview (see especially the GH quotation), keeping the researcher happy, not appearing uncooperative, and so on. The researcher, similarly, quantifies death as part of constructing an explanation of why so few case descriptions were elicited. This (common sense) quantification is thus shown to be part of common sense accounting practices, and the point of theoretical interest has been in establishing how the researcher and respondents come to decide death is relatively infrequent as a cause of succession.

The next issue is, then, to examine members' actual accounts of death based succession. Given that death is seen not only as a cause of succession, but also and particularly as a relatively infrequent, hence uncommon and sometimes unpredictable cause, then we should find this infrequency is itself an important resource for and outcome of the production of accounts of death based succession. That is to say, the common sense finding that death based succession is relatively rare includes relegating the phenomena to a class of "rare events" which have distinct and general properties and meanings that differ from members of the class of "common events".

Sudnow (1967) has shown that such infrequent events if visible in an organizational setting generally arouse interest and are significant "news" as topical events in informal conversations. They may receive more widespread interest than routine matters, hence are talked about to and by a wide range of organizational participants in all segments of the organization where the events 'stand out' against the routine background. Our finding that all four respondents in the governmental organization reported the same case of a recent death is consistent with the argument that its 'rareness' or 'uniqueness' made it a topic of abnormally great interest.
and salience. One may compare this with the findings (discussed later) that 1) the same four municipal respondents\(^1\) reported nine different cases of retirement based succession but only two respondents reported the same case on two occasions and 2) for all types of succession, the department head case was the only case which more than two members reported. Thus the uniqueness of the case made it an important topic for conversation, and the case became 'general knowledge' in part because of these conversations. However, one would expect to find some differences in accounts of events corresponding to the differences in the positions of respondents, i.e. a social distribution of knowledge. I now turn to these accounts for further insight into the manner in which members make sense of the death of the incumbent of an organizational position.

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\(^1\) A fifth respondent, the head of a different and geographically separate department within the organization, also reported the same case of death, and this was the only case of death he was able to report.
CASE 1: THE UNEXPECTED DEATH OF THE RETIRING PL DEPARTMENT HEAD

The head of the PL Department of the governmental agency died unexpectedly a few weeks prior to the time that the interviews used in this study were conducted. The case was well known to respondents in the organization, and their descriptions are provided below. Brief utterances enclosed in brackets [ ] are those of the researcher, and numbers given in the margin are the sequential number assigned to utterances in the original transcript.

Respondent 1: AB, The Assistant Director of Personnel

550 um there was a department head that again its department so it stays all the same [m hm]

552 same area 'bout the same level uh we decided to be t'retire January the uh thirty first [m hm] seventy nine [m hm]

556 ok? so we have started a recruiting process [m hm]

558 uh advertising we did send outside good outsider two possible insiders before this decision could be made he goes on a trip on a boat to Mexico and dies on the boat or uh somewhere in the Carribean or somewhere [m hm]

560 dies on the boat now um there was previously to this situation there was a report prepared looking at that department and another one and a third one to sort of throw everything all three departments in one big pot and then reorganize the whole thing [m hm]

562 ok um council didn't want to to do anything which we felt um the administrative manager some people felt it was a mistake to do this the way we had suggested to council to MAKE THAT DECISION NOW before the appointment has been made [m hm]

564 that was the idea um they decided on the set up they found we go ahead they post the position and then we'll see what we get and maybe uh what we are getting we might still be saying ok let's do the reorganization first or something of this or let's organize on the basis of what we're getting if we get an EXCELLENT person who has very particular um uh oh let's say an outstanding person who is is strength in parti­cular areas [m hm]

565 then maybe that will influence us what to put into one of the units we are going to create this reshuffling up so uh but that the fellow died sort of um there was no more time uh January thirty first to go through all of this [m hm]

568 and suddenly the decision had to be made are we going to do this or are we not going to [mmmm hm]
ok? so uh the matter of uh reassessment of these depart­ments of these different functions what to do with them is now going on the recruiting process has been stopped [m hm]

everybody has been notified who was in there either you are no longer under consideration you are out the two insiders and the outsider were told this is what we are going to do now and one of the assistant directors by the way the two insiders were are both assistant directors in their depart­ment [m hm]

one of them was told that he is going to be the acting chief [m hm]

acting department head [m hm]

far as I'm concerned that's the least the not the one who probably would get the job [hmm]

which was a very smart move uh and it all happened while I was away so I had no hand in this [uh huh - RG then laughs]

annnd um but its very possible now with these two being there and this assessment going on what might happen is that something will run by the guy who's now running it uh as act­ing right? [m hm]

and the part which is now under the other assistant director in that department plus something else will form a new depart­ment [mm]

so they'll both become a department [oh! uh]

hey [takes care of one of them]

but that's not clear what will happen there [m hmm]

Analysis, Respondent 1. AB first locates the target position and links this case to the ongoing interview by stating how the target posi­tion is similar to other positions (same department, same area, same level; 550-552). Background is provided by mentioning the normally emerging re­tirement/recruitment process which was underway, and doing preliminary con­structions of the selves of successor candidates (552-558). The death is located physically, geographically and organizationally: it occurs both "on a boat to Mexico" and "before this (successor selection) decision" (558). The death thus breaches or disrupts a normally emerging organiza­
tional process within an organizationally relevant time frame.

The governmental organization is constructed as four distinct entities; 1) "we" (e.g. 562) refers to the personnel department which is viewed as having certain duties and activities, including recruitment, 2) council is displayed as a rule making body capable of producing enforceable organizational schemes, decisions, and successors, 3) the administrative manager's office and 4) three departmental organizations (other than personnel). The traditional scheme of the fourth entity is being contested: a report has been prepared which offers a construction of the "departments" that differs from the present form.

Personnel had requested council to choose between schemes, but council deferred by proposing an abstract social psychological model of the successor and theorizing that the final organizational scheme to be formalized by them should or could be contingent on matching this scheme to the successor's characteristics. The death is again used as a resource to explain the disruption of the normal retirement based succession process and a model of the departmental organization including an image of functional integrity is implied: organizations need a leader at all times, and death disrupted the 'normal' time frame by reducing slack time across which the recruitment process unfolds, thereby giving immediacy to the need: "there was no more time... to go through all of this." (566).

It seems that a generally accepted organizational scheme is a necessary resource for accomplishing succession; indeed the term succession itself finds meaning only in terms of an organizational scheme with positions wherein succession can happen. As there are now two competing schemes - the "old" one and a new one proposed in the report - one scheme must gain ascendancy before it is sensible or possible for someone to become a successor. This competition between schemes is, however, itself useful to
members attempting to accomplish succession: prospectively, the competition between schemes leads to cessation of recruitment, and retro­spectively it can be used to account for the cessation. Candidates who may fit the needs of one or both schemes are offered the competition between schemes as both a "reason" the process is in limbo, and as an account of what is happening now (572). Other candidates presumably are seen as not fitting into the needs of either scheme (at least as well as certain candidates do) and hence are eliminated from the process. Clearly, then, what the organization needs vis-à-vis a successor is a matter decidable only once some scheme or schemes of the organization are available for use by persons engaged in the search.

Recruitment may be being delayed, yet organizational needs for rapid choice of some leader still are functioning. Hence the old scheme has been invoked and modified into a tentative scheme, which allows appoint­ment of an 'acting head'. AB indicates he would prefer one of the two ins­iders over the other, and accounts for failure of his choice to be selected by appealing to a model of his social psychological self which includes the cyclical element of his "work year". He was "away" (on vacation) when the choice was made (580). This of course adds a characteristic of power to AB's model of himself - presumably had he been here, things would have been different.

Negotiation of the organizational scheme is then noted as a currently ongoing process. The old scheme has perhaps left some problems - two persons who expect to succeed into some position (582), their expectations being based on the advancement process operative under the old scheme. AB then offers a hypothetical scheme which could solve this problem i.e. sub­sume both insiders. However the ongoing negotiation is once again empha­sized in the 'closing' of his account (590).
Respondent 2:  CD, The Senior Personnel Consultant

um you said you didn't have a case of death uh can I take it from that that having a position become vacant due to death is a relatively rare occurrence here or

ya relatively rare one has just occurred just recently I don't know if if AB has mentioned it to ya the director of this department permits and license died while on a cruise uh [hm]

uh down in the south uh that happened about a month ago [mmm]

uhh maybe I should discuss this because there's some interesting uh nothing has happened [hmm]

as yet no one has got the job on a permanent basis this individual that went into this position of assistant director uhh of inspections is filling it on an acting basis at the moment but two years ago there was a report done from the manager's office uh really looking at the whole question of the P and L department uhh organizationally and uh looking at other departments engaged in similar activities and uh there was a report done at that time by Jim Jones in the manager's office uhh to look at an alternate way of setting up these particular departments that would cut across maybe three department boundaries nothing was ever done on that report it was shelved [mhm]

when the director died Dr. Bernes uhh we were at the time looking for a replacement for him because he was going to retire next year the competition had been posted Roger was one of the candidates this individual but no decision had been made [m hm]

the death I think was the factor that made the manager and council decide ok at this time perhaps this is the time to get that report back out and take another look at the reorganization of the department and its association with these other departments so they made the decision to fill it temporarily with this individual pending further study of that organizational report uhh they said its going to take six months to review this so we're looking at the end of the year before the manager's office and council are are in a position of making a decision uhh what happens then is is really anybody's guess they may decide to do nothing uh at that juncture I would say Roger having six months experience depending whether or not he's done a good job would mean whether or not he gets the position it would be almost that simple if he's done a poor job I would say he won't get the position [ya - RG then laughs]

if he's done a good job he'll get the position so in many ways you might look on this as sort of a preprobationary period
the guy's in you know it may not be meant that way but that's [huh - RG then laughs]

that's what it might end up being its definitely going to give him the inside track you see there was another division head also applying for this and in our submission to the manager-personnel's submission we rated these guys fairly closely together one's strengths were the other weaknesses it was this type of a relationship y'know where one was good the other wasn't so good this type of thing and uh we had difficulty pulling out a clear choice between these two individuals it gave a slight edge to this individual when they put him on an acting basis but not that much but that slight edge may grow to be considerably more than a slight edge with this acting time y'know so in one way you might say well this is unfair to this other division head and in certain aspects it is in that sense because he hasn't had his opportunity to show y'know what he could do in a like situation

The uh the death itself then acted in a sense as a a catalyst for council to say well let's hold on and then let's look for some of these old

I think I think either as a catalyst or an excuse [mmm]

I'm not sure what it really was uhh but uh I think it was probably that more than anything else

hmm

y'know they were faced with the decision you know uh looking at these internal applicants maybe they were faced with the decision of of two people a difficult choice to make and uh that might have released them from making that choice right away [hmm] y'know

oh so so you actually went through a the process of coming up with a short list of candidates for council

ya we did so right we had come right up to the position of short list of uh of candidates uh for council [oh]

well and uh another two or three weeks and council would have had to make the decision y'know under the normal circumstances unless they still would have said well let's hold the whole thing off and take a look at the organization but I don't really think they would have unless there'd have been something else happen and that's why I think it was the uh Dr. Berne's death that probably gave them the excuse they were looking for or acted as a catalyst for them to say that I don't know which it really was

ya was it the fact that he occupied such a central position that they could undertake a major or reorganization after he
had left but before it would have been

216 uhh let's put it this way they probably thought that it would be difficult to do it with him in there [m hm]

218 uhh that he would be very reluctant to a lot of the changes [uh huh]

220 and it would probably different be difficult to accomplish with him in there

221 RG was his actual position had he been been around when they tried to do this reorganization would it have changed his position he would have ended up in another formal position would he have is that

222 uhh what it would mean is that where we now have three people uh two at senior division head levels in other departments and one being at a director level there might have only been the one at a director level and two others considerably reduced [m hm]

224 the possibility is that this current director might not have been the director of this new department ok it could have been somebody else hypothetically so uh the most desireable candidate maybe was not the person who occupied the highest position at this point [m hm]

226 so in other words it could have meant uh possibility of demoting a department director

227 RG mmm so then it was a fairly substantial or it could be a reasonably substantial reorganization

228 ya very much so ya [ya]

230 ya as I say it was not just a reorganization within a department but it cut across other departments [uh huh]

234 y'know and uh one of the director or who the director would be would be a good question at that particular time and how much this would reduce the permits and license department is another another question

235 RG an interesting case I was wondering and I I don't mean ta probe inta the gory details but how did the city find out the fellow who had uh died had died

236 got a telegram the telegram came from his wife [uh huh]

238 uhh that it uh that it had happened and how

239 RG where did she send it to actually?

240 to the administrative manager
Analysis, Respondent 2. CD's account follows that of AB rather closely. The death is located temporally, geographically, within the organizational hierarchy and is an aspect to be discussed in the interview. The case is stated to be interesting because it departs from normal successions (193-195) where a permanent successor is soon selected - here, only an acting head has thus far been selected thus the present case is visible as a departure from normal events, seen against this normal background. CD then constructs the administrative manager's office and the P and L department rather more explicitly than did AB by assigning certain activities to their respective domains.

The proposed but tabled organizational scheme is briefly outlined. Again, the normal background of retirement/succession events are outlined and the death is emphasized as the factor which disrupted the normal flow. The death combines with the proposed organizational scheme as a resource for council and the manager's office: a gambit of compliance and/or model of style for succession processes in the city organization is implied (214) and thwarted where council and manager are seen to use this resource and particularly to invoke the report as a reason for deferring selection of a permanent successor (199, 208, 214). As the new scheme is inconsistent with the old, compliance with its positional incumbent needs can be met only if the old scheme is prevented from causing problems and this is facilitated by deferring selection of incumbents for regular positions. This deferral, as a departure from normal routines is of course the phenomena which restrospectively is seen to be interesting (see especially 214). Council is also constructed as a set of psychological selves, motivated to avoid difficult choices (208) and to use excuses.

Individual characters constructed in this account include the author
of the alternative organizational scheme (a functionary in the manager's office), successor candidates, and the predecessor. The predecessor's self is of particular interest. The physiological self was constructed by referring to the death. However, in accounting for why the reorganization was tabled but resurrected after the predecessor's death, a social-psychological self is constructed for the predecessor (204-219). Motivationally, Dr. Bernes is shown to be "reluctant" of the proposed changes. This reluctance is explicable by a model of the functional integrity of the social self. The reorganization could have changed (reduced) his social position directly or by altering the positions of his associates (222-228 and especially 234). In any event, the changes would disrupt the continuity and stability of his long held position. Further, Dr. Bernes is shown to be a "powerful" individual who could prevent the changes (216-218). Dr. Bernes is thus constructed with motives for resisting change which are linked to a model of the integrity of his social psychological self, as well as with the social characteristic of "power" which explains why the reorganization never occurred prior to his death. Social psychologically he might also be shown to be a "good leader" motivated to protect his department and associates from loosing power after his departure. All in all, he is constructed as a social psychological self characterized by the motives and means for preserving the integrity of the traditional P and L department organizational scheme.

Clearly certain persons must be made aware of the death of an incumbent. All respondents appear to take for granted that relevant persons and/or organizations have been notified, as they omit the "how of notification" from their accounts. In a sense it is a precondition of succession as respondents view it. Only with prompting was one respondent, CD, induced to describe the notification.
The researcher seems to have a notion of proper style of interview questions, and indicates he thinks he is breaching such stylistic notions by "probing into the gory details" (235). He constructs the government as the entity which must be made aware of death, and CD elaborates by specifying the precise suborganization (office of the manager) which receives such notices. The deceased director's wife is also offered as a resource for explaining notification. Again, the sensibility of this aspect is "obvious" to both the researcher and respondent although it is unexplicated. Their background knowledge provides schemes of marriage which include compliance demands, "if your marital partner dies, you are responsible for or have the authority to announce this to others", and notions of style, "husbands and wives often travel together on vacation". Thus it comes as "no surprise" that the announcement was made by the wife of the deceased, and both the researcher and the respondent can imaginatively envisage the death events including the wife's actions (making funeral arrangements, notifying others, etc.) by programmatically constructing a scheme of marriages. The schemes constructed by each may differ substantively but a reciprocity of perspectives between the two of them is assumed for the purposes of the interview; the essential vagueness of the marriage scheme is therefore taken as resolved: each assumes the other constructs a scheme, similar to his own, which allows for the announcement as an expectable matter of course. The failure of the researcher to question the sensibility of the answer, for example, by asking "I don't understand - why was it his wife who notified you?" and the failure of the respondent to ask if the researcher understands the response, together display that practical resolution of the vagueness of the entity central to the explanation was by no means problematic to either the researcher or respondent.
The question of successor choice is also a major part of CD's description. Maintenance of the integrity of the governmental organization is an implicit model from which one can generate the actions of appointing a temporary head. The choice of one scheme over another will take a relatively long time (199), so the temporary appointment is made in order to fill this need without preempting the process of choosing schemes. Appointing a 'regular' head would seem to give precedence to the old scheme in terms of which the position exists, and a temporary appointment makes explicit the fact that the scheme may be superceded.

Yet the interim continuance of the present scheme provides advantage to one candidate as it allows him to gain experience. The ramifications of this are clear where CD compares models of the two successors from the recruiters point of view, i.e. schemes of their social psychological selves (203). If experience is added to the model of one candidate, he clearly is a more desirable candidate than the other, given common rules of the selection procedure. CD does note this seems to violate some generally acceptable norm of fairness whereby each should have an equal opportunity to "prove himself" (203).

Even though the present selection process is shown to depart from 'common procedures', these procedures suggest an interpretation - the temporary appointment as a "preprobationary period" (201). Thus departures from common practice may still be normalized through the metaphors they suggest and seemingly anomalous events can be sensibly reduced to being similar to those phenomena which are already part of the member's stock of knowledge. The events are not part of a new cycle but are merely an early portion of an established process.

Respondent 3, EF: Director of Employee Training

44 in terms of succession I can think of one specific case and
now this will not be at the same organizational level as other instances that I'm going to give you so but I'm just trying to think of cases where we have the uh director pass along not too long ago uhh who was um nearing retirement as well [m hm]

46 now I can tell you from having talked to that man uhh that he was very very happy to be retiring um he had done those things which he felt were necessary with respect to the department that he was directing and uh in terms of his successor uhh I participated in the designation of the position uh creating the position which his successor filled while waiting for the bosses retirement and it was understood that the incumbent of the particular position uhh would be in succession for the job of director when this gentleman retired - retired (clears throat) - as it turned out he was going to retire early uh he unfortunately passed away while on a bit of a vacation trip and um the man who we hired at the time in the position that the director and I had discussed creating and which uh then the people up at city hall agreed to have this job created uh both in the personnel office and at the manager's level um it was agreed that this job be created to provide a successor for the director and uh the guy that went into the job is now um is now acting director and I suspect uh uh well it's um uh job's being advertised I think its a foregone conclusion that this particular individual will go into it so it was a very nnnicely planned uhh bit of organizational succession up to and including the creation of a position for this individual to come into when he first came to the government [mhm]

48 uhh because we didn't feel that there was anyone at that time who was qualified to go into the position of uh director one of the reasons of course that we didn't feel that we had someone qualified was that in addition to the director going out at that particular time the two senior assistant directors were also uhh retiring at the time that we set this position up one was going to retire within one year and the other within two and now this thing here happens within three so uh it was a I would say a three year planned effort in terms of succession in that particular case I would go further and suggest that that is the exception rather than the rule [hm]

Analysis, Respondent 3. Many elements found in EF's account are similar to those appearing in accounts by others. Initially the case is located vis-á-vis 1) present purposes at hand - the interview (44), 2) the normal temporal/seasonal cycle of an individual in an organization (during vacation: 46) and 3) the organizational position of the deceased member. Thus the organization is constructed as a normal background which includes temporal aspects of located involvement of members (work time vs.
vacation time) and normal maintenance processes with common sequences, such as retirement-succession. The deceased person is constructed as a social psychological self with 1) a 'normal' career path, including vacations and retirement as points along the way (44) and 2) a motivational/emotional self ("very happy to be retiring": 46). And the successor is briefly mentioned with a time frame assigned to his organizational role: "waiting for the bosses retirement" (46).

Against the background of normal organizational and self background expectancies, the death is clearly visible: it preempts 1) the wait for retirement as a basis of succession and 2) normal retirement per se as an individual career phenomenon.

The governmental organization is constructed as a general entity including 'normal succession' sequences, and a number of members who reach general understandings and modify the general scheme (46). It is also displayed as composed of distinct subunits - the administrative manager and the personnel officer - as well as discrete positions in a hierarchy. EF's own activities in the case are illuminated and these are sensible, given that one holds schemes of the organization which includes EF holding a position where compliance demands and stylistic considerations call forth his involvement in the succession process. That is, his acquaintanceship with the deceased, his actions in succession planning, and his general knowledge of the situation are interpretable by an organization scheme which the researcher constructs as a resource for rendering EF's account sensible. EF is not just 'any man on the street' or 'any friend of the deceased' but is the incumbent of a particular position linked to a scheme which furnishes an 'organizational' basis, motives, and viewpoint for EF's activities, knowledge and claims. This general assertion is of course applicable to other respondents as well. Respondents' knowledge is socially
contexted, and is comprehensible only in terms of certain theories used by the researcher which form his background for understanding their talk.

To EF, the choice of a successor was not spurious but was part of the unfolding of a rational, planned effort with an historical background. Here a model of functional integrity is apparent. The organizational scheme was altered to provide a position for a potential successor because 1) a successor is almost invariably required and 2) the normal means of producing one, the 'next person in line' rule, is inoperative because of near simultaneous multiple successions - all qualified internal candidates were retiring (48). A self-maintaining mechanism was thus built into the scheme by creating a position for the now acting head; this position thus makes the 'next-in-line' rule operable.

Death was itself more an untimely releasor of a previously structured succession, than a disruptive breach of the common advancement cycle. EF thus does not indicate he foresees any changes in the standard organizational scheme (a matter AB & CD emphasized), and its preservation seems all but guaranteed by claiming the acting head's permanent appointment is "a for-gone conclusion" (46).

Respondent 4, GH: Junior Personnel Consultant

25 um ok the first one um which is the toughest one with the city uhh death as being one of the succession [ya uh huh]

27 now we don't have that many eh 'cause we've six thousand employees including the outside we've very little involvement with the outside [mm]

29 its strictly inside really um now I can think of one individual now this person was a department head [mmm]

31 due to retire within the year went on vacation and unfortunately passed away on vacation [mm]

33 now before he went on vacation we had advertised for the position to fill it uhh because we wanted an overlap period a training period before he left so what happened is that uh when he unfortunately died we had to speed up the recruiting process and readvertise again and hurry up the whole process
now somebody had to act in his absence so we appointed uh the next logical person in the heirarchy of the department to act in his place [m hm]

uh and that person still is in in his position when he was appointed as acting department head we had to fill his position with somebody else in the department to act and it was a chain reaction all the way through the organization uh to branch head [m hm]

and that's the way it progressed now um let's see ok the normal procedure in a case like that in any position comparing this case with another case of succession

now in this (other) position its a little bit easier to fill because he had a deputy the other position where the person died he didn't have a deputy

Analysis, Respondent 4. This account has several characteristics found in other accounts. GH initially locates his account within the on-going interview ("the first one": 125) and thus explicitly links his talk to a scheme of the research enterprise with fairly clear compliance demands (25, 29): that is, respondents should provide accounts of five types of succession. Fulfillment of these demands is shown to be somewhat difficult by displaying that such cases are relatively infrequent (27). This infrequency is itself explicable in terms of a proposed demographic model of the organization which features 'size of membership' as a causal factor determining the number of cases of succession due to death.

The death is located organizationally (position of incumbent) and in terms of individual career and organizational cycles (on vacation). We find an emphasis on the organizational background of succession planning, and a common, typified retirement-recruitment process. The death is seen against this background as a disruptive, unexpected and untimely happening for practical organizational purposes (33). Functional integrity - a leader or position incumbent is necessary - serves as an implied rationale for speeding up the recruiting process (33). Indeed, disruption of the unfolding, expected, and 'rational' process leads to a recycling of the process
rather than abandonment - the common scheme for recruitment is invoked and its prescriptions again undertaken, now on a shorter or more hurried temporal dimension. The departmental organizational scheme is also utilized to produce a successor - the scheme provides a "next logical person in the hierarchy" (33) as a successor. However, even though the organizational scheme successfully produces a successor, the respondent has a clear notion that certain schemes such as those which include a deputy position (55-57) lead more readily to solutions to certain problems than do substantively different schemes which omit such 'next-in-line' positions.

The successor choice exemplifies the 'next-in-line rule' common to the succession process which is part of a more general chain reaction principle - if one person moves up, somebody else moves into his old position, and so on. Using the organizational scheme, then, we expect and see that the advancement of one member is not an isolated event but is part of a causal sequence. The organization is an integrated unit, and changes in one part lead to changes in others.

GH's shift from a case specific description, to talk about the normal procedure allows one to retrospectively clarify the significance and meaning of the actual events by again casting these in terms of a normal background. The more that we know about what might, could, and generally does happen, the more we are able to understand why the 'actual' events happened as they did. Again, we can note this background knowledge is essential if the researcher is to see the problems, solutions, and interesting anomalies as well as the expected "matter of course" events which transpired, and which are clear to the respondent. Provision of the background is an essential resource and task of the respondent attempting to help the researcher "see" the events as the respondent himself does. That task is central to and constitutive of providing a sensible account of some phenomenon
to some other person.

**CASE 2: THE DEATH OF THE MEDICAL HEALTH OFFICER, GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION**

Respondent, AB: Assistant Director of Personnel

592 uh let me just think if I can remember any case where a department head died uh yes that goes back to nineteen sixty or sixty one the medical health officer had a heart condition had a heart attack while driving uh realized probably just before he died that what was happening slowed his car down and ended up just knocking uh just driving against the tree but without demolishing the car or anything like that [m hm]

594 so um there was a big search done [m hm]

596 and uh we ended up uh with the present medical health officer [hmm]

598 from outside

599 RG in the case there though generally the assistant director takes over in the immediate interim?

602 ya, but there was no assistant the problem is uh this is general here with medical health officers public health specialists [m hm]

604 very few good ones [hm]

606 they are generally people who can't stand the sight of blood something like that [uh huh - RG then laughs]

608 you know eh you are laughing

609 RG ya just thinking

610 now uh who for one reason or the other choose the wrong job [m hm]

612 fancy themselves to be administrators very often are not uh because there were very few in the country what we got were all uh foreign medical health officers [m hm]

614 who for one reason or another uh didn't like their home country any more they knew the salaries here over here were higher and uh or they were the drags from over there nobody wanted them any more [hmm] hanging around us medical health officers [mmm]

618 and then in addition people want to come to retire here (in this city and geographical area) [m hm]

620 so they at the age of sixty they're sitting in some God for-
saken place in the east [m hm]

where its cold in the winter and hot during the summer and they say ok that would be nice and all they do they want to sit on their ass and not do anything and here there are lots of things to do with the drug scene and all that sort of [m hm]

and um so uh you have great difficulties finding good medical health officers [mmm hmmm]

and we were lucky at the time and I think uh I mean from his reputation again and I'm not uh he has his faults and all the rest of it uh but he's a damn good health officer [um hmm]

you know he is he is uh advanced he keeps up he's flexible sometimes maybe too flexible [hey]

um he is good I have my problems with him but I like the man he is good [m hm]

you know so um he was found by one of our people and he was young [m hm]

he was young he was at the time he became he was thirty two or thirty five or something or older [m hm]

he is only figure he came in sixties fifteen years older he is about fourty five [m hmmm hmmm]

now so um uh the same process basically on paper the same process somebody disappears for whatever reasons [m hm]

posted its advertised department heads can now take it from there [m hm]

**Analysis of Case 2**: AB is the only respondent who reported this case perhaps because it occurred some 18 years ago and others, being younger than he, were perhaps not aware of it. Certain elements found in the other case accounts may be noted here. First, the death is located 1) temporally, 2) in terms of the organizational position of the incumbent, 3) spatially (in an auto) and 4) and in terms of a sequence of everyday life activities (while driving). Second, the deceased member is constructed as a motivational self - a person cognizant of imminent death who was motivated to control his vehicle. AB also constructs a physiological self for the officer, providing him with a "heart condition" which makes the death
and the officer's last minute activities 'sensible' by assigning to the "cause" an historical basis. The organization is implied by referring to a search process - presumably some entity must exist for which search processes are a common concern - as well as by noting the formal position vacated.

The researcher has clearly provided a normal background course of events from which a successor is commonly produced, and offers this as a prediction and explanation of successor choice. AB however, refutes this, discarding the relevance of the normal process by indicating it was breached as there was no assistant i.e. the organizational scheme did not readily furnish a successor candidate. Successor selection was problematic for other reasons, which themselves could explain the lack of a deputy. Thus a labor market is indicated and it is claimed to be very small in terms of the number of competent persons available.

AB then goes on to construct a model of the typical social psychological selves of members of the profession (health officers: 606-625) and shows that they do not 'match' the characteristics of the general schemes of good medical doctors (606) and good administrators (612). These standard candidates are also provided with motives deriving from 1) a hedonistic psychological basis - desire for an easy job (622), avoid the cold (622), 2) a career sequence linked to demographic characteristics - find a nice place for the next stage, retirement (618, 620) and 3) a financial self desiring a higher salary (614). This multidimensional typification or scheme of the selves of labor pool members makes reasonable and sensible the conclusions that 1) "you have great difficulties finding good health officers" (624), 2) there was no deputy health officer and 3) successor selection required going outside for candidates.

The standard scheme of candidates is then used as a background inter-
pretational scheme which displays the successor as "a damn good public health officer" (626). His characteristics (young, flexible, advanced and good: 628, 634) contrast with the standard scheme and its implications (old, inflexible, outdated, poor officer, lazy and so on). And AB's judgement of the successor is buttressed and supported by 1) invoking general knowledge and opinions of the man, "his reputation" (626) and 2) showing his own judgement is somewhat objective because AB can also see his faults (626-630).

The final portion of the account involves explication of the general recruitment scheme and emphasizes its standard nature i.e. it is standard across all successions independent of the cause of predecessor departure (639-641). The background thus completes the account by outlining a mechanism for producing successors.

**CASE 3: THE DEATH OF A COLLEGE FACULTY MEMBER**

**Respondent, OP: Personnel Department Head**

470 RG you've mentioned and this is getting out of the union situation I guess that there had been the death of a faculty member

473 ya

474 RG there may be if you could tell me well off hand

475 ok not much because we don't handle faculty in this office but uh a faculty member died he actually was a coordinator they found another coordinator [m hm]

477 and presumably hired another faculty member into his specialty or whatever he was teaching [m hm]

479 uh he actually died in the summertime the inactive time so it wasn't a [hmm]

481 an emergency situation or anything to cover classes

483 uh so this seemed very smooth sort of he was here and then he wasn't here um

484 RG m hm mm I guess that's the sort of thing that you pick up mostly just through the grapevine er
well we get involved because we look after all the uh benefit packages for faculty too [oh]

so things like life insurance and accidental death and dismemberment all of that kind of stuff goes through our office so we do a lot of processing after the event [m hm]

so that uh that's how we find out

RG m hm I take it then you had a lot of contact with the fam­ily of the deceased and [incomprehensible] contacted you

uhhhhhhh our officccccce in that particular case actually had a lot of contact with the lawyers representing the the wife and the common law girlfriend [oh! RG then laughs]

some conflict there in going after the estate and [hmm]

getting the money so we had we took you might say a very neutral role in simply providing information we were the link to the carriers because sort of the evidence had to be established the certificate of death and everything else had to go to the life insurance people we sought it from the family and sent to the life insurance [hmm]

that type of thing

RG m hm oh I see that's interesting I hadn't thought of the lawyers being the intermediaries is that peculiar to the case?

well in that particular case ya normallyyy perhaps not [hm]

it would just be uh more interaction with the family just getting the evidence [m hm]

that the carriers sort of insist on

Analysis of Case 3: RG begins the topic by invoking research compliance demands (give union cases) and modifying these to allow OP to elaborate a particular case. OP then constructs the college organization in the process of locating the death: it is located vis-à-vis a particular position or positions and also relative to the organization's temporal based flow of events i.e. it occurred "during summertime" (479-481). This temporal aspect is of particular interest as this is the resource used to display that the death was relatively nonproblematic. The organization is constructed with a model of functional integrity - faculty are needed during
the regular school year, but given the timing of the death, no "emergency" or threats to integrity occurred (479-481).

The selection of a successor is viewed as following the expected process and this process receives little explication, presumably because anomalies did not arise. OP thus appeals to what he considers taken for granted background knowledge i.e. the successor selection process. Given there were no anomalies, he assumes the researcher "knows the process in general" and needs no further details to apply an ideal type scheme of the general process to the specific case - had anomalies arisen, these would likely have been reported as specific departures from normalcy (given OP knew of the anomalies). I am arguing, then, that statements such as "they found another coordinator" (475) and "this seemed very smooth" (483) are warranted as complete and sufficient accounts only where the 'taken for granted general knowledge' composed of abstract ideal type schemes of processes can be referred to or assumed. Such 'simple' explanations are not warranted where the general models they imply were inadequate descriptors of events, as members saw them. However, description of departures from assumedly shared, general schemes requires elaboration of these schemes as a background for making anomalies visible.

RG attempts to elaborate a scheme of the organization which includes 'the grapevine' as an explanation for how OP became aware of "the facts" of the case. However, OP elaborates a model of compliance in which the personnel department ("we": 485) is doing its formally prescribed duties and, in the course of these, obtains the information. The model of compliance subsumes "all that kind of stuff" which personnel handles in attending to benefit packages for faculty.

RG, in searching for details on the process of announcing death, offers the family as a resource for explaining this. Another departure
from normality is then displayed by OP who adds the character "common law girlfriend" (491) to the initially simpler assemblage RG provides with "the family". Lawyers are also mentioned as intermediaries between the two entities, family and girlfriend. Mention of the girlfriend is sufficient to cause RG to laugh as well as providing "obvious" reasons why lawyers intervened and why conflict arose over the estate (491-493). That is to say, as OP notes (499-501), "normally" only the family would be constructed in explaining post death benefit package settlements. RG and OP clearly hold more elaborate though implicit models of these entities which provide 'cause' for conflicts and lawyer involvement e.g. jealousy, each entity itself to the insurance firm as "the next of kin", and so on.

Finally, OP accounts for the interactions between his department and the family by a gambit of compliance to departmental duties such as administering benefits. Successful completion of benefit administration entails meeting socio legal demands, as well as those of the insurance company. The insurers are thus constructed as an organization entity with needs and demands, including the provision of evidence of death upon which benefit release is contingent (495; 501-503). The normal background is again outlined and contrasted with the present case which departs from normality (498-503).

DISCUSSION

Death is one way in which a person can depart an organizational position. From members' reports of cases of death, several findings were obtained. First, many respondents were unable to recall or report cases of the death of a position incumbent, and several alleged that death was a relatively infrequent means of leaving an organization. This led to the question of how this label is decidable for respondents, and how their application of it comes to appear sensible and perhaps warranted, to others
such as the researcher. The sensibility was shown to be based in implicit theories of organization and self which are used by both the respondents and the researcher. Such theories could conceivably vary from person to person, in some aspects, yet all these theories of the organization provide a position and contingently visible events for the incumbent who, in this instance, is the respondent. The researcher's typified image of the respondent's self as an incumbent in an organizational position furnishes the respondent with means and motives for viewing and reporting events such as death if they occur. Failure to report cases was, then, taken as evidence of the relative infrequency of such events. One thus finds, then, that answering this first question entails programmatic construction of the entities of organization and self as background schemes which furnish coherence and sensibility to members' utterances and claims. We find, also, that the researcher has necessary recourse to many of the same resources as do his respondents.

Seeing death as infrequent is one means of glossing the background knowledge against which the events are visible. The remainder of the chapter was therefore devoted to analyzing case descriptions to unearth the background events and theories which are used by members to interpret phenomena which they perceive as transpiring in their social worlds. The case accounts were remarkable in that, despite a range of respondents and cases, the resources used for the production of such cases and the manner of reporting the cases were similar across respondents and cases. This is not to say there were not substantive differences, but rather to assert that certain basic sensemaking processes and resources were utilized. Respondents selected from a socially shared and available stock of entities, and used similar processes and patterns to assemble descriptions which were at various points both similar to and different from one another in sub-
stantive form.

First, all descriptions dealt with the problem of displaying the description itself as an expected, warranted and legitimate portion of an ongoing social process - the interview. The descriptions were thus located vis-a-vis the interview and were displayed as complying with researcher demands; respondents made it clear that their utterances were practical activities aimed at accomplishing a useful interview. Even where no case of death was reported, the obligation to talk of death was acceded to, and some explanation was either explicitly attempted, or implied by the respondent. Actual recounting of the case was contingent on the researcher accepting, acknowledging and agreeing to the relevance of the case. This acceptance was implied by the researcher's recurrent agreement utterances ("m hm") and his failure to attempt to stop the descriptions.

Second, early in the description the death was located along a number of dimensions; each location implied one or more background schemes and hence marked an attempt to programmatically construct those schemes by which the death could be interpreted. Commonly locatedness was accomplished in terms of 1) the organizational position of the deceased, 2) some temporal sequence or aspect of the individual's career or life, 3) some recurrent organizational cycle or sequence, 4) some geographical location and 5) some ongoing everyday life activity in which the individual was engaged at the moment of death. Death was shown to happen somewhere, and certain "where's" (as there were invariably several 'locations' noted) served as topics for further elaboration in the remainder of the description.

Third, respondents appeared to take the role of group agent, and offer their descriptions on behalf of the organization. Consequently the elaboration of schemes producing locations was largely limited 1) to the
focal organizations from whence came the deceased, 2) to the organization they themselves spoke on behalf of and 3) to entities relevant to the practical solution of the problems they (the respondents) or their organization faced in accomplishing everyday tasks and activities, particularly those involved in succession. Thus the selection of entities included in descriptions does not seem random, nor are all possible entities discussed. Rather, descriptions include entities which were salient to the respondent in the general organizational framework in which he located himself.

Comparison of descriptions between respondents and within case one reveals that, not only do descriptions display and utilize as a resource the general scheme within which the respondent claims membership, but also that the descriptions are visible as contingent upon the particular position of the respondent. The position itself is a resource and a constraint providing visibility to certain events and limiting that of others. For example, one respondent (EF) recounted details of conversations with the deceased during a presuccession planning phase in which the respondent was involved as part of his "job" and he revealed the intentions, desires and motives of the predecessor. The plans were offered as sufficient explanation for the essentially resolved problem of choosing a successor, and no departmental reorganization was mentioned. Another respondent (AB) did not provide a description of the predecessor's world view, but emphasized the negotiation of formal schemes of the organization; the death was shown to be disruptive of the planned process, and led to a situation where the problem of a permanent successor is yet to be resolved. This respondent was active in trying to get council to choose a scheme but was not present when the acting successor was chosen. His lack of presence and disagreement with the choice displays his unique but standard organizational position on which certain substantive aspects of his description are contingent. The point could be
made for other respondents in the case, and it will be elaborated later in this dissertation when other examples arise. One can note here that what is important is that respondents' descriptions are not offered from just any point of view, but from a specific position within a general organizational scheme; their knowledge of events is socially distributed. The social distribution is apparent in utterances which made the actor's position in the scheme visible; and the visibility of the social distribution to the researcher is based on his construction and use of a model of the organization within which he locates where and how respondents locate themselves.

Elements of Descriptions of Death Based Succession. One vehicle for examining similarities and differences among cases is presented in Table 3-1. This table summarizes certain elements present in the case descriptions. These elements are entities which were programmatically constructed as interpretational schemes, and assembled pragmatically i.e. collected and juxtaposed for the practical purpose of offering sensible descriptions of cases of death based succession. Intercase (and interrespondent) similarities may be displayed at an abstract level by proposing certain theoretical terms which subsume a range of substantive descriptors. Thus we find all descriptions include certain composite entities or entities which are 'social' by virtue of involving more than one member including 1) a general scheme of the focal organization as a whole, and 2) a major processual subscheme or sequence one could term 'normal succession sequence' (this element is elaborated below in the discussion of Table 3-2). Several other subschemes of the focal entity were also constructed including 3) subunits involved in producing succession, such as the personnel department, and 4) a target scheme or subunit within which the succession position occurs on exists. A "catch all" category is also specified, 5) other relevant schemes, and such schemes include organizations and institutions outside the member im-
<table>
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| General Scheme | | | functional integrity:
| Succession Process | | | need a successor |
| **Subschemes: Succession Process** | | | compliance/style: rules, proper form, sub tasks |
| Producers | personnel department | personnel department | personnel department |
| **Target Scheme** | P&L department | health department | faculty |
| Case 1: | old new | | integrity and compliance |
| other Relevant Organizations | | | law firm, insurance corporation |
| Institutions | marriage | | compliance, style |
| | | | medical profession/labor market |
| **INDIVIDUAL ENTITIES AND CHARACTERS:** | | |
| General | CASE 1: AB, CD, EF, GH | CASE 2: AB | CASE 3: OP |
| "me" the Respondent | org. position/self social psych. self | | |
| Predecessor | org. position P&L department head | health department head | faculty, coordinator |
| | psych. self death | heart condition, death | integrity |
| | career sequence near retirement, on vacation | | |
| | social psych. self motives, power | | integrity |
| Successor & Candidates | org. position assistants, outsider | outside candidates: members med. profession |
| | social psych. self general personality, experience | motives, skills | integrity |
| | financial self | near retirement | |
| | demographic | salary | age |
| Relevant Others | wife | 1 | |
| | girlfriend | | 1 |

*some talk, an issue but no simple discussion*
plied 'boundary' of the general focal organization. The cases thus evidence similar theoretical constructions yet are clearly different in terms of the substantive nature of the entities provided, as inspection of column two "common descriptor" indicates. For example, in all case descriptions some succession 'target scheme' within which the position involved in succession was constructed yet the actual target scheme varied across cases and the common language descriptor was itself the means of distinguishing and labeling cases. Further, certain schemes were constructed with explicit or implicit causal models which provide entity based 'motives' (causes) for certain phenomena (see column three). For example, in all cases the general focal organization is displayed as 'needing' position incumbents or successors for the key positions, and this need can be offered by members as an explanation of why the succession process occurs.

The second portion of the table specifies 'individual entities' or entities composed of 'one whole person or less' - less indicating that constructed characters are formed by proposing certain components. In all cases, the general characters of predecessor, successor candidates, and "me" the respondent were utilized, and in certain cases relevant others outside this collection were also mentioned. However, in constructing these "characters" respondents selected from a stock of components which may be specified in theoretical form. Each general entity could thus be assigned one or more componential subschemes, the general stock of which included 1) the organizational position or self of the individual, 2) a physiological self, 3) financial self, 4) social psychological self including motives, power, personality attributes and so on, 5) a professional or career self, generally given as some career sequence, and 6) a demographic self or set of descriptors, such as age. These components thus represent a theoretical typology of the various dimensions members propose when con-
stituting some individual in their social world. Again the similarity among cases and respondent descriptions is theoretically proposed: substantively, cases varied in terms of "who" the individual was for each of the four 'types' of individual entities, as well as in those theoretically specifiable components attached to some proposed individual. For example, each case contained talk about a predecessor, and some physiological self was provided for this character: some respondents or cases also assigned a particular career sequence to the character, others did not.

Finally, we may note that building certain characters involved linking a causal model to some subscheme of the particular character type being discussed. Thus physiological integrity provides a model for viewing death as being caused, and may be more explicitly indicated by attaching "heart condition" to the model.

We see, then, that providing a case description of death based succession involves, at least in part, programmatically constructing certain entities through 1) conversing about them, 2) utilizing common language descriptors with corresponding concrete referents, and 3) using the entities as interpretational schemes which display a basis and rationale for actions. Members construct different substantive entities at certain points, and these differing entities lead to different descriptions, reported outcomes and so on. The descriptions are thus pragmatic collections of programmatic constructions which function in terms of the respondents' practical problem of providing sensible case accounts of succession. The finding that certain entities are common to all cases suggests there are basic required components without which the case cannot be substantively recognizable as a case of succession based in death - for example predecessor and successor entities are necessary and hence are warranted programmatic constructions. Variations in certain specific subschemes and causal models assigned to
each entity may occur, and yet the descriptions are seen by researcher and respondent as sensible and recognizable cases of succession. Therefore we may conclude essential vagueness is a characteristic of the programmatic construction of these entities that is displayed by the empirical findings in this chapter.

**Stages in Death Based Succession.** Another means of analysing descriptions of succession is to examine the sequence of stages or events in the succession, as these are outlined by members. The sequence of events is one aspect of members' schemes of the 'normal succession process' and is simultaneously a constitutive aspect of, and insufficiently explicated by, members' models of the organization. First [thus], I have asserted above that the sequence is at least in part a subscheme of the general organizational scheme: it is constitutive of the organization where members invoke it as a typified model of succession which is subsumed by, and falls under the purview of the organizational scheme. This is displayed by utterances such as "normally what happens in this organization in such cases is ..." followed by outlining an assemblage of certain entities and activities which occur in some chronologically based and bounded pattern. While the organization scheme supplies the basic stock of entities assembled in the sequence, other entities may be added and certain entities explicated which require or utilize knowledge falling outside the domain of the organizational scheme. Thus the scheme may provide a slot in the sequence for predecessor departure, and in actual cases the departure may be accounted for by proposing a scheme of the physiological self of the incumbent which is essential to the unfolding of the sequence. The sensibility of the succession sequence scheme is thus contingent upon filling in certain sections of the scheme by constructing supplemental and in-
dependent entities which are outside the organizational scheme, yet must be linked to it in accomplishing practical activities and explanations. Thus the succession sequence subscheme "leaves room for" construction of other schemes to fill in certain lacunae, and would not be sensible unless these other 'nonorganizational schemes' are provided.

The succession sequence scheme is, however, inextricably related to the general scheme of the organization which, as a background, provides a set of organizational needs, common stylistic modes, and rules demanding compliance which serve as resources for specifying the requisite and/or actual succession sequence. Thus certain characteristics of the scheme are understood and displayed as caused or constrained by adherence to specific rules of the organization (such as the rule that all inside candidates are given first consideration) and the succession process as a whole may be accounted for by a model of functional integrity of the organization - it "needs" to fill the position. The 'normal' and 'actual' sequence of succession events are thus potentially explicable by members as prescriptions and outcomes deriving from applications of the general organization scheme as an interpretive model for some behavior-event-context assemblage.

One may construct outlines of the succession sequence(s) from the descriptions or "recountings" provided by respondents. The sequences have an obvious chronology to them in two respects. First, the events unfold over time in the interview, that is, respondents discuss one event or topic first, then a second, and so on. Second, events are displayed as having an 'actual' or 'inherent' chronology according to which they happened, in situ, originally transpired. One finds that the chronology of reportage need not parallel the expressed chronology of happenings: respondents can conceivably report 'what happened last' prior to reporting 'what happened first'. In this section, our concern is with the 'chronology of happening'
i.e. the course of events as respondents reported they originally occurred (the chronology of reportage has been discussed to some extent earlier in our analyses and will be more fully considered in a later chapter.

Respondents seem to use an ideal image of a rationally planned succession, which is used as a scheme to contrast with the actual course of affairs. As given in Table 3-2, this scheme departs somewhat from the model proposed in chapter 1: the presuccession stage (I) is viewed as a stage of business as usual. A second stage occurs when some behavior-event-context assemblage appears - and in the 'planned' model, this is some assemblage which, when interpreted by some (the organizational) scheme, allows members to 'see' that the position incumbent will be departing his position at some predictable point in the future. "Succession is a considered possibility" (stage II) thus includes the general interpretational activities wherein facts are provided and seen as requiring or resulting in succession. Stage III, 'what next?' involves specifying desirable characteristics of the successor, specifying a search process, and then recruiting a successor. Stage IV, "the change over" includes the arrival of the successor, some training period with the overlapping presence of both the successor and the predecessor, and then the predecessor departs leaving behind a qualified, well prepared successor. Stage V is then the post succession phase.

This 'rational model' (which was based on a status degradation reported in Gephart, 1978) differs from the one theorized in chapter 1 in terms of 1) collapsing the "succession as a possibility" and "interpreting the facts" stages into one stage, 2) collapsing the predecessor departure and successor arrival stages into one stage with the arrival of the successor occurring before predecessor departure and 3) the addition of an 'overlapping incumbents' training phase. The differences are perhaps due to 1) members' glossing practices, which prevent the researcher from seeing
Table 3-2

Stages in Succession: The Rational, Planned Model

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage I:</th>
<th>Presuccession</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stage II:</td>
<td>Succession as a Considered Possibility - Predecessor's forthcoming departure becomes known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage III:</td>
<td>What next?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a. relevant org. scheme constructed as rules, style, and needs in doing succession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. 'grooming' position created or found for 'successor-to-be'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. successor recruited, selected: successor arrives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage IV:</td>
<td>The Change-over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a. successor arrives ready to work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. training phase: overlapping incumbents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. predecessor departs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage V:</td>
<td>Post-Succession</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the conversational boundaries and distinct events that, as a participant observer, he would have enacted or bracketed as additional stages, and 2) differences between an ideal, "rational" process and actual events in a status degradation. Indeed, we shall argue later that the 'rational' model is relevant to and perhaps implementable in, voluntary resignation, and advancement based successions, but its relevance to death and possibly firing is limited to displaying these as necessary departures from the rational model.

Comparing Table 3-2 with Table 3-3, one can see that, with case 1, the rational planned model was being implemented and succession had progressed to the point that stage III had nearly been completed - council was almost ready to choose a successor. However, the incumbent died and this behavior-event-context assemblage was equivalent to predecessor departure, stage IVc under normal planned circumstances. Proposals that a new organizational scheme be implemented were effective in prohibiting the resolution/completion of stage III in a relatively permanent sense. Tentative completion then occurred as an acting head was chosen, and the sequence advanced to stage IVa, and then stage V - the successor arrived and began work, even while stage III in general is continuing as negotiation of the appropriate scheme (new vs. old) continues. Thus one may conceive of an interim completion of the sequence with a recycling back to stage III(b). In the proposed future, the sequence, now at 'interim stage V, overall stage III', will move to stage IVa, 'cycle 2' (indicated by '2' on arrow in table) after selection of a permanent successor. The occurrence of stages IV b and c would require someone other than the acting head to be chosen as the permanent head so they may be termed optionally rather than necessarily constitutive of a sensible description of actual death-based succession.

Thus case 1 is describable as a departure from the rational model
Table 3-3
Stages in Death Based Succession

CASE 1: DEATH OF DEPARTMENT HEAD

Transpired

Stage I: Presuccession

Stage II: Succession as a Considered Possibility

Stage IIIa: What next, 1? Recruitment started using old organizational scheme: not concluded

(1) Stage IVc: predecessor departs due to death: Stage III interrupted just prior to hiring permanent successor

Stage IIIb: what next, 2? Alternative new organizational scheme proposed

(1) Stage IIIa: what next, 1? Tentatively completed, resolved: acting successor chosen

Stage IVa: acting successor arrives

Stage V: post-succession with acting successor

Proposed Future

Stage IIIc: "what next" stages concluded after choice between old organization and new organization permanent head chosen

Stage IVa: successor arrives

Stage V: post-succession

CASES 2 AND 3: DEATHS OF A MEDICAL HEALTH OFFICER AND A FACULTY MEMBER

Stage I: Presuccession

Stage IVc: Predecessor Departs

Stages II & III: Succession as a Considered Possibility; and 'What Next?': recruitment

Stage IVa: Successor Arrives

Stage V: Post-Succession
due to the untimely (out of sequence) occurrence of stage IVc, which prompted members to invoke an alternative model of the organization. Completion of stage III for 'permanent' purposes requires selection of a 'permanent' scheme. As this has not been done, and given organizational needs, an interim successor was produced by utilizing the old scheme as a temporary solution. Once the problem of 'which scheme' is solved, the sequence can be completed for 'relatively permanent purposes'. The rational model thus has some reference to the actual sequence which is observed to follow the 'internal logic' of the rational model - certain stages must occur (or be displayed by the respondent) for succession to occur, and/or to be sensibly described, and there is a certain order of occurrence demanded of some of the stages (e.g. stage IVc can occur prior to stage IVa, but not prior to stage I, and so on).

Cases 2 and 3 are also described by certain stages (see Table 3-3). As with case 1, the key distinction between the actual cases and the ideal type rational model is the premature departure of the predecessor (stage IVc). Cases 2 and 3 differ from case 1 where stages I and II had both been transcended: the death was the event which first caused members to consider succession as a possibility (stage II). So stages II and III tend to be combined or at least occur in close temporal proximity. Stages IVa and V necessarily follow stage III as successor arrival and post succession presuppose the recruitment and selection of a successor.

In conclusion, death based succession is characterized by members as a sequence of events departing from a rational model of the process. The primary difference is the premature or untimely departure of the predecessor which may mark the first point at which members become cognizant of succession as a possibility. Even if the rational model is in the process of being applied, as in cases where planned retirement is interrupted
by death, the early departure can disrupt the planned sequence and be associated with prolonged discussion of the relevant organizational scheme to be implemented in doing succession which is the first topic or task involved in "stage III, what next?". The death also removes the predecessor in such a manner that no training or overlap of incumbents period occurs (and the predecessor has no direct personal role in stages after his departure). This suggests then that certain problems and phenomena may characterize the post succession stage, such as successor problems in 'learning the ropes'. And as respondents noted in case 1, the physical removal of the predecessor which occurs with his death, may be related to a change in the balance of power such that certain changes in the organizational scheme are possible prior to predecessor selection which would not have been possible if other forms of predecessor departure, such as retirement, were operative. The differential effects of type of successor departure are, however, a topic for the theoretical chapter at the end of the dissertation, and further discussion must be delayed until then.

CONCLUSIONS

The findings regarding descriptive accounts of death-based succession may now be formalized as specific propositions. These propositions, as a set, constitute a substantive theoretical model of death-based succession.

Proposition 3-1: Death is indicated by members to be an uncommon mode of departure from an organizational position which potentially jeopardizes the functional integrity of the organization because the death disrupts or pre-empts a 'normal planned succession sequence' and thereby causes an unexpected vacancy in a position which must necessarily be filled by a competent person.

Proposition 3-2: Death may be described by members in terms of a) cause of death, an issue involving the physiological self, b) the predecessor's temporal position in a normal career cycle, an issue involving construction of the professional self, and/or c) the timing of the death in terms of a scheme of the organization as a cycle of events.
Corollary 3-2-1: The extent to which the death is seen to jeopardize organizational functional integrity is a matter which is related to member-defined convenience or inconvenience of the timing of the death relative to its point in the ongoing organizational cycle.

Proposition 3-3: In selecting a successor, the organizational scheme (as a model of compliance, including the hierarchy) will be used to provide a 'next-in-line' successor candidate as the most reasonable 'rapid solution' to the problems engendered by the vacancy.

Corollary 3-3-1: The successor will be chosen by virtue of a demonstrated match between his (her) professional self and the professional self of a 'suitable incumbent' as defined by the organizational scheme as a model of compliance.

Corollary 3-3-2: The unexpected departure of the predecessor may lead to a 'power vacuum' as a personally powerful individual is no longer present. This vacuum may permit consideration of modification of aspects of the organizational scheme which would not have been negotiable or possible to implement while the predecessor was alive and 'in power'.

Corollary 3-3-3: Where death is followed by renegotiation and/or modification of aspects of the organizational scheme, which could effect the focal position involved in succession, a 'temporary successor' may be appointed, and explicitly labeled as 'temporary', until the negotiations are completed.

Proposition 3-4: Members describe effects of predecessor departure due to death as these are related to specific practical activities and problems involving succession producing agents and the members (respondents) themselves.

Corollary 3-4-1: Entities external to the focal organization which may be constructed in the process of describing the death and its effects include the family (ies) of the deceased, as well as lawyers and insurance corporations involved in the disposition of the estate of the deceased actor.
Chapter 4

VOLUNTARY RESIGNATION AND ORGANIZATIONAL SUCCESSION

The previous chapter focused on death, a relatively unexamined cause of organizational succession. Voluntary resignation of a predecessor is another form of departing a position which requires further research attention than it has received to date in the organizational literature. In this chapter, then, I shall go beyond merely mentioning it as a basis for succession, which is roughly the extent of previous theoretical and empirical discussions of it. Specific cases will be presented and analyzed to ascertain how members provide sensible descriptions of such cases, the meaning various facets hold for them, and what elements, actors, and stages are displayed by the respondents' stories. The general analytical process used in chapter 3 will be applied here, and I shall conclude the chapter by providing summaries of the elements and stages members outlined in their case descriptions.

NOT TOO MANY SENIOR PEOPLE VOLUNTARILY RESIGN FROM THE GOVERNMENT

Respondents from the governmental organization generally failed to report cases of the voluntary resignation of senior personnel. Only one respondent offered a case which fits our "pure type", resignation where the incumbent leaves of his own accord without suggestions that 'he was faced to resign', and where the resignation was not interpretable as an 'early retirement' complete with pension rights and so on. Indeed, to members of the governmental unit voluntary resignation was taken to generally mean or be constituted by cases of early retirement.

One can ask, then, how members come to conceive and display voluntary resignation as an unlikely avenue of departure, and why this might be the case in their view of the organization. EF's discussion, presented below, provides us with the common sense theories and resources which display how
members explain and conclude that, for them, voluntary resignation is 
neither a likely nor a desirable exit mode. Utterances placed in brackets 
are those of the researcher.

363 so any way um ok now does that take us down to voluntary 
resignation? I think we've covered all of them now except 
that haven't we? [m hm]

365 uh voluntary resignation well there I think you have to go 
to a lower level in the organization uh not too many people 
at director or deputy director level are going to voluntarily 
resign for something better because this is the largest 
region anywhere you know in the west [m hm]

369 and uh so you're not going to get too many people voluntarily 
resigning at senior levels because uh one of the reasons 
they've come out here is they probably moved up from back 
west [hmm]

371 you know or from one of the neighboring regions likely 
possibly X or something but or Y but or maybe even Z but 
however uh they've come from elsewhere because this is the 
so to speak end of the line on the west coast [m hm]

373 and you're about as far as you're going to get in regional 
management when you get into this organization unless you 
want to go into the cold climates you know uh um so you're 
not going to get too many voluntary resignations at that 
level of the organization that is other than retirements um 
so looking at other levels why do people voluntarily resign 
uh there's a number of good reasons I guess uhhh one reason 
would be uh that they've found something better somewhere 
else they can maybe maybe they've uh for instance I think of 
uh cases of where we were raided by other organizations parti-
cularly in the computer services area uhh our computer people 
have been uh raided from us uhh with some degree of success 
[hm]

377 even I was approached uh and I'm not a computer specialist [ya]

379 but I am a reasonably good personnel man and uh so you know 
there's that kind of thing uhh people get better or see uh 
see opportunities and apply for them and are offered them or 
there are better opportunities somebody for the government 
has been employed by that organization and they recommend that 
so and so would be a good guy to have that's what happened in 
my case [m hm]

381 uhh they had raided a number of our computer people and those 
computer people said hey there's a guy you should get to look 
after your personnel for this entire corporation and uh so that 
kind of thing is also in voluntary resignations and um the 
other thing that can be uh re result in voluntary resignation
is dissatisfaction of one sort or another with the existing occupation [m hm]

383 uhh lots of times I would say it's principally environment not too often is it the money factor interestingly enough [nm ya]

385 uh because we our people are uh quite well paid um but lots of times its well its just that uh I guess uh climate or or organizational climate and some people just naturally feel that they like to get out and get a change [hmm]

387 that's the other thing so ok those may they're some of the reasons anyway uh for who uh for people voluntarily resigning uhh now in terms of replacements for those people I've already described the job posting process and that's the only avenue to promotion really to advancement in a uh in the government or to job changes is through that uh through that vehicle and it is uh operated on on the basis of uh merit and seniority [mm]

389 and uh that is competence and seniority and while a lot of people would profess that uh uh competence overrides a seniority factor uh I would suggest that uh that's not necessarily the case that there's a uh uh a kind of a fear of selecting the junior person uh because there might be a uh grievance or arbitration and uh it might not be entirely supportable [hm]

391 and uh this kind of thing so for the most part that's just a case of what I mentioned before people selecting their own opportunities identifying what may come up or something that has come up and saying hey I'd like to get that because its a stepping stone to this that and the other you know that kind of thing so or uh that's how far I want to go and I don't want to go any further but uh damn it I'd like that particular job and that's an advancement for them so uh that's the impact after a voluntary resignation at the lower uh at the lower levels uh either supervisory or non supervisory and that pretty well describes it uh as far as I can see

Analysis. EF starts his discussion by linking it to practical demands of the interview and locating his talk within that enterprise (363). He then outlines an image of the organization in general, including 1) a hierarchical model with specific positions, 2) its demographic characteristics ('largest in the west':365), and 3) its geographical location. Thus both the organization and the positions within it where voluntary resignation is differentially likely are given locatedness in terms of map-like images presumably shared by both persons (respondent and researcher).
A model of career or professional sequence is implied and linked to the geographical scheme: people move up or advance in their career, and such changes can be given geographical locatedness (369). And within a geographical region, one's career sequence is constrained as there are a finite number of positions and organizations within which careers of a particular sort can unfold, as well as a highest career linked position obtainable within the region (371).

A motivational model propelling people to seek advancement in their career is linked with a hedonistic basis which may be expressed or seen in the climate one chooses: people want to advance, but also prefer the warmer climates (373). The argument thus constructs certain schemes which lead to the conclusion that voluntary resignation is unlikely:

1) model of the organization within a career relevant set of organizations: focal organization is 'one of the tops' for a specific set of careers, and professional selves, i.e. governmental management

2) map of geography and climate: the organization is located in a warm climate on the West coast

3) a model of motivational self: people seek desirable (warm, coastal) climates, and also are motivated to advance as high as possible (motivational basis of professional self)

Given one has advanced to a senior position in the organization, one simply has no other organization to sensibly enter unless one's achievement motive overpowers one's hedonistic desires for a warm climate. The relative infrequency of voluntary resignation is thus a sensible and warranted conclusion if one applies the models constructed by EF. Note the one exception he sees is 'retirement' which is thus displayed as outside the relevant
range of his motivational models of career advancement or achievement motivation: presumably retirements are motivated by other factors, do not require moving from the coast (as would advancement) and the retiring individual could be assumed to have more or less satiated, fulfilled, or lost his achievement motive.

Attention is then turned to explaining why people might resign. The first reason, for "something better" implies a set of models of integrity of the person - one can find more rewarding or better things to fulfill one's needs, desires and so on. The implied entity of 'self' is vague and could be filled in terms of any of the subschemes of self e.g. better pay for the financial self, less stress on the social psychological and related physiological selves, and a higher position for the achievement motivated professional self. The something better also requires proposing an abstract entity 'some other organization' which the bearer can presumably explicate in such a manner that the scheme could be shown to provide those better things. The respondent assumes both he and the researcher have a stock of knowledge to fill in the vagueness of this scheme.

EF moves from the general, abstract class of other organizations, to a specific example thus displaying the abstract category has concrete elements, and also outlining 'raiding' as one means by which the 'other organization' can inform persons of the 'better things' (373-375). He constructs an image of his professional self to elaborate the example, and several standardized others with some set of typical motives which lead them to help recruit people for their organization (379). It is through movement of individuals between organizations that information about other persons' professional selves becomes more widely socially distributed knowledge, and given an appropriately motivated other, the knowledge provides a focus or target for the premotivated course of actions taken by these others.
in doing raiding (381). Raiding is thus not a formalized process, but can be explained as the outcome of normal processes of socially distributing information, and standardized schemes of motivational selves.

The second reason people may resign is explicable by a professionally related motivational model of the persons - seek a satisfying career - and by constructing them with a capacity to review and reconceive their professional career. Career and position in an organization are interdependent to some extent, and if one wishes to change occupations one likely has to change positions. Attempts to reconstruct one's professional self may thus be motivated by a hedonistic basis relevant to the substantive results of being in a particular occupation carried out in a certain organizational position.

A third reason for resigning is some mismatch between the self image of the person and the general model of style constituted in the organization. This general style is termed 'climate' or 'environment' by EF, indicating a rather amorphous nature (383-385). Thus some type(s) of members feel the need for a change, an utterance one could sensibly expect given 1) motivational needs or aims of a person, and 2) a model of the organization as the provider of certain things. To the extent those 'things' provided by the organization do not match those 'things' needed or wanted by the person, and/or contain phenomena disliked or avoided by the person, the person could feel like a change, hence could sensibly be seen to resign. The motivational basis is relatively unexplicated but is stated to be clearly outside the financial self as these needs are said to be adequately met (383-385). It is thus some unclear relationship between the general style of organizational functioning, and persons' social psychological and professional selves that is implicated as the cause of some resignations.

The production of successors is shown to follow the standard advancement process (387). Here EF appeals to earlier statements which retro-
spectively may be claimed as the background within which the researcher can find the only reasonable and expectable means of producing successors. Two rules are operative in the advancement scheme, 1) promote on the basis of merit or competence and 2) promote on the basis of seniority. The first rule is provided by a formal compliance scheme of the organization which requires that only qualified candidates be 'certified' as eligible for advancement (a rule more explicitly stated by other respondents). This of course could be linked to the functional integrity of the organization which needs qualified, competent members. The second 'rule' appears to be related to notions of style rather than formalized rules. Thus the rule of merit is operatively enacted by constructing models of the professional self of candidates, and choosing one who fits the formal job specifications contained in the general scheme of the organization. However, the rule of merit falls within union guidelines for promotions of certain position incumbents, and the union contract terms are used metaphorically to guide the hiring of senior incumbents (according to talk by other respondents). The warranted application of the merit rule is a potential issue where the common stylistic notions of seniority are breached such as when one selects someone other than the most senior candidate. If the merit rule is generally agreed to have been improperly applied, a grievance could result where the unsuccessful candidate utilizes the union agreement as a formal compliance model (or as a metaphorical guide, in the case of union 'exempt' management positions) to interpret his rejection and to provide an avenue for actions which dispute this. Thus one can see the sensible nature of seniority overriding competence - it's hard to prove a subordinate has greater competence. The standard hiring agent is motivated by fear to avoid problems such as grievances, the standard successor candidate is motivated to seek retribution or clarification if his achievement motive is
thwarted, and the merit rule and seniority system form the constraints for motivated activities.

EF concludes by reiterating the 'cause' of advancement of particular individuals. The organizational scheme may provide the constraints and opportunities, but actual candidacy is an individual activity and motivational phenomenon. The achievement motive finds expression in terms of a scheme of professional advancement (the career sequence of professional self). It is the self production of these schemes, then, that is viewed as determining the 'flow' of candidates through the organizational advancement process. Individuals construct an image of their career and seize opportunities to act this out by becoming candidates for vacant positions in an organizational scheme which correspond to the positions in one's 'self generated' career scheme.

CASE 4: THE ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR OF PROGRAMS RESIGNS

The resignation of the associate director of programs was the only case of voluntary resignation provided by a respondent from the governmental organization. This case description is presented below. C.D., the senior personnel consultant is the respondent.

84 uhhm the next one I had here was the programs department and uh this is the the case of someone moving quitting to go to something else not to go to something else quitting because of dissatisfaction with the department head really and his style of operation it was the associate director of overall programs who had only been with us about one year and uh just could not fit into the philosophy of operation of the director of the department and uh so left quite quickly uh with about three weeks notice uh the senior person in the in that division had only been here approximately a year uhhh there was a decision uhh a sitdown with the director of programs as to what we should do in this particular case if we should go outside and look for a a more seasoned individual to take over the division or a to look at the senior person in the division (an assistant director) as I mentioned this person had only been here one year only uh we made the the decision the director of programs and personnel to go ahead and advertise outside as well this is
another case of though that we did not come up with a candi-
date that we thought had any more to offer than the assistant
director uhh our main concerns at that time its a fairly small
division in terms of numbers of staff and uh although this
individual had had minimal supervisory experience it really
wasn't that much of a stretch in terms of the numbers that he
would be dealing with here [m hm]

he also had an excellent technical background in the type of
work that the division would do as well uh was an excellent
communicator uh verbally orally and in writing uh was able to
relate well to the director had good repoire with council
these types of things and so a decision was made to promote
the assistant director to that particular position he had
acted in the position uhh when the associate director left so
he while we were looking for somebody else he could gain the
experience in in running the division as well um that's created
no difficulties at all it was probably a very good decision
in the end 'cause he's done an excellent job of of running that
particular division there's not too many sort of peripheral
things I can say there unless you ask some questions ok

RG could you tell me a bit about the background its sort of inter­
esting the fellow leaves after a years service with only three
weeks notice how did he um express why he was leaving and
what were some of the things

uh the man who was in the position of assistant director was
I would call him a very highly principalled individual ok?
uhh a straight shooter a hundred percent above board all of
the time ok? uhh didn't like to play political games or
avoided them as much as possible uhh liked his staff to know
where everything was and where everything was going the
director is one who likes games he tends to play them him­
self from time to time uhh who tends not always to be that
open and that above board it was just a total incompatibility
once they got together and and could see each other's operat­
ing styles although its interesting because this was mentioned
to the individual you know during initial discussions before
he took the position you know what what type of operating
style the director has but uh you know he felt that although
the director may have one style and he had would have another
he still felt there could be compatibility there it wouldn't
necessarily mean that he would have to operate the the same
way [m hm]

but uh I'm afraid he just got a little bit disillusioned how
he would have to modify his own operating style you know to
accomodate uh to accomodate the director [m hm]

he had left um a pretty good position in a sort of rural based
community and uh they would welcome him back at any time with
open arms and and as far as I know he went back to that particu­
lar position they hadn't filled it since he left and uh so it
was a combination of things of knowing there was that readily
available job to go back to uh and uh just a bit of dissatis-faction in having to operate this this particular way

RG was it in the wind before he gave three weeks formal notice did you mention it to people before that or did it just

there was let's put it this way it was known that things weren't going well [uh huh]

between between him and the director uhh there was scuttle-but that he probably wouldn't stay too long it was of this type of thing but there was nothing out that he had definite plans to leave you know uh immediately this type of thing but it was pretty clearly indicated that you know they just were not were not compatible

RG m hm I wondered was there a particular precipitating incident or

not to my knowledge uhh it might have been uh something to do with uhh regional board representation uhh I'm not sure if that was it though [m hm]

some type of uhh I really don't know I'd rather not say because I don't it was it was sheer rumour at the time and it might not have been the the one factor you know that really really kicked it over I think it was more an amalgamation of things you know that just kept building as time went on

Analysis, Case 4: We see, once again, that the particular case description is first located within the ongoing interview, and the position being discussed is then stated and located within a scheme of the focal organization and subunit. The cause of resignation derives from a conflict between the head and the associate director which is sensibly displayed by constructing models of the two characters which become clearer later in the interview (96). At this point, all that is obvious is that the associate director qua social psychological self seeks to avoid dissatisfaction and the head is a major producer of dissatisfiers.

The succession is displayed as a departure from some expected normal sequence - this normality being composed of expectations of the temporal span of holding a job and the length of notice given on resignation - both were considered unusually short. The production of a successor and candi-
dates involved the division head and the personnel department in an exercise of constructing a model of the ideal candidate which included the explicit career or professional trait of "experience". Matching the images of the internal candidate with this ideal displayed the candidate as deficient. The recruitment scheme includes a rule "look at your inside candidate first, then go outside" which was reported by various respondents. The sequence is thus followed, but points of correspondence between models of the outside candidates and the ideal model are no greater than between the insider and the ideal.

Thus although the organizational scheme furnished a solution to the succession problem (i.e. 'promote the next person in the hierarchy who is X'), a search for better solutions was undertaken before choosing a successor. The explanation of the choice of successor is supplemented by constructing the departmental organization with demographic characteristics (small staff size) and a scheme of the professional self of the successor which includes a characteristic of experience in supervising a certain sized staff. The individual's characteristics are shown to fit the needs of the organization in terms of supervisory experience (84). A number of social psychological characteristics and professional skills are added to the model of the character and are shown to match 1) the needs of the department ("the type of work that the division would do"), 2) the characteristics of the head, and 3) needs of council. Further, it appears that the assistant has gained further experience by virtue of acting in the position of associate during the search process. Use of the organizational scheme to produce a temporary associate director has therefore provided the assistant with a further resource used to display his suitability as associate director. (The reader may recall a similar phenomenon in case 1.)

RG now proposes the events seem abnormal with regard to their timing
i.e. very rapid, and requests a further explanation of these events. CD provides this by constructing more explicit models of the social psychological selves of both the head and the predecessor. The two characters are displayed as opposites vis-à-vis the important characteristic of "openness" and their total incompatibility is obvious (96). The associate director (predecessor) theorized at the time he took the position that even with a mismatch on the openness characteristics, conflict and dissatisfaction could be avoided. CD shows that this theory was disproven. The operating style of the head, a social psychological characteristic which overlaps with professional style, presumably generalizes to an operating style for the organization as the head symbolically embodies the organization. This then functions as a set of stylistic constraints or demands on the behavior of subordinates as indicated by the implied necessity of accommodating the director. The predecessor would find it dissatisfying to change his style, and his basic motivation to avoid dissatisfaction is again relevant: one practical activity which in this situation would allow reduction of dissatisfaction would be voluntary resignation. Resignation is thus a reasonable solution to the problem of acting out one's motivations within the particular substantive setting.

The predecessor's old organization and position are now outlined. While resignation could reduce one dissatisfaction, it certainly would normally lead to other problems such as jeopardizing the professional, financial and psychological integrity of a person, all of which can and often do follow from resigning and then being unemployed. Yet the predecessor can presumably avoid these problems as he can relocate himself within the purview of organization to which he formerly belonged. By returning to the 'old' job - an act which presupposes resignation from the new job - the motivations of selves can be fulfilled and the predecessor's preferred style
of openness can be acted out. The organizational scheme of the earlier employer is thus a resource for solving problems the predecessor faces (100).

The formal process of announcing resignations, i.e. distributing knowledge of certain events to certain position incumbents, is mentioned. The governmental organization is then displayed as including informal mechanisms of information distribution which made the upcoming resignation socially available knowledge even prior to the operation of formal mechanisms. Finally, RG proposes the cause of the resignation may be found by enacting precipitating incidents i.e. bracketing events into a certain form and content from which one can derive or "see" the resignation as a necessary or likely consequence. CD shows that such 'incidents' may be produced by constructing organizational entities, but insists that his 'constructed incident' (which he glosses and fails to elaborate) was merely a 'rumour'. He then asserts that a simple 'one factor' explanation is inadequate and causation lies in an amalgamation, probably of the social psychological and professional selves of predecessor and head, organizational style, and an available job opportunity for the predecessor.

CASE 5: THE VOLUNTARY RESIGNATION OF THE FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE COLLEGE

Respondent 1: IJ, The Vice President of Finance

161 let me put them in sequence uh it will be well a complete mix of yours so what you call alternative five which is by voluntary resignation that started the sequence of events

162 RG could you first could you tell me a bit about the position

163 oh ya I'm sorry ok let's deal first with the position it is what is in the college environment called the principal [mmm]

165 the principal is the chief executive officer you could call him also the president of the organization [mmm]

167 and I think that's what AB had in mind when he recommended that maybe (laughs) you want to talk to me because I think its probably from a research point of view a very interesting [m hm]
sequence of events uh so it is the the most senior employee of the board that governs the institution and I report to that position ok? you need more details? [no that's fine]

um four and a half years ago the college was in utter turmoil it was the fifth year of the founding principal the first one who started the institution it the institution had developed into one of utter conflict between management and at that time employees not yet unionized uh the faculty we had still have I guess very politically oriented in uh I guess ideological sense in an activities sense what you usually associate with left wing um lots of action all around [mmm]

women's components and you know uh Marxist components and Leninist components and you name it we have had it so maybe it helps to look at the person at that time a very sincere person I'm very triggered always by the person who hires and he is the one who hired me so I guess I had a lot of sympathy for him otherwise I probably wouldn't have taken the job I didn't expect him to leave that shortly after either (laughs) a very religious person very sincere very honest not what you call a diplomat or gamer simply straightforward honest and down to earth now you put him uh against a highly skilled highly political faculty and he's the looser automatically [m hm]

on the other hand he is the one who hired this faculty [mmm]

and I sense it was his good strong belief in the goodness of human beings that he never looked beyond their professional qualifications never beyond kind of uhh what makes them tick as a private individual what their personal interests were their activities outside of teaching which they brought into the classroom into the institution uhh creating uhh what I guess I call a communist cell as a formal structure within the communist party structure among employees of the college [mmm]

and that group got active and you know he just was not able to handle that kind of situation so he fought it obviously uh for quite a while something I didn't realize when I arrived on the job that all this was going on and maybe the third player in this game is our council uhh is a constantly changing body because it consists of half of them uhh publicly elected officials and the other half appointed by the government uh the government changes you change the government appointees and then you have a such a high turnover people take interest and loose interest and y'know we have [m hm]

a vacancy right now and you know there's always somebody in a state of change so if you measure over let's say a fifteen to eighteen month period you probably have a third to a half of the people who are replaced [hmm]

through one circumstance or another um because of this change among the body there was no continuity and the council didn't
really guide either the institution or the principal a
strong principal is the key to success in this kind of envir-
onment not the Board I guess that's a different side of
things so the principal decided effectively that he has had
it and he decided to step down now don't forget at the same
time the institution was growing rapidly um a need had sur-
faced to create a position of let's call it a dean of commun-
ity education [m hm]

and um he suggested to create that office that was approved he
then applied for that office and got it on the understanding
that he would step down that caused an uproar with the faculty
because they called it a shooin they would have wanted to get
rid of him [m hmm]

um but council decided uhh for humanitarian reasons you know
he had served uhh well let's call it well eh no uhh the institu-
tion had a lot of problems and they wanted him to have secur-
ity and continued employment this kind of thing now um at the
same time that he got the job and before like there was a phase
in period of about nine months uh during which the college was
uh trying to find a replacement for the principal positions uhh
he kept looking around for other jobs unbeknown to us at that
time and found a similar position at another college which he
took before he would have started the position within this in-
istution [hmmmm]

so in a way I think it was a a very smart strategy to be in a
secure holding position when looking outside but if nothing had
surfaced he would have had a holding ground until he wanted to
move on his own terms huh? which I thought was a good smart
strategy [m hm]

from his point of view so he never took that new position

RG is there any

ya maybe you help with questions again to stay with him for a
while huh?

RG ya ya I just wondered if there was particular precipitating
incident or some moment after which he announced to people that
he was going to resign or how did that come about? and how
did he make it known that he wanted out?

he made it known by a formal announcement to the council which
is effectively his employer also my employer y'know the governing
Board of the college uh we have regular meetings and during an
in camera session he advised the group that he was seeking uhh
kind of ta step down [hmm]

and at that time time asked no that's not correct that position
had been already approved I think it must have just been one meet-
ing prior to that [hmm]
that new position of the dean was approved and then uh the following meeting he announced that he would step down and at that time indicated he would be interested in filling that position [m hm]

in the future um if I'm not mistaken the morning of that meeting he called his senior administrators together to inform them that he would be advising council of his decision so he advised I guess his closest uhh cohorts um prior to the official announcement um ya maybe you

uh that's just fine I was just wondering about about how that announcement came about

he's a very very fair person like if he would you know think more of uh how the employees would perceive it than his own needs kind of you know this is how I read him as a person interesting enough uh I find a lot of people disagree with my reading of him as an individual within the institution [hmm]

people who have been here longer uh but then over the years I have gotten to know those people a little bit better and most of them I would group into what I call the political activists and they are philosophically intellectually in a different place than I am given that I'm in the business office and am probably more conservative more right wing in my total outlook and orientation than uhh most of the other side [m hm]

now is it worthwhile to maybe extend now and that leads then into the second succession? [sure]

uh public institution you have a public search process cross country advertising uhh search committee made up by faculty staff students on that council administrators everybody involved a nightmarish method now you should watch the years because we are talking here about the spring of seventy four when was the election do you remember the election when the NDP came to power? seventy three seventy four somewhere around there so its important because there was a major shift of council because of that election [hmm]

the appointments were made in February so February seventy four I figure we had that new council [m hm]

which was and you will quickly learn all my political biases [heh heh heh]

real NDP inspired women oriented uhh all the professionals were thrown off the board we got the womens activists the active housewives [m hm]

with no foundation no professional foundation but lots of willingness to commit hours to the cause those kind of people were appointed it was um I think we had eight out of twelve females on the board which previously was governed just about eleven out
of twelve being male most of them being professionals doctors lawyers and all of a sudden they were gone except for some kind of hangovers from the school boards who had their own share of elections but slightly rapid change uh I guess what I try to say is surely if there were problems before there was no improvement of professional guidance from the council the governing board so the search process was initiated with a council member uhh being involved in that search committee who was more interested in experiencing the power of this new found office through appointment by the government than uh y'know finding out what is good for the institution or knowing how one for example searches for a chief executive officer of a public institution in education in B.C. um so I would say the stage was set for a complete disaster [m hm]

which did occur in that out of the applications a name rose

just one minor question this decision to voluntarily resign occurred before the election?
yes

ok well so the search process was going on when the election was held council was changed during the search process

right and then the appointment was made by that new council

so out of the search process an individual surfaced who fitted was just the perfect uh counterpart in a matching sense there was a perfect match between this kind of council and that kind of person [m hm]

a player a game strategist ahh taking advantage an opportunist I guess would be another term uh who manipulated the timing of his visit and his submission of paper to just miss the time that uhh papers had to be distributed to people on the search committee so that they would not have what had to be submitted under the rules but at the same time he formally had complied and you know it took us a long time to really put things together as things developed we had a lot of reason to put things together and discovered a fantastic strategy behind it [mmm hm]

for example the I guess why I say this thing matched so beautifully was that what goes with that kind of person is usually a lot of self confidence a very secure presentation very confident uh kind of behavior pattern uhh in front of the group he left a good impression but that search committee which I I call as a professional simply incompetent to deal with the task before them [m hm]

students staff faculty more interested in in in a Leninism than in finding a competent administrator for the institution
you know it seemed that kind of setting so this group for
example came up with a short list which he led as a clear uh
as a clear candidate uhh being recommended [m hm]

without having checked one reference neither those provided
which in the case like his you would have to ignore anyways
because they would be primed and would not be what I call
neutral references the biggest mistake was that uhm despite
all the contacts that a lot of people have across Canada y'know
in education [m hm]

that no informal references were uh sought kind of personal
contacts y'know uhh what do you know about this and these kind
of things which is normally happening when you search for a
candidate for that kind of office it was not done because there
was not a person involved who had any kind of competence in
a proper search [m hm]

uhh the individual I guess played his game uh backed himself
into a job that he had no competence for for example the title
that he gave as his then current position uh was far more
exciting than his actual responsibilities [m hm]

which meant that he was if if you believe uh I personally be­
lieve maybe its a sideline that you have looked at in succe­
sion that I believe you cannot move up more than one career
step at a time [m mmm]

when it comes to uh moving into the chief executive's office
you should have been already a de facto senior officer or
chief executive officer if not the formal one which means you
must have uh been let's say a dean who was constantly acting
on behalf of you must have been really close to that office
just about in it in order to competently fill that office when
you are promoted [m hm]

to that level what happened in and am I for the first time
using names in Peter's case is that he must have jumped not
only one but just about three levels when I look at uh let's
say the chairman over chairman you typically have a director
over director you have a dean over the dean you have uh the
principal [m hm]

uhh and the closest that I would in hindsight identify his
prior position with is what we call here chairman [m hm]

but he had beautiful manipulated everybody to believe that he
had been the right hand of the president in his prior institu­
tion so he got the job

RG uh I wanted to ask a question about the the changeover between
the person who voluntarily retired er voluntarily resigned

yes
and the new person was there some overlap was there a break in period
no there was uh actually a vacancy in that office for about a month or two [hmm mhm]
and uh what is happening in those instances that one of the deans simply acts [hmm]
for a short period of time formally and takes care of whatever formal needs there are and uh so the two they met but never on the job [m hm]
no there was uh actually a vacancy in that office for about a month or two [hmm mhm]
and uh what is happening in those instances that one of the deans simply acts [hmm]
for a short period of time formally and takes care of whatever formal needs there are and uh so the two they met but never on the job [m hm]

um we lost a secretary in the meantime for example she was very loyal to the first principal [m hm]
she resigned prior to oh she resigned about the same time then as I suppose
yes actually she left before the first principal left [oh]
but she only resigned after he had indicated that he would not stay with the institution [uh huh]
but he had given ample warning [m hm]
as I guess I tried to stress there he has been very fair to the institution in assuring that there was time to deal with succession [m hm]
which didn't happen because of what I blame on the make up of the council then that made the appointment and conducted the the main part of the search process for example they accepted the recommendation of the search committee at that time they could have ignored that recommendation they could have at that time hired which I recommended and they decided to ignore to get uh a professional hiring agent y'know [uh huh]
one of the big national firms to do a background search something like that [um hmm]
that was in those days with those people on council that was just not the way you treated a human being by spying behind his back [m hm]
into his personal habits and uh past experiences [m hm]
you just took the man by his word that's what I call very very typical for those kind of of years and the people that I guess we had on the board at that time [m hm]
now one factor that I failed to mention which may be of interest in the succession process is that at the time that we hired this outsider Peter there was one internal applicant a dean [m hm]
who was not selected he was passed by in favor of an outsider I think more a matter of principle to try to get some fresh air into the institution we need new ideas new leadership an outsider rather than inside [m hm]

um at the point that the first the original principal left I just wondered were there any particular parties of celebrations that that marked these transitions?

yes when the person who uh voluntarily resigned left uh we organized uh a party actually at the X faculty club (of a large, nearby university) [m hm]

and uh had a formal gift for him we uh collected both money from us as well as we had taken some funds from the college to honor his services [m hm]

and uh with the wives a very formal occasion a very happy event actually [m hm]

uhh here you know he left voluntarily into another job and y'know

was there any particular convocation err ceremony when he (the second president, Peter) was installed as president?

when he was installed no there wasn't but the first thing as I mentioned he liked the boozing [m hm]

you know three double martini lunches with two liqueurs after the meal were standard for him [mmm]

um he loved the entertaining he loved the meeting the uh social setting of meetings so the first I remember him saying to me at that time I was impressed uh because the previous principal who was very money conscious he would never spend college funds on a social lunch or anything like it if anything he would take people to McDonalds you know (he laughs)

he would take a visitor to the college to McDonalds because it was improper to spend you know real money on entertainment [m hm]

that's just his learning system and in a way I must respect that but I was I thought it was kind of cheap and there was there had to be a bit of a balance so this uh Peter the new principal who was then fired uh kind of said well don't you ever get together don't you every meet? and well we must change this we will get regularly together and meet over lunch and social setting and this kind of thing and y'know I thought that was a good step kind of that was an improvement from where we came from not realizing (hē hē - laughs)

to which extreme this would be carried because it was his abilit his way of catching the college with all his drinking expenses [uh huh]
so in a sense we had very quickly this kind of luncheon and on fairly regular basis so it didn't become the introductory meeting any more [m hm]

Analysis of Case 5, Respondent 1, IJ. The description begins with the respondent locating the present case as part of the interview and as part of a sequence of three successions he is about to recount (161). RG is unsure about the nature of the position as IJ has not proposed a scheme of the organization and located the position within it: RG's question is followed by an explanation of the position, its location in the organization and the relation of the position to subschemes within the college suprascheme - such as the Board and the Finance office within which IJ's position as VP is located (162-169). RG's interruption of the description and IJ's apology for forgetting to outline the position indicate that, for the case to be sensible to the researcher or hearer, it must be located - the succession must take place at some position in the organization. Until the locating is done, RG quite literally doesn't know "what" IJ is talking about. The object of talk to which the talk corresponds is unclear to RG and the assumption of shared knowledge regarding this is demonstrably incorrect.

The topic of how RG came to have the interview is clarified by IJ, and the relevance of the case to demands or needs of the research enterprise is indicated in a general manner (167). IJ finds it significant that AB referred RG to him - the referring agent was not just anyone but was AB who apparently knows of certain cases and this knowledge seems to provide a 'reason' for the referral as well as the recounting of the particular cases to follow. Having AB as the referring agent may also legitimate RG's request from IJ: the interview is seen as the logical and valid next step in complying with AB's recommendation.

IJ next attempts to provide a chronological ordering for the case, both in 'general time' i.e. four and a half years ago, and in terms of the
'rein' or tenure of the position incumbent (173). The functional integrity of the college is claimed to have been in jeopardy, i.e. "the college was in utter turmoil". Three subschemes are given as organizational "characters" or actors in the succession. Management remains unexplicated while employees are in some preformal organizational stage (not yet unionized) and the faculty is characterized as acting in a left wing political style and linked to generally known pre-existent political schemes e.g. Marxism, Leninism, Femininism (175).

IJ begins to compose a portrait of the professional and related social psychological selves of the president. An image of himself is first outlined in terms of a social psychological predisposition to sympathize with the hiring agent and indeed IJ's affective reactions are displayed as 'one cause' of his accepting the job. This affect can also be implied as moderating IJ's later image of the man. The social psychological self of the president is given in terms of certain characteristics which obviate his inability to deal with the faculty, once a model of the faculty is constructed. Thus a matching hypothesis is proposed: certain professionally relevant social psychological characteristics of a leader 'match' the characteristics of an employee's organization, others do not, and if a 'match' is not achieved, the outcome is a problematic situation. It is clear to IJ, but not to the researcher, as to 'why' the president (and not, for example, the employee's organization) is the loser: clearly certain background knowledge or theories which explicate the matching hypothesis are held by IJ which allow him to see this as obvious.

The characteristics of the president appear to be seen as a lens through which the president views faculty candidates: IJ implies the lens is a bit overly focused (179) and perhaps failed to make salient certain of their interests and activities which they enacted in the organizational setting.
Thus these faculty members constructed themselves as a particular organization - a commie cell or subscheme of the communist party - and then imposed this on or within the college scheme, giving the communist scheme precedence. For instance, they attempted to reconstruct the organization in terms of their own preferred image. Thus the president's social psychological characteristics became professionally enacted traits which led him to construct and utilize, for practical hiring purposes, a scheme of 'suitable faculty member' which failed to consider certain characteristics which later had great relevance to both his own activities and the functioning of the college.

The communists are seen as motivational types who become 'active' trying to implement their beliefs which 'obviously' are in conflict with the belief linked organizational scheme(s) IJ and the president share, and which IJ presumes most people share. Thus it is obvious the president "fought" the communists and attempted to prevent them from implementing their scheme(s) (181). Again, the matching hypothesis explains the conflict and, at least to IJ, the president's ineffectiveness. A different type of president would 'match' the employee scheme in such a manner that he could defeat them.

A model of council is presented which includes a gambit of compliance to provincial legislative rules: certain rules of the legislature determine how membership on council is acquired. As half are appointed by the government, if the government changes, the operative image of 'suitable' members (which the government utilizes in appointment selection) is likely to change. A new government can then invoke its right to appoint members i.e. do a gambit of compliance, and reconstruct council membership by selecting candidates who match the operative image. So a change in half of council membership is likely to follow a change in the government. This is a major factor in council member turnover. The typical motivational type of members is also partly responsible for high turnover - they gain
and lose 'interest', apparently somewhat rapidly and this interest motivates them to accept membership or, when it is lost or directed elsewhere, to resign. The high turnover limits council integrity by preventing continuity, and this in turn limits council ability to fulfill the needs of the college and the principal, such as guidance (185). Institutional integrity thus requires a certain type of principal (strong) as the council turnover problem seems rather unsolvable for the college.

The next topic of discussion is the principal's resignation, which occurred at about the same time as the surfacing of an institutional need - dean of community education. The timing of the two events is of interest: the principal worked at modifying the general college scheme to provide for this need by creating the dean position. After this schematic modification was formalized the resignation was made, concommit and with the principal's informal application for the job. Faculty, who conceive of the principal as departing from, or embodying the antithesis of, some scheme of the 'suitable dean, principal or administrator', are opposed to the selection of the president as dean. The label 'shooin' applied to the recruitment process suggests certain stylistic considerations which the faculty holds as relevant to the recruitment process are breached (187).

But council had a model of the professional and financial integrity of the principal - the person needs a good administrative job and salary (189), hence they offered him the job. IJ outlines and supports a model of the integrity of the professional self, including certain activities which maintain this, and this model corresponds to the principal's own model (200). The principal engaged in these integrity maintaining or enhancing activities including continuing a job search with the result that he obtained a position outside the college. But prior to this the chronology suggests the president constructed an organizational 'need' or pro-
blem to be solved. His resignation created a personal, professional need and after resigning, he offered himself as the solution to the organizational problem which he created or which served as a potential solution to his own problem.

RG offers a precipitating incident hypothesis and inquires how the departure was announced (205). The organizational scheme carries compliance and stylistic components made visible by the mode of announcement. Compliance wise, the announcement is made to the employer-council - presumably as required by contract which (from my background knowledge I expect) generally indicates that if one resigns, one must inform the employing body directly and not just merely disappear. The announcement evidenced stylistic concerns where the principal gathered his staff in the morning to inform them of his intent (205). There is thus a proper style of resigning - tell your closest associates first, and then make a general, formal announcement. While perhaps this 'proper' aspect is not explicit in IJ's description, it is emphasized vis-à-vis successor choice announcements by KL in the second description of this case. The announcement sequence is commonly followed in resignations and appointments, as further evidenced by President Nixon's resignation (see R.M. Nixon, 1978). And IJ's failure to note the sequence was odd, or to indicate alternative normal expectations supports my contention. Council meeting procedure is outlined too, in the description thus providing a background for locating the formal announcement - during a regular meeting, while in camera. IJ does reply to the presentation of the precipitating incident hypothesis.

Several characteristics are added to IJ's image of the social psychological self of the predecessor, e.g. "very fair person" (213), and it is noted that this image was a personally constructed one which was contested by others - thus others did not share this scheme, but held their
own. The basis for differing images is explained: they derive from differential motivational/cognitive (social psychological) schemes characteristic of different people linked to political and philosophical orientations. Thus being a 'political type' is again associated with some type specific motivational structure or model and these in turn determine one's interpretations and images of others (215).

Discussion is now shifted to the topic of successor selection, and the search process is indicated in terms of sequential steps and components. One component is 'advertising', which is a means of socially distributing knowledge of the organization's need across a wide geographical area. The search committee is a second component, constructed from members of four entities subsumed by the supra scheme of the college (219), and this composite 'search entity' becomes a primary 'actor' in the events to follow. The third component is the provincial government: from information provided earlier one has the background to see how changing governments changes various interpretational schemes linked to governmental activity and leads to council turnover. Such a government change occurred and its relevance to the case is supplied by chronologically locating the change which then makes obvious, expected, and sensible the resulting concil shake up (227).

IJ theorizes (227-233) that the NDP reconstructed the Board by appointing people who's characteristics fit characteristics of the NDP image of appropriate types of appointees to the Board of a democratic institution. IJ supplies a 'standard or typical professional self' for the appointees, and in particular "active housewives or women's activist" (231), and a standard image or typification of the professional-occupational selves of past members - i.e. "professional such as doctors". This later type member is presented to be clearly more adequately matched with the ideally desirable type, and the reason for this is ascertainable by explicating addition-
al characteristics which are generally taken to "hang together" with each type. Thus housewives have little background knowledge and experience in business management, whereas professionals have this background - or at least are generally expected to have this. The types are programmatic constructions, particularly because of the characteristics that are not made explicit but which are assumedly general knowledge - shared by the speaker and hearer - which obviate the conclusion that such a board will not exhibit improved guidance of the institution. The reconstructed council jeopardizes the functional integrity of the institution which needs adequate guidance. Again, a matching hypothesis is implied: a certain type of council 'matches' the organizational scheme composed of a set of needs. This council is not that particular matching type.

The problematic nature of the reconstructed council is further elaborated. Council members are alleged to use schemes of the government and/or their social psychological selves for interpretational purposes, rather than constructing or learning the "actual" organizational scheme and giving this the appropriate priority. Members seek benefits for themselves or the government and fail to discover organizational needs and the proper style of doing a search. Organizational needs are not given priority, and the flow of resources and events are tapped to meet needs, demands and considerations of other entities, rather than the entity (the college) to which they are normally assigned. Therefore integrity of the college is obviously in peril i.e. "the stage was set for a complete disaster (233) where disaster is equivalent to and defined by a major disruption of organizational functioning."

RG probes for a chronology, and finds council was changed during the search (247). This seems to show a cause for a range of additional possible problems related to council activities with consequences for the integrity
of the college, such as additional delays in the search process while new members can learn the ropes, acquire background knowledge, and so on.

The manner in which one particular candidate became successful is discussed. The matching hypothesis receives explication and additional application (251) regarding the motivational basis of the social psychological and professional selves of the candidate and an image of council. Elaboration of the motivational type of the candidate entails displaying him as one who prefers to breach stylistic implications of the search scheme while meetings its compliance demands. Such a motivational type is describable as a game-player, a person who puts his own advantage first (253). He gains this advantage by utilizing the general organizational scheme and related subschemes as personal resources, by 'working with' these schemes, selectively interpreting, invoking and ignoring them to accomplish his own practical purposes. This motivational typification of the person was constructed - or as the respondent who verifies the type would say, was 'recognized' - only retrospectively (253) by seeing disparate events interrelated in the form of a strategy, and finding in the strategy the evidence of the motivational basis which prospectively caused the person to develop and implement it. IJ provides a motivational basis for his and others' retrospective search and bracketing of events - "a lot of reason" (253) - which implies he and others were rather baffled by the events and sought to develop an explanation of these. This practical purpose was thus a guide to interpreting the events and finding them some sort of rational, planned, and integrated purpose.

IJ continues to add characteristics to his image of the candidate/ successor which 'fit' or hang together with the proposed motivational type, and serve to buttress his argument. The success of the candidate's strategy is ensured because of the match between candidate and search committee, which
is 'incompetent'. The incompetence may be understood vis-à-vis the organizational scheme, particularly its needs (257). The committee prefers to utilize a Leninist scheme, rather than the college scheme, as a resource for identifying a suitable successor; and it seems the candidate must have learned this and produced behaviors and such which led the committee to match their image of him with the ideal derived from the Leninist model. Competence, from the point of view of the organizational scheme, is simply using that scheme as a primary interpretational device, and thereby putting its needs first.

Incompetence is also displayed by failure to implement aspects of the normal search and recruitment scheme such as checking references. Such references can be conceived as others' images of the candidate, and checking these means contrasting and comparing them among one another, and with some image of a suitable candidate. Incompetence is also a means of indicating that the members lacked certain background knowledge and skills, a lack one expects given their standard career or occupation - housewife. To the extent that they were not aware of, and/or failed to use the informal network to produce adequate knowledge of the candidate, incompetence is further indicated (259). And finally, incompetence is displayed by implying the background expectations, knowledge, and schematic resources which 'any competent professional has and uses' including a motivational basis (desire to help the organization meet its needs) and a scheme of the normal search process. The current search is visible as a departure from the normal sequence. Since members do not display the normal 'professional stock' of skills and knowledge, they are clearly not competent as professionals (255, 261).

One rather interesting aspect of the candidate's enactment of his professional self and its problematic motivational basis was to offer labels or titles for past positions he had held. Such labels were designed to fit into generalized schemes of organizations members held in their stock of
general social knowledge. But the labels were misleading i.e. were used to 'mislocate' the candidate by being descriptive of, or implying location in, positions which were actually higher than those positions the candidate had 'actually' held (263, 274). This point pressages exposition of a socialization contingent mobility theory which is used to explain the incompetence of the successor (263-272). The theory utilizes 1) a generalized ideal type college scheme, especially its hierarchical aspects, and 2) a set of positions within it. The major proposition is that one can only competently move up one step at a time in the hierarchy, presumably as being positionally close to some other position allows for socialization, vicarious learning, development of skills, and so on. This carries a clear display of the intraorganizational distribution of knowledge and viewpoints for apprehending events. The competent successor has learned relevant skills and knowledge for a given position, and almost by definition incompetence is a warranted designation where positional mobility entails a jump of more than one step.

Discussion in the interview turned to topics outside this succession at that point (274) and returned to the case somewhat later when RQ inquired about the chronology of predecessor departure and successor arrival (335). IJ recalls a vacancy in the position which, in terms of college functional integrity, requires filling. This problem or need is solved in an almost routine or routinizeable manner by utilizing the organizational scheme qua chart to locate a logical acting successor - someone whose position was proximate to the vacated one. In this instance, the solution is a dean. IJ further recalls the predecessor and successor met, but never on the job (344). From this one might suppose there was no formal sharing of schemes of the organization or other relevant entities, background knowledge, etc., and hence the competence of the successor early in his term of office would be rather constrained.
One of the effects of the resignation is shown to be the resignation of the first president’s secretary, caused by her loyalty to him (346). This statement constructs her as a social psychological entity, and the president was the object of expression in acting out her motivational basis. This doesn't seem terribly problematic to the college, but other things were. For example, the social psychological self of the first principal is enacted in his professional activities where he undertook to preserve the functional integrity of the organization by leaving time to find a successor, where adequate time is seen as integral to an adequate search and hiring a competent leader which is important to college functioning. Council's activities overrode this provision of time, and their incompetence further jeopardized the college by resulting in a poor search process which is evidenced by IJ's presentation of more effective search activities that might have been conducted (360).

IJ's suggestions are in conflict with council's model of proper style in the recruitment process (362-366), an aspect of which is linked to or subsumed by their model of proper style in interpersonal relationships. One assumes in such interpersonal relationships, which are partly constitutive of the search process, that a relationship of undoubted correspondence holds between things as they appear to be in the talk of the candidate, and things as they actually are. The background search violates or at least suspends belief in this assumption of undoubted correspondence because it entails testing the assumption rather than taking for granted it is true. The assumption is then claimed to characterize council as a general schematic entity because it represents a major consideration constitutive of their models of proper search style and proper conduct in interpersonal relationships, and these two models appear to overlap.

At a later point in the interview, successor candidates are again dis-
cussed (433) and typified as insider and outsider. One cause of council's choice is that their scheme of a suitable or ideal candidate includes an informal rule to hire outside, that is, to change the stylistic scheme of the college as a whole and get "fresh air". I suggest, then, that aspects of internal organizational climate are part of members' notions of organizational style, and these stylistic considerations are linked to informal rules which themselves may be located with the model of style as a theoretical construction. A stylistic consideration in the succession search process has implications for the style of the more general organizational entity.

RG also asked about ceremonies marking the departure of the predecessor. Festivities were located organizationally and geographically and had characteristics of the ceremonial occasion, happy event, and so on. One of these aspects was the presence of 'wives' which indicates that in normal organizational activities certain entities such as 'the family' are irrelevant. However, a subset of activities locatable within the organizational purview exist such that members can bring in or utilize aspects of institutional schemes such as family and marriage, to accomplish organizationally relevant activities. Thus it is, stylistically speaking, proper to bring one's spouse to certain social events and the spouses presence can possibly contribute to these events e.g. by livening things up, and so on.

Certain other characteristics such as gift giving, holding the event in a nice location, and so on, provide cues to the event which symbolically display to all present, particularly the departing member, the positive feelings and gratitude characterizing the social psychological selves of others. These affectual states have organizational bases in the departing member's activities which supported at least minimally the integrity of the college, met its compliance demands, and evidenced proper considera-
tion of stylistic concerns. The ceremony thus evidences organizational and social psychological ramifications of the departing member's activities: the joint nature of these is supported by the joint sources of funding for the gift (604). One could also argue the ceremony exhibited enactment of a norm of reciprocity relevant to two entities - selves and organization - both of which seek to repay the departing member for his contribution to them.

The ceremony is also characterized as "a very happy event". Happy is a sensible descriptor because the predecessor left voluntarily, and will take another job. Therefore the predecessor's professional and social psychological integrity does not appear threatened by his departure, and indeed may be enhanced by it. So there is no reason to be sad, and every reason to be happy.

The arrival of the successor is the final topic relevantly discussed here. RG seems to expect (from his background knowledge) some 'welcome' ceremony, but IJ reports there was none held at the time of installation. A construction of a deviant motivational basis for the successor, Peter, is initiated by IJ (636): Peter's motives are fulfilled by modifying the organizational scheme to meet his personal needs and desires. The first principal had an image of the organization, including proper administrative style vis-à-vis the financial subscheme, which was quite different from that of the successor, and a motivational basis which led him to put the needs of the college before his own needs. The result was that few social gatherings were held and/or paid for by the college (640, 642).

IJ holds models of good administrative styles (linked to financial rules or gambits of compliance) which differ from the models used by the first principal, by allowing for college subsidized gathering of administrators. IJ's resources may also include an integrity construct such as
the notion that these gatherings are beneficial to administrative functioning. After the arrival of the new principal, IJ was impressed because he saw a change in administrative style, and financial rules regarding college subsidization of 'dinner meetings'.

But retrospectively it became clear to IJ that he and the new principal did not necessarily use the same primary interpretive models. Rather, the enactment of social gatherings is alleged to be interpretable from the deviant motives linked to the social psychological and professional selves and the needs of the financial self of the new president. The gatherings are held because altering the old stylistic scheme of administrator behavior (644) and financial rules provided for meeting the needs of the successor. Positive implications for the organization qua general entity are thus, as IJ sees Peter, incidental to Peter's true purpose - catching the college with all his drinking expenses (646). Thus an initial gathering, easily legitimated by appealing to the organizational scheme such as its needs and better styles of management communication ("an improvement": 644) contingent on altering the style of financial administration was routinized by the successor for his own immediate advantage. As we shall see in a later chapter on firing, this routinization of 'wet' luncheon meetings became a significant component in the retrospective sensemaking which resulted in the firing of the president. Thus we are not through with Peter, by a long shot.

Respondent 2, KL: Academic Dean

52 item five is voluntary resignation I think I can give you an example of that regarding the first principal of this college [hmm um hm]

54 who and that's chief executive officer or president and [mhm]

56 and the who to the best of my knowledge voluntarily resigned

58 I might speculate that it wasn't thoroughly voluntarily but let's say all the formal evidence would indicate that it was [m hm] uh voluntary
ok now I need some help as to what it is let's take let's say we're going to focus on Gray and if you can help me through the first one [m hm]

I can probably uh deal with the others in a way you want them done uh what do you want to know now about this succession here is a the founding principal who retires as principal and leaves the organization and goes somewhere else what are you interested in?

you can just describe how it happened

ummm how it happened was um he handed in his resignation that was it he said to his fellow executives um I'm resigning and I believe I'm going to a job at College X [mmm hm]

but that was his side of it [m hm]

now eh y'know council then set about to advertise the position and uh there was a competition and um let's see he resigned in the spring

did you have any uh was there any background going on there that it was sort of an expected announcement or

no I can say that for me it came as a surprise I could say that um perhaps uh that principal's stature in the organization was never very strong and was diminishing [m hm]

uh that while at that point he wasn't the object of votes of non-confidence or you know that sort of typical academic move um there was a strong sense in the faculty which was not certified at that time under the labor code that he wasn't the person to be the chief executive officer of the college so there were those kinds of undercurrents but they were the just precisely that undercurrents rather than uh quite formal concerns [m hm]

I don't know you you've got to coach me in this first one

he gave his resignation then and submitted it in writing

that's right and the institution uh carried on he was in fact here um oh here's an interesting point there was actually an overlap um between uh for about a month on paper we had two principals [m hm]

and no one knew for sure who was in the driver's seat [hmm]

and that led to that whole thing that children do with parents or between parents and grandparents that everyone was playing one gentleman off against the other

did they both have offices on campus?
they both had offices on campus and we had outgoing principal Gray and incoming principal uh Black and they were both saying different things [heh - laughs]

and oh extremely confusing in fact almost humorously so at times and interestingly eh not interestingly but the factor was that neither one because he had never been able to and the other one because he was too new to had their finger on the pulse of the institution hê (laughs) [hmm]

and so statements that were being made by them um were only on the mark because of some random chance that [RG laughs]

statements may be on the mark [m hm]

so that that was an unusual type of thing it was it would seem to me that um uhh it could have been handled differently um you know that someone's going to retire eh so you bring in an associate or an assistant one year in advance [m hm]

with the clear intention publicly institution wide that uh in one year's time when so and so retires this will be the person that takes their place but the uh authority structure is usually carefully defined that um the old gentleman is still the person [m hm]

no so (laughs) in this case

RG m hm so he after he submitted his resignation I guess the search process started could you sort of outline that process and what role you played

um the process started in this institution with first of all a debate as who would constitute the search committee in other words would there be faculty representation would there be student representation would there be staff representation on the search committee um that was duly settled that there would be those representatives on there that was uh sort of a preliminary skirmish

RG m hm how did that get settled was that a

how did that get settled? I guess that um got settled by um I may have to retract something that I said before [huh]

uh let me think about this I said before that when he resigned we were not certified that's a lie we were certified at that point we were um I guess uh just in our first contract under that certification so we were certified and that skirmish came about then was almost um the board of directors which in this institution is known as a council ok? [m hm]

uhh trying to determine whether or not they would test the strength of the collective agreement on that episode on that point because the collective agreement says that for um admin-
istrative appointments the search committee will be made up of council members and faculty members and those two parties may agree to invite other parties such as staff and students [m hm]

so the little skirmish was around hey um is this contract worth the paper it's written on kind of thing [hm]

so it was settled um through discussion between the faculty executive and the council [m hm]

um a modest test of strength and agreeing that yes that's what it meant and in fact we then agreed to invite uh the staff and students onto the search committee [m hm]

and it seems to me that there were about three each out of that group it was an equal representation from each of the groups [m hm]

um so the search committee was struck there was some advertising as I recall there was um not really a clear statement of what the duties of an executive officer are and what his responsibilities are and what his um authority is [m hm]

um I was an applicant for that position and the procedure then was that that search committee interviewed and recommended to council a short list as it happened there were um three names on the short list two people withdrew the council then said we won't um er uh appoint from what in effect is a short list of one name

RG [heh - RG laughs]

so they readvertised and so on and so forth ultimately Mr. Black was a was a candidate that was discovered on the second go round [m hm]

not on the first and the council themselves interviewed then so not only did the search committee who had council members on [m hm]

but the council as a corporate entity interviewed the candidates [hmm]

and made their selection [m hm] and their voting

RG they did it as I suspect by forming a subcommittee of their own

no committee of the whole [committee of the whole] m hm [ok]

and there at that time uh what was it nine or ten people on that [m hm]

they did by committee of the whole [hmm mhm]
if you want to digress that raises some interesting points
you see it's difficult for a public college council to
operate truly on subcommittee because there are simply too
many vested interests the structure of our college councils
are that there are two reps from each of the school divisions
[m hm]

that are represented by the college region those people are
clearly political animals they are there because they have
been elected as trustees on their school boards [m hm]

ok so what comes from those people which is half of the council
is the particular interests of that (secondary) school board
[m hm]

which um quite often is a higher order of importance than the
interests of the college ok so when West City has a surplus of
schools they think the college is a good place to unload that
school or one of their surplus schools regardless of whether it's
good for the college and certainly regardless of what North
City might think about that I mean they have a school problem
to solve and you get that coming in [m hm]

the other half are appointees by the Lieutenant Governor in
council so they are political animals of a different breed
altogether [m hm]

they are not there because they win elections they are there
because they're on the right cocktail circuit or something like
that ok and therefore and you might say their allegiances hé ha
(laughs) are entirely different [m hm]

um hence you find in our council them saying and although we
have a subcommittee system everything comes back the from
the subcommittee to um committee of the whole [m hm]

whole council and often is redebated there [hmm]

committee of the whole will not trust um to decisions of sub-
committees [m hm]

now uh to me it's understandable but then I do and what I don't
understand is why do we go through the facade of [heh heh]

having the subcommittee things so ya it was done by a committee
of the whole [m hm]

what else on that?

RG um well I guess they interviewed the candidates by a committee
of the whole

m hm

RG and then I guess what happened after that?
198 after that? um I don't know um some how or the other they arrived at their decision of who they wanted to offer the job to [m hm]

200 what that process was I don't know what I can say is that under our collective agreement they may not offer the job to someone who is not on the search on the short list prepared by the all party search committee [mmm hm]

202 ok so the search committees in this institution are when they prepare a search list the main criterion or maybe I shouldn't say main criterion but they they prepare it in the context that they're prepared to live with any one of the people on the short list [m hm]

204 they may rank order them and even if they do rank order them we may have a skirmish about why was number two appointed instead of number one but contractually under the letter of that law anyone off the short list may be appointed [m hm]

206 so what their private process was I don't know

207 RG hmm um I guess how was the appointment announced and then when did people find out about it and

208 ok um on that particular one uh I was a candidate and as I was on the short list and I was on holiday on Vancouver Island and I was asked to call um on a given date to [hmm]

210 uh hear what the the word was so because I called I discovered shall we say in advance of reading it in the newspapers um however I think that the majority of the institution read it in the newspapers before they read it through the usual informing processes of the um college [m hm]

212 so instead of there being an announcement from the chairman of the college council put up on all the notice boards it was read in the local paper [hmm]

214 and then someone you know after that belatedly because the chair person hadn't thought of that and came the sort of formal announcement [heh heh]

216 our council are not very good on those sorts of things [m hm]

218 so that was how it was announced

219 RG so apparently someone at the council um communicated to the paper that this had been reached and they wrote an article

222 yes that's right yes you know a picture and all these sorts [m hm]

228 so um I can give you now some further biased information in so far as I was a candidate um and the sort of scuttlebut that
I picked up was that um the whole process was more directed about what the council was sure about was that they didn't want me appointed to the position [m hm - RG then laughs]

um in that I was young my god how many years was that that was seventy four so um I wasn't even forty yet [m hm]

and that um I would sit in the principal's office much as I sit now (in stocking feet with casual dress) and I did do for sixteen months as an acting principal I mean I don't wear a tie [m hm]

and uh I guess I'm the antithesis of any stereotype executive in terms of address and so on I have an unlisted number [m hm]

um which I refused to give to the council even as an acting principal I said just a second here uh you uh there's no crisis that won't wait until tomorrow and I when I work for the college I'm at the college and available either through my secretary or my administrative assistant or somebody you can always get hold of me when I'm at home I'm on my time not on college time [m hm]

um we can debate when those times are going to be but when I'm at home that's one of the times I'm not going to meet you so I was all of those things that um [m hm]

they would and I can understand that shit might be awfully tough to work with [m hm]

um I was seen as being a faculty members' administrator in other words that I was soft on faculty and all that sort of stuff and yet I'm the only administrator that well eh uh up until this year who has ever had any grievances under the collective agreement because I was being a little too tough perhaps so [m hm]

RG I guess if you could tell me a bit about him arriving give some examples maybe

ok alright he's an Easterner ok [m hm]

comes in here in his three piece suit alright um he's bringing a lot of the Eastern uh Cat house educational jargon with him Cat house stands for colleges of applied arts and technology they're known as cats [m hm]

ok now the educational system in Ontario is quite different from educational system in B.C. ok? [hmm]

there is no university transfer stream from colleges to universities in Ontario as there are here [m hm]

not so by legislation not allowed [m hm]
ok a college of applied arts and technologies that's what they are so they end up having a lot of manpower kinds of things eh? big manpower contracts and this sort of stuff run very much as a business obviously and explicitly rather than implied and obliquely [m hm]

ok? and principals and deans down there tend to think of themselves as hard nosed businessmen they try to live to that stereotype and they um deal with a province wide union that is extremely strong and in my judgement engaging union activities rather than professional activities and hence you've always got that kind of tension so he comes with all of that background [m hm]

into a union situation at this college which is very sophisticated now I don't know very much about Ontario but I know a little bit about it ok? and the faculty members here are far more sophisticated and intellectual and subtle than the Ontario faculty [m hm]

and before you know it he's got himself cornered because he thinks he knows the union management situation but he only knows it in the Ontario context [m hm]

he misreads it and he was the kind of character that steps right in and boy he was a sharp gentleman [m hm]

but he's just not sharp enough to handle it on the fly with with insufficient information [m hm]

so the outgoing gentleman is the other way around he has no knowledge and ability to cope with unions whatsoever whether they be in Ontario [RG laughs]

or here ok? so the institution then is used to coping with this gentleman who can't cope with unions or it now sees this other one come in you see and they're saying oh wait a second here we can have some fun this guy is now beginning to spar with the union the new guy you see [m hm]

and he's beginning to say things that just don't fit because of the different system and he's being hammered on that one alright? and um but also often being fed the line and I'm sorry I won't be able to specific examples like you just eh show you our uh suggest what was happening they would say oh but Mr. Gray has indicated in that matter uh the following things would be happening ok now at that point who's the authority? [m hm]

Mr. Gray says that it's going to happen now you're saying it isn't? now what is it going to be and you can have a lot of fun with that one [m hm]

because the council hadn't sorted out who was calling the shots in that month [hmmm]

is it Mr. Gray? or is it Mr. Black? those two guys didn't know [m hm]
one would say I'm here until the end of September and the other one was saying I'm here as of August the first [RG laughs]

so although I can't give you specific examples it tended to be around that union thing ok? [m hm]

I suspect that in the interviews Mr. Black had persuaded the council that he could take on the union and that through negotiations and so on he could win back some of the things that this soft management had given away [m hm]

in the first contract um and perhaps he was trying to begin to live up to that he certainly tried in that set of negotiations that came about in his twelve uh fourteen months here and to recoup and do that sort of thing

RG m hm was there a partial uh during that time I'm just sort of interested in this the first

that one month ya

RG the first time I've encountered this

RG m hm

RG overlap um was there a particular division set up of labor set up where one of them was signing normal papers I mean if you had just a normal signature that went out under the chief executive officer's

that was Gray

RG uh huh ok that was the old one ok

yes yes yes

RG so he did most of the routine matters

the paperwork right the pa uh no that there you go too far you see [oh]

he did most of the routine manner matters [uh huh]

only the routine matters that were paperwork were done I have no idea whether or not that routine that required his signature was actually discussed between the two of them or not [m hm]

ok but certainly um he did the signing in that month ok? [m hm]

but let's face it um those paper things are not the big issues [ya m hm]

ya know and hence I don't think that was causing any problem um it was these other verbal discussions y'know the all college meeting with the faculty which is just an excuse to test the new
man y'know [m hm]

hold the bait out there ya know see see see does he go after shiny spinners or does he like worms or y'know [RG laughs]

well that was what was going on and in that first month and part of how Black was being attacked was to pit him obliquely against Gray who just wasn't smart enough to cope with any of that alright and so it must have been very confusing for Black because he could he couldn't part of the problem with us in the institution was we could never pin Gray down well neither could Black [heh heh]

so he could never find his base to argue from [hmm]

when he was forced into that confrontation

one of the opportunities they had uh the faculty was uh they got a general meeting of all faculty uh

Gray's very high school traditional thing was we were back here on August the first and that was an all college meeting everyone showed up and even more natural how else I'd like to introduce my successor [m hm]

so uh it was quite natural [hmm]

for that to occur and it may well have been that Peter suffered irrevocable defeat right in that first month I don't know I've never thought about that or tried to analyze that

RG there were a lot of attacks or things levied at him or I guess I'm taking it then but I guess what I'm trying to say is that he got a lot of exposure that

ya it was not vicious yet a lot of exposure he wanted it he sought it out but he bit off more than he could chew I I I guess that's how I could summarize it

RG when the original principal then left

m hm

RG um I guess uh was there a particular ceremony or anything uh a going away party

ummmmm yes there was there um I don't recall when that precisely happened but it was around the end of it and I can't even recall whether it was sort of working day or evening I think it was evening but an all college type of thing and um to the to the credit of our faculty's humanity they were there in reasonable force to wish the man well [m hm]

on a human level although on other levels they had little respect for him so I said to the credit of their humanity they were there and bury the hatchet and it wasn't as I recall too too
phony or hypocritical I think there was a genuine thing about him that um you are a nice person but can we keep that separate from the fact that you are a rotten administrator [heh heh - laughs]

and he was very nice and genuine man I have to admit that in my experiences with him I did not admire him as an administrator but as a human being outside of that context very warm very concerned about you as a person this sort of thing

uh so there was that sort of ceremony and they gave him a gift and that sort of stuff and then the council had a dinner for him and that sort of thing

so the private dinner and that sort of thing

eh he'd served the college well in his own way it wasn't well enough but I would say that he'd given sort of a hundred and ten percent of what he had to give

except that even at a hundred and ten percent it was far less that what the college really needed

but you can't fault him on that part can ya

Analysis, Respondent 2. The respondent begins the description by locating it in terms of interview demands, and then locating the organizational position under discussion (52-54). He indicates that although the departure was formally described as voluntary resignation, it may have been somewhat involuntary. Obviously he has some background information which he does not make explicit but which might suggest an alternative typification for the case. Researcher demands or needs are negotiated (84-91) and then the case description is 'in full swing'.

A 'short and sweet' description of the case (86, 94) utilizes the predecessor, a subscheme of the college (fellow executives), and another organizational entity which has offered the predecessor a job, thus the integrity of his professional self is supported with job continuity. Clearly the resignation has an object or group to whom it is given, and the description is claimed to be from the point of view of the predecessor (96) which implies there were other sides to the story.
Council is the next 'actor' to appear and is assigned the task of doing recruiting (98). The resignation is located temporally, and tasks involved in recruiting are noted. RG interrupts to ask for background within which the resignation would be expected, thus suggesting it appears abnormal or without cause as described: one normally expects some 'cause' or background which explains why someone resigned when and how they did. KL claims there was no background so it was a surprise to him. However, the faculty's image of the professional self of the principal was such that his stature was diminishing. While no formal attempts had been made to alter his organizational status, members' image of the principal did not at all match their image of a suitable or ideal incumbent. Presumably the principal was aware of this and that his professional integrity was in potential jeopardy as, given a general scheme of organizations, members had various potential gambits to degrade his stature and were considering using these. The impact on his professional self obviously would not be good - being fired is damaging to one's professional image. The faculty is thus outlined as an entity with certain powers through recourse to formal vehicles in the organizational scheme.

KL again prompts negotiation of researcher needs as he indicates any assumption of these being shared between himself and the researcher is incorrect. RG merely reiterates the major shared point of knowledge (107) and characterizes this resignation as a formal gambit made by the principal - putting it in writing will force the council to act. This displays something of RG's background scheme of the succession process and common modes of organizational functioning. This is a point of departure for KL who notes something 'absurd' - chronologically, the successor arrived prior to predecessor departure and both were located as 'the principal' by themselves and others. One generally expects to find only one formal leader at
any given time. But this was the first succession in that position and there was apparently nothing in the organizational scheme as formally given and/or generally shared which solved the problem i.e. made decideable who was in charge. Both persons were invoking the scheme of the organization, both attempting to act, and the faculty was not helping things by encouraging each principal to offer interpretations of matters, which resulted in inconsistencies between their statements. Thus, each was constructing the organization differently and others had no criterion for deciding which construction was warranted as paramount. Indeed KL suggests both men had constructions or images which were divergent from the actual, or a practically adequate one in the sense of providing a useful basis for actions (116-118). The faculty are given an implied motivational basis by suggesting a familial metaphor (112) as an interpretation of their behavior - play both parties against each other for one's own benefit.

KL explicitity notes that simultaneously having two incumbents for the same position is unusual in terms of his background expectancies. He then makes these expectancies more explicit by proposing a means of avoiding such a problematic situation (122-124). This would entail modifying the formal organizational scheme to include a temporary position into which a successor to be could be located, and this could be done in a temporal sense that would presumably allow time for the successor to learn the ropes and thus would facilitate a smooth transition. The modified scheme, including specification of a single 'leader' would thus be a resource which could be successfully used to accomplish smooth succession and provide a clear solution to the problem.

The search process is the next topic discussed and its initiation is chronologically located as 'after the resignation'. There was apparently rather extensive negotiation of the formal scheme of the search committee,
including particularly which entities comprising subunits of the organization as a whole (students, staff) (131) would provide its members. This negotiation was the result of a gambit of compliance to the newly struck union contract (131-145). Faculty union members invoked its prescriptions, a matter which hadn't occurred before 1) because there had not been any previous presidential searches since the organization became operative and 2) the contract was itself new and untested. One might conceive of this as the faculty union's attempt to establish a relationship of correspondence between contractual specifications and the 'actual' entities specified by the contract. This was accomplished (143) and membership on the search committee included staff, students, faculty and council.

The position vacancy became socially distributed knowledge, but the actual scheme of the position was not clearly outlined vis-a-vis the general organizational scheme, including such things as compliance demands governing the position. KL locates himself as a candidate and this 'viewpoint' or location is linked to the sequence of events which he witnessed as constitutive of the search and recruitment process. While the search committee complied with its duties, its list of candidates (reduced to one: 150) was rejected as council invoked an ad hoc stylistic consideration regarding proper number of candidates. The search procedure was recycled, beginning with socially distributing knowledge of the vacancy. A procedural change is evidenced as council as a committee of the whole interviewed second round candidates, rather than merely allowing search committee to do so. This seems odd to RG, given his background knowledge and expectancies (161). KL seems to find it sensible that RG finds this odd, so he theorizes why the procedure arose.

This theorizing entails elaborating an image of council and certain entities from which its membership is composed (170-184). The first set of
entities - local secondary school boards - furnish members who use their Board's scheme as a primary interpretational device thus giving precedence to their needs rather than the functional integrity of the college (174-180). Members from outside school boards - the second type of members - are characterized as political motivational types using interpretational schemes ("allegiances": 182) that differ from those of school boards and the colleges. KL suggests some institutional affiliations such as "the right cocktail circuit" furnish these persons with the visibility and contacts required for gaining appointment. Thus given the variety of interpretational schemes being applied to any particular event, the production of enforceable college reality is not left to a subset of members with a corresponding subset of schematic resources. This implies, also, that each member has power as a social psychological characteristic and utilizes this to prevent early agreements on 'realities' which are inconsistent with the constructions he or she themself would impose (184-190).

RG invokes a taken for granted rule for providing sensible accounts by requesting KL to say 'what happened next?' (197), thus appealing to a presumably shared notion that descriptions are composed of a series of events which unfold in chronological order from start to finish. KL complies with the demand by providing the decision as a next event, and implying his social location limited his knowledge of the details of this (198, 206). The formal scheme of union-management relations is general knowledge, and he constructs this as a model of compliance applied to the search process (200, 204). This compliance demand constrains the search committee as a background or context: given the compliance specifications which council may invoke as a singular warrant and resource to pick any one on the search short list, members insure that short listed candidates meet or match the specifications of the suitable or ideal candidate derived from their person-
al and/or primary noncollege constituent organizational entity. However, the decision process is not sufficiently or totally explicable by the formal rules, and entails informal aspects of negotiation as well (206).

RG proposes construction of a next stage - the announcement of the decision. In describing or filling in relevant details of this bracketing of the flow of events, KL proposes an image of himself including a professional-career cycle, and locates the announcement in terms of this sequence - while he was on vacation (208). The council and/or committee are shown to violate an expected model of announcement style by distributing the knowledge to the general world through the media of newspaper, rather than first announcing this to college personnel through the normal college information distribution network (210-219). Proper announcement style includes a particular ordering of 'hearers of the news', as Sudnow (1967) has suggested also applies to announcing bad news such as unexpected death. The organizational scheme is a resource for constructing the ordering which follows, roughly, a pattern of distributing 'outwards' starting from the closest or most proximate positions within the scheme of the entity where the focal position is located.

KL goes on to provide certain 'positionally linked as knowable' information (228). He theorizes that council had constructed a combined model of the social psychological and professional style of the suitable candidate, held an image of himself and as the two images were antithetical, council was certain they did not want him as president. Salient stylistic characteristics included 1) age, 2) dress, 3) geographical location of residence, 4) and the daily temporal span and manner in which he would be available for communication with council (237). Further, council conceived him as giving precedence to the faculty interpretational scheme (243) - although later empirical evidence might indicate otherwise.
Successor arrival is the next topic discussed. KL constructs an image of the successor, including particularly a model of social psychological and professional style. The successor's style is antithetical to KL's in terms of dress and his hard nosed business man style, which are themselves shown to derive from legislative compliance demands which constrain the integrity qua purpose of these eastern colleges and thus influence the operational style of the organization from whence the successor came (259-271). A particularly salient subscheme of this other college is the union, and the union scheme is allegedly given precedence over a professional interpretational scheme in the Ontario situation. The predecessor thus comes with a stock of background knowledge and interpretational schemes he acquired in his former setting, but which, when applied to the new situation, lead to problematic interpretations (275-279) i.e. ones inconsistent with those emerging from generally shared schemes available in the present context. The successor thus had incorrect schemes and insufficient context relevant background knowledge (279-281). And the predecessor is cast as lacking the requisite characteristics to deal with unions. Both these men are being asked for and are offering interpretations which are inconsistent with one another, and certain college members are apparently encouraging the production of these inconsistencies, partly by providing incorrect information for processing through the principals' interpretive models (283). And as noted earlier, to members in general there is no clearly defined singular organizational scheme they can invoke to decide which person's interpretations are warranted (285-295), and no rule has been constructed to define this.

Black had proposed an image of his professional and social psychological self to council, indicating his capabilities in dealing with the 'union' to modify the contractual scheme in a manner favorable to management, and had attempted to enact this self image and alter the contract (297-299).
RG now asks for elaboration of events in the one month overlap period, a seemingly absurd point in the succession. His normal or rational expectations of the operative organizational scheme are made explicit—he expects some division of labor (304). This is verified to some extent by KL, and the predecessor incumbent did act on routine matters as expected. But KL indicates that he doesn't know how truly important issues were dealt with or if the two principals had compared or exchanged background knowledges, images, etc. (313).

One event that appeared to be important to KL was the 'all college meeting' which was used to 'test' or construct images of the new man (319) especially his motivational basis or what he goes after (321). A fishing metaphor is used here to interpret and describe the process. Black was thus attacked through this vehicle of obtaining interpretations from each principal and pointing out the inconsistencies which suggests he was 'set up' as breaching common leadership style, e.g. 'you don't know that's not the way it is? You're supposed to be the leader and that's the way that Gray said it is.' Gray is assigned the psychological trait of stupidity, and the vagueness and schemes are claimed to have been obviously confusing to Black (333) who could find no hard and fast, generally accepted by management scheme of the college to use as an interpretive device (335). And the past principal Gray, who often imposed a high school model on the college (339) had provided a near ideal setting for the attacks (343-348). Black simply couldn't handle the multitude of problems and issues which confronted him and which he had sought (350), with such inadequate sensemaking resources. And in addition, Black sought to reconstruct the college scheme, model it after the eastern ones with which he was most familiar and make it an improved version (358-360). Here it seems he was attempting to encode the scenic flow of events using a scheme not shared by others but which he had
long experience in using, and was also trying to enact this scheme by imposing it 'out there' to restructure these actual events.

RG now asks for a description of ceremonies marking predecessor departure. KL notes there was one but can't recall details though he implies it did have temporal and geographical locations (366). He does, however, construct an image of the predecessor that explicitly differentiates two selves: social psychologically Black was 'nice' but professionally he was incompetent. KL suggests this image was shared by the faculty who gave the social psychological image precedence at the ceremony (368-380, especially 368 and 370). Unfortunately, as KL sees it, the professional self of the predecessor did not match the needs of the college (376-380), although at a motivational level Gray is viewed very positively i.e. he gave a hundred and ten percent.

DISCUSSION

Descriptions of cases of succession involving the voluntary resignation of the predecessor in an organizational position appear to utilize many of the same resources that were used in describing and explaining death. Respondents located the particular case(s) they recounted as part of a warranted sequence of descriptions complying with research requests and needs. Respondents offered their descriptions as composed of two aspects, 1) the description that an idealized or standardized 'any member' would report, and 2) description reflecting their own personal views and the events visible from their particular and unique position in the organizations. Also, members located the focal position within a scheme of the organization early in their descriptions, as well as locating the succession events temporally. Finally, the descriptions were structured so as to reveal the underlying chronology of the events as they were recalled to have happened.

The last two points are of particular interest because they are indicative of certain requirements of sensible descriptions of succession.
First, the succession must be seen to occur in a particular position, and that particular position suggests to the researcher qua hearer, as well as to the respondent, certain relevant but unexplicated background knowledge which must be brought to bear on the case. It also allows details elaborated in the description to be interrelated and linked to the succession event. For example once one knows that the focal position was the president of the organization, then one's stock of knowledge can be used to provide an abstract and generalized image of 'organizations' which allows one to see why actors described in the case were so concerned about finding an adequate successor, why a dean and not a janitor was appointed acting successor, and so on.

Second, the chronology establishes a sequence of events without which they would seem random and spurious. The order of events in time suggests a causal order although it does not necessitate simple causality between a prior and a later event. Thus if one knows that handing in a resignation preceded a debate over search committee composition, the relevance of talk about a search committee is clear; if one can assign no chronology to the events, their temporally contiguous discussion in a case description would be questionable as a coherent description. Members of society apprehend the world of events as one which unfolds over time and this basic assumption is essential to finding causes and sensibilities in common sense theorizing and reporting. Causation may be retrospectively attributed but things are not seen to cause temporally prior events. And as we have seen, members seem to prefer to view the world, to construct it, and to demand that it be constructed for them by others, as a causal texture of events and not just a random and spurious collection. Locatedness of the focal position, and a chronology of events are thus basic to sensible accounts and are not merely incidental: they are sanctionably warranted expectations as exemplified by
the responses of the researcher qua participant in the ongoing social situation of the interview. When either element was lacking, the element was demanded, offered, and acknowledged as received prior to moving on to the next point in the description.

**Programatically Constructed Entities.** The empirical materials analyzed in this chapter again evidence the heuristic nature of the theoretical notion of programmatically constructed entities. Not only are the descriptions populated with various organizations, subunits, and characters, but these entities are also consistently produced and utilized in the manner theoretically outlined in chapter 1. First, a finite set of general categories has proven useful. Members' constructions for any given description involve assembly of a subset of the general theoretical stock including 1) organizations, 2) institutions, and 3) specific characters which are subdivided into a social psychological self and a financial self. We also find the initially proposed stock should be supplemented with the following categories, which appear in the left hand columns of Tables 4-1 to 4-5: 1) focal organization, 2) subschemes of the focal organization including succession producers, the succession process, and 3) more explicit characterological types, including the respondent, the predecessor, and successor candidates. The characterological subdivisions also include an image of the professional self of characters. Our orienting model is thus useful because it organizes much of what appears in the descriptions, and yet allows for supplementation based on theoretical analyses of the empirical cases. Put simply, the theory works and can also be elaborated.

The descriptions examined in this chapter include, first, a rather abstract discussion of voluntary resignation, and then two substantive cases. The abstract discussion was particularly illuminating as the respondent provided elaboration of why people do and do not resign. Table 4-2 summar-
Table 4-1

Schematic Entities Constructed in Theorizing About Why Senior Administrators Don't Resign

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Composite Entities</th>
<th>EF's Descriptor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Focal Organization:</td>
<td>the government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geographical location:</td>
<td>west coast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of compliance:</td>
<td>hierarchical authority, positions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of style:</td>
<td>org. climate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Subschemes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Succession Process:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of compliance:</td>
<td>certification rule, merit rule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of style:</td>
<td>seniority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recruiting Organization:</td>
<td>OR systems; abstract recruiting org.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of integrity:</td>
<td>personnel needs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of compliance:</td>
<td>hierarchical positions with contingent benefits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of style:</td>
<td>org. climate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of compliance:</td>
<td>grievance procedures</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>II. Individual Entities</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Respondent:</td>
<td>EF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional self:</td>
<td>good personnel man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predecessor:</td>
<td>typical senior administrator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional self</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social psych. self</td>
<td>need achievement: hedonism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Successor Candidate:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial self:</td>
<td>better pay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psych.-physiol. self:</td>
<td>stress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional self:</td>
<td>higher position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Succession Producers:</td>
<td>'raiders', members qua predecessors</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4-2
Summary of Causes for Resignations

| Not Resigning:                                                                                           |
| 1. model of focal organization: 'best' one around professional self.                                      |
| 2. model of incumbent's social psychological self: hedonistic desires.                                   |
| 3. geographical area and climate.                                                                        |

| Resigning:                                                                                               |
| 1. model of incumbent's financial self - better pay.                                                    |
| 2. model of incumbent's social psychological self - stress, achievement, motivation.                     |
| 3. model of incumbent's professional self - higher position.                                            |
| 4. match between organizational climate (model of organizational style) and self-image of incumbent (social psychological self). |
Table 4-3
Schematic Entities Constructed in Case 4

I. Composite Entities
   A. Focal Organization .......... Programs Department
       Demographic Model .......... small staff size
   B. Subschemes:
       Succession Facilitating Agency ..... Personnel Department
       Succession Scheme
       Model of Compliance .......... 1. look inside first
                                      2. minimum weeks notice
       Model of Style ............... 1. normal duration of
                                      incumbent
                                      2. expected weeks notice
   C. Other Organizations .......... 1. Former employer which
                                      also became current
                                      post-succession employer

II. Individual Entities
    Predecessor ................. associate director
    Social Psychological Self:
        motive .................. avoid dissatisfaction
        model of style .......... open and honest
    Professional Self: .......... job history
    Successor .................. assistant director
    Professional Self: .......... supervisory experience, skills
    Social Psychological Self: .. matches department head
    Other Actor ................. department head
    Social Psychological Self:
        model of style .......... game-player
Table 4-4  
Schematic Entities Constructed in Case 5  
By Respondent 7, IJ, Vice President, Finance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Composite Entities</th>
<th>Common Language Descriptors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Focal Organization</td>
<td>The College</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Model of Integrity (needs) | 1. continuity of direction: council turnover jeopardizes this  
2. position incumbent for principal's position  
3. strong principal  
4. dean, community education  
5. members must put college needs first |
| B. Subschemes | |
| Finance Office | rule re funding social events |
| Compliance Demands | proper settings for communication e.g. luncheon gatherings |
| Management | |
| Model of Style | leftist political (commie cell) |
| Faculty Union, Staff, Students | |
| Model of Style | |
| Council | |
| Compliance Demands | 1. meeting schedule, procedures  
2. legislative rules determine membership  
3. have right to reject search committee recommendations |
| Model of Style | 1. hire outsider  
2. external schematic orientations given precedence (vs. focal org. scheme)  
3. accept people at their word (no background search) |
Table 4-4 (cont'd)

**Succession Process (see also Table 4-6)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Search Committee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Model of Style</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Model of Integrity** | 1. (IJ) lack requisite skills to do their job adequately: incompetent  
2. need time and certain activities to do a good search |
| **Model of Compliance** | 1. rule regarding who has to be informed of resignation  
2. application deadline |
| **Model of Style** | 1. background search proper (IJ) vs. improper (council)  
2. sequence and timing of distribution of information on candidates  
3. proper application style  
4. proper sequence of announcements: resignation, successor selection  
5. styles of departure and installation ceremonies  
6. proper style violated in offering first principal the deanship  
7. sequence of events: advertise, interview, decide  
8. use org. scheme as resource to find successor  
9. (council): hire outsider |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Succession Producers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>council, search committee</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**C. Other Schemes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provincial Legislature</th>
<th>NDP and Socred governments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Model of Compliance</strong></td>
<td>rules determining council membership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Organization</td>
<td>post-succession employer of predecessor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td>wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Institution of Friendship</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td></td>
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II. Individual Entities

'Faculty member' as Abstract Type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Psychological Selves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. political motivational basis - leftist types</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. personal political interests, activities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Professional Selves</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. qualifications: skills, degrees, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. tendency to bring personal political interests into work situation</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Council Member as Abstract Type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Psychological Self</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ideal (IJ): motivated to help focal organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. actual: leftist NDP linked motives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Professional Self</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ideal (IJ): professional occupation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. actual: housewives, feminists - lack professional skills</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Respondent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IJ</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. VP Finance</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organizational/Professional Self</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. motivated to understand 'what happened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. positive affect re hirer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Focal Position Incumbent (Principal) as Abstract Ideal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Professional Self</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. (IJ) move one career step at a time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. (IJ) strong leader (overlaps social psychological self)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Psychological Self</td>
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<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Social Psychological Self</td>
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</table>
Table 4-5
Schematic Entities Constructed in Case 5
By Respondent 2, KL, Academic Dean

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Composite Entities</th>
<th>Common Language Descriptors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Focal Organization</td>
<td>The College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Integrity</td>
<td>1. need a competent principal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Compliance</td>
<td>1. rules which can be used</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to fire principal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. lacks job specs for principal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. (expected by researcher, respondent): authority structure with one principal at a time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. everyone attends all college meetings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Subschemes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Succession Producing Agencies</td>
<td>1. dislike first principal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faculty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>1. sophisticated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Compliance</td>
<td>union contract:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. search committee membership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. candidate must come from short list: three maximum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Compliance</td>
<td>1. general rights, duties, including final decision re successor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>1. don't trust subcommittees - negotiate issues in committee of whole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. generally ignore common styles e.g. announcements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. operative decision style</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. want minimum 2 candidates on short list</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. interview candidates by committee of whole</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Search Committee

Model of Compliance
1. membership - invoke union contract
2. interview candidates, produce short list of 3 (maximum)

Succession Process (see also Table 4-6)

Producers (as above, plus:)

Model of Compliance
1. formal resignation, initiates replacement process
2. (KL): common organizational scheme modification for 'grooming' position (proposed)

Model of Style
1. 'expected' announcement sequence: close associates, college first then general public
2. normal expected sequence: resignation, advertise, search and interview, recommend, council approves

C. Other Entities

Provincial Legislature

Model of Compliance
1. rules determining college council membership
2. rules allow university transfer

Local School Boards

Model of Integrity
1. needs

Institution

Cocktail Circuit

Predecessor's Former Employer, and 'Eastern Cat System'

Model of Compliance
1. no university transfer

Model of Integrity
1. goals, purposes include filling manpower contracts

Model of Style
1. business
2. prefer union to professional style

(Cat Faculty Unions)
Table 4-5 (cont'd)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Enterprise</th>
<th>Model of Compliance</th>
<th>1. give 5 cases, 5 types</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. provide chronological order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Individual Entities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predecessor</td>
<td>Mr. Gray</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Self</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Integrity</td>
<td>1. employment after resigning preserves this</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. stature declining</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. incompetent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>1. unable to deal with unions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Psychological Self</td>
<td>1. motivationally positive: gives 110%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. nice, warm, genuine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. stupid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principal as an Abstract Ideal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Self</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>1. (KL): open style, knows what's happening</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. (council): business like, including dress, management orientation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. readily available at all times</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. union tamer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Psychological Self</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demographic Characteristics</td>
<td>1. age (over 40)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. residence in appropriate area</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4-5 (cont'd)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Successor Candidates</th>
<th>KL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unsuccessful Candidate</td>
<td>&quot;on vacation&quot; when notified he lost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Self Cycle</td>
<td>1. won't give home phone number to council: mode of availability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>2. faculty-oriented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Successful Candidate</td>
<td>3. casual dress at work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Self</td>
<td>Peter Black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>1. business like: 3 piece suit, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faculty Members</td>
<td>2. union tamer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Social Psychological Selves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council Members</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Board Appointees:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Social Psychological Self: Style</td>
<td>1. precedence given to school board interpretive schemes: school interests = member motivation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governmental Appointees:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Social Psychological Self: Style</td>
<td>1. precedence given to governmental interpretive schemes, etc.: variety of interests = motives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
izes these and we can see that, as proposed in the initial chapter, causes are displayed by programmatically constructing certain entities which are then used as interpretive devices providing course of action types and motives. For example, to explain resignations an abstract model of the financial self of an abstract type administrator is invoked and offered by proposing people 'leave for better pay' which thus provides an 'in order to' motive, a course of action, and thus a sensible reason.

In referring to motives, I do not mean they are necessarily only psychological factors but rather, that psychological attributions could be made but that these derive, and are retrospectively decidable from, constructed schemes of non psychological entities. These entities provide the goals, means, benefits, outcomes, and so on (money, different organization, etc.) which are essential socially even though some psychological 'mover' or focus of cause may be proposed as a psychological concomitant which corresponds to these in a manner which summarily describes or displays a basis of action, and even though the means, benefits, and so on are assigned to one individual as a 'self'. Motives have nonpsychological expressions, and these expressions are in turn one way of recognizing and retrospectively finding certain motives.

The substantive cases also included a display of the cause of predecessor departure which utilized programmatically constructed entities. Thus in case 4, the associate director resigned due to dissatisfaction with the department head - and Table 4-3 reveals PCE's for each character, an obvious mismatch between these, and a motivational basis for the resigning actor which is general but takes 'obvious' substantive form from the mismatch between the two 'character' selves. The theoretical concepts thus subsume the conversational data given in the case as 'the cause' (or, as we note below, a significant but not complete portion of the cause).
Causes are expected and given in explaining cases of succession. Case 5 further supports this. IJ's description noted the predecessor departed because the principal couldn't handle the turmoil induced by the union - a mismatch between the union scheme and a scheme of the principal as social psychological and professional self. KL found the resignation unexpected i.e. without direct obvious cause, and then searched for and provided background which could explain the resignation - the principal's stature was declining and votes of nonconfidence were possible in the near future, i.e. the integrity of his professional self was in jeopardy.

In both cases 4 and 5, and with all three respondents, substantive examples of professional integrity maintenance were provided for the predecessor. For all cases, the cause was not simply some mismatch interpretable from schematic models of certain entities, but also entailed the predecessor having an alternative job prior to making the resignation. Of course 'another job' implies another organization. One could go on to more explicitly construct this organization in a programmatic manner, as a provider of direction, means of preserving professional integrity, and so on, which respondents themselves tended to do. Note, for example, in Tables 4-3 through 4-5, all descriptions included this 'other' organization as a resource. And this construction of alternative employers is used in respondent EF's theorizing in the manner noted above as well as in an obverse fashion - he notes lack of a better employer is a major reason for not resigning.

This discussion suggests the essential vagueness characteristic of programmatic constructions. Various entities (such as council, and the VP Finance) can have different images of the 'same' other entity, such as 'a suitable principal'. Attempts to simultaneously impose and/or utilize such different images leads to negotiation of these images. For example,
the VP Finance held an image of the proper search process which included undertaking a background search of the candidates. He reports proposing this to council and negotiating this with them, but they rejected his image because they held another one - that it is improper to 'spy' on people. Not only did they reject his interpretations and image of proper style, they imposed their own and intimated his was morally inferior. And in all cases, the focal organization appears essentially vague as members construct it, add or subtract certain characteristics at a later point, and reconstruct it continually. Not only is the entity variable across members (in some aspects) it also varies across time within a single member. Inspection of Tables 4-4 and 4-5 displays the substantive variability with concomitant theoretical similarity in the resources two respondents used to describe what was to them the same target case.

The negotiation of images of various entities is topical to respondents. They 'see' and report seeing the various conflicts and controversies over committee membership, proper administrative style, and so on. They therefore show that applying different programmatic constructions to the same behavior-event context assemblage yields divergent interpretations and prescriptions for action and is a reason for the continual negotiation of the interpretational devices. The negotiated character of PCE's is clearest in the college case. This is perhaps true because the college was relatively young at the time case 5 occurred, hence many schematic resources simply hadn't been produced: their production was required for the practical purposes at hand i.e. finding a successor to the first principal. As no a priori shared schemes were available, members searched their background stocks and thus used a variety of very diverse schemes - e.g. school board, faculty, etc. The resultant variety of proposed interpretations was sufficient to keep negotiations and discussions going for quite a while. In
the governmental organization, a shared stock of knowledge was a priori available to members, so we would expect, and we find, a more routinized succession process and a very succinct case description. This results from members' warranted assumption that glossing the nuances and details by employing standardized descriptions is sanctionably expected where a shared background stock of knowledge including a set of interpretive schemes is assumed or taken for granted. This assumption is generalized to the interview. Also, routinization means common problems have common solutions, so fewer significant disruptions occur and are reportable as departures from the unexplicated background which such departures make visible.

Earlier in this chapter I proposed a matching hypothesis is operative in members' use of programmatically constructed entities (PCE's). I shall now elaborate this. "Causation" as perceived and attributed by members is often complex, involving more than one PCE. Thus a singular PCE doesn't explain events but the relationship between two or more may be shown to do so. For example, we observed that a mismatch between two members can lead one to resign. The matching hypothesis is thus an implicit notion that 1) entities can match or mismatch, 2) matches are desired, 3) mismatches lead to problems and should be avoided. The hypothesis is generally applied either by comparing some 'actual' image to an ideal, or by comparing one entity image to a qualitatively different one(s). This carries the a priori assumption there are certain relevant points of contact between (among) entities (and certain irrelevant ones), and that one (or more) entity provides for derivations which can be termed 'needs' either matched (met) or mismatched by the characteristics or characteristically produced outcomes of some other entity or entities. The rule for acting on the basis of entity comparisons is to implement or preserve matches, and to remove or avoid mismatches. For example, one can compare an ideal scheme of princi-
pal with an actual image of a candidate. If they match, one invokes the original scheme which specified practical purposes for image construction (the organizational scheme and the need for a successor) and this provides a solution - hire him.

Yet the matching is not simple: members do not start with a list of entities and their characteristics, clear definitions of match and mismatch, or unequivocal algorithms for implementing matches or removing mismatches. These entities and images as well as matches, mismatches and implementation modes are produced by a great deal of negotiation and conversational work at bracketing the world and socially constructing the phenomena of concern. I may work to show you a candidate matches our needs. You may work to show he doesn't, and we may propose the same 'evidence' for our contradictory contentions. Thus the matching hypothesis is a second order or social scientific construction which displays members' reported reasoning processes and activities. It is not an absolute algorithm for generating members' choices, but is, rather, a second order construction of members' reported algorithms, and they themselves gloss the complex negotiations and social activities which produced the phenomena - decisions, problems solutions and such - which retrospectively, are describable by them as the outcome of a simple matching process.

The matching hypothesis is not only operative in attributing causation to resignation, it is also visible in successor choice. Thus in both case 4 and case 5, respondents produced images of the organization and its needs vis-à-vis the successor as these were constructed by the succession producers, and the successor was shown to be the 'best' match on one or more salient aspects. In case 4, the successor 'got along with' the department head, the predecessor did not. In case 5, IJ and KL constructed an image of council's image of an ideal candidate, and displayed the successor as 'the best match': yet the ideals and actualities varied between
respondents. For IJ, the match was between a leftist council and a leftist candidate. For KL, it was between an ideal image of 'business like' and two successor images, the successful candidate as business like versus the unsuccessful candidate's rather different professional image. The matching hypothesis is thus a retrospective display of the relationships among entities which respondents construct as a rule which rationally explains certain activities and events in the cases they describe.

One further point about PCE's requires discussion. We see that respondents consistently construct various entities in terms of three models - compliance, style, and integrity - which can be used to supply motives, e.g. we did it because 1) it was what the rule said to do, 2) that's how we always do it, and 3) we needed to do it. Thus each entity can be constructed with each of the models as a constitutive aspect, and yet the aspects can overlap from entity to entity. For example, a compliance demand of the legislature outlining council membership may also be seen as an aspect of the council scheme. Or, a characteristic of the financial self may seem to overlap the social psychological self, where moving to another job provides greater pay, and yet is accounted for by an achievement motive. The substantive composition of our theoretical categories is clearly such that they are not mutually exclusive. This may appear problematic to our theoretical interests but it is not. First, members can construct one entity and then use aspects of this entity to construct another, e.g. legislature then council. For example, the same rule as an element of a model of compliance may be located or constructed for two different entities. I have not attempted to set limits on members' use of resources but have merely endeavored to provide theoretical constructions which represent these uses. Thus where there is substantive overlap, to members, there is substantive overlap in our theoretical categories. Yet the categories as theoretical
constructs have certain distinct characteristics as well, which are represented by distinctions in members' own language. Council and legislature are distinct yet may have a subset of overlapping characteristics e.g. share certain rules.

Second, motives seem to form a core, and all the subschemes of individual entities overlap these to some extent. The categories are analytical distinctions supported at some points and blurred at others by members' talk. For example, the needs of the organization can be seen as motivations of a person and his professional style may be characterized by his working hard to help the organization meet its needs, i.e. he may be said to give the organization scheme precedence. Our theoretical devices have not failed us, but rather, it is essential vagueness as a property of members' programmatic constructions which causes the confusion. An organization can be said to have needs, a person can be assigned motives which mirror these needs, and given the group agent perspective of a respondent, the social psychological basis of behavior may be seen as expressing professional style when compared with other potential incumbents in an organization. The point of reference the respondent takes is thus a major factor in how some behavior-event-context assemblage is interpreted, and thus how we 'pigeon hole' it for theoretical purposes.

Blurring is perhaps greatest between the categories social psychological self and professional self. Clearly job skills go with the latter, but 'authoritarianism' could be located with either. The correct 'location' or pigeon hole depends on how members use the term. A statement such as "he's a terrible person - so authoritarian" warrants a different assignment than the statement "his administrative style is very authoritarian compared to John's". The first utterance implies a transitional nature where in the second the trait is only related to professional tasks. Thus,
theoretical devices are used to aggregate phenomena in a manner which represents the particular contexted usage of members and is an attempt to provide analytical distinctions which necessarily have transitory elements in their substantive compositions. Hammers can be used for other things than pounding nails, and things other than hammers can be used to pound nails. The utility and sensibility of the term hammer (as a metaphorical representation of our theoretical constructs) lies in its applicability to certain behavior-event-context assemblages, such as pounding nails, and not to others, such as shoveling snow. Similarly, authoritarianism as a social psychological versus a professional characteristic is an issue decided for practical theoretical purposes by the researcher, based on the contexted usage and practical purposes displayed by the respondent. In the final chapter we shall outline more formally the means by which the theoretician decides how members have located some characteristics or model as constitutive of one entity rather than another (e.g. social psychological self). But the points of 'blurring' in the substantive composition of theoretical constructions have been few up to this point, and theoretical interpretations and decisions are made explicit in the analyses of the case descriptions.

Stages in the Succession Process. Table 4-6 outlines the stages in succession, as reported by respondents. Comparison of case 4 with case 5 reveals 1) predecessor departure occurred much earlier in the sequence in case 4 than in case 5, and 2) case 5 descriptions contained a larger number of substages. As discussed earlier, case 4 involved a much more routinized advancement and search process which had been used before and was presumably general knowledge among members. Members' schemes of the organization furnished solutions to various problems and, being widely shared, were not subject to wholesale negotiation. The rule 'look inside first and then look outside only where no suitable and equiva-
Table 4-6
Stages in Voluntary Resignation Based Succession

CASE 4: RESIGNATION OF THE ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR OF PROGRAMS FOR THE GOVERNMENT

I. 
Presuccession Phase: characterized by conflict between department head and associate director

II. 
Succession Considered Possible: voluntary resignation of associate director - successor departs

III. 
What Next?

1. appoint acting head: acting head 'arrives'  
2. review internal candidates (prospective) i.e. search organizational scheme for permanent solution  
3. decision to advertise outside  
4. posting and advertising  
5. review candidates  
6. successor chosen - acting head made permanent

Post-Succession - successor doing an excellent job

CASE 5: RESIGNATION OF THE FIRST COLLEGE PRESIDENT

Respondent 1, IU

I. 
Presuccession Phase:

1. characterized by faculty union/management conflict  
2. organizational scheme modified to create new dean position

II. 
Succession Considered Possible:

1. informed closest associates of forthcoming resignation  
2. formal resignation given  
3. predecessor applies for dean position  
4. predecessor offered position but finds and accepts one elsewhere

III. 
What Next?

1. cross-country advertising  
2. search committee struck  
3. successor candidates located, interviewed  
4. search committee makes choice of external candidate  
5. secretary resigns
Table 4-6 (cont'd)

IV. Predecessor Departs:
   1. farewell party
   2. dean acts as president for one month

V. Successor Arrives

VI. Post-Succession: also see case 7
   1. 'social' meetings begin

Respondent 2, KL

I. Presuccession Phase:
   1. faculty dissatisfied with current principal
   2. faculty certified as a union

II. Succession Considered Possibility:
   1. formal resignation given

III. What Next?
   1. debate regarding makeup of search committee
   2. debate settled - search committee struck
   3. position advertized
   4. search committee interviews candidates, gives short list of
      three to council
   5. 2 short list members withdraw
   6. council refuses to appoint single short list member
   7. position readvertized
   8. candidates interviewed by both council and search committee
   9. council reaches decision (and informs successor-to-be)

IV. Announcing the Successor:
   1. unsuccessful candidates informed
   2. council informs newspaper, article appears announcing successor
   3. formal intracollege announcement made

V. Successor Arrives:
   1. introduced to faculty at all college meeting
   2. faculty plays two simultaneously present principals off against
      one another: new principal attacked

VI. Predecessor Departs:
   1. farewell ceremony (7)

VII. Post-Succession Phase: see case 7

Temporal point at which this occurred in relation to other events is not
clear from the account
lent insider is available', as well as the interim provision of an acting successor from the inside, were significant resources for simplifying later stages. In contrast, case 5 involved a nonroutine, first-ever resignation and search where the principal schematic resource - the contract with the faculty union - had not been utilized before for this purpose of doing succession, and was itself not generally acceptable to all persons or entities involved. So negotiation of shared agreement on implications of the union scheme, and the translation of it into a procedure for doing recruitment, was problematic and took a relatively long time. KL's account in particular emphasizes this and details the intricacy involved.

Respondents practical purposes which led them to 'know' the case and made available their positionally contingent views of events, furnish a theoretical explanation for certain differences in the stages reported. The respondent in case 4 (CD) was himself involved in the successor search, but was outside the focal department. He thus reports a fairly typified description emphasizing post resignation advancement concerns and the activities of his office as search agent.

In case 5, IJ reports as a friend or favorable acquaintance of a departing supervisor, and has expressed his conservative political biases. KL reports as an opponent of a resigning superior and an unsuccessful candidate for the successor position. Thus IJ, who liked the predecessor, recalls the preformal announcement to close associates of the forthcoming resignation, and recalls the details of the farewell ceremony as a happy event. In contrast, KL had a different viewpoint (positionally) for witnessing events and fails to report the informal announcement. He remembers only the formal one and this is recalled as a surprise. He recalls little of the departure party, but provides considerable detail on the search and selection process and the notification or announcement of successor choice.
IJ's reporting of search, selection and announcement provides a brief set of straightforward or simple substages in the 'what next stage' but KL recalls many substages of specific issue negotiations and conflict. KL, as a standard type inside successor candidate, could be theorized to have greater interest in and knowledge of the search, appointment, and announcement process than IJ who was a somewhat more disinterested and removed observer. And yet IJ, as a closer and more favorable associate of the predecessor, can be expectedly seen to have witnessed, recalled, and reported details relating to situations and activities involving the predecessor.

Here I have made visible my own implicit resources which include models of the organizations as hierarchies with positions affording locationally contingent views, and models of the respondents as positionally located observers with related practical interests, problems and purposes. The reported descriptions and stages are thus seen to display and confirm the proposition that reported descriptions are a function of the positionally contingent 'views' (i.e. scenic events and not interpretations) and practical purposes of respondents; knowledge is socially distributed. But there are also some aspects which are jointly reported and overlap, thereby confirming the proposition that there is also a body of knowledge which is shared by a range of organizational participants.

One disparity between the two case 5 respondents is very interesting. IJ seems to fit his 'facts' into an expected background scheme of succession which sees one principal at a time and an acting principal during a one month interim between predecessor departure and successor arrival. KL reports an overlapping period where two principals were simultaneously available. This substantive divergence occurs at a point where we expect there would be some evidence of an intersubjectively decidable chronology. That is, while we expect different things to be reported by different
respondents regarding certain aspects as outlined above, the timing of predecessor departure and successor arrival would seem to be consensually confirmable by agreement of both respondents to the same reported chronology. They should both agree on the timing, particularly as KL shows the significant ramifications of the overlap he recalls.

Perhaps if both respondents were given the 'facts' the other reports, they would reach an agreement by providing identical stories, perhaps by IJ deciding he was wrong, and so on. I have not tried to establish 'what really happened' by arguing one respondent is 'right' and the other wrong, though they themselves might do so. The important and interesting points in our analysis are, rather, that 1) 'the facts' members recall can and do differ, 2) facts are treated by members as descriptive of a paramount reality, and 3) having assumed and described the paramount reality, the particular reality has further consequences and meaning in the case as members report it. IJ notes there was no overlap and the two principals never met while at work. Thus a certain set of post succession problems can be expected and sensibly reported, whereas with the "overlap" as the fact, consequences such as 'irrevocable defeat from the start' due to events transpiring in the overlap are sensible topics in later discussion. Philosophically it would be difficult to decide which facts really occurred. Theoretically we can propose that members find facts and the particular facts have consequences for the course and sensibility of their descriptions. We are interested in how people apprehend, construct and make sense of social worlds, and in so doing, produce succession. It is thus a matter of some theoretical interest that these worlds which members assume are shared, concrete realities can be shown to differ. Thus our belief in a singular, concrete reality "out there" can be suspended, and the means of producing and displaying this belief, the meanings of social realities, and
the ramifications of different constructions can be studied without the constraint and obligation of discovering and proving the existence of a singular, unified, paramount reality.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter displays the usefulness of programmatically constructed entities as a resource for making social scientific of common sense descriptions of organizational succession based in voluntary resignation. While it is premature to evaluate all the propositions regarding PCE's, statement of propositions regarding voluntary resignation will serve a useful summary purpose.

In the theoretical chapter we proposed (proposition 3, corollary 4-1) the cause of voluntary resignation could be provided by constructing any PCE. However, in the cases we have analyzed, members were considerably more specific. I thus propose:

Proposition 4-1: Voluntary resignation is explained by members where:

1) it is shown to be a consequence of a mismatch, or less than optimal match, between the social psychological and/or professional characteristics of the predecessor and those of some other programmatically constructed entity, particularly mismatches which endanger the integrity and style of the predecessor's-to-be professional and/or social psychological selves and

2) an organizational scheme is available to the 'predecessor-to-be' as a resource for relocating him (her) self in a position which is displayed as preserving or enhancing his (her) professional, social psychological, and/or financial integrity.

This proposition emphasizes that the alternative organizational position is known temporally prior to resigning and solves a short term or long term anticipated problem in maintaining one's integrity. Position change is thus a solution to perceived or anticipated problems and may pre-empt
other typifications - such as firing - which would occur without the application of the 'solution'. The dissatisfied associate head being forced to modify his operating style to accommodate his superior thus had endangered professional and social psychological selves, as did the principal who couldn't contend with unions and who might in the near future be faced with a vote of nonconfidence. Yet both persons also had a good job opportunity elsewhere prior to resigning.

I also proposed in chapter 1 (proposition 3, corollary 5) that in explaining successor choice, members would construct an organizational scheme and models of the psychological selves as bases for successor selection. This proposition can be supplemented and specified for cases of successor selection following voluntary resignation.

**Proposition 4-2**: Successor selection following voluntary resignation is explained by members having chosen the successor candidate who best matches:

1) a scheme of salient social psychological and professional characteristics, indicated as salient through their conversational topicality in producing and explaining predecessor departure.

2) a scheme of professional and social psychological characteristics succession producers have generated as an image of the ideal or suitable candidate.

3) social psychological and professional characteristics in an image of the 'colleagues and superiors to be' in the focal organizational unit, whom succession producers decide are relevant.

4) a scheme or derivation from the scheme of the organization constructed by succession producers, including compliance demands and stylistic considerations of the succession process or subscheme.

**Proposition 4-3**: In searching for a successor the organizational scheme is invoked by producers as a resource to:

1) provide, locate, and evaluate potential internal candidates, by identifying positions and incumbents who are organizationally and professionally 'close' (locationally) to the focal position.
2) provide an interim successor, where departure of the predecessor precedes the completion of the search and replacement.

These propositions explain our findings regarding respondents' explanations of predecessor departure via voluntary resignation, and subsequent successor selection. From the stage models (Table 4-6), one can ascertain various sequences of events involved in the successions, and these models are therefore a low order theoretical summary of temporal stages found in one succession type. The propositions, stage models, and tables of schematic entities presented in this chapter will be discussed and elaborated further in the final theoretical chapter where a comprehensive-integrative theory of organizational succession is proposed.
Chapter 5

STATUS DEGRADATION AND ORGANIZATIONAL SUCCESSION

This study has examined cases of organizational succession following two types of predecessor departure - death, an involuntary means of departing a position (excluding, of course, instances of suicide) and voluntary resignation. In this chapter I shall examine a second type of involuntary departure - status degradation - which includes cases where a member departs a position because other members have done work to lower the focal member's organizational status. This includes a range of departure modes and degrees of status transformation from demotion to firing or forced resignation from the organization, the latter type being the more extreme in that the member is transformed into nonmember status rather than merely being lowered but retaining certain membership rights and so on. The most extreme status degradations are perhaps assassination-based coups d'etat where the predecessor loses not only his organizational status, but also his status as a living, breathing human being.

Status degradations are of particular interest to us in this study because this form of succession was the topic in an early pilot study (Gephart, 1978) on which the current theoretical framework and interests are based. Thus while other types of succession have received little direct research, and hence the a priori theoretical framework for these substantive types is scanty - and based on generalizing pilot study findings to these types - there are some theoretical precedents and propositions which have been inductively constructed from status degradation research. These will be reviewed (below) and applied to another set of data in our theory explication endeavor.

Status degradation is of particular interest for another reason, and that is because it seems to have a particular interest to members. My sub-
jective impression of their views is this: nobody likes to talk about death, voluntary resignation is unusual but not terribly bizarre, thrilling or exciting, retirement happens more or less predictably, and advancement is interesting but omnipresent and thus rather mundane. Status degradations - the firings, demotions, forced resignations and removals - are different; they may be seen as rare, but when they occur they are extremely interesting to members, become central topical concerns and news in conversations, and become events of which most members seem to form opinions and offer these.

Death can be sad and unexpected but it is never 'right or wrong'. Status degradation is all of these and more - theoretically one could say it is discussed in terms of a complex and fundamental breach of some social order; death displays the fragility of human life but does little to breach the organizational order. Status degradations display the precariousness of social institutions; they allow one to glimpse the chaos that lies behind the socially maintained facticities composing everyday life reality. They are phenomena where members negotiate, reconstruct, and reimpose a social facticity to show that some behavior-event-context assemblage is a breach of that facticity, and to prevent or defer further breaches. And as the social facticity is reconstructed and negotiated as an enforceable facticity, status degradation often ushers in a qualitatively new or different social facticity or social order.

Chapter one presented a general theoretical framework which is based on the conclusions of Gephart (1978). It may therefore be illuminating to review the earlier conclusions in their propositional form, as they related directly to the substantive succession type with which we are concerned here.

"Proposition 5: Succession in the form of status degradation occurs where:

a) an (enforceable) organizational reality is con-
structured and displayed as a relevant interpretational scheme for members' behavior,

b) the organizational scheme displays the behavior as problematic because 1) it violates important organizational rules, 2) it evidences improper style, poor taste, and/or deviant motivation, 3) it is harmful to or disruptive of the functional integrity of "the organization", and

c) the "solution" to the behavioral problem is specified by the denouncers' organizational scheme as removal of the member from office, i.e., organizational status degradation.

Proposition 6: Where succession occurs due to status degradation, the successor will be an actor whose words and deeds are "the embodiment of" (explicitly consistent with) the organizational scheme enforced in the accomplishment of the degradation." (Gephart, 1978:578).

Proposition 3 and corollary 3-5 in the chapter one framework are generalized statements of the above earlier propositions. Yet as this chapter will allow evaluation of both the earlier and later frameworks, it is useful to keep both sets in mind when reviewing the empirical material and undertaking the analyses. Further, proposition 6 above (proposition 3 in the general framework) is supplemented in the present study by the following corollary (3-4d) rephrased slightly in the present statement:

Corollary: Members explain the cause of predecessor departure due to status degradation by programmatic construction of the organization as a model of compliance which is linked to a scheme of the predecessor's social psychological self.

The corollary suggests that, while various aspects of the organization may be constructed in describing and explaining status degradation, an immediate or core cause common to all degradations as described by members is the match, relationship or linkage between (among) organizational compliance demands and the scheme of the social psychological self of the predecessor, as other members construct it.

I now turn to the empirical cases and their analyses. One will then be in a better position to discuss and elaborate the preliminary theo-
CASE SIX: THE DIRECTOR OF PERSONNEL FOR THE GOVERNMENT IS FORCED INTO EARLY RETIREMENT

Respondent 1: AB, Assistant Director of Personnel

and the last one the interest the most interesting I think is the director of personnel uhm about ok fifteen years ago na na about ten years ago ahm [hmm]

ten fifteen years ago I don't have the figures it really doesn't make any difference uhm I hired a personnel officer to first work for me uhh at that time I was uh handling all professional recruiting 'n this sort of thing I don't know do you know anything about m'background [no]

uhm I'm an industrial psychologist [mm] and I was hired out of university to go there [mm] mainly to handle um at that time they had a lot of recruiting of professional personnel to spruce this up this whole thing [mm hm]

b'recruiting mainly professionals and then senior personnel and that became too much so I wanted to get rid I mean we had more personnel officers at that time too but uh for one person to to all the senior and all the professional also would be next to impossible [m hm]

I hired the present the man who's the present director who ha has an MBA from Western uh in commerce and uh did an excellent job perceptive more aggressive uh quite conservative much more than I and uhm uh we arguing that I argued that (he is) a good man (we) should have started grooming him moving him on to a new department classification [mm]

to benefits and this sort of thing and uhm then came the time that the manager went ta ask me uh George what are we going to do if uh the present director leaves my boss [m hm]

and that was about um oh five six years before his retirement so I said let me think about this and it was at that point that I had to make a decision what I was going to do [mmmm m hm]

uh now traditionally and conventionally the director does labor relations [mm]

that's a good place to be and um I had to decide if I was going to overcome my disinterest [m hm]

in labor relations and uh by labor relations I mean contract negotiations [ya tha]

not day to day labor relations and administration of contract discipline grievances this sort of thing very very interesting I like that but I don't want to uh argue about five cents per
uh for three for three weeks you know [ya] around the corner aieya aieya aieya uh I'm a more action oriented and I don't have the patience [hmm]
for that sort of thing um endless patience in the counselling situation this sort of thing uh that sort of thing where people know better because you can say cut the crap [mm hmm]
you know and its just not the pattern its not being done its our adversary system [m hm]
so I went to the uh city commissioner and uh said that I would not be interested in the position [mmm]
that I'm basically uh I do not want to get separated from my basic profession too far and I still have my hand in now um but I would be completely out of it if I would become director um always considering if they wanted me or not [m hm]
and so that caused some uh surprise and consternation and so um I said that my solution would be to groom the present director carefully and um that he would be a possible because I can work with him he can work with me we know each others strengths and weakness so no problem [m hm]
without telling Denning what I was doing ok? or what we were talking about so the first step was that the manager uh we didn't want to give any signals at all uh set up an executive assistant position in this office [mmm]
and we advertized it and we posted it and we got nothing we posted it uh I encouraged Denning to apply [mmm]
but first of all he didn't want to emm eh you know with the exposure [heh heh - RG laughs]
and uh you can see what was going on behind the scenes without telling him huh so he went up and he did very well also it uh sort of was a test of how he and I could work together in a reverse situation because the manager by purpose and we discussed this before [m hm]
leave some of the decisions he would make turned over to Denning and say you make the decisions you let me know if you have any problems AB will probably come to me and say why did you do that [mm hmmm]
without supposedly without me knowing that he was making the decisions right? [mm]
so uh we had a couple of cases where we had a where we disagreed and they were very well resolved between the two of us [mmm]
so uhm then came the point where the at that time director
started to become persona non grata [mm]

council and the manager and um so we talked about this again and we said um is he ready and what are we going to do and it was about a year after he had enough of it and we both agreed uh how he would have been better another year or so please day two eh what the hell are we going to do he asked me if I would like to serve I said no and um we agreed then that um proceedings should be started to uh have the forced retirement of the other director [mm]

what had become rigid uh defensive no change and this sort of thing [mm hm]

and had really become a stumbling block as far as council was concerned now mind you this this might sound to you that I'm playing a Machiavellian role here [not really]

but I don't because you have to make a choice in a situation like this uh where your loyalties are and while your loyalties go to your own staff and your department head first uh under normal circumstances the whole organization suffers and one council and like this happened here and the powers come to me and say how can we do this how can we overcome this well I have to drop back on my basic function [m hm]

and that's advising manager and council on recruiting building positions and all this sort of thing now fortunately the at that time director uh was sure of my loyalty you know personally [m hm]

now and I tried all kinds of things with him I said you do this and do that it beats your getting in hot water you know I warned him and uh there was never no resentment although I told him afterwards after he had left that this is what had happened to him and the only thing he really could tell me could uh could drop or could throw was that um why didn't you not why didn't you not tell me that you were grooming Denning and not yourself? [u huh]

I talked to the manager and he asked me to keep this between the two of us and uh he was looking far beyond your retirement beyond your you know uh towards your normal retirement date not at that time or another retirement so um there was no need to um so my relationship to him is still you know a very good one [mhm]

uh since he disappeared and so uh he was forced into retirement

RG umm how did you do that how did that happen?

how di a the organization does it [ya]

uh the organization came to him put the pressure on him and said uh you know we want your retirement because uh you no longer have the confidence of council [mmm]
and then the commissioner had to tell him that council had said that he had a stumbling block here for several areas uh too rigid no changes uh that department was when I joined it fifty eight until about the end sixties mid sixties end sixties the most modern best organized most effective personnel depart­ment in the government and I know them all [m hm]

from then on it started to decay um Peter organized it set this up very systematically and extremely well in nineteen forty eight I think so and uh that kept for about ten fifteen years [mm hm]

but you can't stay on the same organizational pattern and then [hmm] things have changed just look [m hm] what they're done since huh?

so this was an example where you saw that certain steps had to be taken which were out of the ordinary there was no retirement [m hm]

or the retirement was coming but uh for all intents and purposes it was uh if the individual would have been younger he would have been FIRED [m, hm]

ok um or would have been asked to resign or would have given three months [m hm]

or something like that to resign or find another job or whatever he do depending uh how serious the situation is um but um there was a planned grooming outside the department [m hm]

there was a problem that there was nobody available because I took myself out of the running [m hm]

uh who would be next in and could no in there as a need for grooming for self development um and so uh another pattern hada be done now that's what you call manpower planning [m hm]

uh you either fill in the hole from the outside or you fill in the advance by by self development [m hm]

so and this is what we did in this case

Analysis, Respondent 1: AB. AB begins the description by locating the case in terms of the interview, the focal position, and the time at which it occurred (383). He beings development of an image of his professional self including his job history (385-393), and the organization as a set of compliance demands (385, 393) specifying his own professional activities and those of another character whom he had hired. Organizational needs for personnel were great and his own capabilities - i.e. his pro-
fessional integrity and competence - were bounded, thus another person was hired to help meet organizational needs (395-397).

The new person is discussed as a profesional self, including his history, and certain profession related social psychological characteristics. AB reports invoking the organizational scheme to provide a means for reinterpreting and relocating the new man [thus providing him with 'views' from a variety of organizational locations] and suggests the typification of "grooming" for this process, as the man seems to meet or match certain organizational characteristics or needs which are not explicated. His statement; "a good man" (397) suggests good for organizational purposes.

The next character to appear on the stage is the administrative manager who approaches AB searching for solutions to the temporally located forthcoming retirement of the then department head (predecessor to be). The scheme of the organization includes the expectation that the head engages in labor relations and contract negotiations (403). AB's statement mentions the duties as 'conventional', hence perhaps located in an organizational model of style, yet I take it that he means 'commonly' and that the duties are outlined by more formal rules as compliance demands.

The successor problem has practical implications for AB as a potential successor candidate. However, his self image, including professional and professionally related social psychological characteristics does not match his image of the adversary union system or the professional self of a suitable position incumbent for the head position, constrained as it is by compliance demands requiring the incumbent to participate in contract negotiations (405-426). Rather than reconstruct his professional self ("I do not want to get separated from my basic profession too far": 426), he refuses the attempt by the administrative manager to utilize the organizational scheme to produce a simple solution. His advancement was the obvious,
simple solution as he was positionally closest to the head.

Not only is AB a simple solution, he was the expected one, as evidenced by the surprise and consternation following his refusal (428). AB proposes another solution utilizing the organizational scheme as a resource - promote AB's colleague, the 'new person' noted above. A rational scheme of succession, originally surfacing with the manager's talk to AB (see chapter three, table 8-4 for a summary) is again proposed and outlined in some detail. The choice of Denning is favored by AB as he perceives a match or compatibility between them (428), as well as reciprocally shared images on one another's professional and social psychological selves.

The rational plan was initiated by modifying the organizational scheme to provide a grooming or 'simple solution' position but the restructuring occurred in a closed awareness context (Glaser and Strauss, 1964) vis-à-vis the predecessor to be, and various others who were not informed of why the restructuring occurred (430: 436). The various rules devised in implementing the restructurization are noted (438) and this provides an empirical test of AB's hypothesized match or compatibility with Denning under terms of the new scheme and the eventual positional relocation of Denning (436).

Denning apparently saw a mismatch between himself and the 'solution position' (434) but eventually applied and was offered the job. Then came the cases where AB and Denning disagreed on interpretations and the compatibility-match hypothesis was tested and supported - divergent interpretations were negotiated and resolved (442).

The rational plan was unfolding but its timing was disrupted when council and the manager began to degrade the status of the then department head. AB provides a scheme of the integrity of the professional self which includes temporal specifications for adequate development of it, in Denning's case, such that it matches the 'suitable' image derived from organizational
needs. The 'match' is not yet optimized but AB refuses to provide himself as the simple solution or successor (446). An image of the predecessor to be's professional and social psychological self is then provided. His style of invoking the organizational scheme is considered improper (448), and he jeopardizes the integrity of the organization as a whole by interfering with council's normal functioning, as implied by labeling him a 'stumbling block' - he gets in the way of their activities.

The situation was problematic to AB as he was forced to choose a paramount interpretational scheme when he found the departmental scheme conflicted with the governmental suprascheme. Proper style in terms of the department scheme, which is likely buttressed by compliance demands, is to 'be loyal' to your head. Yet he had been asked to help remove the head. The governmental suprascheme was invoked and given precedence: it provided compliance demands of the incumbent of AB's position, and he 'dropped back' on this, which warrants his assisting in the forced removal (452-454).

The predecessor to be apparently conceived AB as invoking the departmental scheme and thus the head saw AB as 'loyal' to him (454). AB had provided the head with an explicit image of the suprascheme which displayed the head breaching stylistic and compliance aspects which could lead to sanctioning, and he outlined to the head how such breaches could be avoided (456). When the head finally was ousted he did not resent AB's actions, though he apparently was using the organizational scheme to see AB as the simple solution to the successor problem and thus was surprised when the expectation was disconfirmed (456). He also invokes the department scheme to suggest AB, as loyal subordinate, should have told him what was happening.

AB legitimates his activities to the head by locating this as relevant to producing the normal, rational retirement based succession scheme.
This normalizes his activities and makes them sensible and noninflammatory. The integrity of their interpersonal relationship was apparently contingent on providing a legitimately warranted basis for the actions which could, in terms of other available but not explicated interpretational schemes, be seen as 'untoward' activities.

RG requests and receives explication of the glossing explanation, "he was forced into retirement" (460). Council is proposed as lacking confidence in the head, which perhaps indicates they lack confidence in his professional integrity qua competence. The social psychological and related professional self of the predecessor, as seen by council, is presented (466). A mismatch with an ideal or suitable image may be implied, with ideal as the obverse of the actual image. Essentially the head is deficient because he lacks creativeness regarding his ongoing constructions of the organization ("too rigid, no changes": 466). This would prevent council from implementing alternative schemes. The head's activities and style have led to "decay" in the personnel department, an obvious intimation that the functional integrity of the department is problematic and declining under his leadership (452: 468). AB locates the organization, not himself, as the producer of the position vacancy (462), an act accomplished by displaying to the 'predecessor to be' what their image of him is (464). It is difficult to tell from AB's account how the departure was enacted by council. It seems likely a formal 'nonconfidence' motion was passed prompting the resignation, the latter act being the stylistically proper way to avoid a formal motion explicitly firing the incumbent. Thus the formal nonconfidence rule does not require resignation, but resignation is suggested, i.e. stylistically proper and failure to resign could and likely would be followed by a gambit explicitly terminating the incumbent.

The forced retirement label is applicable because of the point in the individual's career or professional sequence where it occurred - had he
been younger, retirement would have been inappropriate and the case would be termed firing (522) and the relevant notice given (524). The forced retirement disrupts the ordinary career and succession sequences (526). The actual events were nonetheless visible vis-à-vis the rational, expected succession plan and sequence (526). The simple solution was attempted first (528) but failed, so another normal solution ('manpower planning': 530) was implemented. Apparently the forced resignation did not disrupt expected sequences too drastically, it merely shortened the temporal duration of the grooming stage.

Respondent 2, E.F.

221 uhh let's go to the demotion or firing [m hm]

223 we had a situation oh god when was that had to be about four years ago now too um the then director of personnel uh left involuntarily let me put it that way [m hm]

225 he was given there were a number of things happened as a matter of fact uh prior to that there'd been two others the director of planning uh these were political decisions uhhhh the director of planning [political you mean b' by council] yep [m hm]

229 and principally the chief elected official at that time Pauling [mmm mmm]

231 uh the WE political organization had decided that the director of planning had to go uhhh because his planning strategies were not in concert with their ideas of what should be going on in the government and this kind of thing and the administration of his department uh they didn't see it as being shall we say consumer oriented [mmm]

233 and uh who was the other one there was the director of planning in there oh ya uh one of the two commissioners uh there was a board of administration at that time consisting of two commissioners one of whom later became the administrative manager who is now retired and the other one was released because his philosophies were not what the we group wanted and ultimately the director of personnel was released as well and uh they were given their I guess years severance pay and this sort of thing

234 RG how did they do about releasing them keep it

235 absolutely crudely [uh huh]

237 absolutely crudely I it was a butcher job of the worst magnitude it was a damned shame uh these were people who had given damned
good service to them to the public and to the previous politicians and uh they were treated like the crud of the earth really uh I think one would be a whole lot more considerate of a leper [mm]

than this particular council was of these people and no it was absolutely ruthless and very very unfortunate because it left a bad taste in a lot of people's mouths [m hm]

both within the government and also to some extent with the public [m hm]

and Jesus it was done in very very poor taste you know I've been in personnel management for years now and uh I haven't seen anything as crude blunt and butchery as that was uh reported up in the press there were leaks from out of council's in camera sessions and oh all kinds of things I mean it was extremely poor [m hm]

and uh when they didn't have anyone identified to succeed in that in those instances they did in one instance because the the other commissioner became then manager but in the planning area they didn't have anyone designated and they went out and advertised and they got the present director of planning in it and he is a hell of a good man especially just a first class manager

well was it a council vote then that

mm ya it was the in camera [ya]

that ousted them and in the case of the director of personnel I guess that was another year to a year and a half later there were any number of things going on and I guess well it was beyond belief really to some extent and again this is a personal thing uh the thing that put the final nail in the coffin of that particular director of personnel was the fact that the chief politician wanted someone certified as his secretary and that director of personnel had the guts to stand up and say no she's not qualified at that level [mm]

and uh so he was upholding the integrity of the promotional system [hm]

you know so that was the thing that put the final nail in the coffin but there were a number of other things too uh that particular director was a very very far sighted individual and set up a very very good personnel program fully faceted with the exception of the manpower planning area fully faceted multi-faceted personnel organization but he gradually I guess lost faith in himself to some extent but he kept pushing but very very difficult for him he couldn't get anything through and so it was extremely frustrating as well (phone rings) excuse me (3 minutes) ok where did we get to voluntary resignation huh?

oh were talking about firing or demotion

ya ok firing and demotion so any way
269 RG uh personnel

ya in that particular case it was the personnel director ok there were three that I mentioned one that was determined that a two man board would become a one man manager's operation top dog in the organization [m hm]

when the commissioner was fired then the director of planning went and there was nobody in the organization to succeed him and we went outside and hired outside and these were not planned things in terms of manpower planning at all they were just circumstances that we were begot of us of a political redirection of the organization and then the third one the director of personnel which took place about a year and a half I guess after that particular council was in office that one was planned by the um authority of the politicians in power of the council at that time the WE group particularly I guess I should identify and then all they did was muster up forces to oust this guy [m hm]

then in that particular case there was a kind of a planned succession now how far these plans went I don't know but there were two of us who finally wound up on the three man competition although there was quite a number of people applied for the job there were two of us wound up myself and the present director and there um ya it was quite clear that the then manager wanted the fellow who is now director and I said that directly to him you know during our interview I said if you want to maintain the status quo and this sort of thing then the thing to do is to put the present director Denning into the seat if you want to make changes in the way that we do things man management wise uh salary administration uh benefit plans the whole reward system then I'm the one you want to put in the seat [m hm]

and as I said I think you're decision is already made and that this is just a formal sit down to allow me to feel that I've been satisfactorily interviewed you know and which in reality I think it was [mm hm]

you know but that succession was predetermined by the then city manager because this fellow who is now the director had gone and had come into the personnel organization and moved up to I forget what they called it supervisor of uh compensation and classification and then there was a competition for administrative assistant to the manager and he got that job and then after he got that he'd been in it about a year and this move was made on the director personnel and then this individual was selected as director of personnel and there's no doubt in my mind there was a long you know it was a fairly concrete plan [mm]

both on the part of council and laterly on part of the manager particularly in terms of you know the (tape ends)

government now next

RG oh I did wanna the uh actual firing of the director or whatever
his removal did that sort of blossom rather abruptly?

oh very definitely although it was made known prior to these people being elected that this is the course of action they were going to take they were [oh I]

you know it was intimated that they were going to be taking some drastic action of some kind and [m hm]

anybody that read between the lines could of read that these guys would be dismissed [m hm]

so you know it wasn't all that sudden but at the same time it was a butcher job of the first magnitude [m hm]

and very poorly handled very poorly handled uh as were a number of things in the early days of that particular council because uh but one of the problems with councils is that you don't run into people who know too much about operating large organizations and the government is a very large eh [m hm]

organization and its a large corporation by any standards and you know multi millions of dollars handled annually with five thousand six thousand staff uh the implications throughout the community and all the rest of it just a a very very large corporation engaged in a vast variety of fields from health to you know from birth to death really [mm]

and everything in between and most of the people who get elected to political office are not used to operating in that kind of an environment and don't recognize the implications of their actions on many many occasions particularly as regards staff and so you know that that creates a problem for any director of personnel of the government [m hm]

er of any other government for that matter because you get people who are either say a lawyer with their own maybe an individual law firm er a small firm with four or five associates or something uh or you get a doctor or you get an entymologist or uh somebody running the corner store you know this kind of thing [m hm]

and they don't really have too many of the basic concepts acquired knowledge uh required to operate a large business which is what the government is and you know that's kind of super critical but again I think its kind of super truths [m hm]

eh get on with that so it takes some time time to learn what makes the wheels go round you know [ya]

and one of the things that they sometimes are not aware of is the impact of a decision change and if they want something done say by October if you ask for it now we're going ta get an abortion [m hm] [m hm]
and lots of times that's the kind of thing that will happen there hasn't been a lot of real major forward planning

RG this was it all done then at one meeting like it was uh undisputed prior to that or

I don't know because I wasn't at any of the meetings

RG oh ya I just was trying ta get a feeling for the time frame of the events that

oh it took place over a long period of time in terms of their disenchantment I think while they were forming their platform and all the rest of it uh you mean in terms of the one commissioner and the director of planning

RG did well the director

there's not doubt

RG of personnel particularly

oh the director of personnel no that went over a fair period of time I guess that one even was thought about prior to uh or shortly after they came into office because the department heads were doing some complaining the indians were complaining the individuals were complaining because there weren't some forward looking programs [m hm]

at that stage I mean everything had been implemented but this guy was in a hell of a bind as well because he was damned if he did and he was damned if he didn't you know either way and so you know it was really a quite an unfortunate situation and ultimately they had to give him that year's salary and that to me is an indication that they couldn't prove incompetence

RG hmm you don't have to do the salary if you can prove imcompetence?

absolutely not [oh] absolutely not if you can prove incompetence you can dump the guy right now [h mm]

or malfeasance of duty or this kind of thing and clearly there was none of that [m hm]

um the man was very very competent as has been proven out since because he went and he formed his own company after that a con­

sulting company and he's makin a mint far more than he ever made as director here [RG laughs]

and you know he's doin real well and he's not working full time by a long shot he just does takes those jobs that he wants with a good fee and sitting back and laughin [heh]

so you know he got the world by the tail and he's active in his
retirement guess so ok so there you

332 RG one question maybe then on that who what body did the inter­viewing of candidates on the personnel director who did in other words who interviewed you?

333 um the manager ultimately [uh huh]

335 ya he was the final guy on that anyway

336 RG m hm was there a whole committee process that er

337 ya the uh it was kind of a forgone conclusion as to who was going ta get that job

338 RG ya I guess I was just wondering if the the sort of apparatus so that they put you through to

339 normally there would have been a committee of council set up [uh huh]

341 along with the manager and now of course with this deputy the deputy manager as well and normally that's the way it would go if you were interviewing a number of candidates for the job and they they would go into in camera make the recommendation uh this particular committee the selection committee would make their recommendation normally that would be the finance and administration committee and it would make its recommendation to the whole of council and council would then vote yay or nay [mm hm]

343 and that's normally the way it would it would be done [m hm]

345 but as I say this this thing was a forgone conclusion pretty well and uh so there was no need for that kind of thing to be done [m hm]

347 and as I say I got a hearing in court and that was about the extent of it [uh huh]

349 and when I say I got a hearing it doesn't necessarily mean at all that it was listened to [hm heh heh heh] ha heh heh heh heh

352 RG so you just had an interview with the manager

355 ya

356 RG and he informed council I guess

357 ya he made his recommendation to council and that was it but it was you know as I say a question of do we want to maintain the status quo or do we want to move ahead a new and so to speak bold programs and [m hm]

359 uh his objective at that time was to keep the personnel depart-
ment low key and noncontroversial he'd had enough problems
heh heh heh

360 RG hm heh

361 you know and of course I had a little different feeling but
that's not necessarily what made for the best personnel depart-
ment [m hm]

Analysis, Respondent 2: EF. The description begins by typifying it
as one of the forms of interest to the researcher (221). The succession is
then located temporally and positionally (223). The departure is also
located as part of a sequence, and one other organizational entity where
this occurred is noted (225). The principal succession agent is identified
as council, which therefore implies council has the right and ability to
institute such involuntary departures (model of compliance). A particular
character is also identified and located (chief or head of council) and also
given a political affiliation (229, 231).

The planning director was fired because his conceptions of the depart-
ment did not coincide with the council's conception of his department, its
functions, activities and style regarding other interpretive schemes it
might use (consumer oriented: 231). Presumably council theorized that by
altering the head, they could alter the operative scheme of the departmental
organization. Another fired character is introduced, located, and the cause
of his firing is also specified as a conflict or mismatch between his
images which were in conflict with those of the council. Council apparently
complied with contract demands and provided severance pay. (233).

In describing how the firings occurred, EF provides a qualitative
evaluation rather than an event by event enumeration of occurrences. They
clearly breach his expectations of proper style of dismissing employees.
He feels the firings were unwarranted as the predecessors were complying
with the expectations of the public and other politicians (237). But the
breach of expected style is the primary allegation EF makes, through meta-
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phors (237), by noting others shared his interpretations of bad taste (239, 241) and by constructing an image of his professional self (243) which shows the acts in poor taste were unprecedented in terms of his background stock of knowledge. Among the stylistic considerations which were breached, EF emphasizes the common sequence and style of making announcements and socially distributing information (243).

The firings are shown, at least in one case, to have departed from rational expectations in that council had failed to consider "what next?" regarding a successor prior to doing the firing, though afterwards the normal process was utilized and a good replacement found. The exact reasoning of council was not made explicit by them because they located the firing ceremonies during the 'in camera' (247) sessions which carry their compliance demand that discussion not be made public - though they even violated these demands (243).

The firing of the personnel director is then located temporally, relative to the other cases and the immediate cause is identified as EF continues to express his amazement at what he sees as a significant breach of expected stylistic considerations. The cause was the director's invoking of the rules outlining qualified incumbents of certain positions, which thus conflicted with the desires of the chief. Though EF interprets the director's acts as preserving the functional integrity of the promotional system (251), the chief seems to have interpreted it as a breach of common and proper style of subordinate behavior - subordinates shouldn't stand in the way of the fulfillment of a superordinate's desires (253). The chief apparently used gambits available to himself to remove the director. The professional style of the director is outlined and made visible by the modified organizational scheme attributed to his activities (255). But the integrity of his professional self image was made problematic as he couldn't
enact incipient organizational schemes he proposed and gradually lost faith in himself (255).

A telephone call is followed by reiterations of earlier points, including a description of the modified scheme of the administrative board, and the hiring process. All firings are now identified as part of an attempt to reconstruct and redirect the generally shared image of the governmental superstructure (political redirection of the organization: 272). Some negotiation of this shared image was a priori necessary to the firings, as indicated by the need to muster forces (272), but the firings are seen as rational, planned attempts to implement the altered scheme (272, 274).

The successor candidates, one of whom was EF, are contrasted by specifying the different images of the departmental organizations held by each candidate. The images differ in terms of style of functioning and would presumably also, in operative terms, be constituted by differential compliance structures. EF's statements also attribute a high degree of power to the position incumbent as his statements imply both that the incumbent holds a scheme and he could also implement it (274). EF received his interview for the position, but he uses his background knowledge or scheme of the promotional system to provide an interpretation of the interview as a ceremony conducted simply to meet stylistic considerations (276). Respondent AB provides us with a basis for seeing this by noting "all internal people interviewed...senior people who apply...but that's a matter of courtesy...its just a matter of it should be this way" (AB: 645-651). The element of a model of proper succession style, and a general scheme of the rational planned succession process are the interpretive devices which allow EF to understand or conceive of the particular events as constitutive of a plan, and thereby attribute the plan to the manager and council. The common 'plan', as we have seen in various other cases, is to create and fill a position, thus temporarily modifying the organizational scheme in such a
manner that a "grooming" or simple solution position is available to provide a successor. Retrospective inspection of Denning's 'rise' reveals to EF that the rise matches his model of 'rational grooming/planning', complete with construction of the interim grooming position (278). The allegations of planfulness are thus warranted by the demonstrable correspondence between 'what anybody in this organization knows are the characteristics of a plan', and the events as EF reports them.

RG inquires about the timing of events and EF indicates that they should not have been surprising even if they were abrupt, given what he sees as generally available information with obvious organizational implications (282-289, especially 287). EF is concerned about the stylistic breach ("butcher job": 289) and attempts to explain this by presenting an image of council, in the form of a standard type council member, and an abstract model of 'a large corporation'. The image of an ideal, or suitable, member is proposed: such a member would have a professional background which included business management relevant knowledge and skills. This professional self matches the needs of a large corporation and the corporation is outlined here in terms of financial and employee size and a wide range of 'fields' or areas of functioning. The image of the government clearly parallels the conception of large corporation, hence it is regarded as such (293). Unfortunately the standard council member's professional self identity (lawyer, doctor, entymologist) is variable from member to member, lacks the basic professional characteristics and background knowledge of the suitable professional manager, yet this later type is what 'matches' or is needed by the government qua large corporation. Particularly salient is the lack of background knowledge of council members who therefore must acquire this (299-301), and in particular must learn to conceive of the organization as a complex entity where a number of things, parts, members,
and so on (model of integrity) may intervene between a decision and action on that decision (303). Essentially council's operating style is characterized by a lack of planning (305).

RG again seeks chronological details (310) and EF accepts the assumption that events have chronology (311: 315) which is relative to the organizational flow of events. Complaints arose early, regarding certain phenomena (forward looking programs: 315) which were absent from the operative scheme of the personnel department, as perceived by others. The head is characterized as having been in a very problematic situation, as a variety of schemes and interpretations were generated such that all his activities were seen as improper vis-á-vis some scheme. Evidence is then marshalled to support the assertion that, in doing the firing, council was unable to construct a shared image of the predecessor as professionally incompetent (317-325). An organizational rule (part of the succession scheme) specifies that if incompetence is proven, an individual will not receive his salary as severance pay, whereas if the incompetence is not proven, he receives it. This model of compliance thus retrospectively allows one to interpret the situation as one where council could not prove incompetence. The professional competence of the predecessor is also evidenced by his current professional and professionally related financial self. They match a generally shared image of 'the successful professional' (325-329) - own company, high salary, low work demands, freedom, and so on.

The character primarily involved in producing a successor was the city manager. RG verbalizes his expectations regarding the normal process and EF concurs that is indeed the normal process (339-343). He elaborates it by indicating the particular entities and the sequence of their involvement (manager, deputy manager, selection committee or finance and administration committee, council). The predetermined nature of the choice was
evidenced by the actual process which departed considerably from the normal expectations by removing most characters, organizational entities, and stages. The actual process included only the manager and council. The successor, constructed as someone who would perpetuate the status quo as opposed to the innovate image of EF, was thus someone who matched, fit, and would assist in the actual implementation of the manager's scheme of the personnel department as 'noncontroversial' (359).

CASE 7: THE FIRING OF THE COLLEGE PRESIDENT

Let us now return to a sequence of successions which occurred in the office of the president or principal of the college. In chapter five, descriptions of the voluntary resignation of the first principal were reported, and the selection of his successor, Peter Black, was detailed. It was learned that soon after Black became principal his taste for liquor became known to college administrators, as Black initiated fairly regular luncheon meetings for them which included provision of certain alcoholic beverages that Black himself readily consumed. The respondents' accounts now continue, in preparation for bidding a not so fond adieu to the successor, and now predecessor to be, Mr. Black.

Respondent 1, IJ: Vice President, Finance

274 so let's try to check the time again it would have been the fall of seventy four [m hm]

276 when he started I don't know the exact date of appointment but the starting time well he left trying to give you the time frame in which things happened seventy five spring of seventy six he lasted eighteen months [m hm]

278 um two things between became quickly apparent that he was not as able to establish repoire with the faculty that is essential in this kind of setting [m hm]

280 more crucial and hurting probably quicker was that he was not able to establish repoire with the administrators [hmm mhm]

282 he showed his professional incompetence and what became more serious his personal incompetence his personal illnesses wrongdoings and I don't know if it is of interest to you trigger me with questions otherwise I keep this very short uh from I
guess intimidating his secretary into manipulating petty cash funds to attending the private residence of his assistant well past midnight in a completely drunken condition uh to having found out after two months in town any kind of private gambling spot there may be that I wouldn't even know how to go about finding out [RG laughs]

284 he had visited them all uh I guess upsetting his family by causing his wife to phone up as he hadn't shown up for two nights in a row his office asking if his staff knew where her husband was um kind of those on the personal side absolute drinking problem his expense accounts were about a thousand dollars a month [mmm]

286 more appropriate would be something like eighty dollars a month in this setting for that office [m hm]

288 in the way of meetings and hostings and taking people out for dinner he had about a thousand dollars a month uhh I got into I guess involved in a case where he had lost all his credit ratings and they were cancelling all his credit cards and he tried to get me to write a letter which would have been very improper assuring his creditors that the college was responsible for all his debts when the college had well reimbursed him but he had not reimbursed his creditors like credit card companies [m hm]

290 those kind of things so that was one side the professional side was a complete disaster he was unable to make decisions if he made them he made them against council policy without administrative involvement without research um we will be leading up to what effectively caused his termination I guess uh the biggest goof he made is against I guess my advice this is part of my responsibility um because I tried to channel him into oh the topic is the purchase of a computer for the institution [ya]

292 uh I insisted on a professionally conducted specification writing process tendering process selection process and eventually the submission to Victoria the proper approvals and all this he didn't go for that at all he was a real political game- player he wanted a computer and he wanted it now he got into meetings in his private home with salespeople he never involved the purchasing function he ignored my advice as to the proper sequence of events that should happen and uh he ordered verbally the computer [m hm]

294 um he then slowly slowly realized that we would never take delivery or make payment of that computer if we didn't get some additional approvals because we had to get the money [m hm]

296 he manipulated a key person in the ministry to after the fact secure those kind of approvals who again interestingly enough was an NDP appointed person who was more of a politician than an administrator though he was not in the ministerial office but an administrator but in a key position um by now you
probably know who I'm talking about [no huh - RG laughs]

and who was kind of susceptible because of his own elevation to a level that was well beyond his competence and prior expertise to be open to those kind of games a good sob story [m hm]

good political argument and the decision was made so again that person ignored all the advice from his administrators long time administrators not to do that because that was improper and all that well in those days I think anything went through cabinet if uh you got a deputy to put it in front of treasury board or whatever they had at that time they had no strategy no organization from what I saw in in Victoria for decision making so it was eventaully approved after the fact however with it came a clear message to council that look you really goofed this one we bailed you out because we believe you need a computer but the process you went through was beyond description [mmm huhch - RG laughs]

I would say if I had to identify the thing that broke the camel's back eventually this event is probably uh the the (phone rings - KT answers it and talks) ok um help me with a question I lost my thread [right]

I gave you the main cause I think that led to the [m hm] termination but the personal side caused substantial embarrassment to a lot of people [m hm]

now let's say as the case was building up that there was an obvious conflict between the institutional and him a lot of people at my level his secretary were concerned about the institution more than about him and what it was doing and we were on a down hill slide at accelerating speed y'know and nothing was getting done we were adding to our problems day after day and uh the morale was just y'know a bottomless pit [m hm]

so council members got more and more involved one particular individual who had psychiatric training on council a psychiatric nurse recognized that uh what we were facing was really a paranoid schizophrenic individual who could could not I guess deal with reality [hmm]

um at that time the mutiny what was it called y'know the Caine Mutiny as a book widely circulated throughout the college today if 'e had read it you may recall the description of the captain as assessed by the medical board [mmm]

it's a one page description exactly of our past principal 

RG ehhuh he he [RG laughs]

with all the associated mental criteria [m hm]

now one thing found out much later for example this individual
had been in an alcoholic institution [m hm]

for his alcoholic problems but was not cured none of that
was known when he was hired that he had this kind of history
and as the institution was going down he was going deeper and
deeper into alcohol [m hm]

so he would not be able to come to meetings because he was drunk
or he would come stone drunk and embarrass everybody around so
um things became so intolerable uh that there were secret meet­
ings what you call in camera in camera without any administrator
present where council was just deliberating how to handle this
situation [m hm m hm]

until it lead to a termination request by some of the council
members who were extremely concerned [uh huh]

um interesting enough there was one who to the very last day
he's now off uh supported the principal and we were all wonder­
ing why anybody in his right mind [m hm]

y'know with all that evidence in front of everybody would still
support that individual interesting enough that's the council
member that assisted the principal in pushing the computer affair
[hmmm]

and the individual actually has a computer background and was
instrumental in I guess approving some specs which should have
never been approved because we know today that we definitely got
the wrong computer [hmm]

and we were bound to get the wrong one because it wasn't technical
as to how do we answer our needs technologically it was a poli­
tical decision because of wheeling and dealing in the principal's
home at that time [m hm]

so that's an interesting sideline but I suspect there was some­
thing else going on on the side that we have never been able to
identify [m hm]

(Later in the interview IJ returns to the topic of the computer
purchase.)

for example the individual who got fired Peter um since I guess
my office works the closest of all other positions with the
principal I was the first one I guess to really suffer

RG [uh huh]

and feel that things weren't going the right direction um I'm I
guess a very let me call myself sincere person in the way that
I believe strongly things have to be right if you can distinguish
right and wrong and it may be with my philosophical beliefs I
find it easier to distinguish between right and wrong than others
um so when I observed things going wrong because in my view you
do not ignore the process outlined by Victoria to secure approvals
ignore the computer right now and there were other issues um and I wasn't able to convince the principal that he had to follow those that he was not God to ignore those rules laid out by the ministry and I brought the matter to the attention of council by taking opportunities when I was asked to speak to speak just a little bit more than was really necessary to get a point across so they would pick it up and support me or taking it to individual council members and saying look um I don't get anywhere uh he's not listening to me but what am I expected to do? [m hm]

they just said you don't do anything you just do as you're told and you'd better do as your boss tells you and you fall in line kind of I was the one who was wrong in trying to do what had to be done [hmm]

under proper circumstances [mmm]

very y'know an interesting observation until the the problems were so obvious and so wide ranging that one couldn't ignore them anymore like I personally got into serious confrontations with individual council members who supported the principal and who believed it was a personality conflict between him and me at one time [m hm]

one of them actually believed it right to the end [m hm] gave me great concerns obviously [uh huh]

what you may maybe this is relevant as the pressure was building up like from you know in about October November uh the private meetings of council started and that's also the time when the ministry's names kind of for new appointees as of February this principal played his political games by contacting who he believed to be his friends in Victoria in suggesting that this council was incompetent that this council which was moving toward removing him [m hm]

was unable to hold the responsibility given to them by the ministry and uh he was recommending names out of the community that he thought would support him [m hm]

unfortunately his human judgement was so poor that the key person he contacted believing to be his friend was just neutral trying to be polite and friendly and you know professional to everybody uh was so upset about having received this phone call that he told the council members [mmm]

that he knew of you know he was an old timer thirty fourty years in B.C. in the education system I mean there are all kinds of contacts a lot of the council members were also for thirty fourty years in the educational scene in B.C. [m hm]

that he fed the information back to the council who then called the principal to a private meeting and confronted asked him before confronting him had he tried to suggest names for council re-appointments or new appointments to Victoria to the ministry and
he said outright no he was asked the same question twice in a row and he uh you know confirmed having no such thing has ever happened he was then asked um kind of really led to the to the grave you know kind of um well is it possible that you had a phone call with certain individuals where things may have been misunderstood but that the topic had been raised no the topic had never been raised with anybody he was then confronted with the facts [oh]

and he had no answer I mean y'know lying was one of the uh you know kind of lesser crimes in my view that he committed on an ongoing basis [ya]

ta anybody just an unbelievable personality just sick m hm [m hm] absolutely sick

however what is maybe of interest to you here is that during during March its always March we honor the council members who were not reappointed with a dinner [mm]

ok since we have again a major transition let's say in the spring let's say when we were just waiting to fire him um we had this council dinner in March to which the administrators are invited and the topic at that meeting obviously was the anticipated firing of the principal [m hm]

now the principal's wife also was there and comments were overheard like uh he must go and he's a complete asshole uh with his wife possibly standing right in that same little discussion group with a drink in their hand there were at that time I guess all uh barriers were taken down know? everybody had declared kind of their beliefs and feelings and you know it was it was so obvious that something major had to be done and uh even his wife y'know wasn't protected [m hm]

and she looked a very unhappy person obviously [mmm]

it was the first meeting of the new board that faced the formal motion to terminate and we would now be facing I think March seven March seventy six

RG ok this is a new board following the Social Credit re-election correct

RG just two questions about the person who was dismissed um one I take it he had an academic appointment at some institution prior to becoming the principal right [uh huh]

a teaching appointment with administrative duties and then let's say a teaching appointment and he had advanced to administrative duties which I would compare to those of a chairman [m hm]
but that's not the title he had

m hm and uh was I just wondered was his appointment outside of B.C.?

yes in Ontario

ya ok I wondered why I thought if he was in B.C. then everyone would have been aware of his background

correct

the first meeting of a new board faced the formal motion and the key person who had been instrumental in getting the council together to deal with this and face it head on had not been re-appointed because she had been an NDP appointment [mmm]

and was not reappointed they by the Socred government so the momentum got lost and it took two more meetings to bring it to a head so uh then the motion was passed and um it was an immediate clean up [m hm]

immediate kind of thing because of the a nature of the termination [m hm]

now the individual had a contract which gave him a one year notice or severance in lieu there of [m hm]

so it was simply implemented he got a years salary [m hm] which made the ministry angry [hmm]

because even a deputy minister has only six month severance [huh - RG laughs]

in case of termination it was considered to be too generous [mhmm]

a settlement but it is important to note that council has uh the legal authority to enter into any contract they wish without reference to the ministry that there have also been no guidelines from the ministry as to what they consider to be reasonable or not [hmm]

so despite that the ministry got very upset [m hm]

and an exchange of letters followed which um indicated the displeasure of the ministry and then they had refused for example to by then we had finished a budget year ends in March and I managed to get the payment into the prior year because it takes [hmmm]

us a month to close the books y'know with the help of the auditor and I was able to get that into the old year and it became an overrun ya [uhh]

then they refused to approve the overrun which in effect they
did at the end anyway but they gave us a hard time you know they tried to make it difficult we got our fingers slapped huh [RG laughs]

quite nastily and for about two weeks we made the headlines of all the local papers [oh]

that obviously was interesting news and [mh m]

now what is important to recognize here is as all of this was happening the institution had just suffered tremendously [mh m]

I mean it was bad when this individual came in he was supposed to come in to solve the problems we were facing [huh - RG laughs]

at the same time we had grown two times fourty per cent [mm]

can you imagine? we were scheduled to move into that building down there which was the first one no we had moved into that sorry into what we call the north porticles those were the additional buildings that were under construction and we were late in getting them ready classes started the buildings weren't ready [mh m]

we were everybody eh everywhere church basements we had a dozen churches around here lined up and we were in their Sunday schools uh our our administrative officers were the Local Valley Shopping Plaza on a short term deal we had nothing prepared just a rented room with desks in it telephones what not I mean [huh - RG laughs]

look I can not describe to you in an hour the mess we were in if you can imagine it we had it and it was wrong [hm]

it was a complete nightmare there was no direction from the top no leadership there was utter chaos

RG I was interested in when the person who was asked to resign he was formally asked to resign by an order in council or not an order in council by an order

by a motion of council and he was fired that night [uh huh]

he was notified formally that night by telephone

RG oh he wasn't at the council meeting

let me just oh let me be careful when I say telephone he was asked to leave the room he was waiting in his office and the chairman of the council went up to his office [mmm]

to give him the good news (IJ laughs) which he expected by then

RG hmm he had he known before then uh how much earlier than that had it become a topic of conversation at council meetings
um never at open or even in camera council meetings [m hm]

only at what you call in camera in camera which means really aren't formal meetings but were meetings of all council [m hm]

meeting as committee kind of you could call it [m hm] why we keep no minutes [m hm]

and I would say these meetings started to be held I think as early as October November the year before so that would be seventy six? no seventy

October November and he was formally terminated in

in April

April uh huh but that was two months after the new council took over I guess

yes [ya] the uh council started in February [uh huh]

but they faced the motion well I should have to clarify that they faced the formal motion made by a council member at the February meeting [m hm] so this is where it was debated [m hm]

and it was decided to be deferred to committee a committee was formed and the committee came back two meetings later and repeated the formal motion [mmm]

and effectively the committee did a little bit of digging interviewed uh various administrators including myself uh individually y'know one to one interviews where I guess you open up and we were all expressing our frustrations our concerns and uh then he was terminated

oh he was notified then he just cleaned out his office that day and he was just gone

that next day yes yes [uh huh]

and uh we recommended he get medical y'know treatment which I understand he didn't seek uhh he tried to go dry I don't think it has worked from the latest feedback I have he went back to Ontario and good old buddy system um he got a job and I don't he well I know he's not in that job anymore and I don't know the circumstances under which he left it [m hm]

so I don't really know too much about what has happened since the other transition then with the acting principal it was then the following meeting which I think was called two weeks later already [m hm]

where the dean was appointed acting principal [m hm]

but under what I call rather curious circumstances [hmm]
so when there was a vacant job again council turned to this individual and very interestingly they had called a meeting with the senior administrators present there had been no prior discussion with this dean in the meeting somebody made the I think the chairman made a motion to name this dean as acting principal until a new one was found [m hm]

and it took the dean to stop the meeting in order to prevent the motion from being passed in order to get his two bits in which effectively amounted to putting his conditions down [hmm mhm]

it was only our own simply logical reason that we said well who else but this person can now become acting principal [m hm]

that he was prepared for it kind a for one afternoon and had to himself made some notes of things he wanted cleared with council before accepting that job [m hm]

the council still was unable as administrative body to handle uh the seriousness of this kind of situation y'know they were just grabbing the next straw which was this dean [m hm]

uh kind of one thing to let somebody else handle the problem because they were unable to do it themselves [m hm]

there were many other ways of dealing with this situation but this is the one they selected and it wasn't a bad one I don't want to imply that but uh probably simply an outcome of the utter chaos that was going on which was definitely effecting council which again had had a drastic change at this time half the members um now what we are getting into at this point is advancement through promotion or transfer the third alternative in succession now [m hm]

with this dean and though it was I guess a temporary basis there was nothing blocking a permanent appointment [hmm]

except that a formal search process had to be initiated and gone through in order to do that

the individual uh lived out his term as acting which in turn and let me just try to get the time straight again [m hm]

we started with spring seventy six and it led us into fall seventy seven so that's nearly eighteen months you talk about fifteen sixteen to eighteen months for the acting status [m hm]

because what had to happen is that the institution had to settle down and this person did a terrific job settling down the institution in one year we worked down what we called our problem list y'know when the guy was fired council took inventory of where we were we had a problem list of two pages about fifty points [hmm]

everything was a mess you know our negotiations our agreements our
reporting with Victoria our land affairs that were under dis-
cussion you name it we were in a mess and we were adding problems
by the day one year and we had worked down that list that we
started to ignore it [hm]

he did a terrific job he worked hard he was very firm which we
all agreed in the administrative group was very essential because
needed leadership and council's leadership comes from the princi-
pal [m hm]

now it may be important to note too that council at that time had
a weak individual as chairman

the acting principal you know when I just look at that from not
even wanting to hear if he wanted the job uh council you know
not really asking him if he wanted it just telling him it's your
job and you better you know do it uh they bought any condition
and they didn't even listen you know he could have put a condition
down they would have jumped at it they just ya ya ya ya ya ya
and uh assured them wrote it into the minutes so he could hold it
under their eyes afterwards when needed and he had to do that a
couple of times later on uh in the first six months he could I
mean he did good work but he got away with murder now his person-
ality is such that he has strong beliefs firm consistent beliefs
now from my point of view they are much further left than I like
them to be but they were consistent and I treasure that far more
than being concerned about the fact they they were to the left of
my own views [m hm]

because they predictable because they were consistent he would not
hesitate to point out to council when they were inconsistent [hmm]

and in a body of twelve people half of them housewives uh in the
in the term of being not really professionals in their own training
and background they are all over the place you know they don't
really often know if they're coming or going he would point this
out to them he would point out what they should do to be consistent
and they didn't like that [m hm]

and then this like it became about sixteen months that he was acting
let's say in the last eight months um they didn't like to be told
this by him [hmm]

they resisted it and I then observed how even reasonable sugges-
tions made by him were turned down because they just didn't like
the idea of him telling them what to do [m hm]

it was you know as a kind of setting back uh I sit at all the meet-
ings most of the times just observing you know and noting down
the action these kind of things it was just interesting to observe
the uh intergroup play how it had changed [m hm]

Analysis, Respondent 1: IJ. The case was located in terms of position
and interview demands in earlier conversation. IJ gives explicit considera-
tion to chronology (276) thus acknowledging that temporal sequencing of events is an important aspect of a sensible description. Soon after Black's appointment, it became apparent that the essential organizational need of 'repertoire between central units' was not being met (278-280).

IJ begins to develop an image of Black as a deviant motivational type, where the deviance is not merely limited to facets of his social psychological self but rather his extremely deviant social psychological self spills over into other schemes of his self. He is displayed as lacking common in order to and because of motives provided by various schematic entities which he should have been using to interpret events and plan his own activities. The professional self of Black lacked integrity qua competence, and aspects of his other selves also evidenced incompetence. He violated organizational compliance demands and stylistic considerations regarding the financial component of the college, and breached stylistic considerations regarding relationships with and demands of subordinates (282). His personal style regarding his financial self was also problematic, as he found (and presumably used) gambling establishments, a personal financial style which breaches compliance demands of the legal order.

Black is also reported as evidencing improper 'husband or father' behavior (284) which displays IJ's model of style regarding proper husband/father behavior in the family institution. Further, his physiologically linked social psychological self is typified in part as an alcoholic, and this obviously deviant type included implied motives which (as discussed earlier, chapter four, statement 646 "his way of catching the college with all his drinking expenses") resulted in his violating an organizational stylistic consideration regarding finances and expense accounts appropriate to the incumbent of the principal position. His improper style (284) is made visible by stating expected proper style (286).
IJ himself, as chief financial officer, became involved in an attempt by Black to preserve or reconstruct Black's financial self integrity which had been seriously damaged when he lost all his credit (288). Black's proposed solution would have violated organizational compliance demands and stylistic considerations regarding conduct and activities of the finance officer. One is not sure if 'improper' means rule or style violating but I suspect it means both, particularly as compliance demands of the organization specifying appropriate and warranted reimbursements of Black had already been met.

Black's professional style is again discussed (290), and this did not match stylistic considerations of the organizational decision process, and indeed violated pre-existent compliance demands ("against council policy"). Black apparently failed to utilize the generally available and shared scheme of the organization, and by ignoring it ended up breaching it.

Improprieties in purchasing a computer for the institution were the 'precipitating incident cause' of Black's dismissal (290). To display this purchase as both impropriety and cause, IJ develops schemes of a number of entities. First, a construction of IJ's own organizational/professional self is provided in terms of the organizational compliance demands (responsibility) of his position. IJ invoked these demands and provided an image of the proper purchase scheme (compliance and style aspects) to Black (290-292). The government is specified as an entity providing certain of the rules which bound the purchase process. However, Black's social psychological and professional style ("gameplayer") and corresponding motives led him to conduct which breached the stylistic demands and rules of the purchase process (292) thereby violating not only college organizational expectations but governmental ones as well. Black's activities, as violations of various entity located expectations, thus furnish the evidence and warrant
for the typification of Black as a gameplayer.

Despite Black's personal inclinations, the purchase was contingent on compliance demands which had to be met if necessary resources were to be available (294). Black continues to evidence a general deviant motivational type, preferring not merely isolated but consistent deviancy by attempting to alter the legislative scheme's demands as applied to the purchase process (296). This was accomplished with the assistance of a certain character whom IJ constructs as diverging from the scheme of 'suitable administrator' appropriate to the position (296). This character apparently gave the political scheme precedence in general (rather than the governmental administrative scheme) and thus Black was able to 'manipulate' him by constructing the purchase in terms of a political scheme, or at least relating it to this (300). The character's acts violated general governmental expectations and advice (300) regarding proper style and perhaps compliance demands. These activities are explained (298) by constructing an image of the professional self of the character: he lacks requisite background knowledge for his position because, as IJ's theory of career advancement espoused earlier (chapter four) shows, he had advanced far too many career steps in one jump. Lacking background knowledge, such as the ability to identify and adequately deal with certain standard types such as game players, he fell prey to Black's ploy. Others saw Black's requests as schematic breaches, but the administrator interpreted these as warranted in terms of a political scheme.

The government is described in terms of an approval sequence (300) which seems to depart from IJ's ideal image ("no strategy, no organization"), and provides inherent obvious reasons for final approval ("anything went through"). Yet even the legislature viewed the actual approval sequence as departing from the schematically specified one. The computer funds were
provided because the government held an image of the college, which included a need for a computer (model of integrity). But the college council received a (mild) sanctioning for the improprieties involved in the purchase.

IJ has thus identified the main cause of the firing (304-306) as the continued violation of college and governmental rules and stylistic considerations, although the personal selves (social psychological and financial) of Black buttressed the case against him by violating their expectations and causing embarrassment. The predecessor was clearly perceived by members as jeopardizing the integrity of the college: both IJ and the principal's secretary are examples of people who put the organizational scheme 'first', and who saw its integrity disrupted to the extent that even normal activities and functions were not being accomplished (308). The general climate or morale of the organization (model of style of functioning) continued to decline.

The threatened integrity led to increasing involvement of council members, one of whom is provided with a particular professional self - psychiatric nurse. She in turn provided a typification of the principal as an extremely deviant social psychological type - paranoid schizophrenic - who did not have the same conception of 'reality' that others in the organization assumedly shared (310). The principal is compared to a character type present in a current literary work, and the wide circulation of the work (312) in the college suggests the literary construction provided an interpretive scheme of character type with which others came to conceive of the principal in a manner perhaps different from their original views (312-316).

Other problematic characteristics are provided. The principal is labeled an alcoholic, a physiologically based deviant social psychological type, but members of the college did not know this facet of his 'self' when
he was hired (318-320). As problems in the institution increased, he became a clearer member of that type (320). His social psychological self spilled over into his professional activities, where he contravened expectations of proper style of comportment (public drunkeness) and proper administrative conduct (show up for meetings). Council therefore used certain rules as resources to hold secret meetings where they sought and negotiated interpretive resources for finding activities to deal with the situation (324). Finally a termination request was made - this would involve, as we shall later see, a formal gambit of compliance or motion calling for his resignation.

Not all council members shared the image of the principal as a deviant type jeopardizing organizational integrity (326-328). The failure of one member to share the image seemed odd to IJ, particularly as the image was warranted by 'evidence'. He finds an explanation of the seemingly irrational views of the 'hold out' member by outlining his professional self (330) and his role in the infamous computer purchase. He was apparently a facilitator of the purchase who must have knowingly approved improper specifications, the 'knowingly' being decidable because of his professional background (330), and the 'improper' being retrospectively decidable given what IJ 'knows today' (330). The computer decision was inevitably wrong because an inappropriate scheme was used to decide it - a political scheme, not a scheme of technological needs of the organization (332). Further, it seems to me from IJ's last statement that possible other interpretations - e.g. possibly allegations of payoffs - were considered but no warranting evidence was uncovered.

The discussion that concerns the computer purchase and which appears later in the interview clarifies a number of aspects of schemes of entities involved. IJ notes that he was one of the first organizational members to
become aware of problems with the new principal. This is due to his positionally contingent viewpoint, i.e. the events visible to him qua position incumbent (749). He develops an image of his own professionally relevant social psychological self, as someone who, stylistically, prefers to see various actual events be consistent with schematic prescriptions, i.e. "things have to be right" (751). This provides a motive which explains his activities in attempting to get compliance to rules for purchase approval provided by the government. He attempted to make council aware of the governmental scheme and the principal's failure to comply with it. Instead of their attempting to do a gambit of compliance on the principal, they invoked the college scheme and demanded he comply with the orders of his superior (753). By using the hierarchical model of the college, members identified IJ as a rule violator. The utility of their scheme of the college finally broke down because it could not integrate the disparate range of obvious problems which appeared (757). Even so, several members had interpreted IJ's activities as a mismatch between the social psychological selves of IJ and the principal (757). This was problematic to him, as one could see how such an interpretation could jeopardize his position and hence his professional integrity. Also, they failed to confirm his scheme of interpretation and thus may have caused him various 'self doubts' (761).

The next passage from the interview begins with IJ providing a temporal position for certain events which transpired prior to Black's firing. Council's private meetings wherein they sought a solution for their problem corresponded with the timing of council appointment decisions by the government. This offered Black a gambit for protecting his position and professional self. This gambit, displayed by IJ as consistent with Black's social psychological self, involved constructing an image of council as lacking integrity i.e. incompetent, and not meeting ministry expectations (622).
If the ministry accepted the image, then council would presumably be reconstituted in the manner Black was suggesting as an alternative. Unfortunately Black's image of others was inadequate (failed to match an operative 'actual' image). The person whom he phoned in an attempt to distribute his image of council saw the phone call as a breach or violation of some unidentified scheme of proprieties. It was seen as stylistically improper and may have even violated rules and/or legal statutes.

IJ provides us with a description of the professional history of the agent of the ministry (626), locates him as an old time member of an institution - the B.C. educational system - and notes certain council members were also part of the institution with the statuses of old time members. The violation of expectancies by the principal was thus followed by the educator's distributing the knowledge back to council, and an implicit scheme of such an 'old boy' network makes sensible the means for doing this. When presented with evidence of the rule/style violation, Black denied it, even when members suspended the assumption of a reciprocity of perspectives between Black and the ministry agent regarding their talk (628). IJ notes this lying was indicative of Black's generally negative motivational type - "absolutely sick" (634).

The next interview passage recounts an interesting scene temporally immediately prior to the firing of Black: the forthcoming firing was general knowledge and topically central at the ceremony held to honor departing council members. Black was constructed as a deviant social psychological type in very explicit terms, by members, with his wife present. The obvious unhappiness of the wife displays an image of marriage integrity which includes the interdependence of partners.

Chronological locations are now specified for termination events, and we learn that the formal gambit occurred at the first meeting of the new,
reconstructed council, a reconstitution which followed the Socred (right wing) party's election. They replaced the leftist NDP party after the NDP had ruled for one term. RG forces a digression (371) and requests a brief professional history of Mr. Black, particularly geographical locations of his jobs. He finds they all occurred outside B.C. hence it is sensible people in the B.C. educational system would not have knowledge of Black's background. This implies geographical and institutional (B.C. educational system) boundaries to the distribution of knowledge.

We learn that the character responsible for promoting the official gambit forcing the resignation was removed from council (392) an outcome of the change in government and the rules available to the government vis-à-vis the right and means of modifying council. The gambit apparently needs a primary facilitating character: without her, delays occurred.

The ministry is angry following the termination, presumably because of the severance pay which complied with contract demands, but violated some general norm of distributive justice held by the ministry, the superordinate entity in the educational system which doesn't even provide the amount of severance pay that Black received (398-406). However, IJ indicates the pay was consistent with, or did not violate, legal rules regarding the college, and indeed the ministry had not provided any formal rules or even stylistic suggestions (incipient, informal rules).

The ministry nonetheless attempted to sanction this violation of 'no apparent rule' (412-416). IJ outlines the financial cycle of the college and the manner in which he handled the payment, using the timing of the dismissal and the cycle as resources to 'take a financial bath' in the current year. This led to an overrun which provided the Ministry with a potential means of sanctioning - it could invoke various rules, and fail to use others, thereby failing to provide finances to meet the overrun, though
eventually it was met. The events became public knowledge, thus displaying a less than positive image of the college, no doubt.

By now the functional integrity of the college was seriously jeopardized (422) - indeed the now fired president had been brought in to enhance organizational integrity which was problematic at the time of his appointment (424). IJ provides further detail on his image of the college - demographic data, problems in the physical resources, and so on. The capstone was perhaps the lack of adequate leadership, a basic need.

The actual firing of the principal is discussed in the next passage (518). IJ provides some details, including temporal aspects of the firing, and the actual settings where degradation was accomplished. It is interesting to note the to be degraded actor was present in the setting (council meeting) where negotiation and formalization of the gambit to remove him was accomplished, but he was asked to leave it temporally immediately prior to the final gambit (526). The formal degradation gambit was thus held in his absence and the actual announcement of it to him was done in his 'home territory' - his office. The chairman of the Board, an important degradation producer or facilitator as he announced it to the degraded member, and council was the general set of degradation producers. We learned earlier that the primary facilitator had left council by this time as she was not reappointed when the Socred regime gained provincial power. Actual negotiation of the relevant interpretive resources occurred at an earlier meeting: shared agreement was not reached to implement the formal gambit so an organizational subscheme (committee: 550) was formed which gathered information in order to provide more adequate warrant for the motion. The information consisted largely of learning the images certain administrators had regarding the principal; the college scheme
provided a resource for deciding whom to interview, and the interviews were
stylistically structured to allow openness by providing an awareness context
such that anonymity of respondents was preserved. Thus an ad hoc stage in
the sequence of firing observed certain informal rules, providing a model of
style.

The terminated president vacated his organizationally located and
contingent home territory the next day. Council's image of the former
president as a problematic physiologically linked social psychological self
provided them with notions of how the integrity of the principal could be
repaired, and they suggested one means to him - medical treatment. However,
his 'self' is given as remaining the same: an informal institution, the
'old buddy system' was used as a resource to provide employment but even
this institution could not guarantee continuity to it, presumably because of
his interrelated physiological, social psychological and professional selves.

The process of successor selection is described, beginning where IJ
locates it 1) temporally - relative to predecessor departure, 2) positionally
in terms of successor's previous position, and 3) in terms of its departure
from any 'normal' means of successor choice (558-560). The successor to be,
the dean (who is also respondent KL) was essentially 'drafted' by a gambit
of compliance made by council (437). However, council's move which was
essentially unilateral in that the dean had not been consulted previously
(439) was based in the use of the organizational scheme as a resource for
locating a rapidly available successor - KL was the only solution this scheme
provided (441, 445). The dean, however, temporarily thwarted the gambit
which implicitly required his acceptance before being implemented, even if
it was formalized; he made his own gambits (439: 765) thus clarifying and
modifying and providing reciprocity to a shared image of the position of
principal as he would fill it.
The promotion is inconsistent with standard expectations that the successor to be 1) generally applies for the position - KL had not applied for it this time that it was vacant - and 2) is involved, interviewed and thus aware of his candidacy for some reasonable length of time in advance of the selection outcome. The unusual nature was based in the highly problematic state of organizational integrity (445) and the professional selves of members constituting council, who lacked background knowledge in administration. They thus didn't know how to properly handle problems in general or the promotion in particular, but merely grabbed the simple organizationally provided solution (445, 449).

The promotion of the dean was an interim solution, as permanent appointment required meeting other gambits, including a rule requiring a formal search (453). The events are again given chronological locations. During the time of the acting principal, organizational integrity was greatly restored (473) and council's list of integrity threats and disruptions was reduced (475). Some of these threats are described using labels which of course gloss them (475). The professional style of the acting principal met the needs of the organization (477), the need for strong leadership being due perhaps to a needed 'complementarity match' between principal and council chairman (478).

The final passage provides further detail on the promotion. Council met the dean's demands presumably because organizational needs were so great that the dean, as the only solution to the needs, had tremendous power - he essentially was a scare resource. But the ready compliance of council waned later in the acting principal's term and he had to invoke formal compliance demands (765).

IJ constructs further aspects of the professionally related social psychological self of the successor: while certain traits differ or 'mismatch' IJ's own traits, IJ finds a generally acceptable match due to the
trait of 'consistency' which he considers central and important (767). Council members lacked this trait, possibly due to their professional backgrounds, (or lack of 'profession') and they were not pleased when the acting president offered ideas of how they could be consistent, thus appealing to them to meet considerations of proper style (be consistent). By late in the term of office it was clear to IJ, given his positionally contingent scenic views (775) that council had developed some interpretive scheme which IJ did not share. IJ used a scheme of the college which provided 'reasonableness' to many of KL's suggestions which council refused to accept or implement (773).

Respondent 2: KL, Academic Dean and Former President

426 so if we just pursue on now Black is here ok gets himself deeper and deeper into management problems here and also gets himself into let me just put it as medical problems uh and I'd just as soon not discuss this part but he had an alcoholic problem [huh]

428 he was supposed to be cured of that and so on for whatever reasons he got into that again and em at that point Gerald Helmmer and I uh after about um he came in August as of the following May or June he was effectively finished Gerald and I carried this place we ran our asses off proper for that guy [m hm]

430 he'd disappear for days on end heh heh (laughs) [hm]

432 where is he? no one knew wife didn't know his secretary didn't know (laughs) nobody knew ok [uh huh]

434 and Gerald and I uh Gerald being the senior dean and I being the other senior dean in the sense of appointment [m hm]

436 I being the other instructional dean organizationally on the same level we sort of just said to ourselves well wait a second here this institution can't take all of this shit and so on um we're just we're going to handle the matter and we just handled it by running our asses off [hmm]

438 worst year I've ever had in my life

439 RG when did just to get a chronology

440 m hm
241 RG when did you start having to take up some of the slack or whatever to cover for him

442 um May June of um seventy five he came in August seventy four

443 RG so there was a period here where he was functional I mean functioning without this problem

444 without a medical but uh not with a medical problem um but digging himself a bigger management hole all the time now what do I mean by that he um under the deans are an array of coordinators and he would do things like going speaking to the coordinators as a group with the dean absent without the dean's knowledge taking a position that was he knew was in opposition to the position that the dean took from [hm]

446 various matters ok? [m hm]

448 he was trying to uh increase the workload of faculty in the career division now the career division are programs that are packaged tightly packaged two year units the objective of which is to be employed at the end of two years the academic division are diffuse packages in fact there's no packages you take courses [mm]

450 and if you want to present them as a package to UBC and say gee I have my first year general arts you may do so and if UBC accepts that you go into second year that sort of thing ok he was trying to make a very clear distinction that uh the career faculty would be working longer hours and all that sort of stuff [m hm]

452 getting in real trouble in that real trouble ok not only union management problem but because he was often bypassing a dean [m hm]

455 I guess because I'd be prepared to take him on and argue with him and in fact I would say after the first few weeks that he was here uh he left me alone entirely alone I would simply keep him informed I mean I'm committed to that but on the things I felt I had the authority to make decisions on they would be made and without any reference to him because my view of authority is freedom to take a decision without recourse to your supervisor [m hm]

455 if you have to check the wind with your supervisor you don't have the authority and so your supervisor better keep the authority and the responsibility [m hm]

457 so um I guess he and I tacitly worked out a working agreement very early on [m hm]

459 I guess left free I think I was held accountable but um he wasn't doing that kind of number with me and my faculty as
opposed to Gerald and his faculty so you know if those kinds of things misinterpretations of the contract or attempts to manipulate the contract uh I can think of a big issue community education non credit activities is a big thing in Toronto uh Ontario for that matter ok? against the advice of all his administrative colleagues he persuaded the council that there ought to be a dean of community education and that this was going to be rare the college would really make its mark and a dean was hired and um as of December the thirteenth nineteen seventy eight that division will be completely dismantled again and the dean gone [m hm]

but just now that may be self-fulfilling ha organizational prophesy heh heh (laughs) [ya]

because I who was opposed to it am still here and Gerald who was opposed to it and Jim Clark who was opposed to it is still here [m hm]

and Brian Andrews is an associate dean who at the time was a faculty member who was opposed to it ok? [m hm]

so it may be self fulfilling organizational prophesy but afraid sir it's going to be dismantled [m hm]

so there was another big issue that was big because the faculty union was concerned that what he wanted to do was do the educational matters under this third division [hmm]

and therefore outside of the collective agreement [oh ok I was] that was that was the tension [m hm]

that was the tension so where does that takes us that takes us to um y'know May June where he is almost completely dysfunctional well let's say he was beginning to be dysfunctional there by the time he resigned the following March he was completely totally dysfunctional let's face it I mean I've never seen uh let me start back a bit I had the feeling that at times he was um just immensely brilliant there were times I've seen him go right down to root of a problem so fast that I would stand back and think holy gee how did he get there so fast because he's right he's right he's made the right analysis [m hm]

but I never saw that very often and it's almost like brilliance is one step removed from insanity type of thing [m hm]

um but even having made that kind of incisive I mean insightful analysis he could not go the rest of the way to manage it's conclusion [m hm]

so I saying that about him was because I wanted to start with something else I wanted that background and I can't remember what I wanted to say about that um it may come back to me but I was about to say then oh I know I've never seen that was it I've never seen a person collapse so rapidly [heh]
from that level ok? of of apparent ability and a reasonable ability in that August of seventy four to March of seventy six and I've tried to talk to some of our psychology people uh because I'm curious about this sort of thing [hmm]

trying to understand this and I can't get explanations for that I can't get a conceptual model input to analyze it [hmm]

so eventually the council finally bit the bullet and fired him [m hm]

which meant that he submitted his resignation [m hm]

and I was appointed acting principal the council uh again made a mistake they were never very sensitive to the niceties of collective agreements and they simply appointed me the contract forbids that [ohh - gasps]

and in this case I was kind of naive I mean I knew things were bad and I had people say to me hey you'd better get yourself ready to try and hold this place together for a while and I said I said ah shit I because after I hadn't got the job that Peter got ok? it took me about six weeks to get my head around on that but I finally sorted all of that out and being the chief executive officer came right off my personal agenda [m hm]

so I guess I was never you know thinking along those lines I mean I was just thinking my god this is dreadful I mean you know something has to be done and so on and so forth and I was god-damned tired uhm physically and emotionally covering for all of these things [m hm]

between Gerald and I we were taking all the decisions of this college that should have been taken in that office [mmm]

even to the point where I was writing his memos [mmm heh]

ok I mean I knew the decision would have to be made I knew that if either Gerald or I didn't take it and set it down it wouldn't be taken so Gerald and I would say well I'll look after this one Gerald you'll look after that one and I don't know about Gerald but I know that I was often writing that stuff [m hm]

for him put your put sign (he taps on paper) you know I'd say to his administrative assistant get him to sign

could you I was sort of interested in your term as principal but I just wondered uh just a bit before he was fired how did that come to reach I guess a peak

how did that climax? um how did that climax well the council had an increasing number of private meetings with him that were supposed to be of an evaluation nature ok but the council
themselves were handicapped because they didn't know what they wanted out of a chief executive officer [m hm]

alright so they had a hard job pinning down what was wrong

[m hm]

ok and he kept saying get I don't understand what they're telling me I ought to do better at I think I'm doing a great job [m hm]

but the council were getting hit by our um support staff saying that this man is incompentent uh the students were saying to council this guy's got to go that he's causing too much unrest around this institution which means that it's an institution wherein the faculty aren't devoting their time to the job they're hired for and we're suffering and the faculty were saying hey wait a second here this guy is incompentent [hmm]

the administrators ahh were often confirming all of that [m hm]

the guy was making an ass of himself in public take an annual convention of the Association of Canadian Community Colleges he's stone raving drunk running down the corridors pinching women's bottoms and I mean it finally came that um although the council didn't know how to do it didn't want to do it never had to do it before type of thing uh were most awkward in doing it they finally gave him his walking papers [hmm]

and it when it climaxed it climaxed all so fast because I don't know how many the days were but I was told one night to show up a a special in camera meeting of council the following night the night I was being told to show up at that in camera thing was the night they were getting a letter of resignation out of him and it was only like the day before that they sort of said we've got to do it we've got to do it [mmm]

so I don't know details I mean I sort of know that general sense and it sort of happened in a rush [m hm]

but even though it happened in a rush it was clearly a long time I mean I can tell you that they had evaluation meetings with him in December again in January again in February and I know about that because what'd happen is he'd get home from one of those phone me at home and ask me to have breakfast with him the following morning [mmm]

and I'd do that um no he was unable to talk and unload any of that I in a way and a humane level I felt for this guy [m hm]

so I'd just do a non directive sort of counselling number on him he wanted to talk I guess so I knew that was happening and you know he thought he had enemies in there and uh the factions that I'd mentioned in council were fighting but using him as bullets in both camps [mmm heh heh - laughs]
ok you know that sort of thing [ya]

so is there something else around here maybe that I can grab hold of um

RG I can't think of anything

ok so the council appointed me without consultation with the union which is against the collective agreement and the union passed a motion um rapping the council for so doing and a second motion quite distinctly saying that they uh endorsed my appointment as an acting principal [m hm]

so we went from there for sixteen months

RG he left I guess he submitted a resignation then a letter of resignation how long after this did he leave?

his resignation was effective at the end of April but before I accept it was funny um again and this is illustrates the manifest incompetencies of our council as a corporate entity um there I showed up at this in camera meeting I was told that they had a letter of resignation and that they wanted me to be the acting principal moved it or it was all members were not there but all members had been canvassed on this and there was a quorum there ok and the motion was moved and um and seconded uhh my appointment and um I was sort of saying um well I was expecting them to say well um is there something you have to say about this um but there wasn't and then I sort of felt that wait a second here they're going to vote on this I kind of said well Mr. chairman um may I have the floor? but while I was saying that he was calling for the question the votes were up and the motion was passed [hm]

and then I said well it's nice to know you have that much confidence in me would you like to know whether I want to do the job or not [m hm]

oh well we just thought you would and I said ya I'd like to do the job but I think more importantly you ought to hear my list of caveats and in the twenty four hours I had set down for myself some things you'd better understand these things about me because they form the basis of our working relationship for whatever this interregnum is [m hm]

cause I knew I was not going to be an applicant I declared that at well that was one of my things [mmm]

and so on and I was not to be drafted or anything of this sort of stuff [mmm]

cause you see for me it was a windfall situation psychologically I no longer wanted it when I was said there it is it's on a gift plate for you I could say to myself hey ya I'd like to know whether I can do that job but now I have nothing to lose
I can call the shots exactly the way I want them I can
tell the council they're a horse's ass and if they say we
don't like that you're fired I say thank you very much I'm
[heh]

back to dean find somebody else you see I was in a beautiful
position so uh they then listened to these things and sort of
after the motion was all passed we worked out some of those
sort of agreements about concerns that I had uh to be hon-
ored one of them being this hey he's resigned when is his
resignation effective? end of April well today's only March
the twenty sixth what's going to happen? my mind going back
to about August 1974 [hmmmm]

and they said well he says he isn't going to be around so I
said well you got that agreement from him he better not be
around and I want you to know he has absolutely no authority
in this institution is that agreed? yet is is agreed so he
dropped by a couple of times to pick up his paycheque I had
lunch with him and he tried to give me some advice you know that
sort of stuff [m hm]

but he basically honored his his agreement with them [m hm]

and he knocked around Lord he knocked around he was here
pretty much all summer it was late summer before he and the
family actually moved back east

RG hmm did he find a job after that back east or

yes I can tell you a bit about that again I'm let me make this
clear that this is second hand information but it's second
hand information of the quality that that I would say
is good but it's not rumor um there is a fellow by the name of
Kent who is the principal either of Cummings College or Smith
College I can never remember which who is um the dean of
college presidents in the in the east I mean that's not a
title he carries [ya]

that's the respect he is he's earned [m hm]

and em several years before Peter had worked in his college
and I guess at that time Peter didn't have the problems he had
had in Toronto just before being appointed here because apparent­
ly his last place before coming here was in the drying out
tank in Toronto [hmm]

only the council never checked his references or anything like
that so they didn't discover that at the time although the
faculty knew that [hmm]

anyway he created a job that can only now be done in the east
and gave it to Peter um he has since been dismissed from that
job [mm]
you see he was in fact uh when was it last year? no seventy six seventy seven ya in the June or July of seventy seven I got a call from a college chairperson of a search committee from one of the cats you know in Ontario saying that Peter Black was an applicant for the president's position there and had given my name as a reference ahh Peter had never contacted me I just about choked on the phone [heh heh heh laughs jeez]

so I don't know what what happened on that job [hmm]

but that was the initial connection [m hm]

he got a job and a little more than a year later was dismissed from that [m hm]

precisely with the same alcohol related problems [m hm]

Analysis, Respondent 2, KL: Academic Dean and Former Acting Principal

KL links the following talk with earlier topics (426) and uses schemes of the organization and the physiologically based social psychological self to see that the successor had problems - and he is typified as a deviant personal type. The successor's return to alcoholism is temporally located: Gerald Helmner is provided as a character who helped KL assume the duties which were expected of Black, but which he was not assuming (428). Later it becomes clear why Helmner and KL were doing this. Their locations in the organizational scheme (434) and their perception that the principal's failure to perform his expected duties was jeopardizing organizational integrity (436) left them one solution - do things themselves.

Other characters were effected by Black's problems: he violated stylistic considerations in his marriage, causing his wife problems (432) and failed even to act properly and inform his secretary of his whereabouts. KL's personal (social psychological and professional) selves felt the impact (439). However, Black had not been useless his entire term: his professional self was made problematic early in his term (443-444) but the chronological unfolding of his alcoholism is seen later. He was 'functional' i.e. had an integrated social psychological and professional self for a few months.
His management problems (441) centered around breaches of the proper style of a principal: he ignored the communication sequence implied by the hierarchical scheme of the organization (444, 448), and contradicted his subordinates. Further, he angered faculty by attempting to increase the demands made of those members in one division i.e. attempted to alter the compliance model (448-450) in a manner which seemed unfair to one division as compared with others. KL himself had fewer problems with the principal than might be expected as he negotiated a shared scheme of the organization with Black vis-à-vis his own position (455, 457). KL's general scheme of organization, and hierarchical authority based demands is constructed and the scheme is one which would minimize contact with Black (459). The situation in the other division i.e. the scheme Black was imposing, was very different (459) and Black often invoked a scheme others did not share ("misinterpretations": 459).

Black also seemed prone to use the Ontario scheme, part of his background stock of knowledge, to interpret events and tried to enact an alteration of the scheme of the present college by adding a new division and dean. The enactment violated considerations of administrative style as Black ignored advice from colleagues (459). Since Black's departure, the former scheme has been re-enacted (461-467). Black's altered scheme was also perceived by some as an attempt to circumvent a formal compliance scheme by creating a new division as a resource outside the contract which could then be used to accomplish normal functions (469).

Events are again provided with a chronological basis (475), as KL describes the downfall of Black. The range i.e. high and low points of Black's professionally related social psychological traits are noted (475): a chief limit was Black's inability to act on whatever insights he had i.e. implement proposed schemes, schematic alterations, and interpretations.
The change (decline) in Black's selves was much more rapid than anything KL's background provided as an expectancy (481) which caused KL to seek interpretive schemes or theories from his colleagues in psychology. But none of the schemes explain the collapse (485). The above background thus provides a basis for seeing the firing of Black (487-488) as warranted and expected.

KL's appointment by council was unfortunately made in a manner breaching the rules of the union contract (490) and this breach was sanctioned though the union provided formal approval of him as the successor (532). KL then provides some detail on himself: when he was not originally selected as principal (at the time Black was hired) his own image of his professional career was altered - he no longer expected to become principal, and so he was not anticipating the appointment to acting head even though aware of the threatened functional integrity of the college (492, 494). The professional responsibilities he had assumed since Black's decline effected him social psychologically (494): these demands and activities are again specified (469-502) and linked to organizational integrity ("decision would have to be made": 500).

RG probes for details of the actual degradation and events immediately prior (505). We learn the degradation process included several preliminary meetings where the need for it, and warranting evidence, were negotiated (506). However as council had no shared image of a suitable or ideal principal, they had nothing with which to compare their image of Black for evaluation purposes (506-508). Black's own image of himself matched his image of suitable or good principal so he did not 'see' any problems. Other subunits in the college were providing council with their images of Black (512): these entities, including staff, students, and faculty, generally saw Black as incompetent i.e. lacking professional integrity,
and jeopardizing organizational integrity.

KL provides an example of the activities of Black which breached not only considerations of proper behavior of a senior administrator, but also general notions of proper public comportment applicable to anyone (516). As a group agent or symbol of the college, he was clearly providing outsiders with a bad image. Council lacked the motivation and resources (rules, interpretive devices) to deal with a firing: no a priori rules or stylistic notions were available specifying the process. Nonetheless it was accomplished. To KL the firing was abrupt (518, 520), involved forcing the president to undertake a compliance demand himself i.e. resign by writing a letter to them, but as noted above was the outcome of a series of meetings where the degradation became warranted.

The scenic events KL reports are now explained as possible because of his interactions with the predecessor i.e. what he tells had a specific source and setting wherein he as a particular individual acquired the knowledge. KL sees himself as becoming an amateur psychologist and in this capacity he learned many of Black's problems and views of events though Black may not have explicitly verbalized these (524). Various entities were fighting and constructing Black in a manner which made him a resource to them but did not help Black (526).

Successor arrival and predecessor departure are discussed. The actual appointment of KL displays to him the incompetence of council (model of functional integrity). Their gambit of compliance electing him as principal violated general expectations of proper procedure as they never asked him if he wanted the position before formalizing the motion (536). They had assumed a reciprocity of perspectives i.e. that they knew his desires (450). He then presented several compliance demands which were formalized, and which outlined a scheme of the organization relevant to his duties, bene-
fits, etc. Fortunately for him he had been alerted to this forthcoming promotion. Among the rules he proposed was one formally restricting them from making him the permanent principal (542-544). He thus constructs an image of his social psychological self - now lacking an achievement motive propelling him toward the presidency (546). He perceived council as having no alternatives so he could invoke the rules as he saw fit and violate stylistic considerations (546-548). He could thus assess his professional competence qua principal and if in so doing he was degraded, his professional integrity would remain intact - he would still have a good secure position (548).

KL's demands were negotiated and met. One primary one was the timing of Black's operative (as opposed to official) departure which KL insisted be immediate (550). Black complied with his agreement with the council regarding his functional departure (552) though he was still physically around for a while - he even offered advice to KL i.e. provided him with certain images or schemes (550-554). KL provides details of Black's prior and post firing professional self i.e. his career history. The Ontario system is displayed as a resource which provided Black with earlier jobs and thus was tapped to gain him a later job (556-574). A particular character is described as a key person in Peter's later employment (556, 560), who knew Peter prior to his becoming a deviant type of self; an alcoholic. Peter has continued to be this type of deviant (572-574).

Interestingly the college faculty knew of Peter's alcoholism but the council violated a common stylistic consideration of the hiring process (562) by failing to check his references, so didn't learn this until later. KL's information about Peter's later career was possibly acquired when another college followed the model of style and called KL as a reference given by Black. The phone call was unexpected and indicates Black continued to vio-
late stylistic considerations by failing to ask or inform people that they will be given as references.

DISCUSSION

Programmatically Constructed Entities. This chapter has examined descriptions of two different cases of the involuntary departure of a predecessor due to status degradation. The analyses indicate that, as proposed by Gephart (1978) and the framework in chapter one, the focal organization is programmatically constructed as a schematic entity utilized in making sense of succession. Indeed this PCE is a primary resource in explaining the cases. It was constructed through conversational activity, had concrete referents in both cases - the members, settings, facilities and so on mentioned in talk - and clearly was used to interpret events and provide an obvious, warranted basis for action, or for seeing actions as improper. The analyses also indicate that use of different schemes to interpret the same behavior-event-context assemblage leads to different interpretations of the assemblage.

Tables 5-1 through 5-4 summarize the various schematic entities which are used in respondents' descriptions. A brief review of these indicates they exhibit another characteristic of programmatic constructions: they are constructed in terms of the three interpretive models - integrity, compliance, and style. Comparison of Tables 5-1 with 5-2, and Tables 5-3 with 5-4 displays the final PCE characteristic of essential vagueness: the 'same' entity (e.g. focal organization) can be differentially constructed in terms of substantive appearance, content of interpretive models, and so on, by different members. Thus the entities do not have a fixed substantive content, but can be reconstructed in various ways by different members even though members may agree they are describing the same 'target' entity.

There are a number of similarities and differences among the various
Table 5-1

Schematic Entities Utilized in Describing the Forced Early Resignation of the Director of Personnel, Case 6:
Respondent 1, AB, Associate Director

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Composite Entities</th>
<th>Common Language Descriptors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Focal Organization</td>
<td>The Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Compliance</td>
<td>1. hierarchical scheme of positions, rights and duties of position incumbents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. restructured scheme with 'grooming' position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. the council scheme is superordinate to the departmental schemes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Integrity</td>
<td>1. personnel needs including:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a. 'good' position incumbents, especially department heads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. adequate number of recruiters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. normal functioning, activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. flexible head of personnel department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>$see Succession Process</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| B. Subschemes         | |
|-----------------------| |
| Union                 | 1. adversary system |
| Council               | 1. denouncer of predecessor |
| Personnel Department  | 1. be loyal to your head |
| Model of Compliance   | 1. follow superior's demands: hierarchical authority |
| Model of Integrity    | 1. decaying under old head |
| Succession Process    | 1. proper for incumbent to resign if non-confidence motion passed |
|                       | 2. rational scheme: use org. scheme first to find successor candidates |
|                       | 3. normal sequence |
| Model of Compliance | 1. non-confidence motion as a formal rule  
|                     | 2. post and advertise vacancies  
|                     | 3. appointment of candidate to 'grooming' position - formal rule |

### C. Other Entities

- **Institution of Friendship**
  - **Model of Integrity**
    - 1. friendship dissipates if actions of A, affecting B, are not sensible and/or endanger B's personal integrity

### II. Individual Entities

#### Respondent

- **Professional Self**
  - **Model of Integrity**
    - 1. job hunting, background

- **Model of Style**
  - 1. related to social psych. self

- **Social Psychological Self**
  - **Model of Style**
    - 1. profession related characteristics: liberal, etc.

#### Successor

- **Professional Self**
  - **Model of Integrity**
    - 1. training, experience needs for head position

- **Social Psychological Self**
  - **Model of Style**
    - 1. profession related characteristics: aggressive, conservative
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predecessor</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional/Social Psychological Self</td>
<td>1. career history, sequence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style (Council)</td>
<td>1. rigid, defensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focal Position: Ideal Image</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Self</td>
<td>1. (AB) skills related to union negotiations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>1. related to social psych.: flexible, creative re use of org. scheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Succession Facilitators</td>
<td>1. Administrative Manager, Council</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5-2

Schematic Entities Used in Describing Case 6: Respondent 2, EF, Director of Employee Training

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Composite Entities</th>
<th>Common Language Descriptors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A. Focal Organization</strong></td>
<td>Government: old image vs. new image - political redirection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Compliance</td>
<td>1. council makes appointments, does terminations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Integrity</td>
<td>1. need qualified professional managers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. (EF): organization is complex, integrated whole, with non-obvious effects for activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>1. subordinates should act in a manner which facilitates the superior's implementation of various decisions and programs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B. Subschemes</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Board of Administration</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Models of Compliance and Integrity</td>
<td>1. old schemes vs. new schemes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Planning Department</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>1. (council) - proper style is consumer orientation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Integrity</td>
<td>1. (council) - certain planning strategies as appropriate functional activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Personnel Department</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Integrity</td>
<td>1. (council) forward looking programs are essential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Functional Style</td>
<td>1. (manager): noncontroversial: status quo - keep same programs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. (EF): change way we do things</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5-2 (cont'd)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Council</th>
<th>Succession Process</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Model of Compliance</td>
<td>Model of Compliance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. in camera proceedings are secret</td>
<td>1. demands of contracts with employees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>2. certification criteria as formal rules</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. council fails to plan ahead: operative</td>
<td>3. severance pay required if incompetence of fired employee is not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>style</td>
<td>demonstrated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Succession Process</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Compliance</td>
<td>Model of Style</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. proper style of doing dismissals</td>
<td>1. proper style of doing dismissals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. proper announcements</td>
<td>a. proper announcements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. normal sequence of decisions, plans: vs. actual, see Table 5-3:</td>
<td>2. normal sequence of decisions, plans: vs. actual, see Table 5-3:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. have an idea for a successor candidate before terminating incumbent</td>
<td>a. have an idea for a successor candidate before terminating incumbent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. interview all inside candidates</td>
<td>3. interview all inside candidates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. normal sequences: rational model (339-343)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Integrity</td>
<td>Model of Integrity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. failure to use promotional criteria jeopardizes integrity of promotional system</td>
<td>1. failure to use promotional criteria jeopardizes integrity of promotional system</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C. Others

| Abstract 'Large Corporation'                 | Model of Integrity                                                  |
| characteristics including number of employees, financial size | 1. need qualified professional managers |
Table 5-2 (cont'd)

II. Individual Entities

Head of Council

Social Psychological/Professional Self
1. desires, including particular secretary
2. political orientation, affiliation

Head, Planning Department

Administrative Style
holds, uses certain schemes of department organization

Respondent: a Successor Candidate

Professional Self
background knowledge

Model of Style
1. 'liberal' i.e. change organizational scheme

Successor

Professional Self

Model of Style
1. conservative - will act to maintain status quo

Predecessor

Professional Self (EF's Images)

Model of Style
1. far-sighted

Model of Integrity
1. very competent
2. integrity threatened by council's failure to implement his suggestions
3. council couldn't display his incompetence

Professional/Financial Self (Current)

Model of Integrity
1. runs own successful business, high salary and earnings
Table 5-2 (cont'd)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Council Member: Abstract Type</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Professional Self</strong></td>
<td>1. ideal: professional background with management skills relevant to large corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>actual: lacks corporate management skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Assistant Manager</strong></td>
<td>'grooming' position held for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.5 years by successor-to-be</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5-3

Schematic Entities Used in Describing the Firing of the
College President, Case 7:
Respondent 1, IJ, VB, Finance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Composite Entities</th>
<th>Common Language Descriptors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Focal Organization</td>
<td>The College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Integrity</td>
<td>1. the college needs good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>leadership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a. rapport between subunits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and the president is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>essential (278-280)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. the college needs a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>computer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. normal activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>disrupted by predecessor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. council's list of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>problems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. morale is low due to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Compliance</td>
<td>1. rules regarding petty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cash funds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. hierarchical model</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>including duties, authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. the college will</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>reimburse personnel for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>legitimate expense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. rules re major capital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>outlays, including</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>purchases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>1. there is a proper way(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>for superiors to interact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>with subordinates (282)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. there is a reasonable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>amount for presidential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>monthly expense account</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>charges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. there is a proper style</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of conduct for administrators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a. the financial officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>should not lie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. administrators should</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>consult colleagues when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>making important decisions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Subschemes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Integrity</td>
<td>1. council lacks integrity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(says Black): incompetent,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>don't meet ministerial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>expectations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5-3 (cont'd)

<p>| Model of Compliance | 1. various policies and rules |
| Model of Compliance | 2. council can hold in camera and 'in camera in camera' meetings |
| Model of Compliance | 3. council has the right to hire and terminate senior personnel |
| Model of Compliance | 4. Black will 'resign' gambit |
| Model of Style | 1. the president should appear at council meetings and should be sober |
| Council Subcommittee | 1. task is evaluate Black |
| Model of Functional Integrity | 1. informal rules regarding interviews |
| Succession Process: | 1. see council model, 2-4 |
| Model of Compliance | 2. severance pay outlined in Black's contract |
| Model of Integrity | 3. the dean is appointed acting president |
| Model of Style | 4. the dean's conditions as formal rules |
| Model of Style | 1. commonly the successor candidates apply for the position |
| Model of Style | 2. commonly the candidates are interviewed prior to selection |
| C. Other Entities | 1. gambling laws |
| Legal Order | 1. gambling laws |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Model of Style</th>
<th>Model of Integrity</th>
<th>Legislature or Government</th>
<th>Model of Compliance</th>
<th>Model of Style</th>
<th>Ministry of Higher Education</th>
<th>B.C. Educational System (an 'Old Boy Network')</th>
<th>Ontario 'Old Buddy System'</th>
<th>Faculty Union</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Family</strong></td>
<td>1. husbands should keep their wives informed of their whereabouts</td>
<td>1. marriage partners are interdependent</td>
<td><strong>Model of Compliance</strong></td>
<td>1. rules re purchase approvals</td>
<td>1. anything is approved if a minister proposes it</td>
<td><strong>Model of Compliance</strong></td>
<td>1. provides and monitors college finances</td>
<td>1. provides post-firing job for Black</td>
<td><strong>Model of Compliance</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Model of Style</strong></td>
<td>1. husbands should keep their wives informed of their whereabouts</td>
<td>1. marriage partners are interdependent</td>
<td><strong>Model of Compliance</strong></td>
<td>1. rules re purchase approvals</td>
<td>1. anything is approved if a minister proposes it</td>
<td><strong>Model of Compliance</strong></td>
<td>1. provides and monitors college finances</td>
<td>1. provides post-firing job for Black</td>
<td><strong>Model of Compliance</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Model of Integrity</strong></td>
<td>1. marriage partners are interdependent</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Model of Compliance</strong></td>
<td>1. rules re purchase approvals</td>
<td>1. anything is approved if a minister proposes it</td>
<td><strong>Model of Compliance</strong></td>
<td>1. provides and monitors college finances</td>
<td>1. provides post-firing job for Black</td>
<td><strong>Model of Compliance</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Legislature or Government</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Model of Compliance</strong></td>
<td>1. rules re purchase approvals</td>
<td>1. anything is approved if a minister proposes it</td>
<td><strong>Model of Compliance</strong></td>
<td>1. provides and monitors college finances</td>
<td>1. provides post-firing job for Black</td>
<td><strong>Model of Compliance</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Model of Compliance</strong></td>
<td>1. rules re purchase approvals</td>
<td>1. anything is approved if a minister proposes it</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Model of Compliance</strong></td>
<td>1. provides and monitors college finances</td>
<td>1. rules outlining search process, search committee membership</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 5-3 (cont'd)

#### II. Individual Entities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondent: Denouncer</th>
<th>IJ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional Self</td>
<td>VP, Finance (current)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>1. favors obeying rules, policy (751)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Integrity</td>
<td>1. integrity jeopardized when council sees his conflict with Black as a personality clash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Psychological Self</td>
<td>1. as perceived by council members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predecessor</td>
<td>Peter Black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Psychological Self</td>
<td>1. as perceived by council early on (positive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>2. deviant:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a. prefers to breach styles and rules</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. alcoholic (physiologically related) lacks common motives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. paranoid schizophrenic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>&quot;absolutely sick&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. game-player</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. often drunk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. lies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Integrity</td>
<td>1. Black needs medical treatment (council)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Self</td>
<td>history, background</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Integrity</td>
<td>1. incompetent: unable to make decisions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>1. disregards policies made by others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. fails to consult colleagues (improper)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. game-player</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. fails to show up at meetings: shows up drunk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5-3 (cont'd)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Financial Self</th>
<th>Successor</th>
<th>Ministry Official</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>Professional Self</td>
<td>#1: Professional Self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Model of Integrity</td>
<td></td>
<td>Model of Integrity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>Model of Style</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Psychological Self</td>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td></td>
<td>#2: Professional Self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(professionally related)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Social Psychological Self</td>
<td>Social Psychological Self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td></td>
<td>Council Members</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| Professional Self             | 1. gambles   | dean, academic                               | activities relevant to computer purchases |
| Model of Integrity            | 1. integrity damaging with loss pf credit | strong leader                              | 1. lacks skills, knowledge to be competent |
| Model of Style                | 1. (actual) gives political scheme precedence vs. (ideal) giving government organizational scheme precedence | consistent, leftist | 1. (actual) gives political scheme precedence vs. (ideal) giving government organizational scheme precedence |
|                               | 2. ignores colleagues' advice | | 2. ignores colleagues' advice |
| #2: Professional Self         | 1. activities re council appointments | 30+ years in B.C. education | 1. (Black) likes Black vs. (actual) just a nice guy |
| Social Psychological Self     | 1. (Black) likes Black vs. (actual) just a nice guy | | |
| Chairman: Model of Style      | weak leader | | |
| #1: Professional Self         | computer expert | | |
| #2: Professional Self         | psychiatric nurse | | |
| General: Professional Selves  | lack professional training, corporate management skills | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literary Character</th>
<th>character as metaphorical type for interpreting Black</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Succession Facilitators</td>
<td>council member #1, respondent IJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Succession Resistors</td>
<td>Focal actor/predecessor Black: council member #1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5-4

Schematic Entities Utilized in Describing Case 7:
Respondent 2, KL, Academic Dean and Former Acting Successor

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Composite Entities</th>
<th>Common Language Descriptors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Focal Organization</td>
<td>The College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Integrity</td>
<td>1. good administration is needed, including decision making (500)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. (Black) - will be similar to but better than CAT system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Compliance</td>
<td>1. hierarchical model: positions, duties, authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. (Black): career division faculty will work harder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. (successor): model of authority (459)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. creation of community education division</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. council lacked image of principal re exact duties, etc. (506-508)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>1. don't contradict subordinates or undermine their authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. principals don't pinch women's asses and display public drunkenness at conventions (516)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Subschemes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Integrity</td>
<td>1. council is incompetent (KL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. council ban hold secret meetings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Succession Process</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>1. one normally asks the successor candidate if he wants the position before promoting him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. check candidates' references</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 5-4 (cont'd)

| Model of Compliance | 1. Peter Black will resign  
|                     | 2. successor's demands |
| Faculty Union       | 1. rules outlining search process, committee  
|                     | 2. motion supporting promotion of KL |
| Model of Compliance | 1. husband should keep wife informed of his whereabouts |

### C. Other Entities

| Marriage: Model of Style | 1. used by Black, not shared by colleagues: resource for seeing college and getting a job after Black was fired |

| Ontario Scheme: CAT System | Models of Integrity, Compliance, Style |

### II. Individual Entities

| Respondent: Successor | Academic Dean: Acting Principal |
| Social Psychological Self | 1. emotionally wiped out after covering for Black  
| Model of Integrity | 2. lacks achievement motive re profession |
| Professional Self | history, background |
| Model of Style | 1. invoke rules as he sees fit  
| Model of Integrity | 1. goal of being chief executive officer changed after lack of success at gaining appointment  
| | 2. secure as dean, so being fired as acting president won't jeopardize |
Table 5-4 (cont'd)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predecessor</th>
<th>Social Psychological Self</th>
<th>Professional Self</th>
<th>Model of Integrity</th>
<th>Model of Style</th>
<th>'Principal' as General Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>deviant type: alcoholic</td>
<td>background</td>
<td>1. Black is incompetent (students, staff, admin., faculty, council) vs. his self-image</td>
<td>1. unable to implement decisions</td>
<td>1. council lacked image: Black thought he was doing great</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. brilliant (prior to relapse to alcoholism)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dean, Career Division

Professional Self

Administrators: Opposing Career Division Gambit

KL asks them for theory to explain predecessor's problems

Colleagues in Psychology

Jim Clark, Brian Andrews, Gerald Helmner, Academic Dean
descriptions and across the two cases. First, the focal organization is constructed in terms of the three models - integrity, compliance and style - in all descriptions. The compliance structure tends to receive greatest explication, although a sizeable number of characteristics of functional integrity are displayed. The model of style tends to receive the least explication, particularly in terms of phenomena not directly related to the succession process per se. Stylistic considerations seem to be more of a concern with images of the succession process and the social psychological and professional selves of various characters. This later is observed where members describe psychological and/or professional style in terms of the manner in which the character utilizes the compliance structure of the organization.

Indeed, one may conclude that, at least in cases of status degradation, the functional integrity and style of a character's self are important ways of describing the character and explaining his/her action, while characters are not seen as constituted by rules or compliance demands. Also, many of the characters are assigned various traits which include a background or history of the character. The background is perhaps relevant to the integrity of the character - what he or she is now as a 'whole entity' can be conceived to involve, be due to, and include one's training, history and skills. However, these descriptors tend to be presented by the respondent as essential background without obvious direct explication of an interpretive model being provided.

It seems then that PCE's are constructed not only in terms of explicit or explicable models, but also with descriptive characteristics such as an occupational history which provide supplemental, warranting evidence for the construction of interpretive models, and the researcher's or respondent's understanding of these. For example, knowing someone has a
certain job history, one can see the relevance of certain typifications and interpretive or causal models, such as the integrity typification of 'incompetent leader'. A falling career or a number of positions held for short durations are displayed by an occupational history, and provide retrospective support for the label and corresponding integrity model, as well as being a potential source of the original use of the typification i.e. anyone with that history must be incompetent. Certain verbal devices are thus not explicitly apparent as constitutive of one of the three interpretive models, but nonetheless provide contexts and background essential to their sensibility.

Table 5-5 summarizes, in theoretical terms, the PCE's found in both cases of degradation; for each case, a given respondent may have omitted one of the three models for a particular entity but, if so, the other respondent constructed it. The table thus displays the minimum collection of entities constitutive of a description, and the core entities which seem essential to an adequate or sensible explanation, as implied by their use in all descriptions. Other entities, e.g. social institutions effected such as 'the family' are supplemental to the core - they may effect or be effected by succession but they are not universally present or invariably necessary, or necessarily described. One can provide a case description which is coherent and complete - which we assume is an implicit assumption and criterion members employ in doing describing - by constructing and assembling that set of entities as a 'case'. The set is unique to status degradation with its inclusion of denouncers and resisters of degradation. This category could be collapsed into a category of 'succession producers' and in this slightly more general form of the table would be a suitable summary of core entities one would expect to populate all types of descriptions.
**Table 5-5**

Programmatically Constructed Entities Common to Cases of Status Degradation

I. **Composite Entities**

A. Focal Organization
   - Model of Integrity
   - Model of Compliance
   - Model of Style

B. Subschemes:
   - Subunits involved in succession
     2-3 models
   - Succession process
     2-3 models

C. Other Entities involved in activities which relate directly or indirectly to succession
   2-3 models

II. **Individual Entities**: characters and positions

   - Respondent
   - Predecessor
   - Successor and Candidates
   - Denouncers of Incumbent: Succession Facilitators
     Social Psychological and Professional Selves: Two Models, Integrity and Style
   - Resisters of Degradation
   - Position Incumbents as 'Ideal' Images
This discussion of programatically constructed entities provides a logical point of departure for evaluating the propositions from Gephart (1978) and chapter one which relate directly to status degradation. Proposition 5 from Gephart (1978) which is presented in the introduction to this chapter, specifies conditions where status degradation is accomplished. The first condition is that an organizational scheme be constructed and displayed as relevant to some member's behavior. This aspect is confirmed in the cases and descriptions in this chapter. In all cases the focal organization was constructed as a resource for the description. And an organizational scheme is indicated in all cases as a necessary resource in accomplishing succession. Thus in case six we found that respondent one regarded the predecessor as a 'stumbling block - too rigid, no changes' in terms of his utilization of the personnel organizational scheme. Yet it was the scheme used by denouncers, who conceived of a modified scheme of the personnel department, which allowed them to interpret the behavior as problematic rather than properly conforming to organizational demands. Respondent 2 notes that the government was undergoing a political redirection i.e. a change in the schematic entity which the predecessor, as incumbent, was resisting. The 'new' scheme allows one to see the incumbent as a problem to its integrity i.e. it could not function and be implemented with him as the incumbent. Further the new governmental chief held an image including proper subordinate style which the incumbent breached by failing to certify a secretary. Case 7 also supports the proposition segment: we found council had a number of meetings in which the major topic was deciding what the organization should be, in terms of the office of the president, and this was necessary before they could decide what was wrong with the current incumbent.

The second condition, which is also confirmed or supported by the
data, is the use of the organizational scheme to display the members' behavior as problematic in terms of models of integrity, compliance and style. The evidence from case one is outlined above: basically the new politically redirected scheme was jeopardized by the incumbent, he was a stumbling block, and he violated stylistic considerations. The evidence is even clearer in the college case (case 7) where we find that faculty, staff, students and administrators perceived the incumbent as disrupting and damaging organizational integrity. The improper computer process he engineered violated compliance demands of the provincial government and the college, as well as stylistic considerations. His behavior breached other expectations and considerations, including general notions of proper public comportment. He was a deviant motivational type - game-player, alcoholic, rule violator, liar, etc. - although many of the typifications are interpretable from schemes other than the organizational scheme. Further, in both cases 6 and 7 the incumbent was constructed as a social psychological and professional self, and these constructions supplemented and complemented the organizational scheme. The more general proposition (3) in chapter one which proposes construction of PCE's of various unspecified types is thus useful. The incumbent's behavior was problematic and/or explicable not just from the organizational scheme, but in terms of other schemes as well. The Gephart (1978) proposition is thus supported but is not as general as such a proposition could be. A combination of the two propositions may be warranted.

Finally, the third condition is that the organizational scheme (proposition 5) or the PCE (current theory) provides status degradation as the appropriate outcome of the incumbent's behavior. Case 6 supports the condition in proposition 5: the obvious thing to do to remove a stumbling block is to fire him. Yet one may argue that this 'solution'
is not explicit in the organizational scheme although the mechanisms for accomplishing this would be explicit rules. The solution of degradation is thus more of a derivation. Nonetheless, as the new scheme included the notion that the incumbent did not 'fit' its needs, the removal or forced retirement of the incumbent - both being pre-existent schematic options with mechanisms for producing these - was an obvious derivation. And the constitutive elements of the new scheme included an 'image of the suitable head' which the incumbent did not match. Actualization of the new scheme thus presupposed his removal.

The general statement (proposition 3, chapter one) is perhaps more useful here - its third condition indicates the outcome of the activity or concern required by the schematic interpretation is constitutive of succession. In this case, the rigid behavior caused concern; removing this rigidity clearly requires a new incumbent. AB indicated he tried to get the incumbent to change, but he wouldn't. So the only option is replacement, and this necessarily entails degradation as the incumbent did not die, was some temporal distance from retirement, and did not seem likely to voluntarily retire. However, due to the incumbent's proximity to retirement, 'forced early retirement' rather than simple firing, was the viable option.

Case 7 also supports the third condition of these propositions. Once it was agreed that the incumbent damaged integrity, and violated rules and style, implementation of a 'suitable' actualized scheme presupposed removing him. However this agreement was necessarily negotiated, and in so doing, members had to form a clearer image of the organization. Respondent 2, KL, summarized things nicely by saying that the council didn't know how to do the degradation i.e. they had no a priori apparatus for accomplishing this. A new incumbent was a constitutive aspect
of the generally accepted 'suitable' scheme, and in implementing this, members produced not only a degraded predecessor, but also a scheme contingent means of producing degraded predecessors.

The next relevant proposition or corollary states that the specific cause of predecessor departure will be explained in terms of the relationship between the organization as a model of compliance, and the predecessor's social psychological self. Proposition 5 (discussed above) outlines a range of causes or reasons for removing the predecessor. The present proposition regarding the specific cause is oriented to a core or 'immediate' cause one would expect to find common to all case descriptions.

In case 6, respondent 1 (AB: see Table 5-1) noted that the predecessor was forced out because his rigid and defensive professional style prevented or interfered with implementation of a new organizational scheme and thereby prevented it from functioning. Thus the functional integrity of the new scheme was disrupted or prevented from arising. The second respondent in the case noted that the professional activities of the predecessor (his professional style) interfered with implementation of a 'politically redirected' organizational scheme (see Table 5-2). The immediate or temporally prior cause of departure ('the nail in the coffin') was a violation of the stylistic expectations of proper subordinate behavior which occurred where the predecessor refused to certify as a candidate his superior's preferred secretary.

Case 7 respondents both located an important cause of predecessor departure in the predecessor's incompetence (problematic professional self integrity) which jeopardized the functional integrity of the organization (see Tables 5-3 and 5-4). Respondent 1 noted the immediate cause was the computer purchase affair, where the predecessor violated formal compliance demands of the legislature and the college, various stylistic
considerations and so on. The second respondent did not identify any particular immediate cause. Clearly members perceived causation as complex, and provided numerous other reasons which warranted the degradation.

It seems then that the proposition corollary is not supported by our data. However the matter is complicated. Respondent 2 in case 6 noted that the council was unable to prove malfeasance of duty or incompetence of the predecessor; the former problem - malfeasance - would involve proving rule violations. And the departure was formally regarded as an early retirement so perhaps a status degradation proposition is not entirely appropriate here, despite the fact members comprehended the events as firing. The proposition may work in 'pure type cases' such as case seven where the evidence is more supported, although case 7 respondents emphasized the professional self of the actor rather than his social psychological self. However the proposition is not contradicted as it was originally formed prior to developing the concept of professional self as distinct from the concept of social psychological self (despite overlapping substances at certain points, as noted in earlier chapters). Hence the term, as used in the proposition, would subsume the professional self. We should also note again that one respondent did not see a 'single' specific cause, and in all cases multiple causes and reasons were provided.

The proposition corollary has thus served its orienting purpose but is insufficiently supported as a general tool. Moving beyond this inadequate formulation, I would suggest that one cannot hypothesize a specific, single cause common to all status degradations. One can, however, expect to find all degradations in organizational settings to involve construction of the professional self of the social actor, and demonstration that his performance jeopardizes organizational functional integrity. A number of other causes and reasons are also likely to be noted,
and the case specific collection of these will vary among cases, although PCE's will be drawn from a limited set of PCE's.

The final proposition to be analyzed concerns the selection of a successor, who is proposed to be chosen because he or she, as a social psychological self (and professional self - recall the current explication of the self types) embodies the organizational scheme and derived characteristics enforced in accomplishing degradation. In case 6, respondent 1 noted the successor was a 'good man', i.e. professionally competent, and that the ideal candidate the organization needed would be creative and flexible, whereas the predecessor was rigid and defensive. Presumably the successor was flexible as he had been informally chosen well in advance to meet organizational needs. The presumption is also borne out in an unreported segment of dialogue where the respondent indicated the successor was becoming somewhat rigid, thus must not have been so at the time of his promotion.

Respondent 2 in case 6 reported that the successor was chosen because the manager wanted to "keep the personnel department low key and noncontroversial; he'd had enough problems" (359) with the obviously controversial predecessor and wished to avoid more problems. The successor thus would display or provide an image of the personnel department that was antithetical vis-a-vis controversy, with the department as it was perceived under the predecessor's direction. Further, the predecessor was removed to make way for a politically redirected change in the organization and I would expect council's handpicked and groomed successor probably did not interfere with such changes.

Case 7 respondents also provide some evidence relevant to the

---

1 The dialogue was not reported as it was somewhat sensitive and difficult to edit.
proposition regarding successor choice. Respondent 1 noted that the successor was the only person who could be promoted to solve the problems the predecessor had created and/or failed to solve, and that the problem list was reduced to zero in the eighteen months of his acting status. Clearly his professional self was antithetical to the predecessor's in terms of competence, and the predecessor was removed because he lacked competence. There is also no evidence of deviant social psychological tendencies on the part of the successor which characterized the predecessor i.e. alcoholic, gambler, etc. The list of antithetical traits could be extended: put simply, the successor's professional performance enhanced the functional integrity of the organization, and he also was positively characterized on extra organizational aspects.

The second respondent in case 7 was the successor himself. Unfortunately he doesn't elaborate on the reasons he was promoted, although we do find he had 'covered' for the predecessor and worked very hard to handle essential matters the predecessor failed to deal with. He thus attempted to maintain the functional integrity of the college while the predecessor was destroying it. Clearly he embodied or met needs of the organization which the predecessor did not, and for the lack of which the predecessor was fired.

The proposition thus receives a great deal of support in all cases, although it could be elaborated to emphasize the importance of the professional self (and the antithetical constructions of predecessor and successor characters) of the successor. Further, the proposition originally proposed by Gephart (1978) is elaborated in chapter one, and explicitly notes the successor will be chosen because he or she contributes to functional integrity. This aspect is an important one emphasized in the descriptions by members.
Stages in Status Degradation. Tables 5-6 through 5-9 summarize the major events, in chronological sequence, which were reported in each case description. The tables indicate that in cases of succession due to status degradation the formal appointment of a successor occurs after the degradation and departure of the predecessor. In case 6, a likely successor candidate was informally selected and groomed in advance, so his formal promotion was rather simple to enact. But as respondent 1, AB noted, the prior availability of a next in line position incumbent occurred because the succession was originally predictable and planned as a retirement at maximum age. The forced early retirement actually disrupted the intended sequence and time allowed for grooming. Thus in Table 5-6 we find two 'what next' stages where members discuss and plan for successor selection. The first of these stages provided the position and incumbent for solving the successor choice problem after the anticipated retirement. This solved the problem of finding a successor in the second 'what next' stage following the stage where succession became a (re)considered possibility in the form of status degradation. If retirement had not been expected, discussed, and anticipated problems solved, then no 'groomed successor' candidate would have been available prior to predecessor departure. The selection of an adequate candidate may have been much more difficult, and this difficulty is probably characteristic of a significant proportion of status degradations where retirement is not a predictable possibility and hence no (or little) successor planning and grooming is conducted prior to the actual degradation.

Respondent 2 (EF: see Table 5-7) also intimated that the succession followed a rational plan, although he does not mention expected retirement as the initiating factor for the plans. Indeed, the planfulness is a retrospective assessment based on 1) the appointment of the 'predecessor
Table 5-6

Stages in Succession due to Firing the Department Head, Case 6: Respondent 1, AB

I. Presuccession

II. Succession considered possible
   1. forthcoming retirement of head is discussed

III. What next?
   1. org. scheme's simple solution - AB - informally offered and declined position
   2. AB suggests Denning as candidate
   3. "grooming" position created: Denning appointed to it, groomed

IV. Succession considered possible
   1. head becomes persona non grata

V. What next?
   1. Denning as successor candidate is found to be 'ready' informal choice
   2. AB, manager and council start proceedings to remove head
   3. 'Predecessor to be' informed he lacks confidence of council

VI. Predecessor resigns or retires 'early' and departs

VII. Successor formally appointed and assumes duties

VIII. Post succession
Table 5-7

Stages in Succession due to Firing the Department Head, Case 6: Respondent EF

---

I. Presuccession phase
   1. new council elected: makes it clear 'changes' will be made
   2. two other administrators fired

II. Succession becomes a considered possibility, and 'What next?'
   1. successor 'to be' appointed as assistant government manager
   2. in camera discussions
   3. newspaper leaks
   4. head refuses to certify chief's preferred personal secretary candidate
   5. head's proposals to council not enacted

III. What next?
   1. candidates interviewed
   2. manager recommends successor candidate to council

V. Successor assumes duties as permanent head

VI. Post succession
   1. Predecessor starts own company - it becomes successful

\(^1\) relative position in temporal sequence of stage is not clear from respondent's description
Table 5-8

Stages in the Firing of a College President, Case 7:
Respondent 1, IJ, VP, Finance

I. Presuccession
1. see case 4, Chapter 5
2. predecessor to be (principal) encounters problems
   a. management related
   b. social psychological self: alcoholism
   c. violates compliance demands, generally shared conceptions of style
3. predecessor acting as group agent accomplishes computer purchase: violates focal organizational and governmental compliance demands and conceptions of style
   a. external agency sanctions focal organization
4. denouncers emerge: communicate dissatisfaction with principal to council, official succession producing agency

II. Succession Becomes a Considered Possibility
1. Council begins in camera sessions deliberating how to handle principal
2. principal attempts to influence external agency (ministry) to replace denouncing council members
   a. members informed of his attempts
   b. principal violates general conceptions of proper style by lying to succession producing agency

III. Status Degradation of Predecessor
1. formal gambit to fire president made at meeting of council (succession producing agency) and discussed
2. formal gambit tabled (February)
   a. committee formed to investigate: interviews administrators
   b. new council appointed: old members, including primary denouncer on council are removed
   c. farewell party for departing council members: major topic is forthcoming status degradation of principal
3. new council passes formal gambit: predecessor degraded at evening meeting
4. chairman informs predecessor of his status change

IV. Predecessor Departs

V. What Next? Successor Selected
1. successor to be hears he may be promoted
2. 24 hours later council meets
   a. chairman moves dean be appointed acting president (successor)
   b. dean interrupts meeting - provides conditions
   c. gambit formalized: dean becomes acting president: successor has arrived
VI. Post Succession
1. predecessor given one year's severance pay
2. external agency (ministry) sanctions council for improperly large severance pay - initially refuses to pay cost overrun it causes
3. successor lives out term of office
   a. reduces list of problems - integrity threats
I. Presuccession Phase

1. incumbent encounters professional (management) and social psychological (alcoholism) problems: violates rules, stylistic considerations

2. incumbent begins to disappear unexpectedly
   a. deans realize college integrity is jeopardized
   b. deans take over incumbent's duties

II. Succession Becomes a Considered Possibility

1. council begins evaluative meetings

2. complaints from college subunits continue to build

3. incumbent continues to violate rules, stylistic concerns: organizational integrity continues to decline

III. Status Degradation Accomplished

1. council meets March 25: votes during in camera meeting to terminate incumbent effective April 30

IV. What next? Successor is Selected, Arrives

1. predecessor to be learns he may be promoted, March 25

2. gambit to appoint KL acting principal passed at in camera meeting the day after the predecessor was degraded (March 26)

3. after motion passes, successor makes gambits re conditions of promotion: council approves these
   a. rule: predecessor has no authority from present to April 30

V. Post Succession

1. predecessor departs, gets job in other organization but is terminated there
to be' to a next in line, grooming position, and 2) the rapid promotion where the search and interview process departed from the normal model, as certain steps were deleted. It is thus intimated that some 'what next' phase occurred rather early in the sequence and prior to predecessor departure. But this is only a 'suspicion' to the respondent who does not elaborate details, and a more formal and visible 'what next' occurs after predecessor departure. This involves the formal search and promotion process.

The second respondent does note other cases of status degradation where the 'what next' stage clearly occurred after predecessor departure: i.e. where "they didn't have anyone identified to succeed" (case 6, respondent 2: 245). Such cases are similar to case 7 involving the college (see Tables 5-8 and 5-9). In this case the status degradation preceded the 'what next' stage. Thus at the time of predecessor removal, the choice of a successor had not been a generally visible or discussed topic. The successor's selection was more or less post hoc and was impelled by the obvious need for an incumbent. It therefore does not approximate a rational plan: the problem was not anticipated and solved before it arose but rather was solved because it currently existed and demanded solution. Fortunately a single, suitable candidate (as conceived by members) existed, so the successor problem was readily solved: "we said well who else but this person can now become acting principal" (case 7, respondent 1: 441).

It is possible that if the successor candidate had not been available or had refused the position, that some other 'one and only suitable' candidate would have been defined. However it seems more likely that council would have had a more difficult time solving the problem, that locating a successor would have required more time and negotiation, and thus that
organizational functioning would have been disrupted even more. Perhaps the decision to remove the predecessor was made only after a likely successor candidate was located informally. This is certainly an interesting question to pose generally in future research. But even if it did and generally does emerge in this way, the succession occurs rapidly and under some pressure. In the present case there was little room for or evidence of contingency plans in the event the candidate refused. There was a great potential for the occurrence of significant, difficult to solve problems deriving from the problematics of successor choice.

We see then that successor selection follows status degradation of the incumbent, at least formally. It does not seem sensible to visibly and/or formally appoint a successor without having a reason, which is located by the anticipated departure of a predecessor. And I hold a general stylistic notion that it is distasteful to generally and/or publicly announce an intended degradation prior to accomplishing this. Respondent EF supports this in case 6 by indicating leaks from in camera council sessions which indicated a forthcoming status degradation were distasteful and part of a 'butcher job of the worst magnitude' which characterized the forced removal. To select and announce, formally, that a successor was chosen where no obvious reason for, or anticipation of, predecessor departure exists, suggests by default that degradation is imminent. Such a suggestion, located prior to formal degradation, would be regarded as stylistically improper and hence is distasteful.

The sequence of succession events in status degradation is thus constrained by social convention. Where conventions are violated, morale and other aspects of an organization are effected, as EF notes by saying the 'butcher job' of degradation 'left a bad taste in a lot of mouths'. Yet rapid solution of the successor problem is conceivably integral to
continued functional integrity of the organization and may therefore warrant planning. Plans in degradation cases must be covert and secretive, and thus are further constrained. I am therefore suggesting that the timing of predecessor degradation and successor selection which characterizes status degradation based succession provides potential for numerous problems which are not displayed by these data and which require future research. For example, in the rush to find a successor, a poor candidate may be the best one and so may be hurriedly promoted. It may then be difficult to remove this incumbent. The data in this study are limited in richness and range, and merely suggest common sequences and processes which one could hope to observe more adequately in a future study. One therefore needs to examine a wider range of more detailed cases to answer some of the questions which emerge from this study.

CONCLUSIONS

Status degradation is a complex form of organizational succession where ideal and operative organizational images are negotiated and may be extensively modified as a result of the degradation. Of course these more extensive modifications are probably most frequent where the degradation involves high level incumbents such as the department head or the college president discussed in this chapter. Research on status degradation of lower level employees is warranted because the present research and other studies have not examined such degradations.

Despite the various (and inevitable) limitations of the present research, many conclusions are available which should guide future researchers. A more adequate status degradation model which elaborates the earlier model (proposed in Gephart, 1978) may now be outlined.
"Proposition 8-1: Succession in the form of status degradation is explained by members, and occurs, where certain entities are programmatically constructed, including

1. a focal organizational suprascheme.
2. a focal organizational structure, where the incumbent 'resides'.
3. an incumbent, with a professional self; an image of the social psychological and other selves of the incumbent may also be constructed, but these are supplementary whereas the professional self is a necessary construction subsuming behavior-event-context assemblages of central interest.
4. certain characters who function as succession producers or agents by virtue of their location in the organizational hierarchy.
5. certain characters who denounce the incumbent and initiate the degradation ceremony.
6. (optional): certain characters who resist the degradation.
7. successor candidates, with professional selves: other selves may also be constructed but these are 'optional'.

Proposition 5-2: The organizational scheme is displayed and generally agreed upon as a relevant interpretational scheme for some activity-event-context assemblage(s) linked to the incumbent.

Corollary 5-2-1: The activity-(behavior)-event-context assemblage is displayed by the organizational scheme as problematic to or inconsistent with the scheme's model of integrity. That is, the assemblage is shown to characterize the focal actor and to jeopardize the functional integrity of the organization.

Corollary 5-2-2: The organization may also be constructed as a model of compliance and/or a model of style, which the incumbent, as a professional and/or social psychological self contravenes.

Corollary 5-2-3: The solution to the problematic behavior-event-context assemblage - i.e. suitable or ideal state of affairs indicated by schematic models - implies, presupposes, and warrants removal of the incumbent. Thus incumbent removal is derived from the organizational scheme as a means of rectifying problematic aspects of the scheme.
Proposition 5-3: Status degradation as the form of predecessor departure occurs

1. after the necessity of departure is negotiated in the form of a warranting organizational scheme.

2. where alternative departure modes are not available or feasible.

3. where compliance demands allowing status degradation are constructed as part of the organizational scheme.

Proposition 5-4: Status degradation of an incumbent (and the description of it) includes demonstration that the incumbent has a history of being a type of self which is regarded by denouncers as problematic. That is, the self is a continuous, recurrent and continuingly problematic entity.

Proposition 5-5: The selection of a successor is explained primarily in terms of an image of his or her professional self which is displayed as 1) antithetical to the predecessor's image and 2) a positive match with the requirements, demands or needs of the organizational scheme.

Corollary 5-5-1: Characteristics assembled in self images which explain successor selection include those characteristics made salient in accomplishing or explaining predecessor departure.

Corollary 5-5-2: Successor selection explanations may also include constructions of other selves of the successor which are shown to be antithetical to salient characteristics of the predecessor's selves.

Proposition 5-6: In succession involving status degradation, the formal selection of a successor occurs after the predecessor is degraded i.e. after his or her forthcoming termination is formally demanded by a degradation gambit."

We may conclude, then, that the propositions proposed by Gephart (1978) and in the first chapter of this dissertation were useful as orienting resources, but required explication to fit them to the details of the present empirical data.
Chapter 6

RETIREMENT AND SUCCESSION

Recent succession literature has failed to explicitly consider retirement as a substantive form of predecessor departure involved in organizational succession (e.g. see Helmich, 1974, for a succession literature review which fails to mention retirement). However, earlier research and practitioner oriented studies have addressed retirement as a central topic of concern. Thus Christensen (1953) focused on retirement of entrepreneurs as a particularly problematic period in new and growing corporations. His research suggests that in such organizations procedures, rules, plans, and candidates are often lacking because the succession process has not previously been undertaken in the highest office. Retiring entrepreneurs and colleagues are advised to plan for retirement, that is, to construct interpretive schemes of the organization which furnish criteria and means for choosing a successor. Lack of pre-existent, shared schemes of the organization and the ideal and/or suitable successor are the central problems, averted by rational construction of these schemes accomplished in succession planning.

Barfield and Morgan (1969) conducted a policy study which is relevant to succession theory. Their questionnaire research focused on how the retirements and plans of employees in the auto industry (UAW members) were effected by a liberalized early retirement benefit package. While the major concerns of the study were related to the effects of benefit packages on the frequency of early retirements and the satisfaction of retirees, some evidence is produced which suggests how members conceive and explain the causes of both 'early' and 'regular' retirements. The researchers found the decision to retire early is principally related to expected retirement income - in our terms, the financial self of the retiree.
Early retirement was secondarily related to respondents' subjective evaluation of their health. In the terms of the present theory, one can note that where the respondent had a self image including an endangered integrity of his or her physiological self, early retirement was likely.

Other 'causes' of early retirement were located within institutional schemes - where the respondent enjoyed recreational activities early retirement was likely. Thus the respondent invoked schemes other than the work organization to locate him (her) self, and to provide activities and meaning for post retirement life. Finally, dissatisfaction with the job is cited as a cause of early retirement. This suggests early retirement may, in some cases, be understood as a form of voluntary resignation as suggested in chapter four.

The research by Barfield and Morgan (1969) clearly outlines causal factors relevant to early retirement, and their results may be interpreted within our current theoretical framework. But their survey research design fails to display how these 'causes' are constructed and assigned by members, how causes are embedded in the talk and background knowledge of members, and thus how the causes are used as pragmatic resources which are integral to talking about and making sense of succession. Their research treats the causes as facts and fails to provide a theoretical understanding of the means of fact production or the meanings of the 'facts' to the members involved in producing research relevant responses.

The present research study attempts to overcome these limitations by focusing directly on the contexted production of causes of retirement - causes which, when constructed, are embedded in specific case descriptions of succession events. Finding or providing causes of succession is thus treated as part of a sensemaking endeavor and this sensemaking is our pri-
mary consideration rather than the facts per se treated as if they were independent of sensemaking processes.

Chapter one outlines the theoretical structure for this inquiry, and provides certain propositions which supplement the proposed causes ascertained by Barfield and Morgan (1969). It was proposed (corollary 3-4, chapter one) that retirement is explained by 1) constructing the organizational scheme as an entity providing for retirement and may also involve 2) constructing an image of the physiological self of the 'retiree to be' and 3) constructing certain institutions such as the family, which provide reasons for retirement. It was also noted in the discussion in chapter one that early retirement in particular is explained by constructing an image of the physiological self of the predecessor. Failure to take early retirement may be explained by constructing an image of the financial self of the incumbent which indicates retirement would jeopardize the integrity of this financial self. Failure to take early retirement may also be explained by an organizational scheme which shows retirement of the individual jeopardizes the functional integrity of the organization.

The causes of succession due to retirement, as explained by members, are summarized in the following substantive proposition.

**Proposition: Succession due to retirement**

1. is explained by members through constructing a scheme of the organization as a model of compliance (set of rules) outlining retirement.

2. involves predecessor departure, and this departure (or failure to depart) may be explained by one or more of the following schemes:
   a. an image of the financial integrity, physiological integrity, and/or the social psychological/motivational self of the prospective retiree (predecessor).
   b. a model of the functional integrity of the organization.
   c. institutional schemes within which the prospective retiree is or may be located.
This chapter will examine the adequacy of the above proposition, as well as others outlined in chapter one. Corollary 3-5 is particularly relevant here as it proposes that the choice of a successor is explained by members as a match between salient aspects of the organizational scheme and the social psychological self of the successor.

The data presented and analyzed in the present chapter include several cases of succession due to retirement. It is important to note here that only one case of retirement was reported by respondents in the college organization, and this case is provided below. The college, according to members, has relatively young employees and this standard image suggests why few retirements have occurred there; no one is old enough to qualify for retirement in terms of organizational rules which provide a minimum age for it. However in the governmental organization several retirements were described and it seems to be a reasonably common mode of departing a position in the government. Thus only a subset of reported cases from the government are discussed below. The cases which are included were selected because they relate to cases and subunits discussed in other chapters. Excluded cases included those which were regarded by respondents as politically sensitive and/or were cases which require presentation of information that would jeopardize the anonymity of respondents and their organization. Let us turn now to the presentation and analysis of the empirical material constituting the cases.

THE PLANNED EARLY RETIREMENT OF THE PL DEPARTMENT HEAD.

Chapter three included discussion of case 1, the untimely death of the PL Department Head. It was noted there that the head was planning to retire early, but his death disrupted this plan. One respondent - EF, the Director of Employee Training - discussed this retirement plan.
you mentioned that the director who passed away was planning to retire early

uh that's correct yep

any particular reason he was retiring early?

ok why was he retiring early yup he'd had it right up to his eyeballs with um shall I say bureaucratic folderail that was necessary the other thing is that I think its um fair to say this that he was an old timer so to speak uh manager whose drive and management skills and expertise were perhaps not up to snuff with what perhaps uhh senior management that is say the manager and council might have expected out of that organization [m hm]

so that it was a two fold kind of thing but he'd had the biscuit too with uh it was an environmental impact he just wanted to get the hell out [m hm]

and we talked about it as a matter of fact he and I talked about it at some length [m hm]

uh I've spent quite a number of hours together with him talking about these things and he recognized both facets that he'd had it to some extent uh council and the manager were ready for a new man at the top [m hm]

so it was the two things there was a hell of a lot of fish around over the past three years or so and it was in a critical area one that was very very much in the public eye [mm]

and so any time there were public criticisms that went to council uhhmm council came back to this fellow or committees of council or whatever and it was difficult for him the new guy he'll be able to take it uhh he'll handle things in a different way this introduces the other aspect now [m hm]

um dynamic fellow um good decision maker a leader and a driver he's got a fair amount of ambition uh likes to run his own show and isn't afraid to step forward and do something and if its wrong ok he takes the crack on the knuckles [m hm]

but uhh he's not going to sit back and do nothing simply because somebody's liable to tread on his toes that's the way he is now [m hm]

what the environment does to him uhhh later I don't know [m hm]

Analysis. The selection begins with the researcher locating it and linking it to earlier conversation (63). The respondent offers reasons or causes of the planned early retirement. First, the organization is constructed: the construction is somewhat vague but includes the obviously
problematic characteristic of "bureaucratic folderall" (66). Folderall may involve the model of style or various compliance demands, but this is not made explicit: what is explicit is that the predecessor's image is one wherein the organization is problematic in terms of the constraints and demands it imposed on the predecessor. The professional self (skills and expertise) and related social psychological characteristics of the predecessor (drive) are noted: the image(s) council and the manager held of a suitable incumbent did not match their image of the actual incumbent. The predecessor is provided with an implied motivation, manifest in his plan to retire and "get the hell out" (68). One could conceive of the bureaucratic folderall as dissatisfying, and a hedonistic motivation is operative - retire and avoid these dissatisfactions.

EF is concerned with displaying that the basis of his knowledge of the retirement plans was adequate - the information was obtained directly from the predecessor (70, 74) over the course of extended contacts with him. Thus it is shown to be warranted as "factual" rather than mere heresy or speculation on his own part. Warranting the factual status of this information also involves implicit construction of the respondent's self: as a hearer of the other's utterances, he was therefore a friend and/or work associate of the other.

The desire of two entities - council and the manager - is sensible, not merely because of a mismatch between an ideal and the actual incumbent, but also because the position and incumbent are visible to the public (76). Thus one may indicate the incumbent, as a group agent, provides information and activities which are composed by outsiders into an image of the organization. When these outsiders perceived an unfavorable or problematic image, this was communicated to council which in turn presented these or their implications to the incumbent thus making things difficult for him
Thus it seems council was disturbed by the images outsiders held of the PL Department which were based on outsiders' observations of the department head, and had a common style of dealing with the complaints.

The successor is shown to be the antithesis of the predecessor in terms of social psychological characteristics related to his professional self and conduct; whereas the predecessor could not handle criticisms, we find the successor is described as a professional self with stylistic characteristics that may allow him to overcome the problems faced by his predecessor. In any event, his professional self leads to activities the predecessor did not undertake, and which are salient in terms of the description of the problematic aspects of the predecessor (78-82). However, EF refutes a purely internal psychological determination of the style of the professional self by noting it may be environmentally modified (84).

CASE 8: THE RETIREMENT OF THE ASSISTANT ENGINEER IN CHARGE OF THE HIGHWAYS DIVISION, GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION

Respondent: CD, Senior Personnel Consultant

the first one that came to my mind involved the promotion of an individual to an assistant engineer position. We have five assistant engineers as well as a deputy engineer and a chief engineer [mm]

each one of these assistants looks after a complete division. This happened to be the highways division. Now the reason for the vacancy occurring was because the existing assistant engineer was retiring uh the person that went into the position was the highway engineer that is a branch head within that particular division uh the reasoning behind it was uh the most suitable and best qualified person to go into that particular position, the highways branch being the major branch within the division uh that position being the senior branch head, the individual having a background in the streets also having been the materials branch head before that. He was the most appropriate insider candidate to apply for the job uh now I could say some further things about that in that although he went into the position he was not what I would consider an ideal candidate for the position uh now that may be confusing ok? let me explain: although he was the most appropriate internal candidate for that position if we had wanted to go to the outside and look further I think we could have come up with someone better [m hmm]
the person in mind has some difficulty when it comes to communication skills and this is oral communications and in writing and at the division head level this is even more important than at the branch head level.

and assistant city engineers come in direct contact with council as well they have to be very adept on their feet and be able to think on their feet and this person that's his Achilles tendon or weakness he's just not good in that area. Now the reasoning that we did not go to the outside uh I would say 75 percent of it was based upon the chief engineer not wanting to to look further than internal candidates and feeling that he could exist with that particular weakness in this individual. Nothing was ever done along the lines say to better prepare this man for that - in other words it's been recognized since his branch head days back in in materials that his verbal skill was just not there was not being developed so nothing was done to better equip that man through the years to reach a position when he did apply to be assistant city engineer to have you know compensated for some of that weakness uh now maybe because this is the first one that I've sort of said to you what other types of things do you want to know about it uh this is a good time.

for you to ask me something.

anything that you think is relevant. It to some extent interested in uh the selection process and also notification uh some of the problems that arise when people move up positions there in how do people find out they've been promoted now but that's

oh yea ok all of the positions within this organization uh all permanent positions are posted uh this is an internal posting process - there are about 52 different what are called posting boards in various locations throughout the organization some here at headquarters some in the Department X Board some in health units and all permanent vacancies are posted on these boards union and nonunion positions all of these positions are posted for a period of seven days to allow internal applicants to apply first and uh especially with union positions where we're working under a collective agreement consideration first has to be given to uh people already employed by the government and working within the same part bargaining unit. On a position like this that's excluded from the union we're not under that same type of situation where we have to but we generally will look first at internal applicants on a position like this when it was posted. The way it was handled was I went to Bill Jones the chief engineer and said, "Bill, should we advertise this position concurrent with the internal posting" in other words should we take a look at what's available on the outside as well as what's promotable from within and uh the chief engineer's comment was no let's initially look at the inside candidates that come in and there was a couple of other branch heads that applied for this position as well but uh they just did not have the background for this particular division head position.

you mean generally technical expertise and in particular
technical expertise in one uh probably in the main because this particular division head is still very much a technical division head you know not an administrator per se you know without having to uh know that much detail about the technical ongoings in the branch so it was important that the person have a pretty sound background re highway construction that was the sort of the main technical component and uh some of the applicants had nothing related to that at all so really the only candidate was this one person I mentioned the materials branch head who had moved to highways branch and was promoted up to the division head position uh anything further on that one?

yes I was wondering so once you have all the applicants that then does does personnel services become involved is it just generally a matter or entirely a matter for the chief engineer or I just wondered what they

ok the difference with levels of positions ok [m hmm]

uh let's say I was looking at a lower level position such as an engineering assistant II. In that particular case personnel has more sort of complete control or complete involvement. We establish sort of a pattern to be used with the department on those level of positions - we know the qualifications uh we would advertise the position, collect the applications, select an initial group for testing and interview, test, interview, records check and supply the department with what we consider to be the three best ok? that's how we work almost with all union positions say and at a lower level when we get to position like this that are you know pretty senior positions uh pay grade 38 you're looking at thirty five thousand dollars a year [mmm]

and up we involve the department right from the start uh its much more of a mutual step by step process working together with the department rather than personnel doing things in isolation [m hm]

so as I mentioned right at the start we would discuss with the department whether or not we should advertise at the same time [mmm]

I would initially get the applications I would go through them usually make a sort based on paper submission just by saying you know group one candidates uh appear to be best because of technical experience, supervisory skills, additional training this kind of thing - group two candidates this type of thing then I'd phone up the chief engineer and say Bill, all the applications are in for this let's go through them together and see where we're at and then we'd sit down together and I might say that the initial group that I would plan to interview would be you know this one this one this one and this one uhh the chief engineer might say ok let's toss in these other two as well. I might interview first alone and then my make my recommendations to the chief engineer or we might interview jointly - this is another option [m hmm]
whereas usually in the lower level positions personnel will
interview first make a certification in other words say here's
three people who can do the job you pick the one you really
want. So there is a differing approach with levels of position
and uh I think I would characterize the approach with with
senior positions as working much more with the department you
know on a step by step basis rather than the other set way. I
suppose in part too the way we handle lower level positions is
in part dictated because of the collective agreement [mm]
in terms of you know it says the best three candidates will be
certified by the personnel department and referred to the hiring
department you know these things are in the collective
agreement so it reduces the flexibility 'cause many times say
in um lower level positions you'd like to take the same flexi-
bility of approach in dealing with your departments but its much
more stringent because the contract says this is how it will
be done and this is what's been agreed to
ok one question I've got about retirement - how does someone
go about retiring? and how did this person go about retiring?
uh how you retire you know you [I know]
you submit your resignation effective such and such a date uh
because of retirement. The official retiring date is sixty
five in terms of full pension benefits; you can retire as
early as sixty you know with a corresponding reduction in your
pension
m hmm so it is by letter I wondered how
ya initially in this actual case the assistant highways engineer
went into the chief engineer probably about eleven months be-
fore he was going to retire and let him know verbally what his
plans were this type of thing and then some time in that inter-
vening period he followed up with a formal letter saying ok this
will just confirm what you already know - I plan to retire such
and such a date. At this level of position usually the department
head has a pretty close relationship with his division heads and
knows somewhat of their plans this type of thing if they're
planning going right through to sixty five or sixty or [mm]
or just what the thing is - the only difference that might occur
there of course is when somebody has to retire - if you can call
it retirement in terms of its more disability I'm saying they
have to retire either because of a medical condition or you know
something to that extent uh that may be somewhat different [m hm]
wel
just one other question when the the fellow retired did the
person who was leaving the organization have anything to do
with breaking in the the person who was going to take the new
position?
no there was no overlap in this case at all and uh because of the this occurring in the summer which is the highways busiest time the branch head you know was fully occupied in his particular area uh there was no overlap at all in other words the branch head wasn't working along with the division head as such ya know for a break in period the thing is he had acted for the division head on past occasions [hmm]

uh ya know so the break in period was less important as he was familiar with the overall aspects of ya know what the division head had to do what [m hm] the requirements of the job were [ok]

anything further on that one? uh anything that comes to mind? [no]

Analysis, Case 8: The respondent begins his case description by locating the focal position within the organizational hierarchy (7-9), and noting predecessor retirement was the reason for a position vacancy. A general matching rule is suggested by constructing 1) a model of the professional self and related social psychological characteristics of the successor and 2) an unexplicated image of the ideal successor (9). The successor was the best 'internal match' with the ideal but yet diverged substantially from it, and the common successor selection procedure defined by organizational rules of doing an outside search would potentially have yielded a better match.

Deficiencies in the successor's professional self (11, 13) could effect organizational functioning as the skills are important i.e. needed by any suitable position incumbent, and are related to or must 'match' the needs of council (13). In earlier chapters the general succession-search process was outlined; here it provides a background for the actual search and thus makes sensible the observation that an internal search was conducted first and the search process was halted here prior to an outside search. The search merely followed the standard sequence and this sequence was stopped by a particular character - the chief engineer - who is thus provided with organizationally based professional attributes such as the
ability or power to influence the search process. Some minimal 'match' between the successor and the chief engineer is intimated i.e. the chief decided he "could exist" with an assistant characterized by the deficiencies assembled in the image of the successor. The problematic professional self of the successor was known for some time. Despite general expectations that the professional self could and should have been improved to make him a better match with the ideal incumbent image, this was never done. To display this lack of rational, planned grooming as a means of improving a candidate's professional self, the successor's career history is briefly outlined. His deficiencies are thus given a history and continuity across positions.

CD and the researcher negotiate needs of the research enterprise at the respondent's request (13). The researcher brackets the succession process by employing glossing typifications and asks for substantive elaboration of the glosses (16). CD then outlines components of the standard advancement process: the geographical location of vacancy announcements and the timing of postings are provided as aspects of compliance to the organization rules outlining selection. The union agreement is noted as a compliance model also applied to selection (17) and this model serves as a metaphor for comprehending and indeed undertaking recruitment for positions outside the purview of the union scheme.

The principal succession producing agents in the case are clearly the chief engineer and the respondent (17). Several internal successor candidates were reviewed by them but these candidates had professional selves which, in terms of the images constructed by the succession producing agents, did not match the minimally suitable image (17, 19). The successor was the only internal candidate whose professional self had at least the minimal relevant points of contact with the scheme of a suitable
RG requests further clarification of the division of labor among succession producing agents and agencies (20). CD then notes that the standard selection process actually has position contingent variations. The first standard variation is the search process for unionized employees, and this process is illustrated for a standard position (23). Here, the primarily producing agent is a member of the personnel department. At higher levels (which are also characterized by higher salaries), succession producing agents include members of the focal department - the department where the vacancy exists - as well as representatives from the personnel department (25). The search process and the two distinct subtypes are not overly determined, however. Negotiation occurs at various points, starting with the discussion of whether or not to go outside (27). Also, we see that there is a range of acceptable style of interviewing candidates, in terms of organizational representatives who are present (29). The respondent suggests that the professional selves of candidates are the primary images constructed and evaluated i.e. skills, training, technical experience and so on (29). This evaluation or matching of images of actual candidates to the suitable or ideal scheme is constrained for lower level (union) positions where the union contract serves as a gambit of compliance that is enacted by 'certifying' at most three candidates (31-32). The sequence of search events and other aspects of the search are more flexible in nonunion positions where the union model of compliance does not apply.

RG inquires as to how a person announces retirement (33). CD outlines compliance demands which limit one's ability to retire (36) to a certain temporal range in one's life span related to one's career sequence and age. The retirement gambit by an employee requires a specific temporal location i.e. a date, which presumably must fall within the constraints
of the model of compliance. The actual retirement in this case observed a general model of style for making announcements which was noted earlier: the predecessor to be made an informal announcement to his superior, a hierarchically proximate person, temporally prior to making the formal announcement or gambit (38). The actual sequence appears against a taken for granted stylistic consideration that the chief has good informal communication with his assistants, hence the informal announcement is sensible and expected.

CD also suggests the 'informal then formal' announcement sequence and other common succession aspects may be disrupted where the cause of retirement is located in terms of a scheme of the physiological self of the predecessor to be. He does not, however, indicate how such a departure from normal sequences would appear to an observer (40).

RG next asks about an 'overlap' in incumbents, a matter he expects given his background stock of knowledge. CD seems to share this notion as part of his stock of expectancies (44) as he finds RG's question is sensible and warrants an answer. Lack of an overlap is explained by a model of the functional integrity of the highways department - no time for the successor to be trained as the successor was occupied in meeting organizational demands and needs during the potential overlap time (44). Further, the successor as a professional self had past experience in acting on behalf of his predecessor, hence he had acquired a sufficient stock of knowledge relevant to performing as the incumbent. He had a scheme of the organization including compliance demands or rules outlining the position to which he advanced (46).

CD then closes the case by asking if research demands and needs have been satisfied (58). Once RG assures him they have, conversation turns to the next case.
CASE 9: THE CHIEF CLERK OF THE GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION RETIRES

AB, the assistant director of personnel, described the successive retirements of two chief clerks.

Chief clerk uh chief clerk is a position that is very close to council because it supplies service to council in council and also it supplies secretarial services to council members um it gives information uh runs the elections ah runs the archives aehm does a bit of records management and that sort of thing because of the archives right? [m hm]

because you have to say what you do with your records put them in there or shred them or what have you so um the first chief clerk who had to be replaced had been a ok uh nobody's going to hear that [RG laughs]

there are two people in the service when I see them my hair starts standing up [heh heh heh heh (laughs)]

and that was the former chief clerk and the present chief clerk [mmm]

you're creeps [m hm]

both carry their Christianity on their lips [mmm]

but I only trust them as far as I can see them [hmm]

and they are known for that sort of thing um for instance anti drinkers umm never a party in their department its like eh British the first one who left and he tried to run this office as and especially attached to the importance of the office to it as you have it in England - in England actually the chief clerk is the highest administrator [mmm]

but here is the administrative manager [m hm]

or say or the chief commissioner whatever you call him and the chief clerk here is just a department head [mm m hm]

now he has always tried and has always resented and that that's kinda what's come out of all this action related to department hassles this sort of thing - have tried to do in time um to raise first to maintain then he lost ground and then to raise it again just about all the status that you have in England uh he for instance um had the government seal which never was actually established by the oh god what its called um in England there's somebody who looks after seals [ya ya]

ah you know its the its the

RG ya I'm trying to get the term
305 bearer of the seal or something [m hm]

of the creanse of the big office what it means to be right right colors right ok doesn't make sense that it can't be duplicated and all that sort of thing now he's been a couple of times over went over - he could talk council into going over and spent two weeks over there in the and got our seal straightened out and what have you and never let anybody forget about it that he was the important man to talk to the immediate advisor to the Queen and em its quite so. Uh working with politicians is not sometimes that easy sometimes you have to be diplomatic but uh as I say he was a man whom you could not trust [m hm]

287 to become one he has tailored himself probably after the worst politicians he has seen on the job or somewhere I don't know anyway he left uh he had trained somebody completely in image [hmm]

289 and with the only difference that the first one was smart and the next one was not so smart [mmm]

291 but because this man had been deputy for quite a number of years uhm naturally he then was promoted [m hm]

293 to chief clerk now that was then the chief clerk left at the maximum retirement age ok? [m hm]

295 problems appeared an only this actually has nothing to do with your study let's just say problems appeared [m hm]

297 in the first six months council put him on the pot and then on the spot and told him to shape up or get out

298 RG was he actually brought into a council meeting?

299 oh ya [uh huh]

301 he's sitting on the council [uh huh I see]

303 the whole time on council you see

304 RG the clerk is um I've always wondered what the administrative position does

305 oh ya oh ya he's the guy who is sitting here and taking the minutes [m hm m hm]

307 right? writing the agenda, taking the minutes, advising council on procedure and precedents how to handle this that and the other thing now he had always but whatever he was he's not an administrator [hm]

309 he's a nit picker, he couldn't delegate, therefore work didn't get done. He didn't know what was going on in his department
because he didn't have enough people working he appointed a friend of his ahh to office manager and everybody was complaining there they couldn't get any answers from council from uh from council members and this sort of thing. When the guy went on holiday we found that he had parcelled up neatly two stacks of correspondence which he had not had time to answer [t' ohh]

and put them in the vault very neat neatly labeled unanswered correspondence [t'schew (laughs)]

from, to - you know just put it there neatly wrapped, beautiful [heh heh heh]

so he made the wrong appointments because he tried to favor friends this sort of thing and so he was told to shape up and we organized then the department and put some people between them to do some work. Now that helped but still these two people if they wouldn't have been so dedicated and if they the two of them hadn't been able to work together so well they probably would have thrown up their hands a long time ago and would have gone and um at that time appointed was the oldest or the senior committee clerk and we made sure at that time that the right deputy was appointed [m hm]

right so he's a Scotsman and came over a long time ago [m hm]

however a long time ago is not that long with how old as he is - he is in his fourties and now he came over I mean he has training of two years or something like that but ah still he's a Scot and a good man ahh straight forward, frank, with whom we have been working behind the department head's back because otherwise we wouldn't have gotten any answers [m hm]

and he didn't eh not that he was disloyal to the department head but he facilitated that things got done [m hm]

so uhm now the present department head of I whom I've been talking about has political ambitions [mmm]

he is now sixty two so he is retiring now, he is running for political office to be able to run for political office in November [mmm m hm]

right? now uh that is his reason and that's the reason that the new department head was appointed who was a deputy whom we had picked [m hm]

who will be well able to carry on and I can go into the clerk's office now without my hair [RG laughs]

standing up right? [uh huh]

now council is very very satisfied with that appointment and uh the only question is now whom we make deputies. The posi-
tion there is not - the situation is not clear; we have a couple of reasonably fairly applicants from inside, however council is not quite satisfied and neither is the new clerk so this is going to be thrown open, advertised, and we will see what we get from the outside [m hm]

and then the two possible insiders will be compared [m hm]

with the outsiders

RG this is for the assistant clerk?

no no that's for the [assistant clerk]

RG assistant clerk

that's fer uh sorry that's for the assistant clerk [assistant clerk]

ya ok sorry so that is the story of a clerk now any questions there?

RG ya just one you said the fellow retired early um was it just that he simply leaves the position now and gets no salarly no particular pension or does he get some kind of

no no what he is [pension]

you see the the pension situation is this you can minimum retirement age is sixty [m hm]

maximum is sixty five [m hm]

right? if you go before sixty five there are certain deductions from your full pension uh budget let's say right? [m hm]

what's in the kitty - you loose fer every year you retire earlier before sixty five um sixty and sixty five you're losing a certain percentage of your pension [m hm ok]

ok? so what he is doing is he is making first of all he deprives himself he is still in good shape you know he deprives himself of full salary between sixty two and sixty five [m hm]

ok? and in addition to it he is getting less pension than he would get for sixty five [m hm] right [ya]

so priorities individual priorities there's a political career [m hm]

ok and all this maybe also take me, because I know him, that he thinks he can after all he can draw fourteen thousand a year be on council now [m hm so ya]

so I don't know [RG laughs]
but he probably will run for the the right wing because of his attitudes and his confessed Christian beliefs you know
[m hm]

law and order and [RG laughs]

so that we have one more beside Jones and Smith and the chief politician [heesh]

ok there were two city clerks [m hm]

any questions? [um no I just take uh]

care of that [covered it fairly well heesh]

Analysis, Case 9: AB initiates this description by locating the focal position within the general governmental organization (model of compliance) and describes the various functions or activities of the focal subunit as these relate to other subunits. By locating the position and subunit within the overall structure and functions of the government, the government and subunit are constructed as a corroboratively integrated model of functional integrity (259). A major rule or gambit of compliance regarding records (261) establishes the basis for the centrality of the clerk's office in terms of the more general organization.

The first chief clerk was replaced, and it seems this was due to some characteristic manifest in one of his 'selves'. AB begins to provide a standard typification for this self (261: "had been a") but decides to withhold that information and construction of the other's self. He then provides a social psychological typification of both clerks by labeling them 'creeps', i.e. a derogatory typification exemplifying his image of them (263-267). They are aversive characters who cause aversive reactions in the respondent when he encounters them.

In further constructing the social psychological selves of the clerks, they are linked to an institutional scheme of religion to which they give precedence i.e. it is 'on their lips' (269) and is presumably often mentioned and used by them. Their invocation of the religious scheme
is thus characteristic of their social psychological style; another and seemingly antithetical characteristic is that they cannot be trusted (271). They also have a professional style which is manifest in failure to have departmental parties, a generally expected ritual gathering (273). Thus while one might expect a department head to organize, support, encourage, or at least not discourage such gatherings, these men led a department characterized by its lack of such commonly expected gatherings and this lack may be linked to their style of administrative leadership.

The first clerk is provided with a national origin (273) as part of AB's image of him. The clerk, given his national origin and contingent background stock of knowledge, apparently holds a scheme of governmental organization appropriate to England. In that scheme the clerk has a considerably higher position, relative to other positions, than it does in the North American governmental organization (273-277). This interscheme inconsistency 'bothers' the clerk who has attempted to modify schemes of the organization in which he is presently employed so that it corresponds more closely to the English scheme. One of the functions of the office of the chief clerk is care and use of the seal; council allowed the clerk to improve the manner in which this function was carried out by providing him with certain resources (a trip to England) (379-385). Apparently council produced a gambit of compliance releasing the relevant resources.

The clerk then utilized this function of caring for the seal, and the related activities, as a resource for constructing an image of his professional self; the image was buttressed by linking his activities to an important personage (285). His tendency to offer this image of his professional self to others is perhaps the source of AB's comment regarding problematic aspects of his own occupation (285) - one has to be a diplomat to work with politicians such as the clerk. The label 'politician'
thus explains to some extent the interest the clerk showed in elevating his own professional self.

At any rate, AB conceives of the clerk as a social psychologically problematic type - one who cannot be trusted (285) and this is perhaps linked to the general professional self the clerk constructed for himself (287). This professional self is alleged to have been developed by modelling other politicians and AB suggests the models were rather undesireable. The clerk's successor had been trained so as to match the image of the clerk; social psychologically however they differ on the trait of intelligence (289).

Given the relative 'stupidity' of the successor to be, one might expect he would not have been promoted: however the organization scheme includes the informal rule of seniority as part of the common style of successor search and selection. This stylistic consideration or informal rule thus furnished the deputy as the solution to the successor 'problem' (291). And the predecessor left due to the organizational model of compliance - age sixty-five is the mandatory retirement age (293).

Council's image of the successor was problematic in that it did not match their image of an ideal or suitable clerk: thus the successor was told to alter his image i.e. shape up (297) or leave the position. RG asks for background as to how the clerk learned council's image of himself: it appeared that no special meetings or communication vehicles were necessary as the clerk's functions made him spatio-temporally present at meetings of council (301). AB elaborates the functions or duties of the clerk which make his presence sensible and obvious.

The professional self of the clerk, with related social psychological characteristics, is shown to be disruptive of the functional integrity of the department, as it prevented work from being done (309). Furthermore,
the clerk utilized an inappropriate interpretive scheme for selecting a deputy - the institution of friendship rather than the organizational scheme and contingent matching schemes of the professional self of a suitable incumbent (309, 315). The deputy interfered with the functional integrity (normal functioning) of the department particularly where his performance violated a general stylistic expectation that the clerk's office should reply promptly to correspondence (310-313).

The department organization was therefore modified by council in order to allow it to accomplish its normal functions (315). The social psychological and professional selves of the clerk and the deputy apparently 'matched' or were functionally juxtaposed for their own practical purposes; otherwise, it seems to AB, they would have quit earlier. However, in the modification of the department, council ensured a new deputy matched their image of the suitable deputy i.e. "the right deputy was appointed" (315). The professional and social psychological selves of the new deputy are explicated (319), and his national origin and various demographic characteristics furnish a background relevant to the temporal location of his arrival in the present country.

A common stylistic consideration we have observed before is that subordinates should be loyal to the department head. AB mentions activities one might expect breach this consideration (319). However he notes that one should not interpret the activities as a breach of the model of style relevant to the department. Rather, the activities contribute to the functional integrity of the department (321) and thus the organization as a whole, that is, the accomplishment of normal work activities. The general organizational scheme as a model of functional integrity is thus given precedence over the departmental scheme as a vehicle for interpreting the behavior of the new deputy.
We find that the incumbent clerk is retiring early as clerk (325) because he wants to change his professional self and become a politician (the clerk position is actually a civil servant position). The announced retirement provided the opportunity for promoting the new deputy to the chief clerk position (327): this is also the simple solution to the successor problem provided by the hierarchical organizational scheme, i.e. promote the next in line. This solution has become a common stylistic consideration. One implication of this promotion is that the respondent will no longer find communicating with the chief clerk to be aversive, as a new clerk is available (329-331).

Council apparently finds that the new clerk matches their image of a suitable incumbent (333). The remaining problem with the department is thus caused by the chain reaction nature of successions - having promoted the deputy one now needs to fill the deputy position. Neither the new clerk nor council are satisfied with the simple organizationally provided solutions to the vacancy. That is, neither insider candidate adequately matches the ideal or suitable image, hence council has invoked a rule which allows them to advertise outside, and thus to extend the search sequence. Once outside candidates' applications are received, council will compare the application-constructed images to their images of insiders and to the 'ideal', and select the best match with the ideal (333-337). RG is somewhat confused regarding the focal position, and the next few utterances involve the researcher and respondent in negotiating a shared agreement on the actual target of discussion (338-343).

RG inquires about the impact of the early retirement on the financial self of the retiree (345): AB states the compliance model of the organization as it relates to the issue of pensions (347-357). One finds that there is, of course, a negative impact on the financial self (351-357).
However, the retiring clerk has perhaps made a trade off between his financial self and a new professional self (361). Further, the financial integrity is not completely imperiled as the former clerk will receive a minimal pension (365) plus whatever income he receives from holding political office.

The former clerk is going to run for a right wing party. This party choice is sensibly displayed as AB notes the match between this political scheme and the social psychological scheme of the former clerk (369, 371). The clerk, if elected, will be only one of several politicians on council who utilize a right wing interpretive scheme (373). The case is now closed as AB and RG negotiate fulfillment of research interests (377-381).

CASE 10: THE RETIREMENT OF THE ASSISTANT DIRECTOR OF THE PL DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION

CD, the senior personnel consultant for the government, provided the following case description.

178 ok uh the other one as I mentioned I didn't have one on a death so I pulled out another retiring one uh this was in the PL Department also. The other assistant director this is the assistant director in charge of the inspectional division uh looks after the inspectors that go out and checks that the stuffs done according to the law. In this case there was more planning on this we had hired a codes engineer about two years earlier with the direct idea in mind that the codes engineer would be groomed for this particular position uhh mainly because there's no position that leads into this - there is not a good pattern of ascendance into this particular position so uh the codes engineer was hired about two years prior to this individual going. He was given the opportunity to work for him and act you know in his capacity when he was on vacation this type of thing

179 this individual's performance and his capabilities moved him into this particular position so the position was posted for internal candidates to apply. There was another internal candidate that did apply for the position but just was in no way qualified to fill this position - one of the requirements on it the person has to be a registered professional engineer as well the other candidate that applied was not a registered professional engineer

180 RG so you in a sense ended up with a short list of one then
a short list of one candidate alright yes and there's not too much peripheral stuff on that the only periphery would be you know the decision to create a codes engineer position two years earlier with part of the reason being to supply uh some promotable material within the division as well [m hm]
you know there were needs for the codes engineer but there was also need for another spot for an individual that would be good for either this position or the department head as well
did the fellow that was hired know that he'd been hired in to a position that was essentially a position for grooming someone for some other position or
ya this was made quite clear to the individual at although the function of codes engineer was important and there was a least two or three years of work in that position uhh that we were looking beyond that for we were looking for the individual not only to do a good job in this codes area but also to prepare himself for the promotion y'know to division head or department head levels so the candidates knew that when they were being interviewed initially and we advertised very widely for that you know and interviewed a lot of people before the decision was made on that. We were looking very definitely at - I would say it was one of the most significant factors was the promotability of the candidate you know to at least division head level
m hm ya uh I assume that this was probably an incentive to the candidates applying for the job
very much so very much so in other words it interested a lot of candidates who perhaps would not have applied for the codes engineer because of say they have no interest in the position or the closeness of their current salary to that position uhh so some people that might not have seen it as that big of step up initially in terms of salary or responsibility could y'know see beyond that to the next step and so I think it drew in more people more than we would normally get

Analysis, Case 10. CD begins this description by relating it to research needs: while the original request cannot be met, CD appears to be substituting this case as a means of satisfying the researcher (178). The focal position is then located within the organizational hierarchy and a model of organizational functioning. The case corresponds to a rational promotional sequence as a successor was hired and groomed prior to the promotion/retirement. The reason for rational planning is given as the fact that the organizational scheme did not provide a simple solution to a
potential successor selection problem: no relevant 'next in line' position was available. Hence the organizational scheme was modified to provide such a position: this modification is located in terms of the temporal dimension underlying predecessor departure. The promotion of the successor was also rational because he had been provided with opportunities to acquire background knowledge and skills relevant to performing as the assistant director.

The successor was chosen because of his professional self (179). Other internal candidates had professional selves which were deficient vis-à-vis compliance demands outlining incumbent qualifications: essentially, the successor was the only candidate whose professional self was fully integrated (professionally certified) and had the necessary points of correspondence with the organizationally prescribed image. The successor selection process thus followed a rule governed procedure and criteria which were relatively standard and nonproblematic (181), including the rule of merit.

The actual modification of the organizational scheme and the selection of a 'successor to be' was less standardized and hence more interesting. The organization is constructed as a model of functional integrity which required the modification of its hierarchical scheme: it needed both a codes engineer and a simple solution for potential succession problems (182). The codes engineer position thus solved two problems, or met two organizational needs, simultaneously. Further, the nature of the position as a 'grooming position' attracted various candidates who perceived their professional self and desired career sequence as matching the higher position to which the codes engineer position provided an avenue of entry (184-186). Thus while the initial impact on candidates' professional and financial selves would in many cases have not been large in
a positive sense, the impact after an expected later promotion would have been more significant.

Thus candidates are constructed as professionally related social psychological selves characterized by an achievement motivation. Implementation of the motive is accomplished by scanning images derived from available job openings and seeking to match these with one's proposed self images constitutive of one's desired next career step. The two available sets of position linked images derived from the two sequential positions in the hierarchy therefore led to a greater than normal number of applicants for the 'entry' position.

CASE 11: NONRETIREMENT OF A COLLEGE STAFF MEMBER

The cases describing retirements in the governmental organization evidence compliance with the rule that members must retire at age sixty-five. Retirement was a common means of leaving the government and this form of departure appears relatively routinized and bounded by the formal constraints. However in the college organization, only one respondent reported a case of retirement, and as we shall see, the process was not routinized. Further, the rules which could constrain the process were actually modified; thus in the case below we find the unusual circumstances that the retiring predecessor becomes his own successor in a similar, but modified scheme of the college organization. IJ, the Vice President of Finance of the college, is the respondent.

16 the second one under retirement I have one that is completely unrelated to the other three and one really where well it may be may be intriguing to you a a case because the person himself succeeded - would that be of interest? [hmm] where [succeeded himself?]

20 yes

21 RG ohhuh ya that would be interesting

22 ya we went overboard to make changes to the job and y'know
on the collective agreement side to accommodate him but his case is this is a staff position in the college whereabouts the others are at the chief executive office level [hm]

24 so you would be interested in uh in that?

25 RG ya that's fine

34 so uh let me start then with the one on the retirement [m hm]

36 and its the only one that we have experienced at this institution [mmm]

38 which means we are effectively a young organization which has attracted a lot of young people which may be typical for education anyway [m hm]

40 and accordingly we have very few people near or at retirement age. Now the one individual who is in the technical was and still is I guess in the technical capacity uhh reached retirement age of sixty five uhh two reasons one that he sees a need to remain involved you know the typical inability to I guess fully occupy his time and interests without a job made him wanting to continue to work past sixty five. Secondly that he didn't have sufficient rights built up to make it worthwhile [m hm]

42 financially or to do without a job so he approached the college I guess in an informal way asking what can be worked out so he would continue and at the same time through the union who argued that we should remove the compulsory retirement age of sixty five which we were reluctant to do because it has all kinds of implications for CPP and pension rights and you name it there are all kinds of legislation effecting the status of employees who are older than sixty five but we were interested in his services: he was, and still is, doing what we call a competent job. He's still giving us a return for our investment and um we indicated a general willingness to uh make something possible as long as it was recognized as a situation that should remain flexible [m hm]

44 that would not become a precedent and which would be held against us one day in the future and on that basis we together with the union which I think is important that we worked it out together managed to create a temporary repeating position which would be refilled on an annual basis [hm]

46 and we retained the right to terminate that mechanism any time uhh we wanted to so he has a year to year appointment in effect

47 RG he is a union member then?
a union member [m hm]

yes um what kind of could you help me maybe with questions to expand on the case

um ya I was well I guess I was wondering about how it transpired that the appointment er that did the new position got made I mean did he come to you and er did you people go to him and could you just elaborate a little bit on that?

well at the same [offset]

that he was approaching retirement age the responsibility of his function had kind of grown together with the growth of the institution [m hm]

and he had identified and received agreement from his administrator to create a more junior position in his own area to assist him [m hm]

call it an assistant to him but you know at a real a junior clerical level and often these positions start with us on a kind of twenty hours a week ten month basis [m hm]

and we were able to kind of renew his responsibilities uhh put a little bit more into that new job than we had originally planned make it there for full time and actually something I forgot to mention uhh we reduced his time commitment to ten months a year [mmm]

when he was twelve months before so together we still have about one and a half or one and three quarter uh manpower year per year out of the two people which is what we had planned but we had originally seen it that his assistant would be half time [hmm]

period

m hm so you worked all this out prior to the actual date at which he was to retire

yes yes he triggered that well in advance indicating that he wanted to continue past sixty five [hmm]

and there was sufficient time to work that out so when he became sixty five effectively never stopped working [m hm]

just continued through - now he has had one summer off

RG did uh so he the position he is in now is actually a formally its a slightly different position characterized by

formally a slightly different one yes actually we gave it a different title it has a slightly different duration but the title change would have come about probably anyway [mmm]
because he got that assistant [m hm]

now what may be of interest is would he have successfully surfaced the need for the assistant if he hadn't faced at the same time the issue of continued working past sixty five and over um I'm always suspicious enough to suggest that that people always have a good reason for any action they initiate [m hm]

so that could have been a very important factor [m hm]

for his suggestion at the same time. It was obvious to the institution that the workload had grown to such an extent that extra help was needed

m hm so he's in a different position than he had former er than the assistant is in then so the position he was originally in exists no more or is it just not

no

filled or that's still budgeted

it was terminated [oh]

the original position was terminated; it was replaced effectively with two positions of which he fills the most senior which is within two paygroups its actually a touch lower [m hm]

because although the other positions no that wouldn't be a good argument to say why it is lower. Certain functions simply were either not done anymore, had become redundant in a way so when we really scrutinized the jobs we said no we can't afford to do that anymore and our organization had grown in the years since his position was established so whereabouts he in the original years may have reported directly to a dean a very high level now there were intermediate supervisory levels in the form of faculty responsible for operations of the college that uh really his total responsibility was less uh he had to check more now before he made decisions than he had to originally

mmm mhm so can he build up enough years in this new position to qualify for regular retirement with pension or whatever?

what?

you said before that he had

he was qualified yes but he has effectively qualified now but the superannuation plan no actually it is geared to sixty five the problem is not so much the years it is rather because of his years of service his payout would be in his eyes so small [m hm]
uh that uh he wanted to first of all delay taking it out and secondly through further contributions raise it [m hm]

he will get credit for the extra year or two or whatever [m hm]

he ends up working

m hm do you expect that that after a couple of more years that he will resign from his present position

my ex

RG or retire from it or whatever

my expectation is that we will have to force him out

RG oh really

I believe the money is an argument he used but the one that really I thinks counts is that he needs the involvement of a job I believe he has no children [hmm] and you never hear him talk about his wife [m hm]

he goes ALONE on holidays so if there is a wife who's still active uh they have seem to have very little in common [m hm]

and his life seems to be the college [m hm]

so I suspect he will just want to continue that involvement because that's his hobby, his life, his [m hm]

social activity probably all in one is this job [m hm]

I believe that's the real reason

RG hmm very interesting - very interesting case and well

RG first case of someone being retired that didn't retire that I've

yes [run into]

ya a unique angle probably from your point of view its uh [m hm]

y'know I mean if he had gone we think now we would have changed the job anyway because whenever a job is vacant it gives you an opportunity to take a look at it and say now do we really want to continue this do we really want to repeat this or you know what changes do we want to make. Then we can do them when the job is vacant and seek the replacement that meets our new criteria [m hm]
in the union environment you just don't have that option once you have a person in a job you know uh I mean your hands are tied very much

RG m hm in the union environment though if a person leaves a job so that the position is empty then you can change it

yes

Analysis, Case 11: The respondent links the case to needs of the research enterprise (16). The case is unusual in terms of background expectations, as one normally expects a predecessor will not succeed himself. IJ is thus outlining the unusual nature of the case as part of an attempt to negotiate researcher needs (16-25); RG assures him the case fits with these needs (21). IJ then goes on to locate the focal position (22) in terms of the organizational hierarchy and the sequence of cases to be reported in the interview.

The case is unique in terms of the college organization (36). IJ explains this by providing a standard demographic model of the typical employee - young (38) - hence, given the organizational compliance scheme, few employees are likely to match criteria necessary to retire (40). Causes are also provided to explain why the incumbent did not wish to retire. First, he lacked interests outside his job. Thus motivation to thwart retirement is provided by the incumbent's lack of alternative schemes and entities for making sense of and giving meaning to his life (40). Leaving his job would presumably jeopardize the integrity of his social psychological self. Secondly, an image of the integrity of the financial self of the incumbent is outlined: the integrity would be impaired if he retired.

It is therefore sensible that the incumbent sought a modification in the organizational scheme which allows him to continue working, although he apparently did not have any specific schematic modifications as part of his stock of knowledge which solved this problem. The union also supported modification of the compliance or rule structure which
demanded retirement at age sixty-five (42). Other entities' compliance models constrain modifications which might be made in the college scheme. Yet the incumbent was still exhibiting a competent professional self which contributed to the functional integrity of the organization i.e. doing a good job. So the college agent was disposed toward modifying the organizational scheme, but only in a manner which would not impair functional integrity in the long run. That is, no change in generally applicable compliance demands would be made: rather, existent rules were used to modify the hierarchical scheme of the organization in a limited, substantive manner (44) and the modification was negotiated with the union using shared rules. General compliance demands and rights of the college were thus maintained and could be used in the future to remodify the hierarchy and terminate the position (44, 46). All the talk of unions suggests to RG that the incumbent was a union member, and IJ confirms this (47-48).

The needs of the research enterprise once again become topical as IJ encounters difficulties in fulfilling what he perceives to be the practical demands of the interview (50). RG thus elaborates the enterprise by posing a question about how the schematic modification was initiated. IJ conceives of the college as a growing entity with changing needs, and thus the ontogenetic development and advancing career sequence of the incumbent were paralleled by changes in the organization. Thus particular functions of component subunits and positions changed as the general entity or context within which the subunit was located changed. The incumbent had apparently identified a need and had received approval to have the organizational scheme enlarged to include an 'assistant' position which would fill this need (56).

The assistant position is described in terms of a standard typification i.e. a junior level position (58), and the compliance scheme structur-
ing the position is noted. The compliance demands and functions of the focal position as it was modified are described next (60, 62). The effect on the college as a whole, functioning entity is then indicated in terms of the amount of available manpower the modification provides. Timing was properly managed to insure that the reorganization was accomplished in a manner which allowed continuous employment to the incumbent (65-70).

RG requests and receives clarification of the actual modification of the hierarchical structure of the organization. Actual labels for positions were changed, and IJ notes the changes resulted as part of a chain reaction. It seems that adding the assistant position was 'cause' to change the title (74), as the position with an assistant to it was different and therefore warranted a title change which displayed more adequately the new meaning of the position.

IJ suggests a motivational basis underlay the incumbent's timing of announcing the need for an assistant (76). In some (unclear to me) manner, announcement of the need was apparently a resource for accomplishing the practical goal of working past age sixty-five (78). The organizational need and the corresponding model of integrity thus serve as personal resources of the actor.

RG again requests clarification of what happened to the old position, and offers several alternatives from his stock of knowledge which seem to him possible (81, 83). IJ indicates the correct one - termination (86). The effect of the relocation of the actor in a different position is then noted in terms of his financial self (86) and standard pay categories. It seems that the college administration modified its schemes of the organization as a hierarchy and as a model of functional integrity (88). These modifications legitimate the lower salary paid to the actor, as his position is now relatively lower in the hierarchy and less central to organiza-
RG provides a model of compliance structuring retirement benefits as an explanation of the actor's desire to remain employed. IJ accepts that such a model is an explanation, but he argues RG's construction is inaccurately applied (92). The actor already qualifies in terms of age: he has delayed retirement in an effort to optimize benefits for his financial self (94). RG then proposes a time frame for the departure of the actor, and a self motivated basis for it (99). IJ contends the actor will not voluntarily depart but that he will have to be forced out (102). An explanation of this allegation is then made.

The construction of an image of the actor's problematic financial self as accomplished by the actor is merely a generally acceptable and legitimate argument, not the primary reason. The alleged 'real' reason is that the actor does not have any other entity or scheme to provide meaning and rewards to his life (104-116). The common alternative scheme one generally gives precedence to after retiring is the family. IJ proposes an image of the actor's family which is clearly deficient in terms of normally expected components. There are no children (104) as part of the integral 'whole' of the family and the wife may or may not exist (106-108). And common stylistic expectations of marriage include the notions that 1) one shares interests with one's spouse and 2) one generally goes on vacation with one's spouse. The actor breaches the first consideration and there is evidence that, if a wife exists, the second expectation is also breached. Thus the actor's major interpretive scheme and source of rewards is the college (110). People normally have several distinct entities in which they claim membership and which provide meaning for their lives, but not the actor discussed here. He has but one meaningful entity which fulfills his needs.

RG again emphasizes the uniqueness or oddness of the case in terms
of his background expectancy that people who retire, do indeed retire (119). IJ agrees then goes on to assert the actual changes in the organizational hierarchy were inevitable because of union compliance demands and were not due to the actual departure (as distinct from the retirement) of the actor. According to union compliance demands, hierarchical/schematic changes relating to a position can only be made when the position is vacant (124). Hence the retirement of the actor (as distinct from his departure) furnished obvious reason to consider changing their hierarchical organizational scheme. Various other changes such as the growth and changing needs of the college discussed earlier furnish warrant for enacting hierarchical alterations.

DISCUSSION

This chapter has focused on the departure of position incumbents due to retirement, and the selection of successors for the vacated positions. Retirement, is characterized by a certain aspect which provides its unique nature as a mode of predecessor departure. Departures due to retirement are reasonably predictable to all parties concerned. The organization as a model of compliance (or, in some of the tables to follow, the model of compliance of the succession process as a subscheme of the general organizational scheme) specifies minimum and maximum retirement ages. Retirement is therefore directly predictable as falling within a certain temporal period in the unfolding career and ontogenetic maturation of a position incumbent. If one knows the age of the incumbent and the retirement rules, one can predict, in advance, the range of time within which retirement will likely occur.

Of course the exact date of retirement within this range is a function of a variety of contingencies. I now turn to a discussion of specific cases in order to observe the operation of these contingencies. I will then be able to evaluate the orienting propositions and examine the
concommitants of the relative predictability of the date of predecessor departure.

Programmatically Constructed Entities. All respondents programmatically constructed certain entities in their case descriptions. The orienting proposition presented in the introduction to this chapter focuses on the PCE's constructed in explaining the 'cause' of predecessor departure. The first premise of the proposition, that departure due to retirement is explained by a model of compliance, is confirmed in all cases. In cases 8 (Highways Engineer), 9 (Chief Clerk #1), 10 (Assistant PL Director) and 11 (College Staff Member) the cause of predecessor departure was given simply as retirement, and the organizational schemes (see Tables 6-1 through 6-5) make this sensible as they include a rule or compliance demand requiring retirement at a certain age. Where retirement occurs at maximum age, the 'maximum age' as a criterion embedded in the organizational scheme is sufficient as an explanation of the cause of retirement.

The formal rules of retirement thus are oriented to—supporting proposition 1, corollary 3 in chapter one—explain, and result in retirement in all these cases, even the supposed 'non-retirement case' (11) where the college staff member was apparently retired and then rehired into a different position. Further, with cases where the predecessor departed by retiring early (PL Department Head and Case 9, Chief Clerk #2) the organization as a model of compliance furnishes a basic precondition and partial explanation for retirement. Formal rules are oriented to but are not imposed on the incumbent by others; rather, the incumbent uses the rules as a resource for early departure. Retiring at maximum age is demanded: retiring early is allowed, after a certain age.

The formal rules demanding retirement at maximum age were enacted in the governmental organization for all such cases; that is, incumbents did
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composite Entities</th>
<th>Common Language Descriptors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Focal Organization</td>
<td>the government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Characteristics</td>
<td>bureaucratic folderall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Compliance-heirarchy</td>
<td>define focal position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focal Subunit</td>
<td>PL Department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council</td>
<td>pass complaints on to PL Head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>observes PL Department, criticizes it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Public</td>
<td>council's image</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL Department</td>
<td>(council and manager): need new PL Dept. Head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Integrity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individual Entities</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Focal Position</td>
<td>PL Department Head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predecessor: PL Dept. Head.</td>
<td>1. skills and expertise (limited vs. extensive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Self (actual vs. council ideal):</td>
<td>2. role as group agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Psychological Self (actual vs. council ideal):</td>
<td>1. drive (low vs. high)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. hedonistic motivation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Successor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Self</td>
<td>skills, abilities are considerable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>way of dealing with criticisms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Psychological Self</td>
<td>ambition (high drive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Manager</td>
<td>hearer of predecessor's utterances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motivation</td>
<td>desire new PL Head</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6-2
Schematic Entities Constructed in Case 8

I. Composite Entities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Enterprise</th>
<th>Common Language Descriptors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Model of Functional Integrity</td>
<td>needs of the research enterprise such as certain types of cases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focal Organization</td>
<td>government, highways division</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Compliance-hierarchy</td>
<td>defines focal position, other positions, e.g. lights, power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Functional Integrity</td>
<td>1. various departments, their normal functions and interrelations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>good informal communication among administrators</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Union</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Model of Compliance</td>
<td>1. rules re recruitment and advancement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. certification of three candidates rule</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focal Subunit</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Model of Functional Integrity</td>
<td>Highways Division</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. head needs good communication skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. summer is busiest time: requires all the effort of employees - no slack manpower</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Council</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Model of Functional Integrity</td>
<td>need employees who are adept at communicating</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Succession Process</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Model of Compliance (rules)</td>
<td>1. inside, then outside search</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. standard advancement process with position level contingent variations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. see union scheme above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. rules outlining retirement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>1. range of acceptable interview styles: interviewers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. announcement process - tell close associates and superior first</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. overlapping incumbents</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. Individual Entities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focal Position</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Predecessor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Self (actual)</td>
<td>1. career stage: retiring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 6-2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Physiological Self (hypothetical)</strong></td>
<td>physical disability may disrupt normal retirement sequence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2. Successor Candidates (Unsuccessful)</strong></td>
<td>insiders &amp; outsiders, branch heads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Selves</td>
<td>engineers lacking highway construction experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Self (actual vs. ideal)</td>
<td>1. related to soc. psych. self: communication skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. career history, sequence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. experience in acting in position to which he would be promoted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Integrity</td>
<td>problematic re central skills of communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Succession Producing Agents</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. Superordinate of Focal Position Incumbent:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Self</td>
<td>chief engineer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vague, but must be matched by assistants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2. Respondent</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6-3
Schematic Entities Constructed in Case 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Composite Entities</th>
<th>Common Language Descriptors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Research Enterprise Needs</td>
<td>negotiated, agreed as met the government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focal Organization</td>
<td>1. defines positions: 2 images - English and North American</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Compliance-hierarchy</td>
<td>2. rule regarding maintenance or disposal of records</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Functional Integrity</td>
<td>1. the organization as an integrated set of departments and functions: 2 images - English and North American</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>1. subordinates should be loyal to their superior(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Succession Process</td>
<td>1. rule of seniority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>2. don't let external institutions e.g. friendship interfere with promotional decisions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Compliance</td>
<td>3. promote 'next in line' where possible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council</td>
<td>1. rules outlining retirement and pensions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Compliance</td>
<td>2. merit as the basis of promotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office of the Chief Clerk</td>
<td>3. advertise outside if no satisfactory insiders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Compliance</td>
<td>1. motion authorizing clerk to visit England re seal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Functional Integrity</td>
<td>1. the clerk is responsible for the government seal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>2. (1st chief): clerk is high or highest administrator vs. (actual) clerk is just another dept. head.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Entities</td>
<td>1. normal functions of department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutions</td>
<td>undertake duties promptly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendship</td>
<td>Christianity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>help your friends</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Individual Entities

#### Focal Position
- **Chief Clerk**

#### First Predecessor (chief #1)
- **Self (General)**: unspecified but problematic
- **Social Psychological Self**:
  - 1. creep
  - 2. smart
  - 3. national origin with associated stock of knowledge
- **Model of Style**:
  - 1. gives precedence to and verbally emphasizes Christian scheme, but hypocritical
  - 2. cannot be trusted
- **Professional Self**:
  - "important person" (self proclaimed)
- **Model of Style**:
  - 1. discourages parties in department
  - 2. a real politician
- **Model of Functional Integrity**:
  - 1. problematic - poor functionary according to respondent

#### Second Predecessor (chief #2)
- **Social Psychological Self**:
  - 1. creep
  - 2. not so smart
- **Model of Style**:
  - 1. Christian hypocrite
  - 2. right wing
- **Financial Self**
- **Model of Integrity**:
  - integrity maintained but constrained on limited retirement pension
- **Professional Self: actual**
  - clerk
  - full time politician
- **Professional Self: proposed**
- **Model of Style**:
  - 1. discourages department parties
  - 2. unable to delegate
  - 3. uses friendship scheme inappropriately to choose deputy

#### Second Successor - see deputy #2 (below)
- **Suitable Incumbent**
  - an unexplicated image held by council
- **Deputy Clerk**
  - general: an unexplicated image held by council
- **Deputy #1**
  - **Professional Self-Integrity**
  - incompetent
- **Deputy #2**
  - **Demographic Model**
  - age, immigration information
  - **Professional Self**
  - 2 years training
| Model of Integrity | 1. very good deputy  
| 2. facilitates work |
| Social Psychological Self-Style | straight forward, frank |
| Successor Candidates for Deputy #3 | |
| Internal Candidates | do not adequately match council's image |
| Professional Selves | |
| Respondent | finds 'creeps' aversive |
| Social Psychological Self | |
| Other Characters | |
| Role Models | other politicians |
| Legitimating Figures | the Queen |
### Table 6-4
Schematic Entities Constructed in Case 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Composite Entities</th>
<th>Common Language Descriptors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Research Enterprise</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Functional Integrity</td>
<td>1. needs vis-à-vis types of cases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focal Organization</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Compliance-hierarchy</td>
<td>1. hierarchical scheme locating focal position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. scheme modified include 'grooming' position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. rules outlining basis necessary qualifications of position incumbents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Functional Integrity</td>
<td>1. the organization needs a codes engineer position and incumbent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. the organization needs people qualified to advance to senior positions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Succession Process</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>1. rational succession process sequence: groom a successor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. expect codes engineer to be promoted to some more senior position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Compliance</td>
<td>1. promote the most qualified candidate (rule of merit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. engineer must be a registered professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. rules re advancement process: post, short list, look internally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. rules re retirement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focal Subunit</td>
<td>PL Department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Individual Entities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focal Position</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predecessor</td>
<td>1. point in career sequence - retired</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Self</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Successor</td>
<td>1. career history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Self</td>
<td>2. planned career sequence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Integrity</td>
<td>1. background qualifications, skills made him competent, promotable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. certified professional engineer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Psychological Self</td>
<td>1. achievement motivation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unsuccessful Candidate(s)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Self</td>
<td>1. lacks professional certification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Psychological Self</td>
<td>1. achievement motive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial Self</td>
<td>1. salary linked to various positions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6-5
Schematic Entities Constructed in the Non-Retirement of a Staff Member, Case 11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Composite Entities</th>
<th>Common Language Descriptors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Research Enterprise</strong></td>
<td>types of cases needed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Functional Integrity</td>
<td>the College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Focal Organization</strong></td>
<td>1. competent professional staff maintains the college</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Functional Integrity</td>
<td>2. functions of respective subunits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. certain modifications in the compliance structure will disrupt long run functioning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. growing entity with changing needs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. amount of available manpower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Compliance</td>
<td>1. organizational hierarchy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a. modified to include temporary repeating position, assistant position: delete earlier position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. focal position lowered in org. scheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Union</strong></td>
<td>1. collective agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Compliance</td>
<td>a. rules allowing position termination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Succession Process</strong></td>
<td>1. rules outlining minimum and maximum age for retirement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Compliance</td>
<td>2. rules outlining retirement benefits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Model of Style (general)</strong></td>
<td>1. people who retire, retire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Focal Department</strong></td>
<td>exact name unspecified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Model of Functional Integrity</td>
<td>need an assistant to the staff person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Model of Compliance</td>
<td>1. rules changed re duties, time commitment of focal position, and financial pay off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other Entities</strong></td>
<td>legislative bodies, CPP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entities with Compliance Models Which Constrain Retirement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Family of Focal Actor</td>
<td>1. the husband vacations alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>2. the husband and wife (if any) share few interests</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6-5 (cont'd)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model of Functional Integrity</th>
<th>1. the family is incomplete - it lacks children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family as a Standard Type</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Institution</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>1. one shares interests with one's spouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. spouses vacation together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Functional</td>
<td>1. children are essential to an integral,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integrity</td>
<td>whole or complete family</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. Individual Entities

II Typical College Employee

Demographic Model

Focal Actor - Position Incumbent

Social Psychological Self

Model of Functional Integrity

1. motivated to avoid retiring in order to maintain integrity - meaning to life

Financial Self

Model of Integrity

1. integrity impaired if retires, due to low benefits: integrity optimized by delaying retirement

2. integrity attenuated by change in pay classification of position

Professional Self

Model of Integrity

1. still doing good job

Assistant to Position

needed - takes over some duties from focal position
indeed retire and leave the organization. Yet as we learned in case 11, in the college organization the rules were oriented to and supplemented in a manner which allowed the actor to continue working. I shall now construct schemes of these organizations which apply sensibility to this interorganizational difference.

First, recall that the college is a young and growing organization, that most employees are relatively young, and that the case of retirement was the first retirement in the organization. In contrast, the government is a relatively old organization which is not growing rapidly and which has experienced numerous retirements. The formal rules demanding retirement at maximum age have been invoked countless previous times to accomplish predecessor departure. I would assert that not only are the formal rules a determining factor, but also there is probably a general, shared stylistic consideration that people who reach age sixty-five do indeed retire without fighting or arguing about it, or at least that, given cases all members have seen, the departure is inevitable and warranted. Thus the formal rule is buttressed by convention and numerous constitutive and illustrative case examples members hold in their stocks of knowledge. The rule is not merely abstract but has been successfully applied in past cases and members are likely to consider it nonnegotiable. That is, their stocks of knowledge do not include negotiating and circumventing the rule as a sensible option.

The situation is considerably different in the college where the formal rule has not had occasion to be embodied in conventions. Its negotiability is thus, a priori, more possible. However, the negotiations were initiated by the incumbent; otherwise the rule would have been applied in a reasonably nonproblematic fashion. The administration did not, however, wish to alter the retire at sixty-five rule as a general resource
or to encourage contradictory conventions so the solution (repeating one year position) was constructed in such a manner that the original rule was retained. Also, in all cases with the government it is taken for granted that the financial integrity of the retiree is preserved at a minimal level as he or she is qualified to and will receive some adequate pension. The circumstances of the retirement in the college differ here, because the relatively young age of the college means the incumbent did not have sufficient benefit rights to receive an adequate pension i.e. maintain financial self integrity. This was the main reason for negotiating the rules which was given by the incumbent and was generally acceptable to others. His predicament is thus abnormal but is normalized by supplementing the model of compliance to allow him to maintain financial self integrity and to gain it in future post retirement years. People expect to receive an adequate retirement pension and, although the term adequate may be made problematic, in this case the general expectation was accepted, enacted, and the compliance model regarding normal retirement was still preserved in its original form.

This case is consistent with other aspects of the orienting proposition. Retirement was explained by constructing the organization as a model of compliance, and continued employment required and resulted from supplementing this model. Further, the continued employment was unusual and hence warranted further explanations given by displaying that the financial self of the incumbent was endangered. The respondent also indicated that hesitance to retire was rooted in the actor's lack of other interpretive schemes and membership in reified entities corresponding to the schemes. The organizational compliance model thus did not fully explain all the phenomena and indeed certain events were inconsistent with the general implications. The explanation embedded in the description
therefore included other PCE's as explanatory resources.

The case of resisting retirement may also be conceived of as the antithesis or inverse of voluntary resignation. It therefore should be, and is, consistent with the proposition regarding voluntary resignation (proposition 4-1, chapter 4). Failure to retire, i.e. resisting an involuntary resignation, is explicable where 1) departure endangers the actor's financial and social psychological integrity (removes money and meaning from life) and 2) no alternative organizational or institutional scheme is available to the actor as a resource for financial and social psychological integrity maintenance.

Early retirements are similar to the case of 'non' retirement: they are insufficiently or incompletely explained by a simple organizational compliance model demanding retirement at a maximum age and allowing it after a minimum age. The case of the early retirement of the second chief clerk exemplifies this construction of supplementary PCE's as explanatory devices. This actor planned early retirement because he wanted to run for public office, i.e. he wished to reconstruct or alter his professional identity, hence there was a perceived mismatch between the present organizational scheme and his ideal and sought after professional self. The actor also sees another scheme where a positive match would occur and therefore has another potential location and interpretive scheme for providing meaning, and maintenance of minimal financial self integrity is assured by his pension and will be enhanced relative to the pension only slightly if he wins election.

The parallel between this early retirement and voluntary resignation is clear (see proposition 4-1). Further, we learned in the case description and analysis that status degradation of the actor was at one time made a considered possibility - council told him to shape up or get out.
This happened because the actor 1) violated stylistic expectations by hiring a friend as his deputy and 2) performed in a manner that jeopardized the functional integrity of the organization. These conditions fit status degradation propositions (Gephart, 1978, and chapter 1). The actor was thus put on probation in a literal sense by the degradation intimations (Gephart, 1975) and may have considered his professional self integrity to be endangered if he did not leave the organization soon. The case is thus complex and involves early retirement which functions as a form of voluntary resignation and may be based in status degradation attempts or intimations. Case 6 involving the forced early retirement of the head of the personnel department was another example where the formal rules of the organization provided for 'early retirement' a possible alternative form of predecessor departure.

The case of the planned early retirement of the PL department head exhibited similar complexities. The causes of planned early retirement were given by the respondent: first, the actor was tired of the bureaucratic folderall which was necessary i.e. there was a mismatch between his social psychological/motivational and professional selves, and the organizational scheme. This is of course a common reason for voluntary resignation. Second, council was ready for a new man: he had been publicly criticized so he apparently violated some general expectations, and council's image of him did not match their image of a suitable or ideal professional self of an incumbent (see Table 6-1). These aspects are consistent with status degradation propositions regarding causes (see chapter 5 conclusions). Once again we see causes of the other forms of succession underlying planned early retirement.

It seems obvious at this point that the term retirement is a gloss which is insufficient for social scientific purposes, as there are several
subtypes of retirement. The first form is retirement at maximum age. This mode of departure tends to be relatively nonproblematic in terms of requirements for negotiation of relevant rules; explicit compliance demands warrant it. A second form is early retirement and this may be further divided into subtypes. There is early retirement due to physical disability i.e. the problematic physiological integrity of the incumbent (see case 8, utterance 40). This form could be rather unpredictable as disabilities such as cancer and heart disease may be diagnosed and/or occur abruptly, and may demand the rapid departure of the incumbent. Here, the age of the incumbent would be the factor which makes decideable the label retirement; given the appropriate age, early retirement is an option to resignation. The option is also available for departures due to other reasons, e.g. desire to change careers, which would otherwise take the form of voluntary resignation. Further, it provides an alternative to explicit status degradation.

Early retirement is thus a solution or departure mode which may be used because it is simpler to accomplish than status degradation, as major compliance demands which allow retirement are pre-existent. There is little need to extensively negotiate an enforceable organizational scheme, or to enact emotionally trying ceremonies. Also, it is less 'messy' than status degradation as it does not severely disrupt the financial and social psychological integrity of the actor: the actor receives a pension and avoids formal, negative typifications. Finally, in comparison to voluntary resignation, the payoff to the actor is higher: as noted above, financial self integrity is enhanced relative to resignation contingent financial payoffs. Thus we would expect that the departures of members who have reached minimum retirement age will seldom be labeled (voluntary) resignation or one of the common language descriptors of
status degradation. Rather, aged members will generally be said to depart due to retirement (or advancement or death), even if the additional term 'forced' is added to the explanatory label.

The selection of successors has been hypothesized to be a function of choosing a candidate who embodies characteristics made salient in predecessor departure. The actual characteristics and the manner in which they become salient will therefore vary in relation to differential modes or subtypes of predecessor retirement. In cases 8, 9 (first clerk), 10 and 11 we found predecessor departure was explained in terms of the rules demanding retirement. Other reasons were important in the case of the PL head and case 9 (chief clerk #2). Variations in successor selection should thus be observed between the two sets of cases.

The first set of cases involves departures of actors where there were no problems expressed regarding the incumbents' performances: they were doing a good job and retired mainly because of formal demands. Thus salient characteristics were 1) those included in formal job specifications and 2) any characteristics other members particularly liked (but which were not reported generally). Thus in case 8, the highways engineer was a 'weak' candidate, but his professional self made him the candidate who best matched job specifications contained in the organizational scheme and which the predecessor had presumably exemplified. While he was a 'weak' candidate, he had required technical qualifications and his supervisor who was a successor producing agent said he could 'live with' the weaknesses i.e. the agent saw the successor as adequately matching relevant characteristics as well as the social scheme of the agent himself - they could 'get along' (see Table 6-2). It is interesting to note that the 'weaknesses' were characteristics mainly relevant to administration, and the position was conceived as primarily technical, not administrative.
Hence he matched the more salient criteria.

The second chief clerk (case 9) was seen as almost the 'mirror' image of the first. He had been groomed by the first clerk to match salient characteristics of the professional self of the first clerk and was promoted because of the seniority convention. Given the government's rule of merit for promotions, and the centrality of professional self as formally assessed, it seems likely that there was no other internal candidate who more adequately matched the professional characteristics, including experience with acting in a similar position. Further, as in case 8, the organizational scheme demands insiders be given first considerations. The closer the insider is in functional/hierarchical terms to the vacant position, the more similar his professional self is to the suitable self of an incumbent. Hence, the functionally differentiated organizational hierarchy, together with the rules of merit and insider search provide for the seniority convention as a standard advancement convention where predecessor departure is more or less a matter of course and nothing unusual is made salient. Standard job specifications and characteristics of the minimally satisfactory predecessor are, by default, the salient criteria.

In case 10, we again find the successor choice explained in terms of a match between the professional self of the candidate and professional requirements (outlined in organizational compliance demands) of the position. The new assistant PL director was the only candidate who was a registered professional engineer. Further, he had been 'groomed' for promotion hence must have matched unexplicated but taken for granted criteria such as experience. Finally, in case 11, the rehired staff member was said to be doing a good job for the college. Clearly his professional self met required criteria which were salient.

We may conclude then that where retirement occurs at maximum age
and/or there are no major undercurrents of dissatisfaction with the predecessor to be, i.e. the major cause of departure is compliance with the 'retire at age sixty-five' rule, salient characteristics are the professional criteria contained in job specifications, and some acceptable match between one's social psychological self and one's superior.

The respondent AB did not, personally, have high regard for the predecessor, yet he did not assign to the predecessor the significant number of professional improprieties which were linked to the successor. From the description, I also think council must have found the predecessor's performance to be at least minimally adequate. The successor who is chosen will embody these characteristics and will be the antithesis of the predecessor in terms of age (i.e. he will be younger) - and physiological self (health) if the predecessor departed also because of physical disability. Particularly in the government it seems almost inevitable that the convention of promoting the candidate who is hierarchically and functionally closest to the vacancy is operative where 1) the insider first rule is applied, 2) professional qualifications defined by job specifications and including position relevant experience are central, and 3) predecessor departure occurs as a matter of course, without great controversy. These considerations thus provide for the 'next in line, simple successor solution' we have discussed earlier.

The second set of cases is characterized by some degree of controversy surrounding 'predecessors to be' prior to their departure. The retiring PL department head (who died) was replaced by a successor who was his antithesis both social psychologically - the successor had high drive - and in terms of his professional style or manner of dealing with criticisms (see Table 6-1). These characteristics were made salient in council's dissatisfaction with the predecessor. The early retirement of the second
chief clerk (case 9) exhibits similar processes. Council proposed to degrade the chief clerk if he didn't shape up, and characteristics relevant to the proposed degradation were those which the successor exemplified the antithesis of. He 'facilitated work' with corresponding unexplained but underlying professional characteristics, and he was a good man, forward and frank in comparison with the creepy, untrustworthy, and hypocritical predecessors. He thus enhanced or contributed to organizational functional integrity whereas his predecessor had threatened it. Presumably both the new PL head and the new Chief Clerk also met relevant professional requirements of job specifications yet these are not explicitly discussed but form the taken for granted background here due to the predecessor related controversies which made nonformal characteristics topical, visible and hence relatively more salient.

The cases of retirement illustrate the centrality of constructions of the professional selves of predecessors and successor candidates. As we found in earlier chapters, a characteristic of all case descriptions was that these characters are invariably provided with a professional self including some defining characteristics as well as a model of integrity, including evaluations of competence and/or a model of professional style. The professional self is often linked to social psychological characteristics but these characteristics tend to become topical where the respondent is displaying his personal likes and dislikes i.e. evaluatively assessing the other in terms of his own personal, practical purposes and effects. Tables 6-1 through 6-5 evidence this assertion.

Generalized motivations such as drive or an achievement motivation are assigned to actors independently of the respondents interpersonal relationships with the actors (see Tables 6-1 and 6-4 and related cases), but the one description where other social psychological characteristics
and descriptors became topical was case 9, reported by AB, where he constructed the predecessor chief clerks as creeps, hypocrites, untrustworthy, and so on, whereas the successor is provided with positive characteristics such as good man, frank, and so on (see Table 6-3). These evaluative labels are linked to his own practical purposes and feelings. Thus he clearly has to deal with the chief clerk from time to time in accomplishing his own professional tasks. The social psychological selves of the predecessors effected him directly: "when I see them my hair starts standing up (case 9, utterance 263), whereas with the successor, the effects are different: "I can go into the clerk's office now without my hair standing up right?" (case 9, utterances 329-331). The social psychological characteristics other than motivations are thus provided in a description where the respondent is discussing not just some other actor "out there" but an actor who is relevant to the practical dealings of the respondent himself.

Perhaps it is only through direct face to face interactions that these aspects of images of the social psychological self become relevant or important whereas, given organizational rules, the professional self of some other is important for a variety of purposes independent of any face to face relationships with this other. Thus the professional self is central to promotion and is outlined by job specifications and requirements given by the organizational scheme. One can then use an image of this professional self which is constructed on paper, both in rules and applications, without even meeting the person corresponding to a particular image/self. However employing social psychological typifications seems to require that one actually observe the person 'first hand' as a basis for constructing an image of him or her. It seems to me that there is a generally shared notion of proper style that one does not (formally) provide
images of some other's social psychological self without direct evidence of the characteristics.

One may conclude that the concept of programmatic construction of entities has once again proven useful as a resource for making social scientific sense of members' common language descriptions of cases of succession. The case descriptions are largely constituted by programmatically constructing schemes which reflect those entities members conceive as populating their social and psychological worlds. The entities are topical in case descriptions as the central phenomena of members' concerns. Clearly, a description of succession is oriented toward certain entities which compose that succession; the activities, trajectories, causes and consequences of the assumed-to-be-concrete entities are contextually explained and provided for by the abstract schemes which constructed and related to the concrete appearances. Thus members theorize in the process of describing; this theorizing involves programmatic construction of interpretive schemes and negotiation of the schemes as shared resources of the speaker and the hearer(s).

Negotiation of the shared nature of interpretive schemes involves producing certain minimal conditions. First, the hearer and speaker negotiate a reciprocity of perspectives, that is, they provide for and agree that if each were to take the place or position of the other, he or she would see what the other sees (Schutz, 1962; Garfinkel, 1967). Second, and related to this, members negotiate an assumption of a shared stock of factual knowledge. This is of course basic to the reciprocity of perspectives because only if one shares knowledge with another - such as certain recognizable identity relations of the form 'this is an X' - can one reasonably assume the other sees or could see what oneself sees. Third, members negotiate a relationship of correspondence between the concrete entity and the theoretical or programmatical entity as an inter-
pretive scheme. That is, members do work to show that the abstract image or scheme is relevant to the assumed to be concrete entity 'out there'. Negotiation of these three relations is conversationally accomplished in the exchange of utterances where one member verifies the utterances of the other(s) e.g. by saying 'm hm, ya I know' and thus demonstrably accomplishes the relations.

Asserting members negotiate shared interpretive schemes when explaining some phenomenon to another person is not equivalent to arguing that the members have identical knowledge. Rather, the argument is that the interpretive schemes are essentially vague and thus fit a major characteristic of programmatic construction. What is shared - and demonstrated to be shared - includes two things. First, members display certain specific items of knowledge are shared, such as identity relations ('this is an X', 'he did that yesterday' and so on) and these are taken to index points of correspondence among underlying and unexplained schemes and bodies of background knowledge. Second, members thereby display that each does have some background interpretive scheme and knowledge which remains unexplained or incompletely explicated. Thus while the shared nature of certain specific items of knowledge may be an issue, the larger issue is always that each member must demonstrate he or she has some abstract common sense theoretical resources for making phenomena sensible, that is, the members have a shared ability. Thus in one case above it was important to the respondent that he and the researcher share an image of 'family' which includes a husband, wife and children. Yet essential vagueness of the family scheme is also a sanctionable, acceptable characteristic in that one must be able to generate various other characteristics of a 'family' which may or may not be shared by the other party to the discussion in his or her image of family. But these other characteristics and the
ability to generate them are necessary to filling in the image of family invoked by explicitly given characteristics, and using it sensibly. Thus an explicit characteristic of the family (given in case 11) is that the husband and wife did not have shared interests. This latter term 'shared interests' is a gloss and I may fill in the blank differently than the speaker. How I fill it in may not be relevant but my ability to fill it in in some manner is necessary to comprehending the general, explicit characteristics and hence to negotiating and using a shared scheme of the family which is 'actually' sanctionably shared only at certain points of correspondence.

**Stages in Retirement.** Tables 6-6 through 6-9 summarize the stages in the descriptions of retirement provided by cases 8 through 11. Examination of these tables indicates all cases have one common characteristic - a successor was selected prior to the date of predecessor departure. Thus all cases were more or less planned. This planning is due of course to the predictability of the date of predecessor departure, and the relatively lengthy lead time available for recruitment which was made possible because of the predictability. And, as discussed earlier, the predictability is due to one relatively unique facet of retirement: it is the sole form of succession where general compliance demands exist to determine the earliest and latest possible dates of predecessor departure. The 'dates' are defined in terms of the age (unfolding ontogenetic development) of the incumbent.

One sees then that even where the exact date of predecessor departure came earlier than the maximum date, the general temporal range was known and plans were constructed. In many cases the organizational scheme qua hierarchy provided a simple solution to the successor problem, as a 'next in line' position incumbent was available. 'Grooming' was thus possible
Table 6-6

Stages in the Retirement of the Assistant Engineer, Case 8

I. Presuccession Phase

1. branch head (successor to be) acknowledged to lack certain skills relevant to promotion: nothing done to remedy deficiencies

II. Succession Considered Possible

1. predecessor-to-be announces plans to retire to chief engineer (succession producing agents) 11 months prior to planned retirement date

2. formal letter announcing retirement plans

III. What Next?

1. successor producing agents decide not to advertise vacant position outside

2. vacancy posted internally for seven days, applications received

3. applications reviewed by successor producing agents

4. short list of one candidate is proposed

5. producer agent who is also to be the superordinate of the incumbent states the single candidate will be suitable, despite his limitations

IV. Formal Decision Made: Successor Appointed, Effective on Date of Predecessor Retirement

V. Predecessor Retires - Departs

VI. Successor Assumes Office - Arrive

same date

VII. Post Succession
Table 6-7
Stages in the Retirement of The Chief Clerk, Case 9

I. Presuccession Phase
1. government seal is 'straightened out'
2. prospective successor is groomed in image of first clerk
3. first chief clerk retires at maximum age
4. groomed candidate is promoted

II. Succession is Considered Possible
1. problems arise
   a. chief appoints friend as deputy: violates the stylistic considerations
   b. deputy jeopardizes organizational integrity
   c. council perceives general problems in organizational functioning as due to problems in clerk office
2. incumbent clerk told by council to depart or rectify his problematic professional self, and thus to restore functional integrity to organization
3. problematic deputy replaced by an incumbent that is suitable to council
4. focal position incumbent (chief clerk #1) announced plans to retire early in order to run for political office

III. Successor is Appointed - Deputy is Promoted
1. search begins for successor to deputy position

IV. Predecessor Departure and Successor Arrival (successor assumes office)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I.</th>
<th>Presuccession Phase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>Succession Considered Possible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. forthcoming retirement of incumbent in two years is noted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>What Next?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. lack of suitable internal successor noted: organizational scheme doesn't offer simple solution to successor problem: functional integrity potentially problematic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. organizational scheme altered to create simple solution 'next-in-line' position of codes engineer, and to allow maintenance of functional integrity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. position advertised, candidates interviewed, incumbent codes engineer selected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. incumbent groomed for assistant position, given experience for three years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. retirement date approaches: assistant position advertised internally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. two internal applicants: one disqualified because he does not meet minimum requirements i.e. cannot fulfill compliance demands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. short list reduced to one: incumbent codes engineer i.e. generally expected successor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>Successor is Appointed - Groomed Individual Promoted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>Predecessor Departs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI.</td>
<td>Successor Arrives, assumes duties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII.</td>
<td>Post Succession Phase</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1relative position in temporal sequence is not clear from respondent's description
Table 6-9
Stages in the Non-Retirement of a Staff Member, Case 11

I. Presuccession Stage
   1. college grows, focal position responsibilities change

II. Succession Considered Possible
   1. incumbent notes he is approaching compulsory retirement age

III. What Next?
   1. incumbent constricts organizational need for an assistant: his administrator agrees and authorizes hierarchical modification to include position and fill it
   2. incumbent's position is changed
      a. incumbent approaches administration and requests employment past mandatory retirement age
      b. administration and union negotiate modification of organizational hierarchy and image of functional integrity: new position for focal actor

IV. Focal Actor Changes Positions at Retirement Date, Continues Working
   1. old position terminated
   2. simultaneous predecessor departure - successor arrival with single actor filling both roles
i.e. the 'obvious' successor could be exposed to relevant phenomena, deficient skills could be rectified (in theory, if not in practice) and so on. In the case of the assistant PL head (case 10: Table 6-8) no simple solution was available. Here, the organizational hierarchy was modified to provide a next in line position: an incumbent was recruited and then groomed for three years prior to being promoted.

The predictability of departure thus allows planful, rational activities and smooth successions. There was no actual 'vacant focal position' in any of the cases whereas with death for example the position is often temporarily vacant, then filled by an acting incumbent, and finally filled permanently. The one form of retirement where such planning might be prevented would be sudden early retirements where a later retirement date was generally announced and/or expected previously. Such cases are most likely to involve the sudden physical disablement of the incumbent, and may parallel the sequence of successions due to death. However, I did not find any cases like this in the sample. The one example which appears most similar to the 'disrupted retirement plans' type of case is of course case 1 (chapter 3) where the PL Department Head who was planning to retire early died suddenly.

Examination of the tables (6-6 through 6-9) also reveals that respondents found it useful in three of the four cases, to report certain 'presuccession events' (cases 8, 9 and 11). These events furnish background necessary to understanding the unique or unusual aspects of each case. Thus with case 8, one learns that the weaknesses of the 'successor to be' were conversationally topical prior to succession being considered. These weaknesses are then topical in successor selection where the actor was selected 'despite weaknesses'. Similarly in case 9, one learns of the activities of the first clerk and the grooming of his successor. One
striking characteristic of the case is the generally negative image of the second chief clerk and this is seen as a continuation of a pattern because of the provided background. Finally in case 11, one learns the background history of the college which provides sensibility to the unusual case of rehiring a retired incumbent. The provision of details in a presuccession stage thus provides background knowledge and orienting expectations of salient aspects which allow the hearer to apprehend unique details and 'striking' characteristics of the particular cases.

The 'stage' tables display succession events in chronological order. These tables mirror the chronology respondents provided in their descriptions. Thus we may once again conclude that respondents' descriptions orient toward and provide chronological sequences of events, and such chronology is a warranted structuring for sensible descriptions.

CONCLUSIONS

I have examined several cases of organizational succession which involve the retirement of a predecessor. Retirement includes a number of more specific forms falling under two major subtypes 1) retirement at maximum age, and 2) early retirement. Among early retirements, the cases examined included those where the retirement occurred as announced and I have mentioned cases where early retirement occurs earlier than previously announced or expected, particularly cases involving the sudden physical disablement (sudden change in the integrity of the physiological self) and consequent rapid departure of the predecessor. Such cases may be very similar to cases of death, although the range of departure date is constrained by retirement rules and hence is a priori more predictable - death can of course occur at any age.

It was also found that cases of early retirement may not be 'pure retirement cases'. Rather, the organizational compliance model which outlines
a minimum and maximum retirement age thereby provides for early retire-
ment as an alternative to status degradation or voluntary resignation of
an aging incumbent. Thus certain cases may resemble voluntary resignation
and/or status degradation in terms of their stages and the manner in which
PCE's are utilized, as well as their substantive content.

One may also conclude that retirements often exhibit characteristics
of rational, planned succession because the range of retirement dates is
predictable quite far in advance, and is generally a rather narrow and
specific range. Finally, I note that the professional self of actors is
central to successor selection. In cases of retirement at maximum age
or cases where little controversy surrounded the predecessor prior to de-
parture, salient characteristics tend to be those included in job specifi-
cations (organizational compliance model). Salient successor characteris-
tics are then similar to predecessor characteristics. If the departing
predecessor is controversial, characteristics involved in the controversy
become more salient and conversationally topical than formal job specifi-
cations although these later characteristics are still utilized. Salient
successor characteristics in such cases are commonly antithetical to con-
troversial predecessor characteristics.

The orienting proposition presented in the chapter introduction has
received support, but it also requires elaboration in terms of the empiri-
cal material. The following propositions summarize the theoretical con-
cclusions and explicate the propositions presented earlier.

Proposition 6-1: Succession due to retirement is explained by
members through constructing a scheme of the organization as a
model of compliance (set of rules) outlining retirements.

Proposition 6-2: The organizational compliance model provides
an adequate, sensible, sufficient explanation of the cause of
predecessor departure in cases where the retirement occurs at
maximum age.
Proposition 6-3: In cases of early retirement (or failure to retire early) explanations of the cause of predecessor departure (or failure to depart) will be accomplished by constructing the organization as a model of compliance relating to retirement, and one or more of the following schemes.

1. an image of the financial integrity, physiological integrity and/or the social psychological-motivational self of the prospective retiree (predecessor).

2. a model of the functional integrity of the organization.

3. institutional or organizational schemes (other than the focal organization) within which the retiree is or may be located, and which will become primary interpretive resources for the actor, after his or her retirement (or such that alternative schemes are not available for the actor).

Proposition 6-4: Retirement based successions are predictable and therefore provide the opportunity to implement a planned succession sequence where the successor is chosen following the announcement or general expectation of a retirement date, and prior to predecessor departure, and no actual vacancy occurs in the focal position as successor arrival and predecessor departure occur concomitantly.

Corollary 6-4-1: One contingency mitigating the complete implementation or unfolding of the planned sequence is the unexpected early departure of the incumbent e.g. through sudden physical disability.

Proposition 6-5: The successor, in cases of retirement, is selected because of his or her exemplification of certain salient characteristics. Salience is determined as follows:

1. Where the predecessor, and/or his or her departure, is relatively noncontroversial, salient characteristics are those of the professional self of a suitable incumbent as provided by job requirements and specifications provided by the organizational model of compliance/hierarchy, and which the predecessor was seen to exemplify. Departures at maximum age tend to be noncontroversial.

2. Where status degradation of the predecessor was attempted or suggested as a possibility prior to predecessor departure, and/or the predecessor was relatively controversial with others assigning negative characteristics are those proposed in the degradation attempt or suggestion and/or the negative, controversial characteristics. The successor is chosen because he is conceived as the antithesis of the problematic aspects of the predecessor, as well as meeting formal job requirements.
Proposition 6-6: When searching for a successor, the organizational scheme will be used to locate position incumbents who are logical internal successor candidates because they occupy 'next in line' positions relative to the focal position.

Proposition 6-7: When a position vacancy is predictable, sufficient time is available and no simple organizational solution is available in the form of a next in line position and incumbent, the organizational scheme constituted by the compliance/hierarchy model will be altered to provide for a simple, 'next in line position' solution to the successor problem. The next in line position will then be filled, and the incumbent groomed for future advancement.

These propositions provide a low order substantive model of retirement based succession. In the final chapter of this dissertation I shall review these propositions and compare them with other type specific models in an effort to generate a more general theoretical conception of organizational succession as it is described and understood by organizational participants.
Chapter 7
ADVANCEMENT AND SUCESSION

I have thus far discussed four types of organizational succession which are distinguished by differential modes of predecessor departure—death, voluntary resignation, status degradation, and retirement. These types have one commonality which is that the departure of the incumbent is followed by the advancement of another individual into the vacated position. These pure types of course have their fringe or deviant examples: thus it is theoretically possible for someone to actually be demoted into a vacant position, hence predecessor departure could be followed by a demotion. Further, as the respondent from the college noted in case 11, concerning retirement, it is possible that predecessor departure may result in the position itself being terminated, particularly when various compliance demands provide this as the only point at which hierarchical reorganization related to a particular position may be accomplished. However in most cases of predecessor departure, another actor does indeed advance into the vacated position.

Thus various types of succession involve predecessor departure by some mode, plus advancement of some actor into the predecessor's former position. According to this, I have already discussed eleven cases of advancement. Initially, however, I conceived advancement as a type of succession involving predecessor departure through advancement, then followed by advancement of an actor to the vacated position. This typology was expressed to members by asking respondents to report cases of five types of succession based on five types of predecessor departure, including advancement. This last type of succession did not get understood by respondents as I had intended it to be. When describing cases of advancement
members reported advancements after a particular predecessor departure without discussing post advancement (departure) advancement. This is, they did not discuss advancement as a form of predecessor departure followed by 'successor to be' advancement. Respondents did not seem to understand advancement as a form of predecessor departure causing succession but rather conceived of it as a result of predecessor departure. The analytical distinction of the researcher thus did not correspond to the general meaning used by respondents.

The unstructured nature of the interviews was maintained and the researcher did not emphatically impose his meanings on the respondents' understanding of the common language typifications of succession types. Respondents were allowed to report advancements, as they understood the term, so I ended up with only one rather brief case of advancement following predecessor advancement. Respondents used the request to report a case of 'advancement' as warrant for de-emphasizing predecessor departure in some case, and reporting details of the selection process in that case. Often they did not report why or how the predecessor departed, but merely offered a case of advancement of some actor to the status of successor. I thus ended up with cases of 'advancement' which fit the various other types of succession. Well, 'so much' for the analytical distinction made in the introductory theoretical chapter!

However, there are certain aspects of advancement (successor arrival) which have not yet been given adequate consideration. This chapter will focus on these aspects. First, one may recall that particular advancements in the government were often visible and comprehensible as departures from some standard search, recruitment and promotion sequence which thus acted as a background expectancy. In this chapter I shall examine governmental respondents' descriptions of the common advancement process.
There did not appear to be any standard advancement sequence, or search and recruitment process in the college, particularly with regard to the chief executive officer (president or principal) position. In chapter four I examined the selection of the second principal and the various negotiations and issues surrounding it. Members were in disagreement about the 'proper' search and advancement process, and thus in accomplishing the selection, shared agreements were reached and background knowledge from other sources was utilized to provide for and understand the process. In the firing of the college principal (chapter five) the advancement process was again innovatively constructed with little recourse to (or without resulting in) a generally shared, standard selection process. Certain rules outlining search and selection were clarified and invoked but no wholistic, integrated and general process emerged.

A later case of advancement to the principal position, which involved the appointment of a 'permanent or regular' incumbent to replace the acting principal will be discussed in this chapter. In this case, the reader will provided with some detail on the manner in which various problems were solved and the acting principal attempted to provide rules and solutions constitutive of a standard and generalizeable search and selection process. Thus one will learn how limited, interpretive resources were supplemented and a smooth succession (as understood by members) was accomplished.

Corollaries 2-4 and 2-5 presented in chapter 1 relate to advancement, and are equivalent to one another here. Thus successor selection is equivalent to advancement as a form of succession in members' views (although as noted above the researcher did not intend such complete equivalence in meaning). The corollaries indicate that advancement (successor selection) is explained by the relationship between the organizational scheme and an actor's social psychological self. Recall
that this 'self' has been clarified and thus now the professional self is conceived as the major relevant entity. Further, the selection involves choosing the successor candidate whose professional self best matches the suitable or ideal self outlined in the compliance demands regarding job requirements, and other characteristics made salient in predecessor departure.

The proposition (corollary) should illuminate the descriptions offered by respondents. Thus I turn now to a discussion of the standard advancement process in the government, as reported by respondents, and to the third case of succession in the office of the college principal.

THE STANDARD ADVANCEMENT PROCESS IN THE GOVERNMENT

Respondents did not report only the details of specific advancements, but also found it useful to outline the advancement process as a generalized, case independent sequence or scheme applicable to all cases. A description of the generalized sequence was warranted because it provides necessary background which the respondent used to organize and make sensible the various succession events; and respondents realized that this background was a necessary interpretive resource for the researcher. Thus all respondents provided an outline of this process.

**Respondent 1: AB, the Assistant Director of Personnel**

91 RG about the procedure if someone wants to be head of the X department what do they have to do to get their name into the pool?

92 ok like any other position um the position is posted [m hm]

94 that means it goes on the wall in in fifty places [m hm]

96 in the government organization including naturally in the department office. It has to stay according to contract the union contract some union contracts for one week [m hm]

98 as this is an excluded position we wouldn't have to do this [m hm]
I mean there is no uh but our policy is to do this in any case [m hm]

uh in the case of the X department we actually post four weeks for the simple reason with these on and off shifts and people being away and an so on so forth this is a bit awkward so uh to avoid any later complaints that somebody is not being dealt with fairly and properly or something along this line we post the damned thing for four weeks [ok]

and then we first get out the files and look what we know about these people and what kind of data we have on them. If we don't have sufficient test data, if they haven't been tested before, ok. Some of the older ones might not have been tested extensively in that they might not have applied for a senior position before so we're setting up a a testing session and all those people have applied. Their test records will be brought up to date [m hm]

ok? that includes aptitudes, skill, knowledge, the ability to think and learn uh including some projective tests, uh personality this sort of thing [mm]

ok then these people will be interviewed by panel. At least two generally two and all personnel uh all department heads and then myself [m hm]

and working with me and doing first the leg work and then working with me will be one of the senior personnel consultants [m hm]

the next step is that we select the possible three and more or less single those and say that these are the three best if possible - but sometimes you have only one [m hm]

and um oh by the way its a policy that the department head positions uh have to be advertised

advertised in the paper?

Right. Now somebody who's knowledgeable of the system will immediately see if we feel we get enough inside or not because if we feel we haven't got anybody it goes across country. It costs us probably three thousand dollars in advertisements [mmm]

and if we know that we get someone or we have groomed somebody then there's a small [hee heh (laughs)]

ad of that size (hand gesture shows small size) in the career section of the local paper or something [RG laughs]

right so for the people who who watch what we are doing this becomes very obvious [m hm]

and so you can't afford this with a smaller organization be-
cause you really don't have anybody there but in the big organization it becomes very very hairy [hmm]

because always the accusation can be made that you have failed to develop your people [hmm]

and there are enough to choose from - you should be able to find one over the years [mm]

ok after we have now looked at these people we prepare a profile on all of them - all government employees. If we are going to the outside then we only prepare profiles on the on the three best - who we consider the three best. The council will interview all - its but a policy, its but a part uhm given employee relations and things [m hm]

has a policy

RG so they they interview them in a a special session or in committee or

ah what they generally do is they uh council appoints a small committee of two, three, or something like that [m hm]

Generally the chief politician and council members - not always - do these interviews and then this committee, in camera, with our additional input reports to council. What generally happens is that committee reports to council their findings and then their opinions and then this I uh quite informal, its not formal [mmm]

at these in camera meetings and then they, the chief politician or somebody will say, AB what do you think or what do you got to say uh any comments on what has been said here and I say oh let's see it a bit differently and maybe one should look also at this vector consider that er say that I'm completely in agreement with [heh (laughs)]

the committee or something of the ya know its a give and take there and [mmm]

um its not followed uhm everybody realizes in the selection of people a number of people should get a kick at the can because everybody looks at it from a different point of view, everybody tries and has probably unconscious biases and by having two or three or four people involved with the whole process which is two personnel agents or let's say assistant director of personnel, senior personnel consultant, a committee of council, and then council will interview - like may or may not, not always [hmm]

may interview. If the committee is not quite sure or says there are two very good people or there is, let's say the committee and I don't agree er some agree and then whole council might call in, will let two finalists in or something like that but
but this is the sort of thing they [mm]

seldom, ok generally we are able to settle it - very often they or at times they don't even appoint a committee and just they know the people sometimes when they're from the inside [hmm]

ahh so its played by ear and it generally works out

but always you look at your internal people first [m hm]

all internal people will be looked at ok in detail uh all will be interviewed by council

RG m hmm all internal people interviewed by council

all - now external, only the ones we select [m hm]

but that's a matter of courtesy that senior people who apply I mean generally people who apply for the department head posi-

and its just a matter of it should be this way [m hm]

Its always a gamble whenever you take somebody from the out-

I'm the first one to admit that even with with all the care we give it using let's say testing, as indicators, um we have a first class network across the country. I mean I can find out anything about anybody ok who works anywhere let's say in three days [m hm hmm]

the whole story including you know attitude and what have you by just making some calls. It takes years to build that - it's there but you have to work at it

You really need it. Why do you use people consultants for in-

and by senior community I mean into it across the country in the particular field you are looking for [m hm]

there's one thing we do and which I insist on and that is the maintenance and continuous updating of a network [m hm]

I said this before, within three days I can have a line on any-

if I have a name. If I don't have a name it will take me a week to get about a half dozen names of possible people if they are there at all [m hm]
and that means senior personnel in the federal government, that means head of civil service commissions, that means senior executives, presidents of companies for instance uh engineering companies [m hm]

uh consulting firms saying listen I need assistant engineer such as blah blah blah blah blah blah and um anybody around [m hm]

and but not only on that very high level but also in the intermediate level for instance with say if you talked to the head of any governmental system right subsystem I would say where are the best men in this job sitting in your state [m hm]

and he'll come back and say oh Christ there is only one and that'd be the guy he's sitting in such and such

Analysis of the Description of Respondent 1, AB. The description is initiated when RG requests details of the application procedure for a specific position. AB provides a general scheme or sequence which displays that for certain practical organizational purposes, all positions are equivalent (92). His description then proceeds by emphasizing a collection of events which occur in chronological sequence. First, the vacancy is transformed into general organizational knowledge available to any member. The organization is constructed as an entity with definite, concrete physical locations and settings (94, 96). A gambit of compliance constitutive of a subunit - the union - specifies the temporal span of the announcement (96). The position RG mentioned is typified as an 'excluded position' i.e. a nonunion position, hence we learn there are at least two types of positions which may be distinguished in terms of the compliance model - union positions or those for which the compliance model may be invoked, and other positions. The compliance model is used as a metaphor to provide a proper search style in those cases where it cannot be invoked as a formal rule set (98-100). By 'policy' (100) I take it that he means, in this usage, a convention or common style.

Meeting compliance demands for the announcement does not necessarily fulfill the general expectations of proper advertising procedure, as
functional contingencies may mitigate the sufficiency of the compliance demands. Thus various shifts may result in people not becoming aware of the vacancy if it is advertised only as required (102); proper style suggests the information should be visible to all members of the particular subunit, and this consideration is given primacy. Compliance demands specify necessary minimum conditions whereas the model of style includes sufficient conditions.

Succession producing agents - 'we' - are impied (104). The organization includes a set of records or files which are an available stock of knowledge the agents may utilize (104). Such files constitute formalized images of the professional selves of employees. AB constructs the professional selves of a standard type of successor candidate - someone whose career history or sequence does not include past applications for senior positions. With such candidates, various devices are used to produce formal dimensions of their professional and related social psychological selves (109, 106).

The activities of succession producing agents are specified in further detail (108-112). A short list is produced, and although the respondent does not state a rule here, the list is constrained by metaphorically applying the union compliance model to the senior position. The union rule is that the three best candidates will be 'certified' for a position. Another constraint on the search process is the rule requiring that the position be advertised in general news media, however there is a range of ways of adequately meeting this criterion (116); and there are two common ways i.e. common styles which some standard type knowledgeable outsider can apprehend and then utilize to interpret matters (116-122). If a candidate has been informally preselected, the vacancy receives only a small announcement in the local paper whereas if no solution has been generally
agreed upon regarding the successor problem the vacancy is made very widely available (across country) knowledge. In this instance it has a more significant impact on the financial aspect of the focal organization.

A general announcement would be constrained by the financial integrity of a small organization (130). In a large organization, proper style includes the consideration that internal personnel should be prepared, through training and so on, for advancement. If one has to advertise externally because no suitable internal candidates are available, one can be accused of violating this stylistic consideration (132).

The respondent continues to make topical the chronology of events (138). Two further subtypes of successor candidates - internal and external - are obviated. Agents produce 'profiles' or formal images of the professional selves of the three best candidates, thus the 'rule of three' is again invoked. Following another rule, a subunit (council) acts as a successor producing agency and interviews candidates. Specific agents are defined as the chief politician, other politically elected characters, and the personnel department members (144-146). Council meetings are the ceremonial occasions where the successor is negotiated (146) and the negotiated nature of the ceremonies is emphasized (148). Conventionally the respondent, as a representative of certain succession producers, is available and questioned by the other agents during the ceremony.

Different members have different interpretational schemes (150) so negotiating shared agreements on the successor is essential to reaching an adequate decision. The producer agents are again specified - two members from the personnel department, a committee of council, and council. There is a range of proper styles regarding who will interview the candidate.

If no shared agreement is reached in committee regarding the best
candidate, council as a whole may gather information through face to face contact with the better candidates and may attempt to negotiate an agreement (152). Another contingency which causes a departure from the standard, conventional search and selection process occurs when council members already hold images of candidates as part of their stock of knowledge (154). The standard sequence is thus responsive to various contingencies and gets negotiated and applied in a contingent manner i.e. 'its played by ear' (156).

Another stylistic consideration constraining the search and selection process is provided later in the interview. Potential candidates are divided into two types - insiders and outsiders. The search proceeds by examining internal candidates first and all are interviewed (643-645). The second type of candidate is examined only if no adequate successor is located among the first type, and no a priori expectation regarding interviews is applied here. The stylistic nature of the 'review internals first and interview them' consideration is emphasized by the contention that this occurs just because it should (651).

Procurring outsider candidates is discussed by AB. He notes (211) that the images of the outside candidates' professional and social psychological selves are never completely adequately constructed (213). One means of developing such images is proposed by outlining what he calls a 'network'. The 'network', very similar to an old buddy system, is an interpersonal institution which has to be maintained i.e. has certain functional requirements (695). The institution may be used to meet informational needs of the focal organization by tapping the 'senior community' to locate persons with professional selves which match the needs of the focal organization. The institution is characterized by certain temporal specifications as functional constraints e.g. it requires no more than
three days to produce information if a 'name' is pre-existent and a week to get names if none are previously available (697-699).

Respondent 2, CD, Senior Personnel Consultant. CD outlines the standard search and advancement process early in the interview. His comments are presented and discussed in chapter 6, case 8 regarding the highways engineer. They are very consistent with AB's comments and so will not be reviewed here in their totality. However a couple of points deserve further consideration.

21 ok the difference with levels of positions ok [m hmm]

23 uh let's say I was looking at a lower level position such as an engineering assistant II. In that particular case personnel has more sort of complete control or complete involvement. We establish sort of a pattern to be used with the department on those level of positions. We know the qualifications, we would advertise the position, collect the applications, select an initial group for testing and interview: test, interview, records check, and supply the department with what we consider to be the three best ok? that's how we work almost with all union positions say and at a lower level [mmm]

25 and up we involve the department right from the start. Its much more of a mutual step by step process working together with the department rather than personnel doing things in isolation

26 [m hm]

27 So we're as I mentioned right at the start we would discuss with the department whether or not we should advertise at the same time

371 usually in the lower level positions personnel will interview first, make a certification - in other words say here's three people who can do the job, you pick the one you really want. So there is a differing approach with levels of position and I think I would characterize the approach with senior department heads or with senior positions as working much more with the department you know on a step by step basis rather than the other set way. I suppose in part the way we handle lower level positions is in part dictated because of the collective agreement [mmm]

CD explicates two different 'position type contingent' styles of search (23). Lower level position searches are explained largely in terms
of the union contract as a model of compliance (36), whereas senior position searches are much less rule governed. And personnel department members are the primary successor producing agents in the early part of the search for lower level incumbents. With senior positions, personnel department members work with the focal subunit members who are thus also successor producing agents. Further, the search and selection process includes a range of department contingent patterns or styles (23). Thus we see that while a standard search and selection process is a stable background expectation and scheme presented and utilized by the respondent, there are also various standard contingencies which are common, and which are provided for by the ranges of operative styles of the selection process.

CD also makes some interesting comments on the rational, planned succession process. This process includes the standard selection process and operative manifestations, as well as the notions that 1) search and selection occurs prior to predecessor departure, 2) internal candidates are informally located and groomed prior to the formal enactment of the search and selection process and 3) that, on the whole, the organization maintains long range succession plans and generally has identified potential internal successor candidates for any and all given positions at all times, even prior to the search and selection process which is initiated when predecessor departure is temporally proximate.

252 what I've found in talking to a lot of people there's more things happen by accident than by a design [m hm]

254 in a lot of organizations ya [ok]

256 know it a long way from what ya find in the textbook or read in the periodicals ya know about how nice it would be to have succession planning uhh it certainly points out some of these things in my mind anyway where there could have been a lot more pre planning done y'know a lot more development of individuals that [mmm]
may have been not actually designated to move into a certain position but were probably known as as the best to do so but nothing was really done y'know to better equip them for it in order to bring them along [m hm]

CD notes that the rational planning process is often not initiated. Although the relevance of particular members' selves to needs of the organizational scheme may be known, training and other aspects of 'development' of the professional self are not undertaken. When a vacancy occurs, things happen by accident and not because of the unfolding of a pre-existent plan. Thus the search and selection process is often a post hoc attempt to solve problems which have already arisen.

Respondent 3, EF, Director of Employee Training. EF provided a number of insights into the 'normal' search and selection process within the government. In describing the choice of a successor following the forced early retirement of the Director of Personnel, he provided the normal sequence as a background which made the actual observed sequence sensible, and visible as a departure from the standard process. The statements were presented earlier (chapter 5, case 6, respondent 2) but are included here for the convenience of the reader.

normally there would have been a committee of council set up [uh huh] along with the administrative manager and now of course with the deputy manager as well normally that's the way it would go if you were interviewing a number of candidates for the job and then they would go into in camera, make the recommendation. This particular committee, the selection committee would make their recommendation - normally that would be the finance and administration committee and it would make its recommendation to the whole of council and council would then vote yay or nay [mm hm]

but as I say this thing was a forgone conclusion pretty well and so there was no need for that kind of thing to be done [m hm]

so you just had an interview with the administrative manager ya

and he he informed council I guess
The actual selection process clearly departs from the standard selection process outlined in Table 7-1. The manager acted as the primary succession producing agent (step 5) but apparently the next phase (6) was not enacted and certain producer agents were not involved. Further stage 7 is indicated to have been relatively brief, with little negotiation. There was no immediate need to negotiate a choice, as the actual decision had been made in the past, and the interviews were merely ceremonial homage to the conventional process.

The respondent also provided an extensive discussion of succession planning, the 'rational succession process' I have invoked from time to time.

ok if we're talking about the government I think it's fair to say that the departments do plan for succession on an informal basis - the directors, the deputy directors or assistant directors, et cetera [m hm]

your department and division heads branch heads may well get together and do some informal planning of the human resources of the organization. The involvement of our personnel department to this point in time has been extremely limited [m hm] extremely limited [m hm]

and I think unfortunately so and so that's um now the other thing has been that I don't think we have had the skills in the department to do this kind of thing and certainly we haven't had the interest [hmm]

in organizational succession, that is, in terms of involving the personnel department in organizational succession [m hm]

everything has been done previous to this time pretty well on a basis of the department thinks well who should be coming up and there isn't any planned movement across departments that is between departments and this kind of thing

we don't have what one would term manpower planning, human resource planning whatever ya want ta term it. As a matter of fact I've recommended some of this stuff [m hm]

get rolling [m hm]

and how successful I'll be getting that accepted is another
Table 7-1
Steps in The Standard Search and Selection Process
Respondent 1, AB

1. vacancy occurs
2. possible insider candidates informally considered
   a. if no likely good insiders, decision to do major advertising
3. post (and advertise, if decided or required to do so)
4. review files on insiders
   a. update; test
5. senior managers in a subunit and personnel agents do panel inter-
   views of all insider candidates
6. develop short list - maximum three candidates
   a. prepare profiles of the three
   b. council interviews candidates, either by
      1) committee, which reports to council and/or
      2) special committee of the whole
      or 3) if candidate well known 'play it by ear'
7. council negotiates a decision
   a. speaks with a representative from the personnel department
   b. votes, makes the appointment
matter but at the present time we do not have succession charts and that's fundamental to human resource planning [m hm]

you know ok if we know that Joe Blow and Jane Doe and all the rest of them and their counterparts are gonna retire next year, so many the year after, so many the year after that and there may be some attrition uh in addition to these kinds of things and so ok who are the people that are in line to replace these? Who would be fer instance an I can just y'know I can picture an organization chart with boxes with the title of the job and the present incumbent and then little squares attached to the bottom uh rectangles with these those things on showing the names of the people in the organization who could uh succeed uh each of those individuals and perhaps even color coded with a red dot beside the person that was most ready, a blue dot beside the person that was next most ready, and a green dot goes next to somebody that might be ready in five to seven years or something [m hm]

you know this kind of thing so that truly there would be a good succession planning vehicle and we could talk about that with the persons concerned in respect of the succession to any given position in the organization and I'm looking more now at supervisory levels than I am at nonsupervisory. Ok there's a problem there in developing a succession plan in the government and that is that we are covered by a contract virtually up to the director level and certainly up to the deputy director level at any rate [m hm]

that includes almost everyone in the organization in a contract and labor agreement. And promotion of course is covered in that labor agreement and you know to suggest in any way we'd have to be awfully careful to work this out very, very well with the with the union to insure that we were not so to speak pre-selecting and thereby perhaps helping a junior individual to become say a supervisor quotes level three or some blasted thing as opposed to bringing along the person who was perhaps five years senior who didn't maybe possess say the potential to go beyond. We have some difficulty there, there's no doubt in my mind but I don't think its insurmountable, but let's face it we don't have that kind of scheme now and it something that I think we sorely need so that promotion now is based principally on a job posting system where people determine that well now here's another facet of this thing. If you're gonna get - if what the individual wants - prestige, more money, this kind of thing they've got to move up in the organization. Now they can move up by going through this job posting mechanism so that they are determining initially where they want to go, what jobs they want to get because all the jobs are posted and then it becomes a matter of selecting from those people who is the best qualified and that's done initially by the personnel department on a thing called the rule of three where the personnel department selects three of the say four or eleven or whatever people who apply for or interview then by the department. The department then makes a selection of which of
those three people they want [m hm]

and of course that's all subject to grievance procedure and the whole blasted bit [m hm]

so in large measure I guess people are on an ad hoc basis determining where they are going to go in the organization and they're looking ahead. I know that a lot of these people are looking ahead and saying gee who is going to move from here and uh you know I feel unqualified for that job. People are doing their own planning to some extent, their own career planning far more so I suspect than the organization is [hmm]

far more so and again I don't know how many people would look at this and say exactly that same thing in analyzing and this is the first time I've really looked at it this way. In really looking at it and being perfectly honest about it people are doing a hell of a lot more planning of their own careers than what the organization is doing for them [hm]

and we don't engage significantly even in employee counselling - you know, I'm talking about career counselling. We don't get into that kind of thing and clearly if we're going into man management that's what we've got to begin doing

The respondent identifies certain members who may serve as successor producing agents on an informal basis and notes that the formal succession producer - the personnel department - does not do such planning. Personnel department members' professional selves do not include the requisite skills or interests for this (56). In the past, agents involved in the planning have been members of the focal subunit who thus have limited planning to intra subunit cases; planning has not been accomplished using a scheme of the government as an integrated, functioning whole (60).

EF himself has attempted to implement an alteration in the general scheme of the government so that it includes rules and so on leading to planning. The basis for such planning is provided by constructing a standard type employee with a career sequence as part of his or her professional self that includes retirement as the mode of departure from the organization (117). By cumulating the exits on the basis of their timing, personnel needs can be estimated. The organizational scheme can be used
to identify 'next in line' position incumbents.

The technical basis for planning is a chart which matches the unfolding professional selves of members with emerging organizational needs for position incumbents (117). The members themselves could be involved and matters could be discussed with them, although the planning would only involve certain types of positions, i.e. supervisory level ones.

The major problem in developing and implementing the rational planning process is the union contract, as a model of compliance (119) relevant to almost all organizational positions (121). The compliance model specifies promotion criteria such as seniority which the planners may disregard or preempt in selecting the 'best qualified' candidate, although EF thinks common criteria or some other aspects may be negotiable. EF does assert that the organization actually needs some rational planning scheme.

At present, succession planning is not an activity of organizational agents per se, but rather, is a matter accomplished by individual members (121). If they want to enhance their professional or financial self, they must advance, and advancement opportunities are made available through posting. Agents of the organization match the professional selves of candidates to the ideal professional self image linked to a position by job specifications as a model of compliance. The rule of three is then applied to produce a short list and some departmental agent acts on behalf of the focal subunit to select the successor (for union positions at a lower level - at higher levels, AB's standard process outlined in Table 7-1 is more applicable). The selection is then subject to further negotiation if the union grievance procedure is invoked to demand an explanation of the choice (123).

Individual members construct an image of their professional selves which includes a planned or desired career sequence (125): they match
the slots in this sequence with posted job availabilities i.e. organization­ally provided opportunities. The result is that they do more planning of their professional careers than the government (127). Thus the government doesn't construct standardized or individualized professional career sequence selves which parallel the organizational hierarchy (129). By definition, if the government wants to do 'man management' such standardized and/or individualized sequences must be proposed and provided for individual members.

**Respondent 4: GH, Junior Personnel Consultant**

when he was appointed as acting department head we had to fill his position with somebody else in the department to act and it was a chain reaction all the way through the organization to branch head [m hm] and that's the way it progressed

In this utterance the respondent expresses the chain reaction principle which the researcher had utilized to develop his fifth type of succession, advancement of a predecessor leading to advancement of a successor. This was the only point where a respondent in the government gave explicit consideration to this type of succession. I would suggest that the principle is commonly operative, given successor choice is constrained by 1) the 'internal candidates first' and 'seniority' stylistic considerations, 2) the rule of merit, and 3) compliance demands of job specifications. These insure that the next in line insider is often the successor, and hence this successor to be advancement causes another vacancy, and so on. If nothing else, such a chain reaction will serve to keep succession producing agents busy!

The respondent then provided a description of the standard search and selection process which was generally consistent with the process as described by other respondents, hence it is not included here. This does, however, display that the standard process is part of a scheme of the organization shared by all members.
One facet of succession which the respondent reports is of particular interest. He discusses the importance of job specifications and the manner in which they are used as resources to solve various practical succession problems.

141 to the outsider - to people coming and applying for jobs it sure is frustrating because they'll look at the posting board and say my god you know I've got all these qualifications why can't I get in for an interview [hmm]

143 and what they fail to realize is that - or I'll explain it to them if they ask me when I come out there - is that we do get a lot of applications like maybe say two hundred for a social worker's position - BSW's, MSW's, and you know you may be a terrific person with a BA in psych or soc. Or you may even have a welfare aid's certificate but no formal education and be a fantastic social worker but you know I just can't touch you [m hm]

147 but we've got certain criteria that we've got to adhere to. Classification on the other side over there - they set up the standards, they work with the department heads and the department head says ok this is what I want and classification will design the job around that position, do a salary survey. And I took the class specification that we have to recruit from and we have to adhere to that pretty pretty strictly [m hm]

149 the training and experience

GH constructs an image of a standard type applicant - the outsider. The applicant actually may become physically present in the personnel office while searching the posting board. The applicant's self projected professional self is seen by him or her to match the job specifications, so their failure to progress to the interview stage is not sensible to them. GH explains this failure - sometimes directly to them - by noting that the actual specifications are more stringently applied than applicants might suspect, particularly in terms of training and experience. Thus matching must occur on a point by point basis if the candidate is to be successful. Further, 'experience' may well be defined in focal organization specific terms and specific positions. This would further reduce or limit the points of correspondence between the professional qualifica-
tions (self) of the outsider and the job specifications. Strict application of the specifications as a gambit of compliance solves various practical problems including the problem of reducing a very large list of applicants to a short list as necessitated by the search and selection sequence. The organizational scheme and the standard search and selection process are thus interpretive resources used by the respondent to make certain phenomena sensible, even to outsiders.

CASE 12: THE SELECTION OF A PERMANENT COLLEGE PRESIDENT

Case 6 in chapter six described the firing of a college president and the promotion of a dean to the position of acting principal or president. The following case involves the search and selection of a permanent incumbent for the position.

Respondent 1, IJ, The Vice President of Finance. The respondent begins the description by referring to the acting principal, who had applied for the regular position at an earlier point, after the voluntary resignation of the first principal. One should recall that he was not appointed principal and that the successful candidate was later fired.

453 the individual's pride prevented him from applying because he had been turned down once and [hmm]

455 he let it be know if council wanted him he would be prepared to be drafted [hmm]

457 into a permanent office. Council at the same time having learned its lesson the hard way was playing everything by the books [hmm]

459 I mean ridiculously hard nosed by the books in that uh was a problem in the meantime both our unions formed and are both certified - you can imagine as the college went down the momentum of the you know faculty that felt so unhappy and mistreated nailed into unionization again something very much encouraged by the left wing government in those years [m hm]

461 so make much more easier than it possibly was before and so the union was formed and the union contract by then had a stipulation that gave them certain rights in the selection
process - formalizing the search committee process, the numbers that had to be appointed to the body and the key criteria that the council could only appoint from those recommended by the search committee [hmmm]

something that I consider as an administrator dynamite

RG m hm

but the option council has to refuse anybody on the list and go back to the search committee and say bring us more names until we see somebody that we like [m hm]

so playing it by the rules they said we have a contract we can only select from those recommended by the search committee, the search committee can only look at those who have applied, and if somebody refuses to apply then we have no way of selecting that individual. So it became a cat and mouse game and the individual did not become the permanent principal [hmm]

um be better help me again with questions here

RG ya so you have the acting principal who eventually leaves the position simply because the position is filled by a permanent individual

by a permanent individual [m hm]

right that's our current principal [ya]

who had to go through a search process that was so bloody tight you know uh finally my recommendations were accepted that we have a national company do a background search. As it turns out there were the first short list had three names on it who were all interviewed. Two of them uh let's take them if you are interested in that one withdrew because he was intimidated by the approach the faculty took when seeing him. He had an opportunity to meet anybody he wanted to meet - the faculty wanted to see him, they intimidated him to such a degree that he decided why should I? I don't have to do this and he withdrew. The uh second one was seen as a repeat of the one we had just fired [RG laughs]

he was actually from Australia which was another thing that we got messages from Victoria saying if you cannot find somebody in Canada y'know if not BC so at least in Canada you are kind of just trying to create new problems instead of getting in line and doing something normal like everybody else [m hm]

well it turns out that guy was a bit of a repeat of what we just had [m hm]

and didn't qualify on that basis, would never have found a
majority on this new council for appointment and one or two oh and one was just disast he was a medical case he looked for a retirement job and for what we considered to be a retirement job - and this certainly was not the position to put a sick man in [RG laughs]

so he he just couldn't have handled it [m hm]

and so back to the search committee, more names, and the individual we hired turned out to be a late applicant and the search process was such that they didn't close the books as long as the competition was open anybody [m hm]

could jump in and this individual turned out to be a late applicant um they did a good background search then with the help of the outside professional company and he really looked good then and he still looks good after being now a year in the job [mmm m hm]

and he again has done terrriffic job to solidify the institution, to passify the faculty as a union um you know that's constantly changing leadership of that union but it is less political - it is more substantial, more educationally oriented and this kind of thing. That has all happened - I guess it started under the acting principal and has continued under the new appointment because of the personal qualities of that man [m hm]

so it is now in my five years here the fourth principal and it has been a very exciting period I tell you [RG laughs]

since the dean who became acting principal then became dean again uh so he's still with us [m hm]

there was a nice phase in period when that new principal came oh last fall; the dean went the day the principal came then returned - dean went on vacation for a month so when he came back the new man had had a chance to really try to run the organization for one month and he came back as a dean and it has just there have been no friction or conflict arising out of this whatsoever [mmm]

which really speaks I think for the qualities of this dean [uh huh]

being able to do the transition both upward as well as downward again into his original job [m hm]

went extremely smoothly

the outside consulting firm that that was hired to do a background search - did the committee uh the committee developed a short list of applicants and then the search was conducted is that how it
yes [m hm]

yes because the contractual agreement with the faculty still stood uh that the council could only appoint from those recommended by the search committee [uh huh]

now two members of the search committee are council members [mm]

ok? but the search committee set its own terms of reference and therefore could - let's say when it came to do we want to recommend this one they could out vote the two council members and the one administrator on it by simply gaining the support of the staff and students

RG oh staff and students have representation on the committee

yes also two two two [uh huh]

so they could outvote and the name would not come to council [uh huh]

and the only way council could insist on that name by returning all the lists coming until that name came up that they may have seen or may have known about because they - the council members on the search committee - obviously had a responsibility to report to their constituent group, being the full council [m hm]

but it didn't become a problem then at all

RG its a really fascinating case actually (laughs) its got everything rolled into one

yes ya [m hm]

and from y'know utter chaos to what I call now one of the better college organizations - teams structures you know [m hm]

I would call us now to be among the top five out of the existing about twenty colleges and institutes as to what I call institutional health [m hm]

and the credit goes to two people the acting principal and the new principal [m hm]

I must honestly say that

RG the new principal was brought in from outside of BC

again from Ontario but mainly with a Quebec background [m hm]

English speaking but perfectly bilingual - you may not know that this colleges tries to be the French language learning center for the west
714 RG  no I didn't know that

715 and I guess it was very important to the search committee
to find a principal who was extremely fluent in both
national languages and we did find that

IJ also provided some details of the actual ceremonial events surrounding
the changeovers of leaders.

651 when the acting principal was installed there was no celebration but when he left again we actually he initiated the
meeting but the college paid for it, it was really you know
to honor his services formally with a gift that we had bought
as a group and it was a formal recognition with the wives
kind of for his extreme and positive effort because he had
really developed good

652 RG  [m hm]

653 repoire with all of us had relied on our advice and worked
with us

654 RG  [m hm]

655 when the principal - the current one - was installed there
was parallel to our administrative demand there was a social
evening that council organized [m hm]

657 where the new principal was introduced formally to anybody,
anybody was invited and there were about fifty faculty or so
and a few students a few staff members and he was formally
introduced and there was a formal thank you from council to
the acting principal who had [hmm]

659 returned to his deanship [m hm]

Analysis, Respondent 1, IJ. We learn that the acting principal, as
a social psychological and professional self, was prevented from applying for the position. The rejection of him in the past damaged his social psychological integrity: however if council enacted a compliance gambit or other gambit 'drafting him' his integrity would be enhanced. So, according to IJ, this was the only means by which he would allow his candidacy to be declared (455). Unfortunately, council was reacting to the problematics of the firing where rules were vague and often ignored. So in this case the rules were invariably made gambits demanding total compliance (459).
We learn that the union subunits were formalized, and a reason is provided; as the functional integrity of the focal entity diminished, the situation of faculty members became more problematic so they unionized in order to gain stylistically proper treatment. An external agency - the left wing government - encouraged unionization, presumably by structuring legislative rules which facilitated it (461).

The union contract included compliance demands relevant to the search and selection process, and in particular, that only search committee nominees were eligible for presidential candidacy (461). The council then invoked the rule as a reason for not drafting the acting principal - they could not draft him and simultaneously meet the rule specifications (467). This is turn explains why the acting principal was not chosen as the successor.

In the next passage, IJ seeks to negotiate research needs; RG complies and defines the cause of the acting principal's departure - because a permanent appointment was made (485). We learn that the appointee is still in office. In gaining the appointment, compliance demands were stringently applied (490). Also, the stylistic consideration IJ had proposed earlier (in the selection of the incumbent who was later fired) and which was earlier regarded as improper was now enacted; an outside organization was commissioned as a successor producer agency and assigned the task of constructing and evaluating images of the candidates' professional and other selves.

An unexplicated search sequence is unfolding. The primary succession agency - the search committee - proposed a short list (490), and these candidates were interviewed. IJ appeals to research interests as a warrant for explicating the various candidate cases. The first candidate developed a negative image of the faculty subunit. He was not subject to
any compliance demands which forced him to accept the position so he withdrew. The second candidate mirrors the general integrated image of the fired incumbent so 'obviously' he was not hired (496). Further, the provincial government suggested that proper style involved hiring a Canadian and the candidate did not have the proper demographic characteristics of nationality which matched the suitable incumbent image derived from the model of style (492). Another candidate is outlined as a problematic physiological self who was searching for a retirement position (496). His image of a suitable position and professional demands did not match the image of the principal position IJ and others held; he could not have met the demands and expectations (498).

The search committee's list was now reduced to zero, so the process was recycled. One rule was that the committee accepted applications until the position was filled, hence a late applicant was eligible. The external agents were used to construct a general, integrated image of him and apparently it matched - and still matches - the generally shared image of a suitable position incumbent (502).

The new incumbent contributed to the functional integrity of the college, particularly by altering the image, as constituted by the activities of the important faculty union subunit. That is, the faculty union now utilizes some educational scheme rather than a purely political (Marxist Leninist) scheme which IJ alleged was given primacy as an interpretive resource in the earlier history of the entity. The personal - i.e. professional and social psychological - qualities of the incumbent, and presumably his predecessor, caused this (504). Thus in the respondent's tenure, successions have been frequent, and this has been associated with an exciting period (506).

The predecessor returned to his old position, so he is still an
The timing of predecessor departure and successor arrival was well managed with the former occurring at the same time as the later. The successor thus had time to perform his duties without the predecessor copresent, and no problems arose from the changeover. This reflects positively on the professional and/or social psychological integrity-related qualities of the predecessor as one normally expects a 'voluntary' status decrease to be problematic both for and because of the actor who is assuming a lower position.

IJ summarizes the search process steps and reiterates the major gambit of compliance which constrained the process - the 'appoint from short list' rule. The coalitional structure of the search committee is noted: 'they' seems to mean faculty union members, and a coalition could be formed and dominate if staff and student subunit representatives banded together. As any candidate desired by council could be obtained only if the search committee recommended it, all council could do to get the name brought forward would be to construct compliance demands - motions - ruling our recommended candidates, recycle the search process, and hope the names appeared the next time around. But this did not become a problem.

RG describes the series of three cases as fascinating. IJ acknowledges this. He states the organization has moved from one of 'chaos' or minimal functional integrity, to one of relatively high integrity, as compared with other similar organizational entities. Note he uses an organismic metaphor and speaks of 'health': his first order descriptors thus have a very high correspondence with the second order theoretical constructions which were proposed to subsume this. Clearly members hold and utilize a notion of the functional integrity qua health of organizations and thus programmatically construct these. The cause
of the health or high integrity is claimed to be the two most recent presidents (707). Members thus attribute causation to leaders at a very basic and general level.

The new principal also has a social characteristic - languages he speaks - which the search committee considered an important aspect of a suitable principal, thus his actual image matches their suitable candidate image (710-715). The characteristic derives from an important characteristic of the college scheme as a functional integrity i.e. it is a French learning centre (713), or at least attempts to be.

The final set of utterances presented details ceremonial events which occurred as part of the sequences of events entailed in predecessor departure and successor arrival. No celebration followed the appointment of the acting president: this seems reasonable because of the problematic situation at the time. When he departed, the generally shared image of him was very positive: he had shown proper style regarding professional performance, e.g. relying on colleague advice, developed good rapport, etc. - considerations which his predecessor had violated (see Table 5-3 for constructions of the predecessor selves). The installation of the new principal was also marked by ceremony. It included generally introducing him to members of college subunits and a formal acknowledgement of the favorably perceived performance of the predecessor who was now relocated in his earlier deanship position in the college hierarchy.
Respondent 2, KL, Academic Dean and Former Acting President

so now you're acting principal that's where we

ok I did the job for sixteen months and during the course of that sixteen months I tried to get the council to make up their minds what it is we expected of a college president or chief executive officer and so we sorted out a bit of a job description um I don't like the word job description for it but I don't know what to call it but [m hm]

so that they would have some basis for interviews that was my point I was saying how will you know when the right person shows up if you don't know what you want this person to be [m hm]

I got them to set time lines for the process, I got them to think about how they would advertise for it, got them to ask whether we wanted a management consultant involved - I didn't want one but, you know, my view was that was part of my job to raise these things. I might say, hey, think about this - and argue like hell against it [mmm]

but I felt it was my job to raise these sorts of things and generally try and have them deal in a more professional manner with the search [m hm]

and I can't remember the numbers but whereas say in seventy four when there had been over a hundred applications there were very many fewer in seventy oh shit when did we get advertising? They started advertising in later summer of seventy six. The number that comes to my head is somewhere in the thirties but I would not swear to that

m hm that was you think due to more specificity in the I think that's sort of interesting I guess that

no I think that's more of a provincial matter uhm one of the problems this province has is that very few people want to take on the job in the province and of those few that would like to very few of those are truly competent [m hm]

to do the job but very difficult then to answer why [oh ya I]

I don't know but that's the nature of it eh? ahh I if you've watched the ads recently there have been a lot of vacancies in there - people don't want the, they've had a tough time filling them [m hm]

so we got MN (the present principal) and in a fairly nice and
clean process and so on. An interesting thing there was I guess that then the search committee was right as it was before - faculty, council, students, and staff [m hm]

one of the things that I insisted on was that every candidate they thought was going to be was a live one [m hm]

would be invited to meet with the administration - with the deans I talking with [m hm]

with the executive officers; that took a little bit of a fight. I went even so far as to say that they could use a test to see whether or not they had a live one on the other end as to whether or not the person when we said then well we'd like you to come up for an interview and whether that person asked if the period of time out would be two or three days or would they just be in and out, my point being that the kind of person we wanted would be the kind of person who would say hey before I accept an offer I want to know more about the institution I'm dealing with I mean I'm going to brief myself and prepare myself for the interview [uh huh]

but in order to make a decision after I've been offered the job, I need more information than what I have briefed myself on for the purposes of the interview [mm m hm]

in other words I want to sit down with with the faculty union executive and the union executive and will have wanted to meet with the deans and see where they are because it's not just the matter of the college selecting who their next chief executive officer will be but is actually also this other person of talent selecting the next place which is worthy of his talents [m hm]

council couldn't see that other side of it [m hm]

and I'm not sure that too many people also see that but I do - I select where I want to work regardless of whether people want to select me for their job but certainly they have the first call but having said they would like me to work with them I need then finally to make the decision do I want to work for them. I've indicated one interest by my application but that's not my definitive statement of whether or not I do [m hm]

as a result we set up meetings with every candidate and for me as acting principal I said no I won't have that meeting set up but they will be asked do they want to meet with me and I often suggested that that meeting occur before the interview and because I would say quite honestly I would say well I'm sure you briefed yourself for the interview but if you would like to test certain things out I I'm not going to tell you what to watch out for, I have nothing to tell you - I only will answer your questions and so most of them took that
up. Some of them looked kind of funny and I can remember one candidate and I went to lunch and we drove back in silence. I used to set out my caveat that I had nothing to tell them save what would be responses to their questions and with I uh ran out of questions by desert time and we drove back from the restaurant to this college in absolute silence; just incredible [ya]

614 we had another guy come and he was asking me a whole series of questions and it was before the interview and he'd done his homework on the Ontario model. I mean I know enough about the Canadian educational scene that I can [hmm]

616 recognize those things and I said to myself Jesus this guy's going to be in trouble [RG laughs]

618 in the interview I mean cause [RG laughs]

620 I mean I wasn't rude enough to say hey man you prepared on the wrong system but I kept trying to say well your question is based on the Ontario scene and it doesn't apply here but if I can alter your question and make it fit here, here is the answer - I tried to tell him that way [m hm]

622 oh how incredible to be going to an interview not realize he was an American I admit from Michigan [m hm]

624 not realizing that the systems are different [m hm]

629 RG uh huh so MN was I guess selected by council

630 correct the search committee same process as [search committee]

632 selected Black; search committee, short list, to council

633 RG m hm I take it you didn't serve on the search committee

634 no I refused to

635 RG m hm eh were you approached and asked to or

636 tentatively, exploratory types of things and I said no that I could serve no useful purpose on that because I said look let's face it I'm still going to be here when that new person comes in. We don't want to set up we don't want to create a problem for ourselves in that regard if I'm on the search committee ya [mm]

638 ya but you know I mean if I'm on the search committee I'm going to do the job and that guy will remember me [heh ya heh heh]

640 why do that? Let him remember me from the other side. You see I tried to cover that off - he would meet every administrator I thought that was important including myself and it
would be a little bit artificial when he met me but it wasn't the kind of setting that could make him defensive and put him into a problematical mind set for when he actually did the job [m hm]

and I tried ta head off those sorts of things [m hm]

anything else on that?

so I guess they met and after considering candidates voted and reached their decision and announced it, I guess

yes and the whole announcement was much better handled - for instance I managed to get them to announce it to the institution first [m hm]

before it was released to the paper [oh heh heh - RG laughs]

I mean on that one you know I managed to convince them that that's how one ought to do it, that our faculty and our deans and y'know that sort of stuff should not read about who is the next president of this college by reading it in the local paper, they should read it by bulletin-memo - from the council chairman to all faculty. So it costs a few bucks but there is something in each faculty member's mailbox and there is something to each staff member even the guy that's sweeping the bath

uh huh so after his appointment uh how long did you serve

college somewhere round the end of January, to be effective August the first [hmm]

and you might be interested now in the transition of [ya]

of authority there. um I had made clear that as this thing is coming up - and I raised it right in my appointment when one of my list of caveats I said at some point another guy was going to come in and I said I'm not sure how they will choose that and so on [m hm]

but I said the day before he's in office I have all the authority, I can take a decision without even discussing the matter with him. It may be reasonable and right, prudent and courteous of me to discuss with him but it will be my decision not his decision through my mouth is that understood? I reminded that them of that when the appointment was being made and it was a little dicey on a couple of issues which we handled by my simply saying wait a second here you guys have the authority to make this decision not me so delay making the decision - handle it that way and if you think I have the authority and they didn't want it made I would simply say to them remove the authority from me. Don't tell me not to do it tell me I don't have the authority to do it; that I can live with, I cannot live with you telling me I cannot take a decision for which I
have the authority and this was one of the things that the council liked and didn't like about me because I forced that knife edge up on them all the time [m hm]

so up until July the thirty first I was the boss; I handled all the mail, I took all the decisions. Part of what I did was invite MN in from Toronto uh I don't know three four occasions to attend significant and important college wide meetings. We have a principal's advisory committee which is a representative of all the university societies and the administration and advising the principal on matters of policy um the allocation of the approved budget. The minister says this colleges has X dollars and we then later have to inform the minister how we've allocated that you know we're going to spend it in the budget plan. I had instituted full disclosure on on those - there wasn't a penny hidden and that happens in those meetings. I had him up back in I mean I said MN we're having this meeting I think it would be wise for you to attend insofar as this will give you one of the key views of how this college operates - now it may not stay that way under your leadership, but you ought to know, that's what you will need, that's your point of departure [m hm]

and then he leapt at every one of them [m hm]
and I admire the man in this respect - he sat through some of the most complicated and contentious meetings and never opened his mouth once [hm]

he had a whole host of questions at the end of of them of what like we'd break for lunch and he'd have a whole arm full of questions to ask which you could have said was justified for him to have asked there but he and I worked it out that you know, I mean I said to him bluntly, I said MN you are here I'm glad to have you here - remember you are not the principal I am and I'll make the decisions and I said watch out the faculty are going to try and discover who's the principal. So I started the first meeting he was at like that I said and people said to me my god did you come on strong I said ok I want to make one thing clear and I just laid it out openly and they're accustomed to that from me but suggested that even then perhaps I had over-stated the whole thing although they said you're right even y'know ya did the right thing and oh no MN handled himself absolutely fine and a couple of times in those sorts of meetings people would turn to him and say what do you think? and he'd say well you'll find out after August the first [m hm]

no just beautiful he didn't get sucked in once and I admire him for that very difficult [m hm]

very difficult to resist that temptation [m hm]

so he and I in these things are, and uh I kept sending him a steady stream of stuff. I mean we had a number of arbitration
grievances and arbitration was going on and I'd send him all of that stuff and um I'd tried to make sure that come August the first he didn't come in cold [m hm]

677 RG  m hm

...that he came in informed and as far as possible not culturated to KL's viewpoint [mmm]

680 and it's difficult not to do that but I was trying to do that sort of thing. Part of this arrangement was that he was in town for about oh I don't know two three weeks of July and I don't think he was ever on campus. He may have been a few times, but not in an official capacity [mmm]

682 wandering along having a look at where the cans are and this kind of stuff [m hm]

684 so before August I knew he was going to be in July and I said look uh you want to get yourself more informed, I'm at your at your pleasure. I said you start August the first. I said you have two weeks for two weeks after that I know all the things I know as an acting principal. At that point I'm gone and I think I went for three weeks or a month something like that [m hm]

686 and I said from as of August the first you're your own man you can ask but for two weeks there before I leave you can ask me any question you want you can say to me what the hell is - why does that dean act in that fashion? Or what do you think of so and so, do you think they're really competent? I said I'll answer you as an acting principal - as an ex acting principal - no holds barred on the questions you can ask me. I said when I come back after my vacation, I come back as a dean - acting principal is wiped, I don't remember anything. The only way I'll be able to answer your questions when I come back from vacation is as a dean [m hm]

688 and we worked that out and we had some in depth discussions and evaluation of executives and this sort of stuff and I answered him in no hold barred kind of fashion and since then a couple of times he's wanted to go back over that and I said, sorry, we have an agreement. I don't remember that you can figure it out for yourself [RG laughs]

690 ok but to me I have to compartmentalize like that [m hm]

692 I just draw a screen otherwise I end up not knowing where the hell I am [m hm]

694 and as I say other than the odd exception that he's wanted ta maybe check out something y'know was that what you said, was that what you meant? almost as though he's trying ta double check his own assessment [m hm]
A very few times that's happened, I just reminded him, he says oh ya sorry forget it. Not in a nasty fashion but hey that's the agreement I had, I'll honor that [m hm]

so that was the transfer of power

uh huh so then you went on vacation I guess he was just on his own after than

yup well I mean on his own in the sense that [ya]

he had other executive officers around [ya]

and he could ask them for their advice. I mean he does do that, he does consult and that sort of stuff and then once again you know he and I have a a tremendous working relationship. I don't have any problems

I don't want to take up too much more of your time cause I know it's

no problem

going away, uh what you mentioned then well during the time when you became dean then there was the promotion of someone else

ah yes ok on that

if you could just touch briefly I think we've covered advancement in some ways

ok

cause you've been advanced

ya ya well clearly when I was made acting principal then there was a hole and then the union dug in quite a bit on that then insisting on full procedures and all that sort of stuff and I don't think Reed - I forget when the hell Reed was appointed um July or August or something like that - um that I personally had a bad time on that because I was both dean and principal at a time when the budget was being allocated and then for instance what I found was that I could not wear both hats. The academic division suffered from lack of representation by me [mmm]

me as the acting principal [m hm]

now the union insisted on full procedures so that's why that delay was there. I persuaded the union that we ought to limit it to internal candidates and that indeed if we could not find, if the search committee could not agree that there was a short list because remember a short list is someone they can live with [m hm]
now it's quite possible that they might find no one they could live with, legitimately tell the principal sorry we can't give you short list, that's ok. So we agreed that it was likely that we could find an internal candidate who would be competent and justified in that and so it was limited to that and we first advertised - it was not advertised publicly it was advertised internally - so that same kind of search committee of council, administration as one unit, faculty, staff, and students [m hm]

searched. That person who got the job was the division chairperson of the humanities division. Division chairpeople are members of the union, they are not outside of the union - they are faculty and members of the faculty union and so the same process that was used to discover a principal was used to discover an acting academic dean [m hm]

and then in turn a slightly different process was used to discover his replacement. It's a process used to discover any division chairperson or coordinator and that is simply on a certain date the dean's office invites applications and I don't even look at them, I just farm them down to existing chairperson and say let me know what's your recommendation and in practice - although it that's not the way it's written in the contract - in practice a division coordinator or chairperson gets there by vote. It's an election as opposed to an appointment of the dean [m hm]

I think once I've gone to a division and said can you help me understand your choice? Because I never talk as though it's an election, ok? [m hm]

I know that's what goes on in practice, but I have never asked them how they do it because I don't want to be told how they do it. That would force me to say, hey, I don't accept that [uh huh]

ok, but it's not a big enough issue to fight about so I asked them for an explanation how this person would be competent and do a useful job for them and I didn't have the ammunition to defeat their argument so I accepted it [hmm]

but it's in fact an election

m hm So I sort of understand that process. I'm wondering a bit about the process er what sorts of things went on when you stepped back down to the position of dean

m hm ok I stepped down to the position of dean. Before coming back to the position of dean I had recommended to the council that the position of associate dean be created cause you see as a dean I have all the university transfer thing um reporting I'm responsible for all of that ok? I'm responsible for the entire media center, I'm respend responsible for the whole
counselling function, admissions, financial aid, placement, learning assistance, the whole women's resource centre function, I have - it's quite a massive conglomerate and I was saying yes I did that for a year. That was when Peter Black was on his way down. I was doing all of that as well as covering for him. I said I can tell you from experience because of the Black situation I was adrenalized. I could do it. I am not adrenalized now, this place is stable you know much more stable than then. The adrenalin just isn't flowing. I may be able to do it for six months but I can't do it over the long haul. That was one of the things that they would not decide until MN got here [m hm]

so I said that's fine I understand that you have the authority on that, delay it until he gets here. Well after he got here they did approve it and so in a short period of time I got an associate dean who happened to be the ex acting dean. Once again that was a one year term because in one year's time the principal will review the organization and may or may not determine to keep the position of associate dean [m hm]

well who would want to compete against a guy who's just done sixteen months successfully as acting dean? So that same person got that [m hm]

so that's what happened down there. Now there are a few other things you see

we've created the position of dean of instructional services which I had to apply for and compete against outsiders and so on and so forth and which I've been offered the job - I've been selected for that and that is sort of organizationally seen to be almost a George Orwell Animal Farm thing - I'm more equal than all equals than [RG laughs]

all peers type of thing, probably in the long run leading to what you might call Vice President of Instruction. But now in instructional services I will have the responsibility only for opening eh library that sort of stuff and a new academic dean will be found

RG m hm and you came back into the academic dean position

the joint position I actually was dean of academic studies and educational support services [ok]

that's what I came back into, that's what I still am [m hm]

I have accepted this other position effective on or about January the first [m hm]

because there is no point in my accepting the new job which means that the two are split when there is no one to do the academic deanship [m hm]
so I've accepted that effective January the first. Now that I've accepted that and therefore implicitly resigned from this other joint job [m hm]

it allows you to split them and say hey, compete. There is to be a competition for the academic dean's job [mmm hm]

when that competition is completed - and one expects that to be completed this fall some time - that person will be appointed effective on or about um January the first. If it's an external person you have to be a little more precise than that, if it's an internal person that will be all right [mm]

but the dean of instructional services then is meant to oh along with that is that the whole instructional arm of the college - will not be driven by a committee of three deans chaired by this dean of instructional services [mmm]

so organizationally if one wants to worry about power and that sort of stuff nominally on paper that's where the the power is going [m hm]

by virtue of chairing that committee and that sort of stuff

RG m hm well so you had talked to the council about creating this new position

m hm

RG and so on, reorganizing it while you were principal

that's right

RG and they waited till the new principal came and talked with him and

should take that decision right [ya] ok [ya]

they said they didn't want to take that risk it mightn't be the right thing to do [m hm]

and I argued with them and scratched and scrambled and didn't persuade them so fine

RG m hm they became convinced obviously after you were no longer principal then um I just wondered how that came about

I don't think that it wasn't that they weren't convinced; what we were fighting about was the principle, 'le' of who would be the principal, 'al' [RG laughs, says 'ok']

in July because you see as August the first started to creep up [oh I see]

there was this increasing pressure, we'll leave it for MN [m hm]
and I kept saying that's no way to run a business, you can't do that, don't be ridiculous [m hm]

now if you have lost confidence in me, terminate me as acting principal now. If you haven't, deal with my recommendations on a rational basis [m hm]

and saying well let's leave it for the new principal ok. So we get some consultation or input out of him and I kept saying that is irrational, he may be dead before he gets here [m hm]

so that this thing on the associate deans didn't get to council until until the July thing 'cause I had to work that through all the internal structures, the union had to be involved and the PAC and I it's quite a massive process to get things like that done, institutionally accepted. I mean MN when he got here, he thought that there would be a dean of instructional services once he had it clear in his mind by last December. I laughed, I mean that's what he was telling me in September [mm]

He was here in August. By September, October he'd sorted out in his mind that we oughta make that kind of a move and he said ah that position'll be filled by December, before January seventy eight. I just laughed I said oh no I think you're making a mistake there, sir [RG laughs]

technically I'm still not in the position because although I've been offered the job subject to ratification of council and I have accepted the job subject to their ratification, it went before council on the August fifteenth meeting but there was no quorum [mmmm]

so even though the members there voted to approve this offer to me, technically it's not approved yet because there was no quorum. It's not legal

RG heh heh so after it's approved then you take over January first

on or about right ya

RG ok I got the wording right

m hm ok

Analysis, Respondent 2, KL. RG locates the point reached in the discussion in terms of the respondent's career history. KL states the temporal duration of his incumbency in the principal's office (576). One may note his specification of this is much more precise than IJ's. One of his activities in preparing a more adequate search and selection process
for producing a successor to him involved convincing council of the need to construct a standard, shared image of job duties and a matching professional self for the incumbent for the focal position. Such a 'job description' and contingent professional image would act as an interpretive scheme for deciding on the suitability of the incumbent, by matching or comparing an actual with the standard image (578). The standard image is of course a subset of the more general organizational scheme. He also convinced them to structure other rules to constrain the temporal duration of the search process, to decide on the manner of announcing the vacancy as various possible styles existed, and to decide on whether or not to commission an external agency as a successor producing agency which would construct, and evaluate candidates' constructions of, the candidates' schemes of selves.

KL conceived of an aspect of the proper professional style of the incumbent of the position which was relevant to himself - he should provide council with various options for accomplishing tasks even if he would later argue against some of the options (580-582). He also has, as background knowledge, an image of the proper 'professional' style of search and attempts to get council to conform to this (582).

The timing of events is again noted and the smaller number of applicants in the present search is compared with the larger number in the past search (584). RG uses the chronology of topics discussed to identify a prior topic - specificity of job requirements - as the cause of events in the topic discussed next - number of applicants. This is a general means which conversationists use to identify causes, but KL notes this is inappropriate here. The cause is hard to define (588-590), but there must be an underlying cause as there are several surface manifestations observed in the number of similar vacancies and the difficulty in filling them i.e.
low number of good, competent candidates.

The search process which produced the present incumbent is described in positive terms which connote proper style, i.e. nice and clean (596). The search committee conformed to compliance demands regarding the composition of it, in terms of members from respective subunits (596). KL suggests the committee employed one pragmatic typification for sorting candidates - live ones vs. the implied antithesis. The proper use of the typification is decideable, given a theory of how different candidates think and act (602) which is linked to an image of the style of suitable incumbent as a professional self. The suitable candidate seeks to construct an image of the college which is more detailed than the image he needs to perform well in the interview (604) and this 'live' type is thus decideable by the questions he asks, which are manifestations of how he thinks. The candidates' development of an adequate image of the college, suitable for their practical purposes, requires face to face interaction with various subunits (606). The respondent has also identified various subunits and characters which are partially relevant successor producing agencies - administration, faculty union and executive, deans, etc. (600, 602, 606).

KL takes the position of the candidate as a scenic viewpoint and collection of relevances (606). He thus notes this viewpoint may differ from council's viewpoint vis-à-vis the candidate, but council could not understand this (608). The point is that selection is reciprocal between the two entities (610). There is a predetermined, generalized order of decisions and offerings (610), but the last decision belongs to the candidate. This is expressed by KL offering his own professional self as a standard example, and explicating the reasoning integral to this self.

The order in which candidates met college personnel now becomes
topical (612). KL refused to have the stylistically standard 'meet with an administrator' session set up between himself and candidates. The reason for this is clear only retrospectively based on later information (640). The lack of the standard meeting, and KL's refusal to serve as an agent on the primary selection agency - the search committee - was due to the fact he planned to return to a somewhat subordinate position after the succession (638). Proper behavior of such a committee member and/or the proper questioning techniques could lead the candidates to be defensive and form a negative image of KL which would become problematic after some candidate became his superior (640). The candidate was therefore offered an opportunity to meet with KL prior to the formal commencement of the interview (612) in a setting which would allow the candidate to test aspects of his image of the college in a manner which was not threatening to him or potential future relationships between the two actors.

These 'preinterview' meetings included a rule that KL would speak only when responding to questions. He adhered to the rule, and several interesting performances by candidates resulted (612, 614). The first one involved a breach of a generally shared style of interpersonal interaction - keep talking while physically copresent. In the second case, a candidate had studied an inappropriate organizational scheme, and continued to use this as a sensemaking, question producing resource even though KL tried to use socially proper cues to indicate the inappropriateness of the schematic resource, rather than violating proper style by telling him directly and thus 'being rude'. The candidate thus violated some expectation of proper preparation mode although a partial excuse is provided by assigning him certain demographic characteristics which would have prevented him from making distinctions that are known to members of the Canadian educational system (622, 624).
The standard search process is invoked as a standard, typified resource presumably shared by both the researcher and the respondent, which sensibly produces a successor. The next set of utterances (633-644) were discussed above. RG then identifies a commonly known 'voting ritual' as the formal gambit production mechanism naming a successor, and notes the expected post decision event - announcement. KL discusses this in terms of a proper style of doing announcing (652) which was breached in announcing an earlier principal. The proper style includes a certain media (memo), order of hearers or receivers (college members first, then public), announcing agent (board chairman), and geographical/physical locations for the announcement (mailbox). The proper announcement mode has a (minimal) impact on the financial component which is considered a worthwhile tradeoff.

The timing of the appointment is made topical (653) and the post selection changeover involving predecessor departure and successor arrival is then discussed. One gambit of compliance in the predecessors' list of demands (see chapter five, case 6, respondent 2) outlined the timing of authority changeover (658). Specifically, the incumbent was to hold all formally assigned authority during the entire duration of his office (660). If the compliance demands were strictly applied, they may violate a general stylistic expectation that a predecessor to be consults with and informs a successor to be of important phenomena once the successor to be is identified, and prior to his assuming office. In cases where council disputed this, they had a more basic compliance gambit available - they could remove the incumbent's authority vis-à-vis some specific area or action. The respondent presents an aspect of his own professional style - he forced council to be explicit regarding the authority they allocated to him.

The 'authority timing' rule was followed, but KL also exhibited proper style by consulting with the successor to be, and informing him of
important matters (664). These included the budget, a basic scheme providing financial integrity to the college (664), and grievances (676). He also allowed the successor to be to form an image of the college as a functional (operating) integrity (664), and to acquire an image that was not merely a mirror of KL's (678). This was accomplished by having the successor physically copresent at important gatherings. KL set one gambit of compliance for the 'successor to be' at these meetings - that KL was to do the talking and make the decisions. KL announced this rule at a meeting and others conceived it as breaching some undefined stylistic expectation. However, MN adhered to KL's rule, and so KL saw MN's professional style as being very positive (668; 672-674).

The successor to be arrived in town some time prior to assuming his new position, but continued to conform to KL's demand that KL was the only authority in the position at the time. KL structured another rule to facilitate the sharing of background knowledge and images with the successor (684-686) and also carefully managed the exact changeover timing. He notes that a rule regarding answering MN's questions was necessary because interpretive schemes have a position contingent nature and KL finds it necessary to clearly differentiate and temporally segment utilization of the schemes. When he becomes dean he will see the world from the position of dean (686). KL need to 'compartmentalize' (690), or otherwise interpretive schemes blur and his own position in organizational space becomes confusing. The 'questions' rule was invoked a limited number of times to warrant and explain KL's refusal to answer MN's questions (688, 694, 696). MN of course had other administrators as sources for background knowledge and interpretive schemes (702).

The successor has a consultative professional style (704), and he and KL have a good working relationship, the cause of which KL seems to
locate in his own good management of the search, selection, and changeover processes. RG now requests a previously indicated case where KL's advancement touched off a chain reaction, i.e. this advancement led to the advancement of a subordinate, and so on. The case where MN was selected as the new principal is typified as a case of advancement (709, 711). Here we see the researcher has adopted respondents' common language meaning for the term, rather than his own analytical meaning!

KL begins the case by noting the chain reaction effect of his own promotion. The union invoked rules to demand conformity to them. The successor to the deanship position is named, and the appointment is temporally located. KL notes the union gambit caused problems (716) because he himself had to concurrently hold two different positions with position contingent interpretive schemes which were difficult to reconcile. The result was that the functional integrity of the academic division suffered (712). The union was convinced to accept supplemental rules constraining the selection process (716), and to limit it to insiders. He reiterates the 'select from short list' rule and explicates its meaning - all persons on the short list are people the committee can 'live with'. Knowledge of the position opening was limited to insiders, and the standard 'recycle' possibility to the short list was noted as well as other standard, applicable rules.

The (acting) successor to the dean position moved up one level, and his former position is located within the organizational hierarchy (722). The replacement process for these position incumbents differs from the standard one applicable to deans and principals, so it is outlined. Basically, it includes advertising, receiving applications, and then the dean appoints an incumbent. However the conventional style of appointment is a departmental election, which is inconsistent with the formal rule
governed 'dean appoints' process. However the formal rules are preserved in discourse (724), because the dean must follow rules and failure to preserve the rule in discourse would breach rules which govern the behavior of the dean. From time to time KL has questioned how the successor matched the image of a suitable incumbent, but as his counter evidence was limited, he accepted departmental explanations of a 'match' (728).

RG now requests information on KL's status descention, when he returned to his old position (731). Prior to the return, KL proposed an alteration of the hierarchical organizational scheme to include an associate dean. He outlines the organizational scheme as it relates to the dean position (732). His own professional self is constructed, and is claimed to vary with variations of the organizational context and needs. He cannot fulfill the demands and needs of the dean position 'in the long run' now that the functional integrity of the college has been securely restored.

Council invoked a rule to delay the reorganization until the successor arrived, and then the change was enacted (734). The principal will review the scheme again at a future point, and may alter it. The acting dean became the associate dean for 'obvious' reasons (736). He was the best match with the 'suitable incumbent' image in terms of the important characteristic of experience in a similar position in the same context.

Other modifications of the functional-hierarchical scheme have been accomplished, including the creation of a new subunit and dean position (739) to which KL has 'advanced' from the academic dean position. The new position may be enhanced as the organization matures, and altered to a Vice Presidency. KL will assume the new position only after a permanent successor to the academic dean position is involved, so the chain reaction principle explains the delay in advancement (749). His 'resignation'
allows the reorganization to proceed because, as IJ noted in an earlier case, position alterations can occur only when the position is vacant, according to union contract rules. The timing of arrival of the new academic dean may vary according to the type of applicant selected (insider vs. outsider) and type contingent practical problems (755). An insider will already 'be there' so 'any time' is good enough but an outsider must terminate past commitments, etc. and so requires a specific arrival date.

KL continues to outline characteristics of the new 'dean of instructional services' position which make it higher in the hierarchy of the organization. A key characteristic is the chairmanship of the committee of deans, which is itself a status distinction (757). Next, he discusses the negotiations which produced the reorganization. Council delayed it until the successor had arrived, although KL wanted the decision made previous to this (773, 755). Essentially, council sought to institute a convention that the predecessor to be had diminished authority once the successor was selected (777, 781). KL countered this by invoking formal rules and a general model of 'proper business management' (783, 785). It seems that, at least on this issue, council won, but did not utilize the termination option KL suggested as a suitable formal means of delaying the reorganization.

The successor was a bit naive, according to KL, regarding the timing of the reorganization (789). Various subunits and rules are involved and KL had sufficient background knowledge to expect a lengthy process. It is noted that the appointment of KL to the new deanship position is not yet formalized, as it involves a formal motion of council. This was prevented from occurring by the quorum rule. The appointment was not ratified as the meeting lacked a quorum.
Respondent 3, MN: The Current College President

should I go on to advancement? [sure]
you suggested that I should speak to my case here
m hm I presume it was an advancement (laughs) heh heh
well uhh just to speak to that point for a moment uh I had been the principal of a large college in the province of Quebec
[m hm]

uhh I served there for two terms and voluntarily resigned and we'll get to that in the fifth case uh then for two years
I had served as the director of this foundation which I referred to earlier so if you want to call it an advancement I think it's an advancement or at least I think generally falls into that category
what I guess I could give you the background to it a year more than a year before I came here [uh huh]
the principal of this college after serving something like less than a year was dismissed [hmm]

by the council uh mind you that I have studiously avoided getting into the dirty sides of the what happened. The fact of the matter was that they appointed an acting principal - that is the council of this college, the governing body in this college appointed an acting principal who was the dean of one of the divisions and is now back as dean of that division
this college has a collective agreement with faculty as well as a collective agreement with staff members and in that collective agreement with faculty there is a very elaborate search process for any executive position at the college. That executive search process was initiated immediately upon the dismissal of the previous principal. They uh interviewed I gather a whole range of candidates. The search process involved a committee made up of members of the council, that was the governing body, faculty, students, and staff members.

so it was a college wide committee. They could not come to agreement on this candidate and so when they had originally invited applications for the position they indicated a date by which they hoped the position could be filled. That date went past and they still couldn't come to a short list of people who could be recommended to council. It was after therefore the date at which the position was to be filled that the foundation that I was working with to which I had a two year commitment, that two year commitment was pending.
I wanted to go back into the community college movement. Because of my experience elsewhere I had contacts across the country. Somebody said to me uhh college Q is having trouble filling this position, if you're available they might be interested [hmm]

so I wrote to the college said if the position is not filled and you're still interested in candidates I'd like to offer my candidateship. I did that, they answered, I met with the search committees and so on, I was appointed and bang (knocks on table). When I say bang it wasn't quite bang because I've just recently been cleaning some files; to give you an idea of what time, I contacted college Q in early February and I was appointed beginning of April and began in the job beginning of August [hm]

that would be a year ago [m hm]

now

it didn't take them very long after interviewing you to appoint you.

well that's that time frame and it was at that time when I was working for the foundation I'd spent about oh I'd say an average of four days a week on the road, god knows anywhere in Canada, so that posed another problem. Now what it involved was that I sent a letter of application. I was within out I was phoned - not sent a letter, phoned - would you be available for an interview? I had an interview, I was invited back to spend a day and a half talking to various groups within the college so they could get a sense of me and me of the college [hmm]

I was invited back a third time when I met with the council as well as the faculty association or a number of bodies in a more formal setting. I was then called and told that I was being offered the position and invited back again to discuss the terms. Now my understanding of it - and I don't know the facts on this - that at the time that they decided to make the offer to me there were I believe two other candidates who were being considered and if I understand the process correctly, the council in effect had a short list of three candidates, myself and two others; that they deliberated about to whom should the offer be made. Now I don't know whether they were prepared to make the offer to the other people or not, I don't know, but I do know that there was at least one other person who was being actively considered. I know there was some controversy on the campus

about the other candidates. There was uh I'm told that the general feeling that there was only one candidate that would be acceptable to the college [hm]
that happened to be so I think for your purposes I can tell you also that there was another little scenario being played. That is that the acting principal who was the dean that had been the dean [m hm]

was highly regarded by many people in the college and throughout the search process there has been the view that has since been expressed to me that this was really a bit of a sham because there were a number of people on that search committee who really wanted the acting principal to be named the principal and that some of the candidates that they turned down as unacceptable, it was not really that. What they were really doing was saying we'll eliminate everybody else, there's nobody left, and then we'll offer the position to this person [m hm]

the person in question incidentally would not apply for the position [hm]

he would have accepted it if it had been offered to him but he would not apply for that position. The reason for that I am told is that he had previously applied for the position of principal they had selected somebody else whom they had fired a few [hmm]

months later and he said no way [m hm]

they know that I have applied, now they know how I perform because they've seen me act seen me in the acting role - and he had performed extremely well - and so there was within the college a general, I shouldn't say general, there was a broad support that we should just cancel this whole process [hm]

and name him. That is not what happened [hm]

so want to pick it up from there or

RG so I guess you had the offer made, come out here and be the principal and you came - when did you accept?

ya August of last year

RG so could you just maybe describe some of the events after you um when you came in residence or some of the the shifting I guess we've got an acting dean who's doing these things over, and going, you

ok the acting dean and I - when I accepted the appointment, the beginning of April as I recall [m hm]

from that time to the beginning of August I kept in casual contact with the college [m hm]
to try to pick up as much as I could in the time that I wasn't here. In fact I came twice for key meetings of different groups as an observer and a couple other details might be useful. One was that the first meeting that I came to was an internal - what I guess you could call the senate and I was sitting there, there were people from all the college around me. The chairman of the meeting was the acting principal and the first point that he made at the meeting and incidentally told me he was going to do this [m hm]

he said look, I am acting principal of this place until August the first. You start on August the second. It is important for my job to continue to be acting principal that it be recognized within the college [m hm]

I'm still calling the shots until August the first and I said I couldn't agree with you more, terrific [m hm]

and he said it is my intention to say this at this meeting. So the scenario is about forty people in this meeting, he's chairman of the meeting, I'm sitting there, I was introduced (snaps his fingers) first thing he did was say just exactly what I described and I thought that was correct [m hm]

I was told later on, in fact right after the meeting a couple of people came up to me and said uh we apologize for his behavior at the meeting and I said what do you mean? They said well you know that was a needless shot that he took at you [heh]

and I said no, that wasn't what it was at all. Now I didn't interpret it that way and that was not intended that way but that was the kind of climate [mmm]

within which uh we operated, so during the period of April to August [m hm]

apart from coming to a couple of meetings, I kept in I we a couple of pieces of correspondence, we called back and forth from time to time. I moved here at the beginning of July [hmm]

so that I was in the area a month before I started because there were a couple of emergency matters that I would have to clean up once I'd been around here. In fact I started on the job uh the day that I got out here I was being called in to all sorts of things. Among other things I was actively involved in settlements settling of a union contract dispute and so I started on August the second and walked in a now oh yes we had agreed beforehand that for the first week that I was here the former acting principal would be around primarily to show me where a few things were and to introduce me to a few people across the campus we had also agreed that he would then take his holidays [hmm]
so he was here and there and for the purpose of removing himself from the scene, so for the first week, I spent the first week largely familiarizing myself with people around here with him. He then took off for three weeks and that provided an opportunity for me to do whatever my thing was and the transition in my terms was very simple [m hm]

that's what happened

RG sounds very well managed

I think it was very well managed from his point of view eh that is I think he did a good job of facilitating the transition. To give you an example, my major responsibility is to report to the council or the governing body of the college on a variety of policies and practicing and so on. The first meeting of council was something like the fourteenth the middle of August after I had been appointed [m hm]

I'd never been at a council meeting before. I'd been at a caucus of them but I'd never been at a council meeting before. I came to the meeting, I spoke to the secretary of the council, I said where am I supposed to sit? and he said well I don't know where do you want to sit? and I said I want to sit facing the present chairman. It seemed to be the right thing since I'm the president. Fine, sit there, so I did. The meeting went on, it started as any meeting would, went on, the meeting was on for about an hour. Regular business was going on and somebody nudged the chairman; the chairman stopped and said wait a minute I've forgotten I'd like to welcome our new principal [hm]

and uh and then he said things have been so synchronized here - that wasn't exactly his words but that sense - that I had sort of imagined that you'd been here for a long time

and I apologize for that, so that I only say that to indicate that the transition was really very smooth [m hm ya]

very smooth that's it [m hm]

want me to go on to the other one?

RG umm ya well there's no particular problems or any thing there at least because of the succession so

well hmm hm hm hm hm

RG go on

no well I don't know I don't mind if we that's for the purposes that you're mentioning I don't mind uh I think to be fair the person who was the acting principal was good [m hm]

and enjoyed it [hm]
I don't think - I'm positive - there was no personal resentment to me there I think was some resentment with respect to the council and the general operation of the college. Well I think that I can tell you that we got along amiably but at a distance for a while and he had some trouble going back to the simplicity of the dean's position for a while. I mean I think its perfectly understandable. On the other hand, he was good and he could handle that very easily, we didn't have any major problems.

we have two very different styles. He's a very competent person uh we I guess came to our first real conflict in about March [m hm]

and we've had several of them since then and they've been excellent [m heh (laughs)]

the result of which is I think we've both come to appreciate each other. Certainly I mean I've appreciated him more from where he's standing on a number of things so I guess there was a period in that I never perceived as awkward [m hm]

because I guess I'm not as as sensitive as I should be but I think for him it was awkward. I have seen no indication on the campus about any kind of conspiracy and you dirty bastard you took somebody else's job - none of that. I I have felt a degree of fair amount of support right across the college and the support of the kind that says ok you're in the job, we need somebody who's good we're not going to make it difficult for you - um prove yourself

but I don't think anybody can ask any more than that so from in terms of myself, the transition, the assumption of responsibility in this interim I think was very good and I think the dean now is - our working relationship is good and he's reasonably happy with that although he ought to be, he would be better, as principal in that institution than as dean [m hm]

but that's his own choice

m hm the only other thing I was wondering is on this case uh well he having been - you knew that he was the principal and quite a competent one - has that made you in your attitude toward his responsibilities, his division and all that somewhat different?

ok, that's one of the controversies within the college right now. I guess to answer that, the first job that I was asked to do here was to look at our whole administrative organization and to recommend to our governing body whatever changes I judged appropriate and they judged a few to be appropriate but didn't tell me what they were and I said I don't want you to tell me
what they are I'll tell you what I think ought to be and you'll deal from there. So that we had been in the process of reorganization out of which that dean - I think the institution was not utilizing his talents to the extent that it could - and so he's moved into a new position [hmm]

that has broader responsibility - not more, but broader responsibility. In my judgement that's a move first of all that he agreed with entirely [m hm]

but did not seek, it is a move that I think is in the best interests of the utilization of the human resources of this college but there is no doubt in my mind that that it is perceived by some people within the college that that was a ploy to give him [hmm]

a little more status. In fact he has no more status, he has no more money, he has a broader range of responsibility and we're capitalizing I think on his real talents [m hm]

but there is the perception at least to some extent in some parts of the college even though all the procedures were all done fairly I mean there is that presumption let's say that and I think that that's understandable [m hm]

that people would see it that way and the fact of the matter is the annoying thing if I could put it that way to some people is he's so damned good heh heh heh heh (laughs) you know [RG laughs - ya]

and I see my job is to say well, if he's so damned good, let's use what he's got. And he is terrific

RG m hm so you give him a lot of freedom relative to other

no he doesn't have any more freedom

RG oh ok

than anybody else, he doesn't. He has no more responsibility than anybody else, he has different areas of responsibility - the difference is he knows how to accept responsibility and he knows how to deal with it [m hm]

better than some other people who have exactly the same authority and exactly the same responsibility. He is a great believer in delegation [m hm]

and we have worked out - I have worked out with him as with other people - what the job is, what the limits of your authority are, he utilizes that [m hm]

in the best sense of that term - you want me to do this and I've agreed to do it, I do it and I carry the can [m hm]
and that's perfect, that's the way in which we operate. Now there are some other people who are at the same level of the organization who don't own it, who are prepared to have the authority but not prepared to carry the can [m hm m hm]

and so from that point of view I feel him to be an excellent administrator [m hm]

and that you do have in any collegial organization in my view that I've seen people emerge regardless of their formal position

as the leaders within the institution and that I think the success of an organization is to capitalize on that and at the same time respect the lines of authority and responsibility [m hm]

but let me give you an example, we now have three deans within this college, all of whom report to me [m hm]

we have a committee of deans which deal with interdepartmental matters [m hm]

those three deans are co equals - that committee of deans - ask anybody inside the college or who works with the college who gives the leadership among and within that committee of deans and there's universal agreement that there is a leader among those and that's not an ascribed leadership in my view, it's a leadership through force of personality, energy commitment, talent, god knows what [m hm]

Analysis, Respondent 3, MN. The respondent provides a typification for the case (278) and notes the researcher's expressed interest in it (280). A bit of negotiation concerning the applicability of the general advancement descriptor occurs (281-284). The respondent provides a brief summary of his professional self in terms of his career history, and this evidence displays the appropriateness of the advancement label. The present case is then provided with a background in terms of a description of the two past incumbents of the focal position, and the two successions involving them. The primary succession producing agency is identified as council, although the search and selection process is governed to a large extent by the union compliance model (291). We learn that the search for
a permanent appointee was initiated immediately following the dismissal of the fired incumbent.

The search committee could not negotiate a shared agreement on a candidate, so the date proposed for closing the process was abandoned (293). MN's application was made after this date. He describes how it occurred, by first constructing an image of his professional self including his previous employment. The timing was such that he was available for another position and desired one in a community college; thus his desired career sequence included a standard suitable position. His professional background also provided contacts, and one of these brought to his attention the vacancy in college Q which matched his suitable image, and suggested that college Q may find he matches their image. It is interesting to note that it was 'general knowledge' that the college was having difficulty filling the position.

MN acquired candidate status by writing the focal entity to declare this (295). He provides a brief summary of his selection which glosses the details, and soon turns to explicating these details. The time frame of selection is stated, and his knowledge of specifics is warranted by his recent review of personal files, as a stock of knowledge regarding the history of his professional self. RG notes the timing was much more rapid than his background stock of knowledge would lead him to expect (300).

Occupational demands of MN's former position led to problems, some of which may have involved meeting the requirements of the search process (301). His letter of application was followed by a phone call interview invitation: the respondent emphasizes the communication medium was phone, not letter, which may indicate some degree of concern on the part of the college for a rapid solution, it may be merely convention, it may be taken to mean he is considered a 'good candidate', and so on. It seems however that the
medium was noteworthy to the respondent, and that he is insuring the researcher accurately 'hears' what it was. The selection process involved him in three separate face to face, pre-selection, appearances at the college (301, 303). These appearances included meetings with various succession producing agents and agencies and allowed them to form an image of him, and he formed an image of the college (301). The actual offer of the position was made in a phone conversation, and negotiation of the terms entailed another visit (303).

MN now describes what he knows about other successor candidates. Following the proper procedure, a short list had been constructed and this included two other formally declared candidates. He was informed there was general agreement that only one candidate matched the image of a suitable incumbent (305). However there were 'backstage' events transpiring. Detailing these is warranted by the needs of the research enterprise (307). The acting principal was the desired but undeclared candidate from many members' perspectives (309). Certain search committee members are alleged to have utilized the 'appoint only from short list' rule as a resource to force selection of the acting principal. By eliminating all candidates from the short list, including good ones, council had no options for a successor so more would be proposed, and perhaps the desired name would finally appear. Both IJ and KL emphasized the 'appoint only' rule and that the only mechanism for obtaining a desired but undeclared candidate was to keep rejecting short-listed candidates. This background scenario suggests why the rule and mechanism were topical to these respondents - perhaps because they were being utilized during the succession, and of course KL did not declare his candidacy in a formal sense.

However MN suggests KL desired the position, but only if it were offered to him independently of his applying. Apparently his social
psychological and/or professional self integrity was damaged when he was
previously turned down, but being offered the position when he had not
applied would restore this. Further, MN reasons KL reasoned members now
had good performance data for constructing an image of the professional
self of KL as he had been acting as principal. MN describes KL's perfor­
mance in uncompromisingly positive terms (317). For many members the
search and selection process was unnecessary as a suitable candidate was
already known.

RG provides chronological summary of events (322) and requests some
clarification (324). MN supplies these details (325, 377) and notes that
in the post selection, pre-arrival interval, increased contact was main­
tained with the college in an effort to acquire background knowledge (329),
and visited campus twice. He recounts the meeting which KL recounted where
KL enacted a gambit of compliance to his authority in an effort to main­
tain his professional self integrity as incumbent of the principal's posi­
tion (331). MN affirmed the desireability of the gambit, recounts the
various characters present (329) and notes that KL announced the rule to
the meeting (335). Some members interpreted the rule announcement as an
attempt to decrease the professional integrity of the successor to be (337).
MN finds their interpretations warranted by the general 'climate' or
style of the organization - i.e. one with much internal feuding and dissen­
tion (339).

The principal's arrival in the region of the college is temporally
located relative to the beginning of his formal term of office. He arrived
early because of some 'emergencies' which would immediately demand solution
once he assumed office. The transition of power is described as occurring
during one week while the former principal provided various points of
knowledge, and introductions. The former principal then removed himself
from the scene and his non-copresence, mutually agreed beforehand by both
MN and KL, facilitated the transition (347). No one could turn to KL
as he was not available. Both the researcher and the respondent characterize the changeover as 'well managed' i.e. exhibiting not only proper, but
functionally positive qualities.

The label 'well managed' is shown to be warranted by an anecdote relating to MN's first appearance at a meeting of the governing body of
the college (353-359). The changeover was so smooth it acquired the texture of a common, continuous background, hence the chairman did not note
its visibility and failed to introduce or welcome the new principal. Had
the events been problematic and disruptive, they would have been visible, so 'obviously' the chairman would have remembered.

MN now proceeds to construct an image of the past principal, KL.
MN's selection did not lead KL to resent him but he did keep his distance
i.e. refrain from constructing a close friendship relationship. KL did
have negative affects towards the council and experienced some difficulty
in reorganizing his professional self when he lowered his status. But
he had high integrity - was good - so solved the problems readily (369,
370).

The two men have different professional styles, and have had conflicts which have apparently had positive results (372). Further, each has
developed an image of the other which allows each to interpret and understand one another and the others general views (374). MN notes a deficiency in his own social psychological self (376) i.e. he lacks sensitivity
which would have allowed him to perceive some of KL's adjustment problems. MN notes that he has no evidence of secretive plans to degrade him and
that generally members have a positive image of his professional self, so no performance barriers have been erected. This is all his general
background allows him to expect (378). MN characterizes his working relationship with KL positively but notes KL matches the image of suitable principal more adequately than the image of dean. Interestingly he locates the cause of KL's non-selection as a self-motivated choice of KL (380). Perhaps this attribution absolves MN of blame for any problems caused to a person he considers to be a good colleague.

RG asks MN if he views and treats KL differently than he does other administrators (381). This differential treatment is sensible given the proposed image of KL's professional self, and his career history, which demonstrate that KL obviously can accomplish the duties of the dean - and the principal - with little or no supervision. MN hears the question somewhat differently, but indicates that KL's career history has indeed led many members to expect he will receive differential treatment (382).

One of MN's first tasks as president was to suggest alterations to the organizational scheme. He did not seek to share others' images, but to develop his own proposal. MN thinks that the model between the selves of the dean and the suitable position incumbent scheme is not an optimizing match for the functional integrity of the organization (382; 386). A different position and related incumbent scheme which provides broader responsibility will more adequately optimize this match (384). MN is careful to note that the responsibility of the new position is broader but not greater, that is, that no extensive status differen tion is inherent in the new position relative to other similar positions, although to certain members, their background expectancies lead them to interpret the relocation as a status enhancement and the reorganization as a gambit intended primarily to accomplish this enhancement. This interpretation is imposed even though selection rules and stylistic considerations were met (390) and the dean was not the focus of cause in the reorganization
(386). Note that this differs from KL's description where he notes he himself had indeed been pushing for the reorganization. Finally, MN notes that he is aware of the background expectancies which lead to the 'status enhancement' interpretation; they must be generally shared as the interpretation is readily understandable even to one who does not agree with it (390, 392).

MN suggests that there is a level of professional competence beyond which certain others find one's self annoying. To MN himself, KL's high competence is not annoying: rather, MN conceives it stylistically proper for the president to propose ways to optimize the utilization of human resources. He then refutes RG's allegation of differential treatment of KL which RG interpreted as an implication of the relocation of KL. The actual difference is claimed to be a matter of the relatively unique professional style of KL (398-406) in terms of utilizing delegated authority. This style is relevant to the high degree of professional integrity of KL (408).

MN notes that in a 'collegial' organization - one where negotiation and consultation is central to organizational functioning - that often stylistic conventions ('the informal organization') gain functional or operative precedence over the formal scheme. Functional integrity requires capitalizing on this, while preserving the formal scheme (424). This is a background theory for explaining how it is that KL has higher conventional status than other deans, yet formally has the same status (430). The informal status is caused by KL's social psychological and professional selves. One may compare this discussion of status with KL's, where he invokes the chairmanship of the committee as a formal status distinction (respondent 2, utterances 757-761) although he too emphasized earlier that the deans were all formally 'co equals' (739-741). Apparently the organizational scheme provides equal formal status vis-à-vis position
level in the hierarchical scheme, and yet also provides position contingent resources such as compliance demands which allow the interpretation - and actualization - of differential power.

DISCUSSION

This chapter has examined the advancement as an aspect of organizational succession. Advancement may involve moving up to a higher position in an organizational hierarchy in which the focal actor was already a member, or advancement in a career sense, where an actor moves to a 'better' position in terms of his or her unfolding career sequence. In the later instance, the actor may actually attain a hierarchically superior position in a different organizational scheme, an equivalent position in a more desirable scheme, perhaps with a higher salary, and so on. Thus advancement is not simply a term which is objectively defined by invoking a hierarchical scheme as an interpretive resource. It entails subjective evaluations, by members, of the relative status and desirability of various positions in potentially numerous organizations. This is clear if one considers that interorganizational mobility involves movement between entities whose hierarchical structure, subsumed by models of compliance, are not strictly comparable. Thus I utilized common language usages of the term to identify cases and define the term, and not some objective, operational definition.

Advancement was examined in two organizational entities. In the government, we examined members' descriptions of the 'standard' advancement process which were offered as typifications independent of particular cases or descriptions, that is, as abstract processes. Standard processes were also discussed by respondents from the college, but here, the discussion was more clearly embedded in descriptions of one particular advancement. Nonetheless, the descriptions from the two different settings
exhibit a great number of substantive and theoretical similarities. I turn now to a theoretical discussion of the findings.

Programmatically Constructed Entities. Once again, members' descriptions of successions, as events in their social worlds, involved programmatic construction of entities populating these worlds. In the present chapter, the programmatic construction was particularly clear because members gave extensive consideration to the cause-effect models of compliance, style and integrity characterizing various entities. These became central topics and resources in providing sensible explanations of the social production of successors. The concept of programmatic construction is therefore a useful theoretical device for making social scientific sense of common sense descriptions of advancement.

In the theoretical chapter, and the introduction to the present chapter, it was proposed that advancement would be explained in terms of a scheme of the organization as a model of compliance, and this would be linked to a scheme of the social psychological and professional selves of actors. The proposition requires discussion and elaboration. First, in all descriptions, the organization was constructed as an interpretational scheme including a subscheme we have labeled 'the succession process' (see Tables 7-2 through 7-7). Inspection of the tables, as well as the descriptions and analyses, indicates that advancement was explained in terms of a model of compliance of the organization (and the succession process). This model includes the various formal rules members utilized as resources and constraints in explaining advancements.

One interesting aspect common to both organizations is that the union provided rules relevant to advancement as part of the union-management contract. Succession to some positions in the government falls
### Table 7-2

**Schematic Entities Constructed in Describing the Standard Advancement Process**

**Respondent 1, AB**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entities</th>
<th>Common Language Descriptors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Focal Organization</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Functional Integrity</td>
<td>personnel needs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Settings</td>
<td>posting boards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal Stock of Knowledge</td>
<td>files</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial Integrity</td>
<td>costs of advertising effects it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Succession Producing Agencies:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personnel Department</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subunit: search committee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meetings as Situated Ceremonies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Succession Process:</strong> for sequence of events, see Table 7-1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Compliance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. union contract rules: post 7 days</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. union 'certify three candidates' rule</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. advertise dept. head positions in general news media</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. post long enough for everyone to see</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. develop candidate short list</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. when advertising</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. if preselected insider, small ad in local paper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. if no insider, cross country ads</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. develop internal people for promotion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. council will question personnel agents re candidates</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. range of proper interviews &amp; interview settings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. review and interview all insiders first</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Focal Positions:</strong> Union contract</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>included</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>excluded</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Successor Candidates</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>standard types: insider</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>outsider</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Professional Self</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. constructed in files and by tests</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. constructed by 'network'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. career history</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Table 7-2 (cont'd)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Social Psychological Self** | 1. in files and by tests  
2. constructed by 'network' |

**Succession Producing Agencies and Agents**

- Office of the Chief Politician
- Council Members
- Council Selection Committee Members
- Personnel Department - Assistant Director, etc.
- Focal Department - Head

**Information Network**

**Model of Functional Integrity**

1. must be maintained
2. 3 days to get information with name, 7 days to get name
### Table 7-3

Schematic Entities Constructed in Case 12
By Respondent 1, IJ, Vice President, Finance

#### I. Composite Entities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focal Organization</th>
<th>Common Language Descriptors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Model of Functional Integrity</strong></td>
<td>1. integrity declined under Black's leadership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. passification of union, solidification of college</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. organization moved from chaos or 'low' integrity to high integrity or 'health'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. French learning centre is an important functional aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Model of Compliance-hierarchy</strong></td>
<td>1. defines positions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unions</th>
<th>Common Language Descriptors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Model of Integrity</strong></td>
<td>1. select successors only from short list</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Model of Compliance</strong></td>
<td>1. union treated improperly during Black's incumbency - unionization to gain proper treatment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Model of Style</strong></td>
<td>1. hire outside firm to do a background search on candidates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. recycle search process if no candidate is chosen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Succession Process</th>
<th>Common Language Descriptors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Model of Compliance</strong></td>
<td>1. applications open until successor selected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Model of Style</strong></td>
<td>1. hire outside firm to do a background search on candidates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. recycle search process if no candidate is chosen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provincial Government</th>
<th>Common Language Descriptors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Model of Compliance</strong></td>
<td>1. rules which facilitate unionization</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Successor Producing Agencies</th>
<th>Common Language Descriptors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>search committee, council, outside consulting firm, students (on search committee)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### II. Individual Entities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focal Position Incumbents</th>
<th>Common Language Descriptors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Suitable Incumbent</strong></td>
<td>1. unexplicated but utilized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Model of Professional Self</strong></td>
<td>1. unexplicated but utilized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Model of Social Psychological Self</strong></td>
<td>2. bilingual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predecessor</td>
<td>KL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Psychological Self</td>
<td>positive qualities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Integrity</td>
<td>1. damaged when not originally promoted: will be restored if drafted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Self</td>
<td>1. positive qualities contribute to organizational integrity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Functional Integrity</td>
<td>1. normally damaged when status decreases - smooth transition draws high integrity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. damaged when not originally promoted: will be restored if drafted</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Successor Candidates</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Candidate #1</td>
<td>images 'checked' by consultants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candidate #2</td>
<td>withdrew - intimidated by council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demographic model</td>
<td>Australian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Psychological &amp; Professional Selves</td>
<td>problematic - mirrors images of Black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candidate #3</td>
<td>'sick man' (496)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physiological Self-Integrity</td>
<td>seeks retirement position as next point in career sequence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Self</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Self</td>
<td>matches suitable image</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bilingual</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 7-4
Schematic Entities Constructed in Case 12
By Respondent 2, KL, Academic Dean and Former Acting President

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Composite Entities</th>
<th>Common Language Descriptors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Focal Organization</strong></td>
<td>college</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Compliance</td>
<td>1. specifies positions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. reorganization to provide associate deanship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. reorganization leading to new division</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Council</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Compliance</td>
<td>1. can remove authority from principal, and can terminate him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. can modify formal compliance scheme of focal entity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. quorum rule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Financial Component</strong></td>
<td>1. effected by cost of announcement memos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. budget</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Union</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Compliance</td>
<td>1. rules re selection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. position changed only when vacant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Succession Process</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Compliance</td>
<td>1. rules limiting temporal duration of search process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. motion which authorizes hiring a consultant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. rules re search committee composition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. voting ritual: motion produces candidates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. proper announcement style = announce successor to insiders first: components include media, agents and so on</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 'professional style' is proper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. search for successor to KL was 'nice and clean'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. all administrators will meet with the candidate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. predecessor will consult with successor to be re significant decisions after predecessor is identified</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. there is a good style for doing changeovers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. predecessor authority is diminished when successor to be arrival time near</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Model of Integrity

Ad Hoc Additions by Predecessor

Model of Style

Model of Compliance

Successor Producing Agents

Social Institutions

Acquaintanceship

Model of Style

II. Individual Entities

Focal Position Incumbent

Suitable Incumbent

Demographic Model

Professional Self

Model of Style

Predecessor

Professional Self

Model of Style

1. normal sequence, see Table 7-8

1. proper 'business management' style of changeover

1. principal will meet candidates before interview

2. principal will talk only in answering questions

3. caveats of predecessor at time of appointment

   a. authority held until departure date

   b. successor to be can be present at meetings but has no authority until he assumes office

4. predecessor will answer successor's questions only for two weeks

1. primary: council, search committee, external consultant

2. others: administration, faculty union and executives, etc. students on search committee

1. don't be rude

2. keep talking while physically co present

1. Canadian, BC resident preferred

1. job description

1. provide options to council (KL)

2. constructs elaborate image of college

3. proper mode of preparing for interviews

1. career history

2. varies with org. context

1. provides options to council

2. forces council to be explicit re his authority
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Successor Candidates</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Candidate #1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demographic Model</td>
<td>from USA, Michigan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Successor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Self</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Model of Style       | 1. positive - complies with predecessor's gambits  
|                      | 2. consultative |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Succession Producing Agents</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Search Committee Member</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>re questioning candidates will cause him to be remembered</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Other Administrators</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Position of Dean of Instructional Services</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Model of Compliance   | 1. authority equal to other deans  
<p>|                      | 2. will chair committee of deans |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entities</th>
<th>Common Language Descriptors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Focal Organization</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Compliance</td>
<td>1. hierarchy defines positions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focal Subunit</td>
<td>academic division</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Integrity</td>
<td>1. division suffered without full time head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Compliance</td>
<td>1. rules outlining search process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Succession Producers</td>
<td>council, search committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selection Process</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Compliance</td>
<td>1. ad hoc - do only inside search</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>2. standard rules</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predecessor</td>
<td>1. chain reaction causes further succession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Successor Candidate</td>
<td>KL: see Table 7-5 for elaboration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Self</td>
<td>1. career history</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Succession to Acting Dept. Head

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entities</th>
<th>Common Language Descriptors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Focal Organization</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Compliance</td>
<td>1. dean complies with rules, enforces these</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Succession Process</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Compliance</td>
<td>1. invite applications</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>2. dean makes appointment of incumbent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Succession Producers:</td>
<td>1. division elects incumbent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conventional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Successor Candidates</td>
<td>1. dean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suitable Image vs. Actual</td>
<td>1. dean has questioned match after some appointments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predecessor</td>
<td>see successor, above</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7-6
Schematic Entities Constructed in Case 12
By Respondent 3, MN, Current College President

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Composite Entities</th>
<th>Common Language Descriptors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Research Enterprise</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Integrity</td>
<td>needs which MN utilizes as an implicit resource</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focal Organization</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>1. conflict characterizes climate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. predecessor expected by some to receive differential treatment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. collegial organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Compliance</td>
<td>1. hierarchical scheme reorganized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Integrity</td>
<td>1. integrity enhanced by smooth presidential changeover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. enhanced by optimal use of human resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Succession Process</td>
<td>1. closing date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. rule of 'appoint only from short list'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. (predecessor, ad hoc): predecessor will maintain all authority until the departure date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>1. standard search process, see Table 7-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. eliminate all candidates (to force choosing KL: undertaken by some search committee members)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. successor to be maintains contact with organization after selection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. smooth changeover is 'positive' style</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Successor Producing Agencies</td>
<td>council, search committee, faculty union</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>II. Individual Entities</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Focal Position Incumbent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suitable Incumbent</td>
<td>unexplicated image often utilized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Style</td>
<td>(MN) propose ways to optimize human resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predecessors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Predecessor</td>
<td>fired</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7-6 (cont'd)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Second Predecessor</th>
<th>currently dean, KL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Professional Self</strong></td>
<td>1. visible while serving as principal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. very positive (MN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. fits best with principal position (MN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Model of Style</strong></td>
<td>1. unique; utilizes delegated authority to fullest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Model of Integrity</strong></td>
<td>1. damaged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. will be impaired if authority until departure rule not accepted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. self needed reorganizing after descent to dean position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. very high competence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Social Psychological Self | 1. damaged when not promoted earlier |
| **Model of Integrity** | at least two others being considered |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Successors Candidates</th>
<th><strong>Successor</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Professional Self</strong></td>
<td>MN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. career history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. contacts which experience provided are thus due to professional self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. files as stock of formally retained professional knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. others have positive image</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Model of Integrity</strong></td>
<td>1. (some members) integrity maligned by KL's formal announcement of the 'authority' rule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Model of Style</strong></td>
<td>1. propose ways to optimize human resources</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dean of Instructional Services</th>
<th><strong>Model of Compliance</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. authority and responsibility equivalent to other deans, although broader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. will chair committee of deans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Model of Style</strong></td>
<td>1. higher status than other positions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7-7

Stages in the Selection of a Permanent College President, Case 12: Respondent 1, IJ, Vice President, Finance

I. Presuccession: Incumbent Principal Black is Fired

II. Succession considered possible and What Next?
   1. acting principal appointed
      a. refuses to apply for permanent position
      b. notifies members he will allow himself to be drafted
   2. unions certified
      a. contract includes rules re selection process, selection from search list only rule
   3. search begins
      a. consulting firm commissioned to do background search on candidates
      b. first short list produced
      c. candidates interviewed
      d. one candidate withdraws
      e. two candidates eliminated
   4. search resumed, more names sought and acquired
      a. 'successor to be' emerges: applies late

III. 'Successor to be' is selected

IV. Predecessor departs
   1. leaves position, goes on vacation
   2. ceremony held to mark his departure

V. Successor arrives - assumes office same day predecessor goes on vacation (departs)
   1. formal installation ceremony

VI. Post succession
   1. predecessor returns from vacation; becomes dean

1 actual timing in terms of sequence is not identified by the respondent
outside the formal scope of the contract, but even here, the union-provided rule serves as a metaphor for determining an aspect of the proper style of selection. In the government, the union rules propose a minimum job posting time, and a 'certify the best three candidates' criterion. Even in high level-exempt-position vacancies, the posting rule is enacted, as an aspect of proper style. In the college, the faculty union-management contract specifies members for the search committee, and a rule that only search committee nominees may be appointed. These two rules were important topics in the descriptions. Actual events, as they unfolded, were sensible as results of applications of the rules. And the rules were not just incidental; they were central resources in successor production.

An important aspect of rule use is that the rules serve as resources for a variety of purposes. Thus the 'appoint only from the search committee's short list of three' rule which was part of the union contract, was perhaps originally constructed to prevent a unilateral decision process involving only management. It also reduces the complexity of the decision facing council, since they would have at most three candidates to consider instead of some potentially larger number. In the present case, the rule was used creatively: the selection of a successor was delayed by rejecting candidates and thus producing no short list. Council could not make an appointment without a short list and certain members hoped that this would ultimately result in the drafting of the acting principal. The rules, once formalized, are generally available resources for use by members with a variety of practical purposes. This rule was used not only to produce a successor, but also to prevent or delay producing one!

The organization, as a model of compliance, includes the hierarchical scheme with positions and rule governed duties. The hierarchical model is a useful interpretive device at numerous points and acquires a taken for...
grantedness because of its omnipresence in discussions. Thus any mention of a position invokes the hierarchical scheme as a background for the sensible location and relational meaning of the position. It also has the consequence that the chain reaction principle is made sensible. If we know there is a hierarchy of positions, then one can reasonably understand how filling one vacancy can give rise to another vacancy, as we can understand the principle of moving up the hierarchy which is constitutive of the chain reaction. Both researcher and respondents take for granted that the organization is describeable as a hierarchy, and much discussion involves filling in the organization specific substance of this generalized conception.

The tables also display that advancement involves construction of stylistic components of the organization. The formal rules composing the model of compliance are incomplete specifications of advancement which require elaboration and also simply fail to cover or relate to numerous aspects. Conventions often arise to cover certain aspects. For example, it was conventional in the government to consider all inside candidates first, at least informally, and advertise externally in a serious manner only when no minimally acceptable internal candidates were available (see Table 7-2). Even in the college where the advancement (case 12) was only the fourth time a principal was selected, members had various ideas of a 'proper' search. Thus the vice president of finance thought that hiring an outside consultant to do a background search on candidates was proper, although it was not required by rules of the organization - until a motion was presumably passed authorizing this. And there was a proper style of announcing the appointment; the acting principal outlined this and noted it was violated in the previous appointment of Black. Not all respondents or members reported or perhaps agreed on
the stylistic considerations, yet each held some notions and used these to interpret the advancements as well as finding evidence of these in the actual events themselves.

Advancement is generally explained by constructing the organization as a model of compliance or rules outlining search, recruitment and selection, as well as model of style. Members' descriptions orient to these models as both causes of activities, and effects of them. Thus for example rules are constructed for use and also because of past improprieties, injustices, and so on. Models of compliance and style provide sensibility to a flow of events; they allow one to interpret them and in doing interpretations, the respondent finds in the descriptions the warranted applications of the models, and the constitutive evidence. Phenomena subsumed by the models, as second order constructions, are major conversational concerns to members as respondents, and to members as participants in the actual face-to-face situations that are later reported in the descriptions.

Another common component in descriptions of advancement is the cast of characters which invariably includes some successor candidates, a successor, and a predecessor. The characters are constructed with descriptive characteristics and professional selves, which often include a model of style, as well as competence or other components of a model of integrity of the professional self. Social psychological selves were also constructed in some descriptions. Constructing a professional self for successors and candidates is important, because the choice of a successor is explained by the professional self of the successor and its match with the professional self of an abstract, suitable incumbent provided

---

2 Government respondents' descriptions included in this chapter do not all mention a predecessor, but that is because I have edited out prior and later conversation. Reported segments are embedded in larger discussions which do not mention predecessors.
by the organization as a model of compliance. The compliance model includes a 'job specification' which outlines or permits derivation of the professional self of the suitable incumbent, e.g. educational qualifications, experience, and so on. In case 12, the former acting principal made this particularly clear when he noted that he forced council to develop a job description so they would know what they were looking for in candidates. That is, by constructing the description they would have, or be able to drive, an image of the professional self of the suitable incumbent. They could then use this to compare it with the actual images provided in letters of application, gleaned through interviews, and so on. It would be an interpretive device for assessing the suitability of candidates. To KL, it was not merely useful, it was essential.

A formalized scheme of the professional self of the suitable incumbent was not the only device used to assess candidates, but it was the major one which was explicated. Indeed, in the government, the junior personnel consultant noted that for lower level positions it was used almost exclusively and was so stringently applied that candidates who thought they were 'obviously' qualified, often were not. The image was made quite precise by the classification department, and the professional selves of applicants was evaluated vis-à-vis the criteria, with few substitute or equivalent criteria. According to him, if the professional self required an MSW and two years of experience, then a BSW and five years (or ten, or a thousand!) will not be considered an adequate match. Of course, as one moves up in the hierarchy, criteria often become more difficult to make explicit. Here, 'next in line' is the hierarchically provided solution although it is likely that this is often a subject of negotiation. As earlier cases indicated, the 'next in line' position may not be clearly
decideable vis-à-vis some focal position, so identification may be a negotiated accomplishment achieved by creating a new, obvious, generally agreed upon next-in-line position. Where criteria are specific, there is still vagueness and two or three candidates who are equivalent on paper are often differentiated through interviews where additional characteristics are added to their image, including social psychological ones.

Finally, the professional self image criteria for positions, especially at higher levels, may be used as interpretive-evaluative devices, but these are by no means sufficient to choose the one best candidate. Our data do not provide the discussions where the final decisions were made. Job specifications may separate suitable from unsuitable candidates, and social psychological characteristics are clearly important phenomena discussed by members. But this research cannot go much further than to suggest members choose what they perceive and generally agree is the best match between the actual, professional and social psychological selves of candidates, and the suitable incumbent's selves as prescribed by formal rules as well as informal constructions based on consideration of past incumbents and other background knowledge. Models of style and integrity of the selves are relevant, and central to their construction. Various formal rules and conventions, such as the seniority convention, are subsumed by or relate to character typifications e.g. greatest seniority is a relational characteristic of one's professional self as compared with the selves of others. Further specificity of the matching process and its operative, negotiated form, requires additional research which directly examines the face-to-face interactions in successor choice situations, ceremonies, and meetings.

One other set of programmatically constructed entities found in all descriptions of advancement includes the successor producing agents and
agencies. I have stated that matching and negotiation occurs, and these are the entities which do this. Their roles are often given by the organizational compliance-heirarchy model, as in the case of the personnel department and search committees. An interesting substantive difference between organizations may be noted here. Both organizations have certain comparable agents - a council and a committee - as well as administrators and a union which are less centrally involved. However, in the government the personnel department is involved in all the advancements as a functionally specialized search agency. The college obviously had some subunit which insured advertisements were placed and so on but this is not identified. And they hired an outside consultant to do background searches, whereas the government has personnel as specialized subunit which does this. One respondent from the government - AB, the assistant director of personnel - emphasized the importance and centrality of maintaining a network which accomplishes the background search.

There is also some variation in agents involved which corresponds to variations in the level of the position being filled. With higher level positions in both organizations, a wider range of subunits is involved (compare, for example, Tables 7-4 and 7-5), whereas in lower positions fewer subunits and agents are involved. Thus in the government, a high level advancement may involve council, a search committee, the personnel department, department heads, the chief politician and the administrative manager, whereas a lower position may be handled by the personnel department and the focal subunit head. In the college, the council, search committee, faculty union and so on are involved in hiring a president or a dean. At the lower level of department head, the dean has the authority to appoint an incumbent, and conventionally involves the focal department. Thus higher level selections are more complex, lengthy, and
probably often subject to more negotiation among agents than are lower level selections which are likely to be more highly routinized and more rapid.

Evaluations of successors also involve programmatic construction. The 'good' successor is retrospectively typified as such because his or her social psychological and/or professional self and other aspects are seen to contribute to the functional integrity of the organization. Thus in the college case, the vice president of finance constructed the professional selves of the two most recent presidents - KL and MN - in his description, and then states these two persons, that is, their personal qualities, were responsible for the current high level of 'institutional health' of the organization. The term 'personal qualities' suggests the professional selves as well as social psychological attributes, although these are not explicated in that segment of the discussion. Evaluations are retrospective assessments from the point of view of some entity with a set of practical purposes at hand. One generally adopted perspective is the focal organization's view, and the ultimate evaluative dimension here is of course the impact of the evaluated entity on the continued existence and performance - that is, the functional integrity - of the focal organization. For the organizational scheme in general, all other evaluative criteria are subordinate to this.

There are various entities which members programmatically constructed in the descriptions, and this stock of entities which they assembled must be regarded as an incomplete stock relative to the range of potential entities which sensibly have been constructed. Programmatic construction of certain entities is essential to a sensible description - the entities include the focal organization, predecessor (if any), successor candidates, and succession producers. However, the list of 'possible' entities is
much more lengthy and perhaps not possible to limit. Almost any conceivable entity could be constructed in a description of advancement - e.g. the family of a member, one's dog, and so on - although demonstrating the relevance of these to the advancement would perhaps require greater conversational work than relating rules outlining search committee membership. Thus what is important is not merely that certain entities are involved, but that these entities are programmatically constructed. The concept of programmatic construction is useful as a guide to ascertaining necessary components of sensible descriptions, and it also makes social scientific sense of a range of supplementary resources. It does not, however, limit human sensemaking resources to some determinant set of variables which account for all or most of the variance in members' descriptions. Rather, it is a social scientific concept which describes the sensemaking process, and allows for the substantive variance which characterizes human sensemaking processes. Humans are creative actors, not preprogrammed automatons. Theories of human meanings must search for general processes which produce a variety of substantively variable social constructions, not for a specific set of substantive variables which compose the necessary, determinant facts of social life.

Stages in Advancement. One of the major considerations exhibited by respondents was providing a clear and explicit chronology to the events which they described. Events do not 'just happen', but happen in some specifiable temporal order. Chronology is a warranted structuring of events in a sensible description. Further, chronology is implicit - and sometimes explicit - in stylistic considerations and rules which are applied to the succession process.

Tables 7-1 and 7-7 through 7-9 summarize the sequence of events in chronological order, which were reported by respondents. Comparison of
Table 7-8

Stages in the Selection of a Permanent College President, Case 12: Respondent 2, KL, Academic Dean and Former Acting President

I. Presuccession: Incumbent Principal Black is Fired

II. Succession Considered Possible and What Next?

1. KL installed as acting principal
   a. lists caveats, including one that he will not take the appointment permanently

2. predecessor to be continues to be dean - budget done, academic division suffers

3. acting dean appointed, acting head of humanities division appointed

4. search process negotiated
   a. primary agents - council - persuaded to construct job description for vacated position
   b. other supplemental rules re search constructed and stages considered, e.g. how to advertise, meetings, etc.
   c. management consultant hired
   d. search committee constructed: incumbent principal declines membership

5. search begins in earnest
   a. vacancy advertised
   b. applications received
   c. short list constructed

6. candidates interviewed
   a. meet with principal prior to interview, if they wish
   b. meet each (other) administrator

III. 'Successor to Be' Elected

IV. Interval Before Successor Takes Office

1. successor to be invited to significant meetings
   a. meeting where predecessor to be informs successor to be, and other participants, he has authority until successor installed

2. predecessor to be sends correspondence to successor to be, phones

3. predecessor and council negotiate re reorganization, which is delayed
4. general 'wait for successor' convention arises
5. successor to be arrives in town, does not take official role on campus

V. Successor Installed

VI. Post Succession
1. predecessor available for no holds barred consultation for two weeks
2. predecessor goes on vacation
3. predecessor returns from vacation, becomes Dean of Academic Division
4. college scheme reorganized: associate dean position created, filled
5. college scheme reorganized: Instructional Services Division created
6. predecessor principal selected to be Dean of Instructional Services effective January 1: resigns Academic Dean Position a. quorum fails so not yet formally appointed
7. search begins for successor to Academic Dean
Table 7-9

Stages in the Selection of a Permanent College President, Case 12:
Respondent 3, MN, Current College President

I. Presuccession
1. focal actor holds other job
2. principal fired
3. acting principal appointed, performs well

II. Succession Considered Possible, and What Next?
1. search process initiated when principal dismissed
2. search committee struck
3. applications received
   a. numerous ones rejected in effort to force drafting of
      acting principal
   b. no short list provided to council
4. focal actor learns of vacancy
   a. writes letter of application in February
5. focal actor phoned, asked for interview, interviews
6. focal actor invited back for 1.5 days to meet college subunits
7. focal actor invited back to meet governing body
8. governing body deliberates on 2 or 3 candidates

III. "Successor To Be' Selected
1. phoned, offered position, accepts - early April
2. returns to campus to negotiate terms of appointment

IV. Interval Before Successor Takes Office
1. "successor to be' invited to campus for important meetings
   a. meeting where predecessor announces he has authority
      until the successor is installed
2. correspondence continues until takeover
3. 'successor to be' arrives in area in July, prepares for taking
   office

V. Successor Installed

VI. Post Succession
1. predecessor introduces successor to various characters:
   consults, for one week
2. predecessor goes on vacation
3. successor attends first council meeting
<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>predecessor returns as Academic Dean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>principal proposes reorganization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>predecessor appointed to new position</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7-1 (stages in advancement in the government) with Tables 7-7 through 7-9 reveals a remarkable similarity between organizations. The standard search and selection process relevant to both entities is summarized in Table 7-10. This standard sequence seems to have an internal temporal logic. For example, it would be ridiculous to select a successor before candidates are known or a vacancy has occurred. This logic thus constrains the sequence and may be partially determinant of the comparability between sequences of the two different organizations. The common sequence, and the description specific, ones are also determined or produced by invoking stylistic considerations. For example, producing a short list is required in both organizations; and rules outline advertising requirements (posting) in the government.

The notion of standard advancement sequence includes, then, the common course and set of events which transpire. This sequence is governed by an internal logic, rules, and stylistic considerations. There are also various subtypes of the standard process and contingencies which modify it. Thus each particular advancement is understood by reference to members' images of the standard sequence, and this sequence makes departures from it both visible and meaningful.

One contingency leading to standard subtypes is the level of the focal position involved. Table 7-10 is applicable to senior administrative positions in the college, but not to department heads where a different sequence is followed - vacancy occurs, advertise, receive applications, successor elected, and successor announced. Certain stages are thus 'missing' here vis-à-vis Table 7-10, but even so, the sequence is somewhat similar and exhibits a similar internal logic.

Table 7-10 is applicable to both senior and lower positions in the government, but the more extensive standard search and selection process
Table 7-10
Stages in the Standard Advancement Process Common to
Both the Government and the College

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>Position vacancy occurs or is anticipated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>Vacancy is advertised; applications are received</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>A short list of candidates is produced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>Candidates are interviewed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>A successor is selected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI.</td>
<td>The selection is announced</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
unique to the city (Table 7-1) is modified for lower employees. Thus while council may ultimately approve all appointments, at lower levels not all insider candidates are interviewed, and council does not interview candidates (stage 6). They merely approve the recommendation of the personnel department.

Another potential contingency is the background knowledge members have about a candidate, and this includes images of his or her selves. Thus in the government, if a candidate is well known by council they forego the interview, and can modify the sequence, i.e. 'play it by ear' (Table 7-2). Further, if a successor has been groomed, steps may be omitted. This departure from the expected sequence may be the cue which allows members to interpret the successor as a groomed successor although this was not visible to them prior to the advancement process.

Succession planning was discussed by respondents in the government. This relates to the standard advancement process. Normally, i.e. without plans, the advancement process unfolds in fairly close temporal proximity to the departure of the predecessor. As we saw in earlier chapters, this may be before or after predecessor departure, depending on the departure mode. With rational succession planning, the timing is altered; vacancies are anticipated a fairly long time in advance, perhaps several years. Potential successors are identified and their professional selves may be 'improved' vis-à-vis schematic demands and needs, as the lengthy time allows this. One respondent noted such formal plans are constrained or prevented by union rules. Further, some informal plans may already be in use and informal planning is perhaps rather common in the government. However, informal plans are undertaken by positionally proximate superiors not by the official primary successor producing agents in the personnel department. The plans then, as informal devices, are probably subject to
barriers and disruptions as they have not been negotiated and agreed upon by all formally defined producing agents and agencies. Thus negotiation occurs only after the formal search process is initiated.

Inspection of Tables 7-7 through 7-9 - stages described by college respondents - illuminates respondent specific variations in stages which are reported. The stages and substages reported by the former acting president are more extensive than those noted by the others. Considering that he was centrally involved at all points, it is not surprising that he would be aware of, and report, more details. We also may note the acting principal and the present principal both report events in the interval after successor selection but before installation, which the vice president fails to mention. Finally, the current principal includes events such as his becoming aware of the vacancy, which the other respondents do not mention.

These variations can be explained by proposing that respondents' descriptions are related to their practical interests in the events, and the positionally contingent scenic events which were visible to them. The descriptions however exhibit similarities, so one may note that there are intersubjectively apprehended events reported by all members. There is no single objective description, but there are points of contact and overlap among the descriptions. The similarities and differences thus exhibit the contention that the social world members report is organized both subjectively in terms of personal relevances, and intersubjectively in terms of events that 'any' senior administrator apprehends. The world 'out there' is witnessed and reported from different viewpoints, yet certain commonalities in observations are evidenced in commonly reported events. Negotiation and agreement on the commonly apprehended events are the means by which intersubjective realities are constructed and maintained.
as social facticities in everyday life.

CONCLUSIONS

The findings discussed in the present chapter may be summarized by the following propositions.

Proposition 7-1: Advancement in organizations is explained by the

1. programmatic construction of the focal organizational scheme including models of compliance and style which outline the succession process.

   a. an important component of the model is a job specification which indicates the characteristics of the professional self of a suitable successor.

2. images of the professional selves of successor candidates.

3. an image of the professional self of the predecessor.

4. successor producing agents and agencies.

Corollary 7-1-1: The professional self of the successful candidate is demonstrated to be a good, or the best, match with the organizationally specified image of the professional self of the suitable candidate.

Corollary 7-1-2: Members construct and utilize an image of the standard succession sequence as an interpretive resource in explaining succession. The standard scheme is a chronological sequence of the events and activities which result in succession.

Corollary 7-1-3: There are variations in members' descriptions of advancement which correspond to or derive from variations in members' practical relevances and position contingent scenic events.

Proposition 8-2: There are differences in the advancement process which are related to differences in the level of the vacated position. Advancement to higher level positions is often more complex, lengthy, and subject to greater negotiation than in lower level position where the advancement sequence is transcend more rapidly and is more routinized. There may also be variations in successor producing agents and agencies, with fewer ones being involved for lower level advancements.
Proposition 7-3: The quality of the successor may be retrospectively assessed by constructing images of the professional and/or social psychological selves of the successor and relating this to the functional integrity of the organization. A good successor is described as one who has enhanced organizational integrity.
Chapter 8
THEORETICAL CONCLUSIONS

Previous chapters have examined descriptive accounts of cases of five types of organizational succession. Substantive theoretical models of each type of succession have been developed and the concept of programmatic construction has played a major role in explaining how social actors make sense of organizational succession. The present chapter is an attempt to review and integrate the findings from these earlier chapters and to clarify the theoretical concepts utilized and elaborated in this dissertation.

Thus in this final chapter, I review the components of descriptive accounts of succession. Next, a comparative analysis of succession cases and types is undertaken; propositions are presented and discussed in an effort to develop a more general model of human sensemaking in the production of organizational succession. These propositions are essentially integrative generalizations based on the findings from the substantive chapters on each of the succession types.

Following the discussion which focuses primarily on succession, seven sensemaking practices from previous ethnomethodological research are discussed and several other practices observed in the present study are presented. The emphasis of the chapter thus shifts from sensemaking in succession to sensemaking per se and the section displays the relevance of the current dissertation to the concerns of mainstream ethnomethodology. The concept of programmatic construction is then elaborated and examined as the major sensemaking practice studied in the current research endeavour. The chapter concludes by indicating the general implications of the present approach to doing succession research. The
present, and somewhat nontraditional orientation is contrasted with the more traditional research modes prevalent in succession literature.

**DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNTS OF SUCCESSION**

**Succession and Objective Reality.** The cases and various types of succession discussed in this study were analyzed under the assumption that respondents were not describing objective events which occurred external to their 'inner selves' and personal interpretations. Rather, the objective nature of events is problematic: respondents reported 'what happened' as organizationally situated observers, and the reports were furnished in a particular social context - the interview. Respondents' practical interests and problems, their social positions, and the interview context of their descriptive accounts are all relevant to the production of the descriptive accounts.

Succession thus always and inevitably involves succession as embedded and discussed in descriptive accounts, whether the accounts occur in 1) interviews, 2) accounts fashioned for one's peers or oneself, or 3) actual situations where succession was accomplished. In all three contexts, sensemaking is occurring and it is not reasonable to ask 'what really happened?' but rather, one must ask how people make sense of events in fashioning reports of them, or accomplishing them. What happened is inextricably bound to the sense that is made of the events which gives them meaning.

In accomplishing succession, members do not merely say for example, "you're fired"; they also do pre- and post-succession sensemaking which provides warrant and cause for accomplishing the succession, outlines the means for this, and anticipates the effects. Sensemaking processes, including programmatic construction, provide descriptive accounts and
interpretations of events, constitute negotiation of practical issues, and are central to the practical accomplishment of succession. Thus, my interviews share similarities with the face-to-face situations where successions occurred, as sensemaking processes are involved in each. Further, to study succession one must study a description of succession: both interview accounts and many social scientists' descriptions of events constitute, by definition, descriptive accounts. Use of interviews is therefore justifiable as a setting for studying sensemaking. And theorizing about succession as embedded in descriptive accounts is applicable—and necessary—vis-à-vis both interview descriptions and succession per se. The theoretical conceptions which follow are therefore conceptions of succession as it was described and comprehended: I do not propose, and would find absurd, any alleged theory of 'objective aspects of succession'.

Substantive Components of Descriptive Accounts of Succession. Previous chapters (chapters 3-7) have shown that various entities were constructed by respondents in doing descriptive accounts of cases of succession. Results of my analyses indicate that the entities were central to the descriptive accounts; they were the social characters populating the descriptions, and as social actors they provided the causes of significant events as well as being the loci of the effects or consequences of the events. Further, the entities were commonly constructed in one or more of three typical forms—as models of compliance, functional integrity and/or style—and consistently exhibited other characteristics which fit the definition of programmatically constructed entities (PCE's per se will be discussed below in greater depth). These results from previous chapters can thus be summarized by the following general proposition.
Proposition 8-1: Descriptive accounts involve programmatic construction of certain entities as interpretive schemes. Such entities populate the accounts, forming causes, consequences and actors (collective and individual).

This proposition implies that the findings regarding descriptive accounts of succession can in some ways be generalized to descriptive accounts of any phenomena. In particular, the proposition asserts that descriptive accounts will be composed in part of some programmatically constructed entities (PCEs). The particular PCEs provided in any given descriptive account are likely to vary as a function of numerous contingencies, one of the more important of which is the phenomena being described.

The results from the present study indicate that in accounts of succession certain types of entities are commonly - and perhaps necessarily - constructed. 'Organizations' are one general category of collective entities recurrently produced; members display several different types and divisions of organizations - 1) a focal organization, 2) a focal subunit or subunits where succession occurs and/or succession-producing agents reside, 3) a 'succession process' which cuts across subunit boundaries and forms a concrete analytical slice of organizational processes, 4) other 'organizations' outside the purview of the focal entity - such as government regulatory agencies, and 5) the 'union', a rather peculiar entity which overlaps the focal entity at points, often provides compliance demands specifying the succession process, and yet is considered a different, separate entity. One point of research interest is the distribution of interpretive models as these were constructed in composing the various types of organizations.

First, one may note that a focal entity, and subschemes including subunits and 'the succession process' were almost invariably produced for
each case description. While the particular models in which the entities were constructed varied across cases and entity types, for each case description all three models were constructed for the combinations of the focal entity and its subschemes. Thus when the focal entity was constructed in one model, subschemes were constructed in the other two models (and perhaps also the first model). This suggests that since the focal entity qua global organization and suprascheme is composed of subschemes, and the focal entity and subschemes are the 'central entity' invoked in succession, a reasonably complete scheme of this entity as relevant to the specific succession at hand entails not just one typical model or form but all three. Completeness is equivalent to constructing the organization in all three typical forms, but does not imply that all possible details for each typical form have been specified.

The focal entity and subschemes sum up to the organizational context (government, college) where succession occurred and hence the organization relevant to the case description. Specific subunits and details are chosen for practical purposes of describing the specific case at hand, and yet the three typical forms provide the basic, necessary background for an adequate (for members' purposes at hand) interpretational scheme of the focal entity. The three typical models thus subsume three overlapping types of phenomena which compose the range of phenomena interpretable by the PCE, even though all possible phenomena and their characteristics are not made explicit.

The particular subunits involved in succession vary between organizations and across cases and types of succession, yet there are some relative constancies for each organization which relate to the standard succession sequence as a subscheme of the focal entity supra-
scheme. Clearly, there is always some subunit (e.g. department or office) where the succession occurs, although the subunit may vary in a substantive sense. Thus succession may occur in the office of president or dean, the PL department, the personnel department and so on. Specification of the focal position implies an organizational context and hence a model of compliance-hierarchy which locates the focal position within a focal subunit, relates to expected duties, etc. Other compliance characteristics as well as models of style and integrity of the subunit may be explicitly provided or implied: clearly the issue of whether a unit needs a successor is always potentially available, and yet the precise models and details are not constant across cases, but are creatively chosen and produced by members. However, a major resource consistently used in selecting relevant subunits was the standard succession sequence as a normal form and background expectancy held by members. Aspects of this sequence related to advancement are discussed at greater length in a later section below.

Organizations other than the focal entity and subunits, as well as the union, were sometimes constructed. For example, in the government cases organizations where some actor held a previous or later position were noted. With the college, entities such as the Ministry of Higher Education were noted. The particular 'other' entities, their typical forms, and indeed whether or not any are constructed, seems to be an issue creatively decided by each respondent based on the details he perceived for any case as a unique occurrence. Again, as with constructions of the family, these other PCEs are proposed 1) when the focal entity cannot explain some 'obvious' event or phenomenon, 2) when the 'other' entities breach, violate, or disrupt focal entity activities and meanings, and 3) where the other entities may be constructed to further support, buttress, or warrant details explained by the focal entity schemes.
The organizational types - focal, subunits, union, 'other', and so on - employed in this study are not proposed as an absolute typology, but rather as a useful typology for the practical purposes of analyzing the specific succession cases considered in the present research. Analysis of descriptive accounts of some other phenomena, such as conflict, could presumably lead the researcher to employ other typological devices - such as 'conflict-oriented organization', 'passive organization', and so on. The point is that, while the types and names of organizations change, and even though the choice of typical forms constructed for any given type of organization may vary from respondent to respondent or across the subjects' descriptions, the processes of producing organizations and using them as interpretational schemes will remain the same. Put simply, the social production of organizations involves the programmatic construction of organizational entities.

There were also certain distinct types of persons which were constructed - in terms of selves - in succession accounts. The core types were 1) the predecessor, defined as the occupant of the focal position prior to succession, 2) the successor, 3) successor candidates, and 4) succession-producing agents, those members involved in recruiting and selecting the successor. Of course the types of actors, as distinguished in second order social scientific terms - will depend on the topic at hand and the purpose of the descriptive account. Thus different types of actors would populate descriptions of other phenomena such as routine production activities. The typology of actors is thus relevant to successions in general but not to organizational behavior in general. This of course merely illustrates another aspect of my contention that the theory at hand is aimed at producing a substantive model of succession, even though the sensemaking processes described may be generally relevant.
In recognizing some sequence of events as a succession, members are forced to recognize some actor as a predecessor and some actor as the successor: these actor types are thus essential components of succession and must be displayed if the contention that the acts involve succession is to be warranted. Further, just as there must be some successor, there must have been some successor candidate(s). Where there was more than one candidate, the differential desirability and selection of the successor became a topic for respondents thus concerned with showing how and why certain candidates were unsuccessful while another was successful.

In explaining the successor choice, respondents oriented toward two things - providing a 'cause' for selection, and the actors who were involved in the succession, that is, a predecessor, candidates and successor. Succession did not just happen, but happened 1) due to basic causes, retrospectively ascertained in PCEs such as the suitable professional self for an incumbent as specified by the organizational compliance model and 2) because of the activities and work of certain agents, where the succession-producing roles of the agents were often formally provided by the organizational scheme which specified who would be involved. Stylistic considerations in the normal form of succession production also were used to explain, allow or require the participation of certain members as producing agents. Thus respondents conceived of certain actors routinely and sanctionably involved in producing predecessors, successor candidates and successors. In the government the set of these agents was relatively stable across cases and included personnel department members as primary agents. Disparities from normal form touched off clarifications, elaborations and specification of contingencies which mitigated applicability of the normal form. The college was shown to develop routines and formal
specifications regarding whom the agents would be.

Further elaboration of types of producing agents could be undertaken for some types of succession. Thus in the status degradation of Peter Black, certain denouncers emerged and initiated the degradation, and certain resisters who defended Black also emerged: both types of actors were succession-producing agents involved in negotiating the status transformation. This distinction of agent types was suggested by Gephart (1978) and present results support his conclusions. However, the present methodology has yielded a broad range of cases with relatively little depth for any case. Thus, further specification of agent types is only suggested and awaits more adequate, indepth case descriptions, particularly those obtained through direct observation (rather than interviews).

Finally, other types of actors were occasionally displayed, such as friends and spouses. These actor types were not essential to displaying the case as successions per se. Rather, the actor types were used to fill in unique aspects of the cases, in particular various unusual problems as in case 3 where the deceased faculty member was seen to have both a 'normal' family and a 'live-in girlfriend' that were in conflict over post-death insurance benefits.

Clearly there are numerous entities which could potentially be constructed in doing descriptive accounts of succession. The present research has shown, however, that there are certain entities routinely and recurrently constructed in all case descriptions. These entities may be regarded as central or core entities essential to providing a sensible case description. The following proposition summarizes the findings regarding such core entities, and elaborates the assertions of proposition 8-1, as stated previously.
Proposition 8-2: Descriptive accounts of succession and related phenomena involve programmatic construction of certain 'core' entities: 1) collective entities - an organization as the setting for the succession, a focal subunit wherein the succession occurs and 2) individual entities - a predecessor, successor candidates, a successor, and succession-producing agents.

TYPES OF ORGANIZATIONAL SUCCESSION

Respondents provided case descriptions of organizational successions which were differentiated according to the type of succession; and these typological distinctions were made primarily on the basis of the cause or manner of predecessor departure. The major forms of departure recognized and utilized by respondents were death, voluntary resignation, status degradation (demotion or firing), and retirement.

Succession cases also involved the selection of the successor, and in all cases reported the successor's selection was also an advancement for the successor. Originally, advancement was conceived by the researcher as a form of predecessor departure and hence as a distinct type of succession. While this may be true both analytically and definitionally, this conception does not match respondents' meaning of the term. By advancement, respondents mean recruitment, selection and appointment of the successor-to-be. They do not view this as a preliminary stage (or stages) of a distinct form of succession, but rather as a process common to all types of successions following predecessor departures via death, status degradation, voluntary resignation and retirement. In large organizations, the advancement of one employee (involving a departure from one position) may lead to a chain reaction of internal advancements. Yet to respondents,  

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1 Employee transfer is a form of predecessor departure and succession which was indicated in the preliminary theoretical chapter: the present study, however, did not examine any cases of transfer.
advancement involves successor selection and hence composes a secondary set of stages in all successions. Advancement may vary in various ways depending on the cause and circumstances of predecessor departure, but it is viewed as a process that overlaps the various types of succession and as a unique form of succession itself.

In discussing types of succession I shall attempt to preserve respondents' meanings of the various types. Attention will be directed first to the four major types of succession qua predecessor departure. Next, successor selection following the four types of departures will be examined and the general advancement process will be reviewed. Consequently, the theoretical discussion will focus on types of succession as analytically divisible into two major, interrelated components - predecessor departure and successor selection as advancement.

This argument may be summarized in the following propositions which are antecedent to my discussion of the various types of succession (to follow).

Proposition 8-3: Actors view organizational succession as a process involving two major aspects - predecessor departure and successor selection.

Proposition 8-4: Predecessor departure takes at least four forms, each of which provides one type of succession - death, voluntary resignation, status degradation, and retirement - and each has somewhat different causes and consequences.

Death. Death-based succession was not exactly the favorite topic of respondents and they asserted it was an unusual means of departing an organizational position. Departure due to death was generally explained quite simply for organizational purposes. The predecessor died due to some problematic physiological condition, that is, the disruption and dissolution of his physiological self. The physiological condition or
form of death is generally mentioned by giving some common sense descriptor such as a heart attack (cases 1 and 2). This demise of the physiological self may occur abruptly or unexpectedly, as in cases 1 and 3, or it may be seen as somewhat expected (even if unpredicted) by providing a history of the physiological self with a long-term health problem such as the heart condition of the medical health officer (case 3).

Following death, members may do complex posthoc sensemaking and grieving, and yet the departure is generally simple to explain in terms of the organization's role. The organization wasn't a 'cause' in the cases examined herein, although in instances involving industrial accidents for example, the explanation of departure may indeed become complex and involve the organization as a major cause. Examination of cases of death 'on the job' are warranted in future research and will likely differ in terms of PCEs such as post-accident investigative boards (see for example, Turner, 1976) and the impact on the organization as the focal PCE. In cases studied here, the major organizational concern after death involved practical problems of benefit settlements such as insurance (case 3). Death 'on the job' would probably make these claims, lawsuits, and other posthoc negotiations rather more lengthy, complex and contentious.

The findings from the present study related to members' explanations of the cause of predecessor departure due to death may be summarized as follows.

**Corollary 8-4-1:** Predecessor departure in the form of death is explained in terms of the disruption of the integrity of the physiological self of the predecessor.

**Voluntary resignation** is conceived as a 'predecessor-initiated' mode of departure; voluntary early retirement is thus very similar, although predecessor benefits, as provided by the focal organization, are likely to differ. Voluntary resignation can also pre-empt potentially forthcoming
status degradation; in such cases the predecessor preserves professional and social-psychological integrity.

Explaining the cause of predecessor departure becomes a more complex issue for members. Some sort of mismatch — or, from the predecessor's view a suboptimal match — is generally implied, as evidenced by cases 4 and 5. Thus in case 4, the associate director of planning resigned because of a mismatch between himself (professional and particularly social-psychological selves) and his supervisor. Similarly the first college president (case 5) resigned under some potential duress as he did not match the faculty's image of a suitable president.

In both cases examined in chapter 4, members did not just leave, but had reasons to leave. An important reason was their ability to relocate in an alternative position and/or interpretational scheme. Thus in case 4, the associate director returned to his old job, and in case 5 the president pushed for creation of a new dean position, gained it himself, but then left to become president of another organization. And in the voluntary early retirement (case 9), similar to voluntary resignation, the chief clerk retired in order to become a political candidate. This suggests voluntary resignation occurs only (or primarily) when and after an alternative position and related interpretational scheme are available: if none is available, the actor may postpone resigning or may not even consider it. In some cases, this may involve failure to pre-empt status degradation, where a poor performer and dissatisfied employee continues because he has nowhere else to go, and ends by being fired or forced into early retirement. Also consistent with this is the finding that in the government, senior people have nontransferable skills and experience and thus seldom resign. In colleges, skills and experiences
are interorganizationally transferable hence resignations are rather common as people move to more desirable positions in larger or better institutions.

One reason for departure not uncovered in the present cases of voluntary resignation but which is likely in others involves resignation due to impending physical disability (physiological self). Thus a young employee notified he has terminal cancer may resign and give the illness as a reason. Future research should explore this possibility and search for such cases.

The findings regarding predecessor departure in the form of voluntary resignation may be summarized as follows:

Corollary 8-4-2: Voluntary resignation is explained (as caused) by some mismatch or suboptimal match between 1) the style and integrity of the professional self and/or the style and integrity of the social-psychological self of the predecessor, and 2) derived prescriptions or needs of the organization and/or the selves of certain members. It is also seen to be possible because the predecessor can relocate in another collective entity and perhaps alter one or more of his selves.

Status degradation involves predecessor demotion, dismissal or forced early retirement. This study does not include a case of demotion, but I did examine a case of forced early retirement where the retirement was a possible alternative to firing because of the age of the incumbent. Firing is likely to be more disruptive and difficult to accomplish than forced retirement, both organizationally and personally, hence forced retirement is generally preferred if it is an available alternative.

The actual process of getting a predecessor to depart, and explaining departure, is considerably more complex in status degradation than in other forms of succession. The predecessor must be shown to breach basic expectancies, and identifying these breaches often involves negotiation where certain denouncers and defenders emerge and propose different images of the
focal actor and organization. This negotiation may become an interorganizational conflict with divisive consequences. Further, the cause of, and need for, predecessor departure becomes a complex issue where the predecessor is alleged (by denouncers) to have violated important organizational rules, breached stylistic considerations, and/or generally jeopardized the functional integrity of the organization. Further, his professional and social-psychological selves may be constructed to display him as a deviant type and supplemental PCEs such as his family may be produced to further buttress the denouncement. Further, firing may be unusual and so (as in case 7) even the proper manner and rules for doing removal are subject to contention and discovery. Finally, firing an employee may open the way for lawsuits and grievances, hence the evidence for firing may often need to be explicit and well documented. All in all, it is by no means simple to fire a person; numerous persons are involved across what may become a rather long time, and divisive effects may occur.

Firing is somewhat out of the focal actor's control, yet it is a very emotional and (by definition) demeaning experience. The person's professional, social-psychological, financial, and perhaps even physiological integrity is damaged. He or she is no longer claimed to be a good employee or good person; and he or she looses income, the stress may lead to a nervous breakdown or other physiological effects and can indeed end in suicide. Further, the predecessor must now relocate and this is problematic where one's immediate past position was exited under duress. Reconstruction of selves damaged by the anomie and lack of income induced by being out of work may become primary concerns, topics and problems for the actor. Given this, the rise of outplacement counsellors designed to
help fired employees is both expected and desirable (see Axmith, 1975, 1976).

Associates are also upset, either with the focal actor (his poor performance and such) or with denouncers and the fact they are losing a friend and perhaps are also threatened as they may have characteristics similar to the ones for which the predecessor is being terminated. All in all, at a personal level being fired is generally not good fun.

Forced early retirement pre-empts many of the problems and much of the negotiation involved in doing firing. As case 6 displayed, denouncement and defense may occur and precede retirement, but the financial integrity of the employee is minimally preserved as retirement benefits are forthcoming. Also, he or she can agree to retire, and may be more likely to do so than agree to be fired! Extensive denouncement and negotiation may not be required: even its threat may lead to retirement, thus minimizing damage to the social-psychological and professional selves. Finally, retirement, even if forced, 'sounds better' and hence is less damaging to the actor as a descriptor of the mode of departure from his or her most recent position. Resistance to forced retirement is thus likely to be less severe and extensive as the damage to the person is less, the benefits greater.

The findings regarding predecessor departure in cases of status degradation may be summarized by the following proposition.

Corollary 8-4-3: Status degradation is explained by 1) the predecessor's activities which jeopardize organizational functional integrity, contravene compliance demands and violate accepted styles, and 2) constructions of the predecessor's selves, particularly his or her professional self which is shown to be consistently aberrant (a deviant type self) across time in terms of the organizational scheme and other supplementary entities.
Retirement. There are at least three types of retirement: early retirement, retirement at maximum age, and 'late' retirement. Early retirement also has varying forms, including 1) forced early retirement which members - and I, as a theorist - conceive as a form of status degradation, and 2) voluntary or focal actor-initiated early retirement. Here I wish to discuss only voluntary early retirement, retirement at maximum age, and late retirement.

Voluntary early retirement and late retirement (retirement at greater than maximum age) are actually quite similar in an inverse fashion. With early retirement, predecessor departure and contingent benefits are accounted for 1) as being possible due to organizational compliance demands which allow this, and 2) as caused in an immediate sense by a complex of PCE-related phenomena which vary from case to case. These causes are likely to be conceived partly in terms of aspects of one or more of the person's selves. Thus an actor may retire early because of a problematic physiological self - poor health (Barfield and Morgan, 1969) and yet early retirement will decrease financial integrity by limiting the benefits that longer service provides. Another cause may be the desire to alter one's primary selves - thus the chief clerk (case 9) retired early because he wished to alter his professional self and become a politician rather than a civil servant. And the leading character in a novel by Gerald Green (1977) retires early from a college professorship because he wishes to become a full-time naturalist, an "inspector of wild flowers". One could retire early to spend more time with one's family, on one's yacht, or fishing - all of these causes involve programmatic construction of some entity and a relocation or refocusing of primary interpretive schemes. Early retirement thus occurs
because some PCE comes to dominate the meaning of one's life in a manner that shifts important meanings away from the old professional self.

Late retirement, or failure to retire, is caused by an inverse situation, as accounted for by members. It is possible only when formal compliance demands can be modified to allow it, it may enhance financial integrity by allowing greater benefits to accrue, and the desire to retire late may arise because the actor has no important self other than his professional self, and no other major source of meaning than the work organization, as in case 11. Here we can recall the focal actor lacked a family in the normal sense, needed to work longer to accrue reasonable benefits, had most social needs filled in organizational activity, and thus the organization became his entire world in many ways as it was the primary source of meaning for his life. Note here also that rules were altered because of organizational functional integrity - the organization needed the talents of the member, according to respondents. Yet the modification was also due to the unique nature of the college as a 'new' or young entity. In older routinized entities such as the government, people take for granted the rules are fixed and such modification would have been unlikely. Thus in explaining early and late retirements, members' interpretive schemes beyond organizational compliance demands are necessary but not sufficient explanatory causes.

The term retirement at maximum age suggests its cause - organizational compliance demands. Such demands must be enacted but are seldom challenged or thwarted and provide a simple, obvious reason for predecessor departure.

These findings regarding predecessor departure due to retirement are summarized by the following proposition.
Corollary 8-4-4: Retirement is explained by organizational compliance demands: early retirement or late retirement require supplemental explanations which may include construction of models of integrity of one or more of the selves.

There is one important consideration which this study merely indicates - and which requires considerable research as it is a major issue in many human lives. This is the problem of finding meaning for life after retirement, even retirement at maximum age. Particularly among professionals, work activities have been associated with fulfillment of various needs or the construction of various selves - professional, social-psychological, and financial. The retiree suddenly finds these selves are no longer enacted in large part, at least in old ways and settings. Adjustment of retirees has been a topic in practitioner journals and quantitative research on aging. The present study suggests a theoretical scheme which may provide for qualitative insights and analysis of qualitative data which displays and explains the process of self-identity reconstruction and the search for new meaning that precedes and follows retirement.

Advancement and the Standard Succession Process. Advancement involves the selection and recruitment of a successor, including internal promotion and consequently implies predecessor departure. With all types of succession, actual advancement was comprehended against implicit and overlapping background schemes of a rational succession process (Table 8-2) and the standard advancement process (Table 7-10; see also, Table 7-1 relevant to the government per se). Actual events were thus visible as being consistent with or departing from this scheme. Further, the scheme was produced by assembling activities and outcomes of various entities routinely and formally involved in producing succession -
succession-producing agents. Advancement thus has a normal form with expectations of rationality involving preparation, adequate planning, conformity with rules and styles, and thus a common sequence of events in chronological order which constitute and provide for this rationality. Even though actual cases may depart from this scheme, the scheme was held by all respondents in roughly similar form and was used to see and interpret events as successions either properly or improperly conducted, and as either successful or problematic cases. Further, the scheme was conceived as a subprocess of the focal organization and was programmatically constructed in its use as a normal form background expectancy.

This normal form bears some discussion. In the first stage (see Table 3-1, the rational planned model), presuccession, business as usual is occurring although unusual events may transpire - e.g. the incumbent may commit rule infractions, learn he is allergic to paper, etc. In the second stage, succession becomes considered possible, and the possibility is provided for in part by negotiation and production of PCEs. As in the previous sections of this chapter, there are various ways the departure becomes considered possible. The focal actor may state he is leaving, resigning or retiring effective such and such a date (cases 4, 5, 8, 9, and 10); certain members may decide they would like to get rid of the actor and may plot his demise (cases 6 and 7); or a regular review of personnel careers may suggest forthcoming departure of some actor due to his or her approaching retirement age (as in early stages in case 6 and the case presented by Zald, 1965).

The third stage, 'what next?', involves a number of things. The organizational scheme including specifications of the requirements of the position, the ideal professional self for an incumbent, the actual
professional self of the predecessor to be and other things are negotiated and constructed. It is also likely that the manner of producing a successor - and possibly also removing the predecessor - is discussed by further elaborating and invoking the compliance demands of the organization.

Recruitment also occurs here. Informal, secret consideration of candidates for grooming may be undertaken (case 6); at some point the position is formally advertized and applications are solicited. Applicants are reviewed, short-listed, interviewed and a successor is selected. Formal selection may involve council ratification of committee recommendations or may take other forms and may be preceded or followed by negotiation of terms with the successor. Finally, general announcement of the selection will occur.

During this stage, certain rules are typically applied and stylistic considerations enacted. Rules determine who and what are involved in doing the selection, and these are characteristically 'filled in' with reference to the specific position, for example, the particular department, level of the position, familiarity with the candidates, and so on. Common styles - which are likely to be evidenced in other organizations - include 1) selection on the basis of seniority, 2) primary consideration of qualified internal candidates and lengthy justification if they are not selected, and 3) proper announcement, where members receive notification before the public does.

Once the successor is chosen, there is commonly some training phase prior to his or her assuming the new position - at least if the successor is not already well practiced in the new duties by virtue of his past position in the same organization. Finally, the predecessor departs at
the same time the successor takes over, thereby precluding any vacancy in the position.

This then is the 'rational', normal form. Its rationality is demonstrable because it provides for a priori planning, methodical selection practices, adequate socialization of the predecessor, no time where the position is vacant, compliance with subunit demands, and so on. Actors appeal to this sequence when evaluating and discussing specific cases. For the most part, the adequacy and quality of the succession is ascertained by comparing the actual sequence to the rational form: the greater the match, the better managed the succession.

A brief review of the types of succession will display how the standard sequence functions as a background scheme of interpretation. Cases of death breach the rational scheme because planning is posthoc, after predecessor departure; and status degradation may also involve a breach of the sequence as the predecessor is removed prior to official search and selection, and presumably is not available - or useful - for breaking in the successor. Even cases which are reasonably planned in some ways may be considered abnormal vis-à-vis other aspects of the normal form; for example, in case 6, retirement was anticipated although pre-empted, so a successor was being groomed well in advance of degradation of the predecessor. Once the predecessor was removed the selection sequence including the government specific interview and selection sequence was 'shortcut'. The respondent (EF) saw the shortcut as abnormal in terms of the standard sequence and used this as evidence of secret a priori grooming because the normal form could not produce a successor so rapidly and smoothly, particularly when it was shortcut, if the secret plans had not been constructed and enacted. The shortcut thus evidenced the hidden, rational plan which was unfolding.
Voluntary resignation and retirement allow for enactment of the rational plan, particularly when anticipated sufficiently early. And yet voluntary resignation - and firing - can both lead to an overlap in incumbents which can be seen as problematic and perhaps irrational (cases 5 and 7).

These findings regarding the standard succession/advancement process may be summarized in the following proposition.

Proposition 8-5: Succession is conceived in terms of a normal, rational sequence which functions (often implicitly) as a background expectancy and includes certain entities and activities unfolding across time;

a. the normal sequence is a background against which actual successions are detected, made visible, and compared in deciding their normality or abnormality.

b. the normal, rational sequence includes the following stages: presuccession, succession as a considered possibility, what next? (including successor selection), successor arrival, predecessor departure, and postsuccession.

This normal form varies between the two organizations studied, but in both cases involves the assembly of certain subunits, their construction in typical forms, specification of specific actors, and a common temporal sequence of events. The standard scheme may seldom be realized in practice but it provides expectations which make departures from the standard sequence both visible and noteworthy. In the government, some focal subunit is expected and personnel is routinely expected to be involved in application acceptance, interviews and selection, with council providing formal approval of all high level successors, and so on (see for example, Tables 7-1 and 7-2). Each subunit is constructed in describing the standard and observed processes: relevant models, such as the compliance demands of council, common stylistic considerations
used by personnel, and so on are assembled to produce the 'normal form' which is thus a composite scheme with selected aspects from various programmatically constructed subunits. Departures from normalcy provide a reason to explicate some entity or details which are abnormal but are salient because of the expected normal form. It should be noted here that the subunits which were 'normally' involved include the personnel department, city manager's office and council. The union, a related entity, was also involved.

The college is an organization where the standard succession process evolved over the course of the cases described. At first, there was no standard process and it was unclear what entities should be involved, that is, who should have membership on the search committee and so on. By later cases, such as case 12, it was clear that students, faculty, staff, council and the administration were all entities relevant to doing succession in an acceptable manner.

With both organizations - the government and the college - union compliance demands were basic constraints assembled in the standard succession process. Indeed, in the college case, the 'standard process' which evolved was largely specified by a union contract agreement. Of course, stylistic considerations were assembled from various other entities including council which in case 7 determined that a 'background search' was stylistically improper, then in a later case (12) hired a consultant to undertake one. Thus with the college, a standard sequence was often suggested and sought by members, but was continuously unclear, evolving, and subject to ongoing negotiation.

Thus with both organizations, a standard expected process was a useful resource employed by members and was considered to be a constitutive
aspect of the focal organization qua suprascheme. The standard sequence evidenced functional integrity - certain integral characteristics which allowed it to be successfully undertaken and to produce a good successor - as well as certain formal compliance demands, and common styles. The three typical forms it took were integrated, composite schemes assembled by the production and enactment of specific subunits of the focal entity.

Having discussed the standard succession sequence, it is now possible to turn to two related issues: the timing of events in actual cases, and the criteria or causes for selecting a particular successor. These issues will be explored by reviewing the various types of succession, comparing cases of each to the standard sequence, and reviewing the bases for successor selection in each case and type of succession.

Death is potentially quite disruptive as it pre-empts the rational planned advancement process: the death is often unexpected, and may leave a vacant position because it occurs prior to consideration of successor candidates. In case 1, we found the death pre-empted a planned retirement, so successor candidates were available. Yet the vacant position led to a power vacuum which allowed the consideration of a major reorganization. In case 2, the death of a medical health officer was followed by a rather lengthy vacancy and search, as no prior inside successor candidates were available and indeed good outside candidates were rather rare. And with case 3, the death of a faculty member avoided being highly disruptive only because it occurred during a slack period - summer break.

The rather unexpected departure suggests expedience in filling the vacancy may be deemed necessary to preserve organizational functional integrity. A 'next-in-line' position will be sought, to provide an interim successor until the sequence required for 'permanent appointments' can be
enacted. The next-in-line person likely has a good match between his professional self, and the desired professional self, by virtue of occupying the next-in-line position. Matching of professional selves (actual vs. ideal) is likely to be the primary rationale of successor choice. Where the predecessor was not being status degraded at the time of his death, the organizational scheme thus furnishes the major selection criteria. The predecessor was doing a 'good job' and an adequate successor needs only to emulate him vis-à-vis organizationally prescribed professional characteristics.

Voluntary resignation may often be rather low in terms of the disruption it causes the focal entity; the length of notice given is the primary factor here, as adequate notice allows planning and successor selection prior to predecessor departure and thus prevents a vacancy in the focal position (as contrasted with death-induced vacancies). Compliance demands and stylistic considerations related to length of notice are commonly present: very short notice can be seen as improper even if it complies with formal rules, because it contributes to the likelihood of a vacancy or a less than optimal search process due to time constraints.

Successor selection in cases of voluntary resignation involves matching professional selves (actual vs. compliance demand prescriptions) as well as insuring predecessor mismatched characteristics are now matched. Thus in case 4, a successor was found who was not only qualified, but who also could 'get along' with the director (matching social-psychological and professional selves). And in case 5, the undesirable characteristics of the predecessor were displayed as antithetical to the successor's characteristics and he matched generally shared images of a
desirable successor. There is thus some concern with preventing recurrent voluntary resignations, and prevention involves finding a better match than that which existed before.

*Status degradation* often involves a departure from the standard succession sequence. Thus in case 7, the ritual denouncement, degradation, and informal departure of the college president occurred prior to successor recruitment (rather than the reverse, as in the idealized planned sequence). This may lead to a general problem where organizational members find they have fired the incumbent but don't have any successor candidates, hence a vacancy may occur. This is potentially quite problematic, particularly at high level positions. Indeed, with case 7, the problem would have become very salient if the dean had not accepted the acting presidency, because apparently council had not planned for a successor and did not seem to have any candidates beyond the dean. With case 6, this problem was avoided mainly because the planned sequence was unfolding in the form of a planned retirement at the time the personnel department head was fired; hence a successor candidate was available prior to predecessor degradation.

With degradation there is another problem related to the sequence, the problem of deciding when to terminate the degraded person, that is, how long after the denouncement. In case 7 this was settled with differing actual and formal termination dates. Generally, one expects the longer a status degraded actor hangs around after his denouncement, the more disruptive is his departure as he or she seems unlikely to be a diligent, happy, useful employee. Immediate departure of the actor prior to successor arrival may be indicated as the best course of action. In contrast, with the generalized rational, planned succession sequence, an overlap in the
presence of the predecessor and the successor is desirable as the successor may then be provided with useful background information from the predecessor.

Regarding successor selection, it has been noted earlier that status degradation involves constructing PCEs as interpretational schemes which display the predecessor as problematic. These schemes also, then, display desirable nonproblematic successor characteristics. These schemes are then used to identify a successor and warrant his or her selection. The successor is thus necessarily displayed as a good match with organizationally prescribed professional characteristics and also is shown to be the antithesis of the predecessor in terms of problematic characteristics of the predecessor made salient in doing the degradation.

The two cases (6 and 7) of status degradation examined in the present study did not uncover evidence to support Gephart's (1978a) finding that the successor was a primary denouncer. However, various cases in the news media are available to support Gephart's contention (see, for example, Froelich, 1976). Data in the present study may be limited and in certain large 'nonvoluntary' organizations it may well be that the primary denouncer becomes disliked for doing denouncing as this may become a negative characteristic of others' image of his social-psychological or professional self, even if they agree with him. Gephart's finding is not contradicted but it may be limited to cases where one or more of the following conditions obtains: 1) the range of possible successor candidates is small, 2) an internal candidate will be chosen, 3) the primary denouncers are leaders of the coalition which becomes dominant after degradation, and 4) succession to a vacated position becomes an advancement for the successor. By doing denouncing, one suggests one is the antithesis of the
denounced actor. In some organizations there may be better ways to attain this 'antithetical' image; also, denouncers may be members of an entity where denouncement is a possible topic yet may not desire the vacated position or may be ineligible for it for other reasons, for example, lacking appropriate education. Thus an official may denounce a subordinate, or an employee in a different division where the official is not qualified to work.

Retirement in all forms tends to be relatively predictable and hence allows for a rational, planned succession where successor selection precedes predecessor departure, and successor arrival may also precede it as when the 'successor-to-be' arrives early to learn from his predecessor. Commonly what happens is that the retirement date is anticipated and candidates are sought far in advance of predecessor departure (Zald, 1965). The 'successor-to-be' is selected and groomed: often (as in case 10 as well as Zald's case) a temporary position is created and the successor-to-be is hired into the position with the understanding it provides him with the opportunity to learn, and he will advance as the successor in due course. The successor is selected by searching for pre-existent next-in-line positions, finding a candidate whose professional self matches the organizational specifications and also displays particularly desirable characteristics displayed by the predecessor. As Zald notes, and as in case 9 involving the chief clerk, the predecessor can have a major impact on the selection process; however, as case 9 also illustrates, when early retirement occurs under some potential duress the predecessor's favorite may quickly be overlooked or even terminated once the predecessor has departed.
This discussion of successor selection with various types of succession suggests that an important difference in stages of succession among types of succession is the timing and predictability of predecessor departure. The central feature of the rational, planned sequence is that predecessor departure is anticipated and successor selection is accomplished prior to predecessor departure. There is adequate time for socializing and training the successor, and an incumbent is continuously present in the focal position. Voluntary resignation and retirement are likely to permit the unfolding of this rational, planned sequence whereas cases of death and status degradation may pre-empt it as the predecessor departs or is degraded prior to successor recruitment. To members, having a vacant focal position and/or having to hurriedly enact the successor selection process jeopardizes organizational functional integrity by threatening the quality of successor choice.

Based on these observations and the findings of previous chapters, the following proposition and corollaries may be constructed:

Proposition 8-6: The disruptiveness of succession, due to predecessor departure, relates to the timing of the departure. Departure will be more disruptive of organizational functioning:

a. the shorter the length of notice of predecessor departure, prior to the departure date.

b. when departure timing coincides with periods of low slack in terms of human resources and the focal position in particular.

c. when predecessor departure precedes successor recruitment and selection.

Corollary 8-6-1: Unexpected departure may lead to a power vacuum which allows major modifications in the organizational scheme.

Corollary 8-6-2: Unexpected departure is generally soon followed by interim appointment of a temporary successor, chosen from among insiders.
I have described the rational, planned succession sequence as an ideal type process and background interpretational scheme used by members; stages and processes in actual cases of succession and interorganizational differences in advancement sequences have also been examined above. The findings and discussion indicate that programmatic construction of certain entities is central to successor selection. The following proposition summarizes the types of entities and the manner in which they are employed in doing successor selection.

Proposition 8-7: Successor selection and installation - conceived by members as essentially equivalent to advancement - involve:

a. construction of the organizational scheme as a model of compliance/hierarchy, which is then searched for obvious, next-in-line positions. If such positions do not exist and adequate time is available prior to predecessor departure, such a position may be created and filled, and the incumbent groomed for succession.

b. construction and matching of 1) the organizational scheme as a set of compliance demands outlining professional specifications of the suitable incumbents for a position, with 2) professional selves of actual candidates.

c. matching candidates, and selecting on the basis of the best match between the characteristics of the candidates, and those of the predecessor made salient prior to and during his or her departure.

d. displaying the selection, recruitment and installation follow the normal form, insofar as possible and necessary within contingencies of the particular case.

One particularly significant issue which arose in certain cases, especially the cases involving succession to the college presidency, was essentially the truthfulness or accuracy of candidates' claims regarding their professional qualifications. The widespread practice of
requesting references from candidates and doing reference checks suggests this issue is general to most cases of succession and not merely to the cases examined in the present study. Findings of the present study, and this generalization regarding selection practices suggest the following statement, which is essentially a corollary to the previous proposition concerning successor selection.

Corollary 8-7-1: Undoubted correspondence between 1) a candidate as he or she appears to be, based on vitae, interview information, and other constructions of the candidates' selves produced during successor recruitment and selection, and 2) the candidate as he or she 'actually' is, as retrospectively determinable or decideable by 'accurate' information, may become an issue during successor selection or the post-succession stage.

At numerous points in organizational life the incumbent of a given position is evaluated by others regarding the quality of his or her performance. Cases in the present study show that such an evaluation may precede predecessor departure, and indeed a negative evaluation may be seen as cause for forcing the departure, as in all the cases of status degradation I examined herein. Evaluation is also common during the post-succession stage where members are attempting to decide if the successor choice was indeed a good one, or, as in case 12 (the selection of Mr. White as the college president) when members are describing the incumbent of some position to an outsider such as the researcher. Indeed all respondents in the present study recurrently presented evaluative descriptions of the quality of various incumbents. These evaluations were not a randomized use of an infinite range of criteria; rather, evaluations consistently involved doing constructions of the incumbent's social-psychological and/or professional selves and noting the impact of these - as they constitute incumbent performance characteristics - on
the organization. The process and general criteria for evaluating some incumbent may thus be specified by the following proposition.

**Proposition 8-8:** The evaluation of the quality of the incumbent of an organizational position is recurrently undertaken in ongoing social life and is accomplished by constructing his or her social-psychological and/or professional selves, and noting how the person (as these selves) contributes to or jeopardizes the functional integrity of the organization, and matches selves of the suitable candidate specified by or derived from the organizational scheme.

As this proposition suggests, perhaps the most important evaluative criteria relate to the functional integrity of the organization. Incumbents are assessed not merely by using some checklist of characteristics, but rather by viewing incumbent characteristics against the context of overall organizational functioning.

One area that the present study did not consider, but which is suggested by this research, is the effect of unsuccessful candidacy on the actor. Failure to be chosen as the incumbent when one thinks one is well qualified leads to sensemaking in an attempt to explain why one was not chosen. Thus in case 6 - the forced early retirement of the personnel director - EF, an unsuccessful candidate, spent a rather significant portion of his description of the case analyzing why he himself was not selected. While not explicit in EF's description, it seems to me EF was disappointed and somewhat embittered; his social-psychological self qua ego was threatened but this threat was minimized by finding certain causes for his nonselection which were outside of his control and which breached to some extent normal expectations of the selection process. Thus the selection process was viewed as the unfolding of a politically based, hidden, long-term plan to install the (ultimately) successful candidate; EF himself was never seriously considered by
succession-producing agents who had reached a foregone conclusion and
short cut various stages in the normal selection process to reach this
end.

The negative impact of unsuccessful candidacy is clearer in cases
5 and 7 (resignation and firing of the college presidents) where KL's
social-psychological and professional selves were disrupted and he sought
to reconstruct these in a manner preventing future threats to them - thus
being president came off his personal agenda and he refused to actively
seek the position once it was again open.

Sometimes one is upset at not being selected and may even commit
suicide. Other times one may be apathetic or even pleased. Future
research on the personal impact of unsuccessful candidacy is greatly
needed. A priori one would expect some cases would have similarities
with status degradation, as members may treat the nonoccurrence of
expected status enhancement as a degradation, particularly in terms of
one's global expected career sequence as partially constitutive of one's
professional self.

Succession and Images of Selves. The propositions which have been
specified in this study display the importance of members' constructions
of the selves of various relevant actors. Constructions of selves are
important at all stages in succession and at any point where some incumbent
is evaluated (propositions 8-7, 8-8; corollaries 8-4-1 to 8-4-4, 8-7-1;
see also the discussion of stages of succession). The current theoretical
conception of selves as PCEs (which will be explicated more fully
in a later section) is clearly an important analytical tool for studying
both succession and human sensemaking. At this point it seems relevant
to briefly review the various constructions of selves and their roles in
various types and aspects of succession.
First one must note that any of the four selves (professional, social-psychological, financial and physiological) could be constructed for various actors in describing and accomplishing any type of succession. It would seem rather naive and simplistic to expect that only certain selves are constructed for certain actors at specific points in specific types of succession; such a simple distribution of selves was not observed and indeed is inconsistent with present assumptions regarding the creativeness of actors vis-à-vis sensemaking. As any single actor can be conceived as 'constructable' in all four selves, the choice of selves which are described is at least partly dependent on how lengthy and general some actor qua respondent wishes to make his or her description.

There were, however, certain recurrent practices regarding the selves which were constructed and which seem central to providing a sensible description of a certain type succession and particular stages of it. A rough distinction between 'core' and supplemental selves perhaps elucidates the point I am suggesting. The list of potential supplemental selves includes all the selves; core selves are a dynamic set that at least at certain points is more limited than the set of all selves. Thus with death, the cause of predecessor departure is determined by actors other than the predecessor by constructing a scheme of the predecessor's physiological self (corollary 8-4-1). No other construction of the predecessor's selves is necessary, although other selves could also be specified. For cases of voluntary resignation, the focal actor him or herself constructs images of selves, particularly the professional and social-psychological selves (corollary 8-4-2) and finds these in some problematic relationship with some other entity:
what's central here is that it seems to be the selves seen as constructed by the focal actor which are important, not the selves of the actor constructed by the others.

Status degradation contrasts with voluntary resignation in that the constructions of selves of the focal actor which provide the impetus for succession are those generated by significant others, especially denouncers, rather than the images generated by the focal actor. The professional self is very important but the other selves may also be constructed as significant resources (corollary 8-4-3). It does seem, however, that a professional self which greatly jeopardizes organizational functional integrity could become a sufficient reason for status degradation, and that in certain cases constructions of other selves merely buttress arguments for degradation. Yet in certain cases (for example, case 5, the firing of the college president), degradation did not proceed until constructions of these other selves as problematic were generally shared.

With retirement, the actor as a physiological/demographic self which corresponds to organizational compliance demands regarding retirement age is sufficient to warrant and explain retirement at maximum age: for early and late retirement some other selves are also necessarily constructed (corollary 8-4-4).

One can thus see that in the early stages of succession, there are some differences in the types of selves or the relevant actors constructing selves of the focal actor, and these differences occur across types of succession. But there is no single underlying dimension here that is readily apparent.

Regarding successor selection and advancement - generally later stages in succession than is predecessor departure - the professional
selves of candidates are invariably constructed (proposition 8-7). This, of course, contrasts with the early presuccession and succession considered possible stages involving predecessor (pre-) departure where with cases of some types of succession (death, voluntary resignation), the predecessor's professional self may be irrelevant, or marginal in importance (retirement at maximum age). The actual selves constructed in doing advancement/successor selection will vary with the contingencies of the particular case (proposition 8-7c). One interesting aspect here is that certain selves of the predecessor may become centrally relevant for the first time. Thus while the professional self of the first chief clerk (case 9) was not central to explaining his retirement at maximum age, his professional self does become very relevant in explaining and discussing his successor. And the professional self of the PL Department Head (case 1, respondent 1) was not related to his death and departure but it became a significant resource in explaining interim successor selection and delays in a proposed structural reorganization which was then possible after his death, and which could greatly effect the selection of the permanent successor. Thus the demands and concerns of successor selection may lead to construction and evaluation of selves of the predecessor that were not undertaken or central to explaining predecessor departure.

It has been indicated that the professional and social-psychological selves of actors are the aspects primarily relevant to evaluating them as incumbents (proposition 8-8). With death, voluntary resignation and retirement at maximum age, such evaluations may be largely irrelevant to the departure, yet they are commonly provided in descriptions of succession cases often retrospectively following departure or the announcement of imminent departure, and become salient for use in successor selection
(proposition 8-7c). With status degradation, the evaluation is generally considered causal in doing the degradation, and hence these selves are invariably significant resources for evaluating successor candidates. One may see then that there are likely to be some relatively common variations and differences in the stage of succession where certain types of selves are constructed and/or are central for various actor types. Yet such intertype variations were not consistently observed for all cases in the present study and are frequently contradicted or obscured by the contingencies of the specific cases and the creativeness of respondents in selecting details and issues for inclusion in case descriptions.

This discussion of constructions of selves has focused on predecessors and successors. Other types of actors noted in the cases were commonly constructed as professional and/or social-psychological selves specifically relevant to doing succession.

In concluding this section, one may note that constructions of the selves of actors are important sensemaking devices for respondents and are prevalent at, and relevant to, all stages of succession. While there are certain interactor, intertype and interstage trends in the distribution of selves, no simple general pattern or distribution was observed. The propositions presented previously (propositions 8-7, 8-8; corollaries 8-4-1 to 8-4-4, 8-7-1) seem to be the most explicit and adequate set one can generate from the present data, although the various trends suggest future research may provide a basis for refining and elaborating these propositions and detecting the boundaries of sensibility in the construction and distribution of various selves.
HUMAN SENSEMAKING

The present study is devoted to examining sensemaking and organizational succession. This orientation suggests two somewhat distinct but overlapping objectives: 1) producing a theory of succession and 2) producing theoretical insights into human sensemaking. The objectives overlap in the sense that the study addresses organizational succession as inextricably related to human sensemaking. Sensemaking underlies the accomplishment of succession, yet succession constitutes the substantive phenomenon and arena wherein sensemaking occurs. I have asserted (chapter 1) that succession must be examined in the context of sensemaking, and the last several chapters have focused primarily on succession, but with due consideration to the processes of sensemaking that produce succession and which therefore find substantive expression in succession. My interest has been to construct low order models of several types of succession (chapters 3-7) and a higher order, integrative framework relevant to succession as a general phenomena (chapter 8 up to the present point). Succession has been the primary interest and sensemaking has been a rather convenient and necessary topic in more adequately understanding succession.

It is now time to emphasize the second topic by discussing human sensemaking in more general terms and providing theoretical insights relevant to sensemaking about phenomena other than succession. While the data on succession still serve as the general arena for examining sensemaking, the interest now is to elucidate findings relevant to sensemaking per se, and to display how general sensemaking practices were manifest in the present data.
ETHNOMETHODOLOGY ANDSENSEMAKING

Human sensemaking involves the interpretation, explanation and description of phenomena and events. Sensemaking may be regarded as a social process, rather than merely a psychological one as it entails the use of language which is a socially-produced resource central to sensemaking. Sensemaking is found in social interaction, yet it is also present in solitary endeavors, such as Mark Antony's soliloquy to the corpse of Caesar. It is, basically, practical reasoning which comprises the active production and assignment of a more or less determinant meaning to some aspect of an apprehended reality.

Common sensemaking is a primary interest within the ethnomethodological tradition. As Heap (1975:107) notes, ethnomethodology (EM) is "a descriptive science of sensemaking" which has addressed what may be termed interpretive procedures, properties, or sensemaking practices. Cicourel (1970), following the seminal work of Garfinkel (1967), provides what he acknowledges is an incomplete "list" of these practices, including 1) the reciprocity of perspectives, 2) the etcetera assumption, 3) normal forms, 4) retrospective-prospective sense of occurrence, 5) talk itself as reflexive, and 6) descriptive vocabularies as indexical expressions. (These will be discussed more fully shortly.) In chapter 1 of the present study, I suggested that the programmatic construction of certain entities is also a general sensemaking practice.

The purpose of the following pages is to review and elaborate this admittedly incomplete list of sensemaking practices. The practices noted by Cicourel (1970) will be reviewed and applied to data from the present study. Several additions to the list which are suggested by the present data will be made. And programmatic construction will be
discussed at some length by explicating the theoretical meaning of various PCEs observed in earlier sections and chapters of this study. In the process of reviewing and composing an elaborated list of sense-making practices, certain propositions will be offered as theoretical tools for understanding the production of descriptive accounts; such accounts are central to human sensemaking. Finally, by attending to the list offered by Cicourel (1970), the relevance of the present study to mainstream ethnomethodology will be demonstrated.

SENSEMAKING PRACTICES

1. The reciprocity of perspectives. This sensemaking practice was originally proposed by Schutz (1962). It involves the assumption that speaker and hearer can, in a sense, change places such that "each can interpret the environment of objects they are both attending to in an essentially identical manner for the practical action in question" (Cicourel, 1970:147). The practice of assuming this reciprocity is therefore oriented toward an environment composed of various 'facticities', among which are programmatically constructed entities such as 'the organization'. Thus the sensibility of explaining someone's behavior as caused by organizational compliance demands presupposes and requires a reciprocity of perspectives vis-à-vis the objectified entity 'the organization'. In the transcripts, there are numerous points where the reciprocity is visibly negotiated by utterances such as "do you see?", and the ongoing "uh huhs" provided by the researcher. These utterances thus demonstrate not only the reflexivity of talk (below), but are also oriented toward the practical accomplishment of the reciprocity of perspectives as constitutive of a state of shared meanings and pragmatically interchangeable viewpoints of interacting members as a necessary condition of the sensibility of the speaker's description to the hearer.
2. The etcetera clause. This asserts members have a priori assumed it is legitimate to 'fill in' the meaning of previous agreements and rules to suit present circumstances at hand. The rule can be retrospectively reread to find what it meant "all along" (Garfinkel, 1967:74). This suggests rules and agreements are essentially vague insofar as they invariably require explication in specific contexts of usage. However, essential vagueness as a property of PCEs is somewhat more general and slightly different than the etcetera clause. Whereas the etcetera clause relates to explications of the meaning of some given agreement(s), essential vagueness of PCEs suggests the particular agreements and rules assembled in producing a given PCE are subject to variations across settings and individuals. Thus, for a given rule used in constructing a PCE, members may invoke the etcetera clause to 'open up' and explicate or negotiate the meaning of the rule for purposes at hand. Essential vagueness suggests that not only the particular meaning of the rule, but also the particular rules relevant to a given PCE are a point of negotiation and concern.

Essential vagueness of 'the organizational scheme' was demonstrated at various points in the analysis. For example, in case 9, one of the chief clerks who retired constructed an image of the government organization which differed greatly from the image shared by other members. This was considered problematic to these others, and yet both images were images of the 'same' target entity. Essential vagueness was also demonstrated early in interviews during negotiation of the research enterprise, outlined originally in the letter to respondents. Respondents sought clarification regarding which 'rules' and expectations were to be enacted, and thus on the constitution of the research enterprise.
The etcetera clause was visible in descriptions such as those involved in succession to the college presidency following the voluntary resignation of the first president (case 5). Once rules regarding search committee composition and activities had been formalized, the actual meaning and form of the rules in concrete situations and behaviors were negotiated, and formed a significant concern for members. The suggestion is, then, that both the essential vagueness of PCEs, and the etcetera clause, are visible when social structures and entities are problematic to actors.

3. Normal forms. Various aspects of social realities are understood as having a normal, typical form - often one which it is assumed that everyone knows (Garfinkel, 1967; Cicourel, 1970). Disruptive aspects of the environment are described and normalized, and vagaries or confusions simplified by appeal to normal forms. In the present study, the 'standard succession sequence' was appealed to by members as a 'normal form', yet its precise nature was seldom explicated. It thus formed a taken-for-granted background scheme which was outlined by the researcher as a primary sensemaking device he used, and understood respondents used (see Table 3-2).

PCEs in general can be shown to have various normal forms, and not merely one particular normal form per entity type. Thus there are various 'normal forms' for a family (nuclear, extended, etc.). Yet normal forms constitute at best only a minimal defining condition and background for understanding PCEs, which can be constructed as unique and indeed 'abnormal' forms in any particular instance.

4. The retrospective-prospective sense of occurrence. As originally conceived, this practice involves waiting for future clarification
of some aspect of a conversation, under the assumption that what is discussed now (prospectively) will be made clearer in the future (retrospectively) (see Garfinkel, 1967, especially chapter 3). This practice is demonstrated in the transcripts at various points where the respondent offers decidedly unclear statements, the researcher responds "uh huh" - indicating the assumption is in force - and the speaker then goes on to clarify the meaning of his earlier utterances. The practice 'worked' in most cases; that is, the speaker continued to speak and made things clearer. In some cases, the assumption led to problems as things were not made clear. The researcher then posed explicit questions in an effort to achieve clarity and 'sensibility' of the descriptive account. Basically, this operates as follows: I assume that the other will present a description which is sensible to me, and that my best strategy is to give him time to cover all the relevant details so that later details will clarify questions I might have raised earlier (and which if asked would have disrupted his descriptions), and vice-versa. To the extent that PCEs may be regarded as social structures or 'structurings', one may note this sensemaking practice allowed the researcher and the respondent to "maintain a sense of social structure" (Cicourel, 1970:149) despite the fact that the structures were not yet clear and indeed were presently under negotiation.

The retrospective-prospective nature of sensemaking is demonstrated in other ways, as well. Thus in providing descriptions, respondents found occasion to note that what some actor was 'up to', prospectively, was sensible to others only retrospectively. For example, the vice-president of finance of the college noted that Peter Black's incredible strategy was discerned only retrospectively, and only once there was 'good reason'
to examine his behavior and provide a suitable interpretation of it (case 5, respondent 1, IJ; utterance 253). Similarly, EF - the director of employee training for the government - stated in case 6 that the process involved in selecting the head of the personnel department displayed to him, when retrospectively reviewed, that the successful candidate had previously been groomed for the position and his choice was a foregone conclusion. Here EF's sensemaking involved a retrospective search and assessment of selection activities that revealed various departures from the normal succession sequence. These abnormalities were evidence for the assertion that grooming and selection of the successor had occurred even before formal recruitment was begun.

Members thus expect and find that meanings (and 'true' meanings) of prospectively oriented plans and actions are ascertainable only retrospectively. And there are a number of factors such as breaches of normal forms which legitimately warrant retrospective interpretations.

5. Talk as reflexive (Cicourel, 1970). As indicated earlier, various statements such as "uh huh" display the reflexivity of talk itself, as these statements maintain the interview as a 'normal scene' of social interaction. Talk was constitutive of descriptions of succession, and its reflexivity in succession situations is displayed in descriptions where members note that talk is central to accomplishing and understanding succession (see also Gephart, 1978a for a display of the reflexive nature of talk in doing status degradations).

Finally, it is important to note that talk is 'part and parcel' of doing programmatic construction which in turn is essential to providing descriptive accounts. This was indicated in chapter 1 where conversational activity was claimed to be characteristic of the production of PCEs.
6. **Descriptive vocabularies as indexical expressions** (Cicourel, 1970). Vocabularies which members utilize to describe events also orient members and others to the 'full meaning' of the events represented by simple descriptors. Descriptive vocabularies are part and parcel of doing succession, apprehending it and describing it. Yet descriptors are necessarily glosses. As indexically oriented expressions, they provide a basis for members to construct the contextual details which are glossed, but which are necessarily utilized to make the descriptions sensible. For example, the descriptive vocabularies which are used to recount how the retiring PL department head died of a heart attack while on vacation (case 1) invite the hearer to (and imply the speaker can) fill in the unspecified details of the events: to compose images of particular rooms and people, exact utterances, and so on. The vocabularies function as instructions on how to clarify vagueness in such a manner as to provide a context and scene to embed original utterances abstracted and glossed in the descriptive account. Embedding is necessary for the 'glossing descriptors' to become sensible as referents of real scenes of action which are complex, situated, and impossible to explicate in full.

Related to this practice of offering descriptions as indexical expressions is the expectation that these will function as such for the actor (hearer). That is, in telling a description, the speaker not only offers indexical expressions, but expects that the hearer will enact the indexical nature of terms by imaginatively filling in the contexts and background which are suggested and implied. The hearer then does work to imaginatively reconstruct the settings which are glossed: the work is sanctionably demonstrated by the hearer's later utterances which display he (she) has been 'working up' such backgrounds
to provide sensibility to the description. For example, in various points in the transcripts the researcher makes comments such as "I see, so you mean that ...". Such a statement relates not only to the ongoing accomplishment of a reciprocity of perspectives, but also to demonstrating that one is attempting to fill in the context suggested by descriptors. The question displays that the 'filling in' is being done - as expected - and also requests information to more adequately explicate the implied context and background details.

Vocabularies used in programmatically constructing various entities also act, and are offered as, indexical expressions. Thus 'talk' concerning the necessity of a competent leader for an organization is integral to members' knowing of this necessity, detecting concrete evidence for the need in ongoing situations, and describing this need to others. Utterances expressing the need are 'heard' in a fashion outlining how the hearer can - and indeed must - provide a scheme of the organization including specific scenes of action constitutive of the organization as a concrete entity and functional integrity. These 'specific scenes' thus constitute manifestations of the organization and thereby index the entity as a larger 'whole' and interpretive scheme unfolding in 'actual' situations.

This discussion displays how six sensemaking practices summarized by Cicourel (1970) relate to the data, concepts and analysis of the present study. One other practice which does not appear on Cicourel's list but which has been discussed in previous ethnomethodological literature seems particularly relevant to the present study. This will now be discussed.

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2 Cicourel's (1970) list contains a number of other sensemaking practices (some 13 or more) which will not be discussed in the present study due to space limitations. It is thought that the review of the six practices is sufficient to indicate the reapproachment between Cicourel's work and the present study.
7. **The rule of undoubted correspondence.** An important means of finding sensibility in the world of everyday life is to assume and accomplish a relationship of undoubted correspondence between the appearance of an object and the object as it 'actually is, for all practical purposes' (Garfinkel, 1967). Undoubted correspondence is a sanctioned relationship according to Garfinkel: violation of the assumption or relationship is disruptive of social reality because one is then left with an object which cannot be taken to be what it appears to be, and so what it is becomes a practical problem.

The present study noted certain instances where the rule of assuming undoubted correspondence became negotiable, and demonstrably problematic for practical purposes at hand. Commonly, documents such as vitae, references and employer files provide not only the basis for deciding what the professional self of a person appears to be, but also for deciding what it actually is. Thus a vita may display a job history which makes the person appear to be a 'competent senior level executive'. The vita and supplementary documents make the legitimacy and accuracy of the typification decidable. Of course the 'fact' that someone appears to be a certain type of professional is not merely due to documents, but also to various other aspects of his (her) overall presentation of self including self-typifications by the focal actor, dress, address, and various other phenomena which suggest and manage to convey the 'appearance' of the actor as a certain type of professional.

Clearly people tend to 'come on' as having certain types of selves - lawyer, good administrator, cancer patient, and so on - and do work to appear as such a type. In the hiring of personnel as well as in other organizational processes (see for example, Zimmerman, 1974...
for a description of the problematics of establishing undoubted correspondence for relevant constructions of self in making welfare claims) it becomes important that undoubted correspondence is demonstrated between the typification of some actor as he appears, and as he actually is. If the self is not what it appears to be, practical problems will arise. Thus while Peter Black appeared to council to be a qualified and experienced senior administrator (case 5) he was retrospectively determined (case 7) to not have been what he appeared to be at the time he was hired. His inexperience led to a range of problems (as understood by respondents). The type which one appears to be suggests to others the skills, traits and characteristics one can be expected to have; without them one will lack competence to perform activities assigned to someone hired as a certain type of professional self.

The vice-president, finance, suggested that an investigative stance (Zimmerman, 1974) be taken toward Black's professional self as it appeared to be, that is, that a rule of doubt be exercised to suggest ways of documenting what Black actually was. This rule could have been exercised by contacting various people who might know Black in an effort to verify his contentions. Council, however, disagreed and asserted that doubt would be stylistically improper, and they relied on limited documents and the self-typification and image provided by Black as evidence of the sufficiency of assuming a relationship of undoubted correspondence. The inadequacy of assuming undoubted correspondence was demonstrated to council only retrospectively.

In case 12 - the selection of a permanent college president - the rule of doubt was exercised. A consulting firm was hired to do a background search of candidates and hence to investigate the degree of
correspondence between the qualifications of the candidates as they
themselves presented these, and candidates' actual qualifications as
verified and supported by various other actors and documents. Exer­
cising the rule of doubt is a common practice of many succession-produc­
ing agencies; this is evidenced by government respondents (chapter 7)
who emphasized that the standard advancement process includes various
activities such as reference checks that test the correspondence between
the appearance of a candidate and his actual 'validated' qualifications.

It should be noted that generally, what occurs in hiring is that
two assumptions are made using the rule of undoubted correspondence.
First, it is assumed the candidate is what he appears to be, and second,
that what he is and appears to be is what the organization needs. If
problems arise after hiring, the locus of the problem may then be pre­
sented as the inadequacy of either or both assumptions. That is, the
focal actor 1) may not be (may no longer be, or may never have been)
what he (she) appeared to be, or 2) the actor may be what he (she)
appears to be but what it appeared was needed (the solution) does not
(or no longer) correspond(s) to what is actually needed. As March and
Olsen (1976) state, the solution at hand may not appear to match the
perceived problem to which it has been attached.

The rule of undoubted correspondence also receives attention in
the negotiation of descriptions to fit research enterprise needs. Thus
respondents and the researcher were shown to work at demonstrating that
the description of a case was actually a description of the type of
case it appeared to be. Brief documentation and supportive evidence is
suggested as respondents label the case type and then provide details
which buttress the adequacy of the label. The researcher assists by
offering minimal criteria for deciding, and identifying the type of
case and by asking for details matching the criteria. Again, the 'validity' of assuming the rule is in force is central to practical problems of both parties. The respondent desires to complete the interview as requested by the researcher, and the researcher requires the descriptions to clearly appear to be descriptions of the type of succession he asserts they actually are. To demonstrate that the cases are not cases of what they appear to be would undermine the alleged 'scientific adequacy' of the research.

The rule of undoubted correspondence is generally oriented toward some object or objectified entity, such as 'the self'. Where the objectified entity is a PCE, accomplishing a relationship of undoubted correspondence is particularly salient in establishing and maintaining the reality of the PCE in some particular form.

The finding that these seven sensemaking practices are demonstrated in the current data, and that they relate to the central concept of the present research - programmatic construction - suggests that this study is relevant to the concerns of mainstream ethnomethodology as formulated by Cicourel (1970), Garfinkel (1967), and Heap (1975).

The present study suggests some additional candidates for a list of sensemaking practices. These practices (discussed below) extend the conceptual apparatus offered in previous ethnomethodological research, and indicate that this study bears a strong family resemblance to mainstream EM because it shares EM's central interest in discovering and elucidating the sensemaking practices whereby members of society construct and maintain everyday realities.
8. The chronology of events as a sanctionable property of descriptive accounts. Members fashion descriptive accounts in a manner which demonstrates that events and happenings were not randomly timed, but happened in some unfolding chronological sequence. The sensibility of descriptions requires that the events, scenes, and actors flow across time in a chronological order which is 1) made apparent in the description provided by the speaker and 2) comprehensible by the hearer. The hearer may thus demand clarification of this temporal order when it is unclear, and the speaker expects the hearer is 'working at' comprehending this chronology.

One reason for providing chronology is to give normal form to a description allegedly representing events which members 'know' occurred in time and unfolded across time, as do any and all social phenomena. Chronology, as provided or indicated in descriptions, is necessary to their sensibility for another reason. The world of everyday life is apprehended as a causal texture of events (Garfinkel, 1967) and the chronology is central to finding the causal texture in the description. Things do not 'just happen' in common sense worlds, they happen because of causes. Clearly they happen before certain events and after others - thus occupying some relative temporal niche. But, beyond the mere fact that the chronology is warranted and expected in ongoing events and reports of events, there is concern for locating the causes of events. Chronology is clearly essential to discovering causes; causes are located as temporally prior to their effects. A description of an assortment of events, actors and scenes is confusing and not sensible until the chronology of their unfolding becomes clear. Thus members expect a chronology to be demonstrated both because it is assumed to be
an inherent property of any describable social process, and because the chronology provides a basic organization for events which is necessary—but by no means sufficient—for determining the causal interrelation of events, a basic aspect of sensible descriptions.

The chronology of events 'as they originally happened', and the chronology of reportage are often disparate. That is, over the course of a description some events which happened 'late' are reported prior to events which happened 'early', and so on (chronology of reportage). While the distribution of topics across the interview as a temporally unfolding event will be briefly discussed below, it is useful at this point to indicate some reasons for the disparity. In providing a sensible description of some type of succession, the respondent is faced at the start of the description with the problem of showing that the description involves a certain type of case. Since this type is decidable in part by certain major events and their timing, a brief summary of them is reported at the beginning of the description as a means for warranting the appropriateness of the type label. Thus some later events central to the type may be described prior to recounting earlier ones which are less central.

Second, given the prospective-retrospective nature of occurrences, the hearer (researcher) may wait until later to have some 'early' event clarified. If lack of clarity persists—or if it becomes problematic early in the description so that the prospective-retrospective assumption cannot be sustained—then the researcher may interrupt the speaker and get him to return to earlier events or describe much later ones, as a means of clarifying certain aspects of the description. And finally, near the end of the interview the researcher may ask questions where prospectively offered meanings have not retrospectively become clearer,
or where certain events of interest have not been discussed at all. Other reasons for the disparity could also be outlined.

Two things are of particular interest here. First, the sources of disparity between the chronology inherent to events and the chronology of reportage are related to members' sensemaking practices outlined above. The disparity is often a result of an attempt by one party to gain further information needed to see the sensibility of the description. Second, the conversations in which the descriptions are embedded orient to this disparity. Thus some 'early' event reported late in the description may be assigned some relative or absolute date or point of occurrence when it is reported, and if the speaker does not assign this, one may be demanded. Thus there is often a disparity between the 'two chronologies', and yet this disparity is topical to members, leads to verbal work which interrelates the two chronologies, and therefore displays the sanctionable nature of a chronology of events as a property of sensible descriptions.

9. **Descriptions may be provided as simultaneously originating from two positions in social organizational space.** Respondents provide their descriptions as 1) descriptions on 'behalf of' the organization and what any member knows, that is, descriptions from the position of group agent, and 2) descriptions compiled because of the unique position, position contingent views, and practical interests of the respondent. Respondents lay out the facts of the case as if they were a standard representative from their organization. Yet they occupy particular positions and - given the social distribution of knowledge in the organization - provide a description which displays their unique interests, observations and meanings. At some point respondents make a distinction between 'general knowledge' and their specialized or privileged insights, even going so far
as to point out inconsistencies and contradictions. By suggesting for example that 'everyone thinks such and such but it's not that at all', the respondent makes this distinction. However, often the distinction was not made, although the social distribution of knowledge was observable because of contradictions between the descriptions of different members, both of whom suggested their description evidenced the 'plain facts anyone knows'. For example, respondent 1 in case 5 noted a one-month vacancy in the position of president when respondent 2 talked of a one-month overlap of incumbents. Yet both speakers offered their descriptions as 1) general knowledge provided by a group agent and simultaneously 2) knowledge gleaned from their particular position in the organization. Similarly in case 1, two respondents (AB and CD) stated that after the unexpected death of the PL department head, an interim successor was chosen and council is considering a major reorganization. Hence the ultimate positions of actors are somewhat questionable at present - the succession process is not yet completed. In contrast to this information two other case 1 respondents (CD and EF) assert the permanent successor has been chosen and succession has ended. CD and EF do not mention or indicate the possible reorganization, although all four respondents offer their descriptions as composed largely of general knowledge. The supposedly 'general knowledge' provided by the respondent is inextricably bound to their position in the social distribution of knowledge and yet they may admit position contingent knowledge regarding some phenomenon while asserting position independent knowledge of other phenomena.

10. Human activity is made sensible by displaying its motivational basis. As indicated above, the social world is apprehended as a causal
texture of events. Basic to sensemaking is a concern for detecting and locating 'causes'. In explaining the behavior of one another, members commonly search for causes of behavior and such causes are conceived in terms of motives. Schutz (1962:86-96) drew attention to this process of 'attributive sensemaking' when he proposed two motivational typifications utilized by members - a 'because of' motive and an 'in order to' motive. While Schutz's analysis is enlightening, the problematics of analytically and empirically distinguishing the two types of motives inhibit their usefulness in the present paper. What is of interest here then are the 'locations' of motives and the manner in which they are used in descriptive accounts.

Behavior is shown to be 'sensibly' enacted where it stems from some motive, however disgusting the motive may be. Thus even though someone may be labeled 'stupid' for engaging in a certain behavior, the behavior is at least sensible qua explicable once a motive is provided. Following this argument, the member who perceives the behavior of another as 'without cause' finds the behavior to be disruptive of his notions of the social world and finds the behavior to be senseless. When behavior is observed and some explanation is sought or desired, the explanation is couched in terms of motives and the search for an explanation entails seeking evidence for some 'motive'. Thus one finds that police are puzzled by a crime without an obvious motive, people who act without obvious motives are often termed insane, and a wife becomes upset when her husband's actions do not evidence some underlying motive. The 'upset' wife, of course, attempts to 'make sense' of things by searching for and suggesting possible motives which could have produced the behavior she observes.
Motives are seen to inhere in the individual, and in the discussion involving the social-psychological self (below) one finds that there are general, transsituational, abstract motives which members attribute to others and which are partially constitutive of the social-psychological self. However, motives or 'motivators' are provided by various composite PCEs which, as social structures, determine the sensibility and availability of these motivators. Further, aspects of other selves (physiological, financial and professional) provide motives which may explain behavior.

For example, the actions of personnel department members with the government organization are generally explained by their desire to find a suitable incumbent for a vacant position and hence to keep the organization functioning well. Personnel agents qua respondents are concerned with demonstrating they are 'doing their job'. The government qua organizational scheme and model of functional integrity may have certain needs such as 'competent administrators' and the scheme provides a source of motives for personnel agents actively searching for such administrators as successor candidates. That is, the organizational scheme provides causes of behavior where the immediate cause is seen to be internal to the individual and yet the sensible basis for the action is ultimately provided by the organization qua PCE. And organizational rules were often used to explain the particular decisions and actions of agents where the individuals acted so as to 'conform' to the rules. The organization qua PCE thus provides a set of external reasons, rewards and outcomes for the motivated activity.

A similar phenomena characterizes the various selves. Peter Black, for example, was seen to run up large expense accounts because
he was an alcoholic. The motivational basis for his behavior is thus located in a scheme of his physiological self while the precise activities which 'pay off' to him are determined by the organization. What might otherwise seem senseless is made sensible - although not acceptable - by constructing Peter's physiological self as a basis for certain motives which, in terms of organizational constraints (available expense account), provide an obvious cause or reason for certain behavior.

The nonretirement of the college staff member (case 11) is also explained largely by constructing a scheme of his social-psychological self with certain social needs; the organization is an entity and setting which provides for meeting these needs and the staff member lacks the usual other entities such as a family which could have provided alternative sources for meeting social needs.

Various entities provide 'standard motives' for actions of persons, some of which are acceptable as legitimate causes and others of which are not. Thus Black's alcoholism (case 7) was not a legitimate reason for charging drinks to the college, although it was a sensible reason.

The chief clerk who used the scheme of friendship to choose an assistant (case 9) was seen as acting sensibly but improperly. And the associate director of programs (case 4) resigned in an effort to avoid dissatisfactions arising from his incompatibility with the department head. The scheme of the associate director's social-psychological self provided a legitimate reason for his resignation.

The motives which are attributed to a person can thus be evaluated in terms of their appropriateness and suitability, as compared with standard expected motives of the actor qua standard type specified by some PCE. Thus Black (case 7) was evaluated as a problematic president
not only because of his behavioral incompetence, but also because he had the 'wrong' motives - e.g. his motive for encouraging luncheon meetings was not to increase administrative cohesiveness (benefit the organization) but rather related to his personal payoff (free liquor). He applied for the job a bit late, not because he had only recently heard of it (and would therefore be properly motivated re timing) but rather because he was a gameplayer seeking to deceive council by timing application materials in a manner preventing them from being generally circulated. And he engineered the computer purchase in a particular manner because it (allegedly) led to some personal payoff, not because it was the best means to acquire a computer to meet the college's needs.

The net result of Black's activities was identification of him as a deviant motivational type - an alcoholic concerned with personal payoffs rather than a man working hard as president for the good of the organization. Respondent IJ from the college also indicates certain 'communist' faculty members are also deviant types because they give precedence to a political interpretational scheme rather than the college scheme (case 5). And the chief clerk from the government was a distasteful individual (case 9), not only because of his improper use of friendship, but also because of his explicit political motivations.

Thus deviance is locatable by members' scheme of the organization and the motives deriving from this which relate to the social-psychological and professional selves of a standard, acceptable incumbent. Where one's motives are shown to repeatedly or extensively deviate from motives provided by the interpretive scheme(s) employed, one by definition becomes an undesirable incumbent of the position located by the interpretive scheme. Motives thus provide 'causes' and hence sensibility
to behavior; various PCEs provide standard motives for standard actor types, and thus allow both identification and evaluation of the type of actor characterized by certain 'observed' motives.

Clearly there are certain recurrent sensemaking practices which are used in producing descriptive accounts of organizational succession. It seems likely these practices characterize account giving in general or at least accounts relevant to organizational phenomena. The discussion regarding the use of such sensemaking practices is summarized by the following propositions.

Proposition 8-8: The sensibility of descriptive accounts is a managed accomplishment of the account giver (speaker) and the account receiver (hearer), such that sensibility is detected and managed by the actors (and the entities in their accounts) on the basis of:

a. the accomplishment of a reciprocity of perspectives between the account giver (speaker) and others (hearer) such that these others are assumed to understand what was meant.

b. a retrospective-prospective sense of occurrence which is an operative rule for hearing accounts.

c. demonstration of undoubted correspondence 1) between what the hearer hears or requests to hear, and what is 'actually' said and 2) objects and events as they are described and the actual appearances of such objects and events.

d. uncovering the underlying chronology of events as they happen, which is a sanctionable property of descriptive accounts.

e. enacting the etcetera clause as a means and warrant for filling in the meaning of agreements and rules.
Proposition 8-9: Descriptive accounts:

a. display the essential reflexivity of talk.

b. utilize descriptive vocabularies as indexical expressions.

c. are offered on behalf of some collective entity yet are also contingent on the practical interests and position of the account giver in that entity.

d. refer to, and imply, that various entities have normal forms which function as background expectancies for detecting actual appearances.

e. involve the construction and display of the motivated basis of the behavior of actors.

This section has discussed ten sensemaking practices observed in the production of descriptive accounts of succession. The concept of programmatic construction has been related to these practices at certain points as it has been the major concept in the present research. Programmatic construction may itself be regarded as a sensemaking practice; the following section examines this possibility and gives extended consideration to the major conceptual developments of the present research.

PROGRAMMATIC CONSTRUCTION AS A SENSEMAKING PRACTICE

Members seek and find meaning in the multitudinous realities they inhabit. The 10 sensemaking practices outlined above describe some of the ways in which these meanings are located, accomplished and shared in symbolic universes which are not solipsistic and individually unique, but are indeed intersubjectively experienced and created. But while these sensemaking practices are useful theoretical devices for analyzing intersubjective construction processes involving subjective meanings, they do not suggest the various substantively conceived phenomena which populate members' worlds. The world of everyday life is not perceived by 'common man' as a world produced by sensemaking practices: rather, it
is a universe composed of real objects and entities which are independent of - outside or external to - subjective experience. The everyday worlds include the range of 'things' apprehended by humans - animals, plants, furniture, dishes, books, society, organizations and so on.

These 'things' which populate realities are not directly addressed in substantive form by mainstream EM or by the sensemaking practices outlined above. Rather than ask 'what are the main substantive components and entities apprehended in common sense reasoning, and how are these enacted and apprehended?', the search has been oriented to invariant properties of practical reasoning (Zimmerman and Pollner, 1970; Heap, 1975) which function independently of some particular substantive referents. Thus with the exception of Bittner's (1974) seminal work on the concept of organization, the substantive entities that members are busily constructing, discussing and bumping into have largely been ignored as foci of EM theorizing.

The present research has taken a different approach, by orienting to objects or entities in members' realities. Included in the preliminary list are 1) actors, with various selves, 2) organizations, and 3) social institutions. While members commonly discuss these as if they are 'out there', I have adopted a theoretical stance which centers around the social production of these entities through verbal activity. The entities are therefore conceived as 'socially objectivated beings and social facticities' (suggested by Berger and Luckman, 1967). The entities are the components of social worlds, which have crystallized in the linguistic and experiential frames of human activity. In order to social scientifically address the production of the entities I have suggested their ontological location in interpretive schemes employed by members and evidenced in conversational work. The second order social scientific
concept of programmatically constructed entity thus subsumes members' work which provides existence, form and content to the first order, common sensically objectivated entities qua 'real components of the world out there'. Inquiry is thus addressed to the social construction of certain common sensically apprehended human and collective entities - people, organizations and institutions.

The social construction and use of these entities involves programmatic construction. Because such entities are recurrently and necessarily constructed in the process of providing sensible descriptive accounts, the programmatic construction of these entities may be considered to be an 'eleventh' sensemaking practice. Previous chapters have displayed how the programmatically constructed entities (PCEs) were fashioned and used in doing descriptive accounts of different types of succession.

The problem at hand in the present section is to elucidate the manner in which the concept of PCEs has evolved from the first chapter to the last, to clarify the theoretical meaning of PCEs, and to identify salient aspects of the substantive forms or types of PCEs which have been examined.

First, it should be noted that, theoretically, almost any phenomenon could be programmatically constructed. And yet only certain entities are commonly utilized and produced in such a manner. The essence of programmatic construction is the employment of an interpretational scheme which is reified or objectivated as an object-like phenomenon in at least a subset of its possible appearances, scope and range of meanings. While organizations for example are objectified (and objectivated; see Berger and Luckman, 1967) entities and 'broad spectrum' interpretational schemes, inanimate objects such as 'chairs'
seldom become attached to, or evidenced as essentially vague interpretational schemes with other PCE defining characteristics. Thus the substantive types of PCEs I have uncovered are empirically discovered members of a theoretical category (and process) which applies, empirically, to some phenomena and not to others. If everything were always a PCE, then the concept would be of little use in differentiating phenomena: as it does analytically differentiate substantive phenomena at the level of actors' meanings and activities, the heuristic nature of the concept is evidenced for scientific purposes.

I now review the characteristics of PCEs; these characteristics provide theoretical insights and also serve to differentiate PCEs from entities which are not being programmatically constructed.

1. Accomplished through conversational or verbal activity. Conversational settings and various verbal media (books, newspapers, etc.) form arenas for the social construction of realities. In these arenas, various phenomena are displayed, discussed, implemented, debated, and so on. I wish to suggest two things here. First, verbal activities, and particularly conversations, furnish important sources of data because they are a major aspect in the manufacturing of social reality. Second, while 'manufacturing reality' occurs in conversations, realities and PCEs are also produced in other verbal enterprises such as writing. To restrict the range of the concepts of sensemaking theory to face-to-face verbal dialogue would be unfortunate.

To illustrate this second point, one may note the imposition of militaristic/totalitarian governmental constraints in Canada during the 'FLQ crisis of 1970' was justified in a speech by Prime Minister Trudeau which was printed in newspapers across the country. The 'newspaper version', or the soliloquistic speech when uttered by Trudeau (both
'nonconversations' in a multiparty sense) are no less amenable to the present analysis than the conversations at a meeting of cabinet ministers. And in fact, Heap (1978) analyzes the text of the Trudeau speech using an approach similar to my own. Indeed, Heap's analysis could be supplemented - and perhaps improved, vis-à-vis analytical power and clarity - by using the concept of PCEs. Other verbal but nonconversational acts such as political rhetoric, environmental impact reports, novels, editorials, and so on could be fruitfully examined using the present framework.

2. Refer to concrete phenomena. PCEs are interpretational schemes attached to some objectivated and reified entity. Thus members use the scheme to refer to some assumedly 'real entity', and in referring to the entity they construct and reify it, that is, members' talk displays the essential reflexivity of worldly phenomena. Further, the entity is conceived as having concrete appearances and manifestations: the college, for example, was taken to be not only the linguistic descriptors displaying abstract conceptions such as rules, but also a physically and temporally locatable phenomenon with actual members, resources, and so on. Each aspect of the concrete appearance of the entity, such as a building both indexes the larger whole and is indexically interpretable within the context of the entity qua schematic resource. That is, the appearance of some concrete aspect is made sensible as an aspect of some particular entity by the entity qua interpretational scheme; and the appearance is used as evidence of the existence of the entity in some larger sense.

3. Employs typical, methodical constructions or models. In chapter 2 I identified and defined three typical forms and methodical
uses of PCEs - the models of functional integrity, compliance and style. Programmatic construction involves producing one or more of these models as a constitutive form of some entity, and this aspect of PCEs is a central defining characteristic. The three models suggest three different interpretive orientations, and somewhat varying phenomena which may be subsumed by the entity as a 'master scheme'.

The model of functional integrity is a general integrative scheme characterizing the needs, requirements and range of possible states of existence of the entity. Integrity provides a suprascheme integrating a wide range of phenomena and functions constitutive of the entity. As the term 'integrity' suggests, some ongoing functionality in normal form is implied by the model: major changes in the entity's form alter its integrity even while the existence of the entity (in some form) is preserved - thus existence means existence in some acceptable form.

As a model of functional integrity, the entity is displayed as being in 'sound form' and this form relates to some member intimated moral soundness. Here, the implication is that disturbances which alter moral soundness are thereby jeopardizing the entity's existence as a pure form of the entity type. Thus the behavior of Peter Black which involved 'pinching women's bottoms at a national conference' (case 7) was in part construed as evidence of his ability to jeopardize the functional integrity of the college because he was acting as a group agent at the conference and thus reflected on the moral soundness of the college. Peter's behavior was a stylistic breach - but stylistic breaches do not necessarily jeopardize functional integrity. Members can, however, do work to show how some stylistically improper behavior can jeopardize functional integrity. The key here is that the two interpretive models may overlap but do not necessarily overlap at all
points or each time they are constructed - their overlap is a practical accomplishment.

Functional integrity becomes an overriding consideration and a superordinate scheme relative to the other models. So just as stylistic considerations can be shown to be relevant to integrity, so can compliance demands. Often, rules are legitimated because they, and obedience to them, are alleged to be necessary for the continued existence of the entity. For example, Peter Black's efforts to circumvent college and ministry of education rules regarding college purchases (case 7) was explained as not merely being a rule violation but also as an activity which jeopardized the integrity of the college. In the government organization rules regarding the proper successor selection procedure (see chapter 7) are enacted - and indeed in some cases are 'overenacted' (see chapter 7, respondent AB) - both because 1) compliance with rules such as those requiring psychological tests of candidates is seen to optimize the quality of successor candidates and hence to fulfill organizational needs for competent personnel, and 2) because inadequate compliance could lead to employee dissatisfaction and/or union grievances which may disrupt organizational functioning.

Yet models of style and compliance can be made subserviant to integrity by attempting to legitimate an activity as follows: the activity contributes to integrity but violates rules and/or stylistic considerations. Because the activity contributes to integrity, the violations should be overlooked or seen as irrelevant (according to some hypothetical actor). This is displayed in case 9 where the second deputy clerk was working on certain projects behind his superior's back - clearly a breach of proper subordinate style. Yet the respondent (AB) noted the behavior was considered desirable because it contributed to organizational functioning,
that is, "he facilitated that things got done" (case 9, utterance 321).

Functional integrity also functions in a superordinate interpretational role by being proposed as an ultimate evaluative scheme for determining the goodness or badness of some phenomenon relative to some entity. Phenomena which jeopardize integrity are seen as 'bad', those which support, preserve or enhance it are considered 'good'. The evaluative implications furnish good reasons for certain organizational actions. Thus a member's job performance may be evaluated in terms of its perceived contributions to functional integrity, and if it is judged to jeopardize organizational integrity, the organization is provided with good reason - indeed the best reason - to terminate the employee. Functional integrity thus becomes an ultimate criterion and the highest value which may pre-empt other interpretational models when used for evaluative purposes.

The model of compliance is the second typical form in which entities are constructed. The various formal rules, agreements and documents can be invoked to warrant, demand, legitimate or sanction some activity. However, not all entity types were characterized as models of compliance: composite entities (organizations, institutions) generally were constructed as compliance models, but individual entities - actors, with various selves - did not seem to be constructed in this typified form.

This disparity suggests two things. First, to be a PCE, an entity need not be constructed in all three forms. This matter is of course a definitional response to the empirical findings. Second, the fact that conceptions of actors lack models of compliance may itself be partly definitional as actors lack formal policy generating devices that produce rules and various formal compliance demands. Yet it is
interesting to note that members do not seem to characterize one another in terms of 'personal rules' or to mention legal statutes that outline aspects of selves such as those laws relating to marriage or public drunkenness, even though it would clearly be possible to do so. Apparently, interpreting others in terms of their 'personal rules' does not make sense of things for members. My proposal that actors would use this typical form (chapter 1) was definitely not supported by the empirical evidence.

One other aspect of the model of compliance is the hierarchical scheme of the entity. While the model of integrity integrates the range of functions, making each relevant to the other, the compliance model specifies the hierarchy with the positions and duties which compose it. Some social institutions such as the family seem to have positions and duties but few formal rules and no organization chart, and thus the 'family' is largely a stylistically composed entity with various normal forms. With 'the organization', the normal form is reified in rules and the organization chart which may be invoked in a gambit of compliance. When one refers to some organizational position, one implicitly invokes the model of compliance, as a normal form, which provides the position with its existence, meaning and a relative location in the organizational scheme. Talk recurrently refers to people in terms of their organizational position: this constitutes the ongoing, recurrent and implicit construction and invoking of the organization as a model of compliance/hierarchy.

The third typical form in which entities are constructed is the model of style. This includes the various informal 'normal forms' for behavior which are linked to the entity, and which are outside the explicit governance of formal demands. Style is seemingly established
by finding or proposing a 'normal' activity pattern, and this pattern often acquires a 'moral oughtness' for members. Routines become 'common style', and routinely displayed characteristics of an actor become the style(s) of his or her self(ves). Proper style may of course be seen as relatively nonroutine, and is often linked to extra-entity derived background expectancies. Thus a behavioral scientist may suggest a leader's style is 'improper' even though it is routine and recurrent.

Styles may thus acquire propriety through routinization, or they may lack taste, couthness and propriety even though recurrently displayed. (It does, however, seem that an abrupt departure from a generally displayed routine will often be seen as improper.) Determination of stylistic propriety and impropriety is thus a managed achievement for actors and involves the imputation that there is some shared agreement amongst actors and some central entity which makes this determination possible. Sanctions may be levied and explanations demanded for stylistic breaches (even regarding styles of a self) and yet it seems such breaches are seldom sanctioned unless they are recurrent and relatively major. This suggests that in evaluating the stylistic propriety of some act, members may converse with others who share their stylistic orientation and do this covertly in many cases, thereby avoiding a direct test of the assumption that their views are generally shared. In any event, the entity is constructed as a model of style by characterizing phenomena as recurrent, expected, tasteful and so on. Evaluations of style imply shared agreement on the nature of styles, and yet the locus of determination is seen by members to be the very entity which the style both constitutes and indexes.
4. **A basis for action.** PCEs provide a basis for several forms of action. First, as an interpretive scheme a PCE locates some phenomenon, makes decidable whether or not some action is required, and provides some specification of possible action. Thus 'the organization' allows one to locate and typify some phenomenon, decide if the phenomenon is normal or variant (such as a rule violation), and then suggests responses and expected outcomes of the phenomenon (for example, sanctioning, thank the person, and so on). Courses of action may be derived from the model of functional integrity; for example, the actors may decide some person's behavior jeopardizes the integrity of the organization. They may then elaborate the model to suggest a 'normal state' and steps to be taken to achieve it. Similarly, the model of style locates phenomena and suggests outcomes, solutions and the like. Also, interpreting some phenomenon within the purview of the scheme may suggest rules to apply in compliance gambits and various sanctions and outcomes for rule relevant behavior.

A second form of action relevant to PCEs is the accomplishment of the interview itself. PCEs constructed in the course of the interview are basic to sensemaking which composes the central action involved in doing interviews. Programmatic construction is therefore a basic activity. The possibility and need to do programmatic construction provides for itself as an activity embedded in the interview situation.

Third, PCEs function not only prospectively but also retrospectively as resources for determining courses and actions. Often some course of action can be understood retrospectively by constructing a PCE as a means of determining why the action occurred - finding a causal explanation. For example, in case 6 the director of employee training programmatically constructed the standard advancement process as a subscheme of the focal
organization: retrospective comparison of actual events with the standard process revealed the selection of the head of the personnel department was a preplanned outcome or foregone conclusion prior to the formal initiation of the selection process.

It seems that much of sensemaking involves the search for a causal explanation, and this search proceeds by constructing various PCEs, then determining one which is 1) suitable to explain the observed course(s) of action, 2) legitimate for purposes at hand, and 3) fits or subsumes the whatsoever bits and pieces of information related (or relatable) to the course of action under consideration.

5. Essential vagueness. I discussed essential vagueness above (see the etcetera clause discussion in the section on sensemaking practices) yet certain additional comments should be made. An important implication of essential vagueness as a warranted property of PCEs is that it allows parsimonious conversations because the speaker does not need to elaborate aspects he or she presumes the hearer can 'fill in'. Indeed, this filling in is expected of the hearer. Thus in cases describing death, speakers assumed I know what a corpse looks like, that a heart attack can indeed produce such a corpse, and so on: that is, it is sanctionably assumed that I as the hearer can fill in vague details and hence can comprehend the utterance 'he died of a heart attack'.

Of course the manner in which essentially vague issues are filled in by the hearer can itself become topical, particularly because prospectively offered, essentially vague statements which have been 'filled in' by the hearer may form the basis for the hearer's later utterances at which point it may become clear to the original speaker that the
hearer filled in the details improperly. For example, in case 12 (respondent 3, utterance 395) the researcher filled in essentially vague aspects of the permanent college president's description of the competence of the acting principal by thinking that the acting principal was given more freedom than other deans when he returned to his previous deanship. The respondent immediately noted that I was filling in things incorrectly and then he expanded on the details as they should have been filled in (utterances 396-422).

6. Different interpretational schemes lead to differing interpretations. The possibility of different substances in various members' interpretational schemes related to the same ostensible entity, for example the government, is partially provided by the essential vagueness of entities. The precise rules, meanings, and such with which members 'fill in' essentially vague aspects of some entity are likely to vary to some extent from member to member. In the extreme we may find that one member has a conception of the organization that is very widely divergent from conceptions of others. For example, in case 6, the first chief clerk viewed the office of clerk as it is conceived in England - the highest administrative office - while other members conceived of the clerk's department as largely a service department and certainly not the most important or highest level administrative unit.

Often the substantive elements specified for the scheme of some entity are distributed across various coalitions of actors, and indeed agreement on the elements may form the basis for coalition formation. For example, the 'we' political party rose to power in the government with a particular scheme of the governmental organization and implemented this scheme after acquiring control of council. Those
administrators who did not enact the organization as the 'we' party members conceived it were terminated (case 6, respondent 2, EF). The recent study by Gephart (1978a) also demonstrates that coalitions may form with different schemes of the 'same' entity.

While each member probably holds a slightly different conception of any PCE, many of the differences are irrelevant for practical purposes. Negotiation and conflict arise, and center around aspects of schemes which are being used to interpret significant events and undertake collective activities. Most potential conflicts may lie 'dormant' as the relevant schematic aspects are not constructed and displayed in collective situations where action programs are at issue.

Given the existence of multiple schemes of reality, one may ask when compromises will be negotiated and achieved, or when one scheme will be implemented as the superordinate and enforceable reality. Further research on this issue is clearly needed, but the present research offers preliminary insights. A scheme is likely to be elevated to the superordinate, enforceable status when 1) there are many significant divergences between (among) schemes, 2) diverging schemes specify different actions for the same problem or phenomenon, 3) one group or member holds the balance of power, and 4) the other group or member is unlikely to compromise. Conversely, a 'compromise scheme' may be negotiated and shared where 1) divergences are few and/or minor, 2) actions specified are not in great conflict, 3) power is relatively equally distributed, and 4) no group or member is a priori determined by the other(s) to be unlikely to change his views.

Thus various members may hold substantively different schemes of the same focal entity. Some differences are likely for nearly all schemes. What is important is not the fact that members 'see' the
'same' entity differently, but rather that there are problems, conflicts, compromises and negotiations which arise when some PCE is differentially constructed by two or more persons (or groups) in a context where the scheme is to be used in accomplishing practical activities.

Types of Programmatically Constructed Entities. In the analyses, I indicated two basic types of PCEs: 1) composite or collective entities and 2) individual entities with programmatically constructed selves as major aspects. Composite entities involve more than one person and include institutions and organizations. Individual entities are the actors constructed as characters in the description, and these characters produced in conversation consist of one or more of the following selves - social-psychological, professional, financial and physiological. I shall now elaborate the meaning and use of these entities.

PCEs populate descriptive accounts of succession, and presumably descriptive accounts in general. Several composite entities were hypothesized at the start of the research. Among social institutions, 'society' or 'the legal order' received little explicit mention by members, although a recent paper by Heap (1978) suggests functional integrity and compliance demands of the legal order composing a country such as Canada may be constructed and utilized to warrant certain governmental actions, such as widespread suspension of personal rights and freedom.

The 'family' or 'marriage' was constructed in certain cases (cases 1, 3, and 7) although it generally was not extensively mentioned or outlined. It seems fair to propose that limited use of a scheme of the family (or marriage) as an interpretive resource is due in large
part to the position from which respondents offered descriptions—the position of group agent. Descriptions related to organizational relevances and thus the organization rather than the family was used to interpret events. Construction and use of the family occurred primarily in case 3 (death of a faculty member) where two competing entities (family = wife vs. family = live-in girlfriend) created practical problems relevant to the respondent such as disposition of insurance claims and benefits. Another example occurred in case 7 where the family was constructed in an effort to demonstrate the global deviance of Peter Black.

The institution of friendship is similarly neglected in most descriptions, except case 9 (retirement of the chief clerk) where inappropriate use of the scheme as a means of selecting an assistant was alleged. The breach was interpretable by the organizational scheme which suggests other primary selection criteria such as professional qualifications and merit.

These results suggest that descriptive accounts are offered from the point of view of some entity, and in a manner which makes this entity the most salient interpretive resource. The entity is then constructed as a solution for any—and nearly all—interpretational problems, with other entities and types of entities being constructed and used only where 1) the primary entity 'breaks down' or cannot sensibly be extended to cover some phenomena, 2) other schemes are constructed to supplement, buttress and/or warrant conclusions suggested by the primary interpretational resource and/or 3) actors discussed in the description are alleged to have constructed other types of PCEs as interpretational schemes, the construction and use of which contradicted and/or breached the focal interpretive
scheme, disrupting the entity

It should also be noted that in interviews the family (the most commonly mentioned institution) was constructed in only two typical forms - model of functional integrity and model of style. While 'marriage' as a subset of the province of meaning of the term family is legally defined in a model of compliance, and the family as a collective could enact rules, such a compliance model was apparently not necessary to respondents in making sense of succession. Perhaps in other succession cases 'the family' would be constructed as a more important entity - for example in a case of an illicit intraorganizational 'romance' and extramarital affair between two members linked to a firing, promotion, demotion, or some organizational status change. A recent article by Quinn (1977) suggests such possibilities, although the present cases at hand do not provide evidence relevant to this point.

Further, additional probing of respondents, alternative questions, and perusal of insurance policies and legal documents relating to case 3 - the death of a faculty member - would have revealed formalized compliance models related to employee benefits which outline constructions of the family. Redirecting the relevances of the researcher and respondent, and examining various other succession cases could uncover alternative and substantive constructions and relative saliences for various entities. This suggests that when the respondent provides a description focused on organizational relevances, interpretations are provided by the organizational scheme although other schemes, e.g. 'the family' could also provide interpretations. Any phenomenon may be explicable by a variety of schemes, and yet for practical purposes of an entity, the scheme of the entity
is accorded the status of the primary relevant interpretational framework. Someone may have 'good family reasons' for poor professional and organizational conduct: yet the familial interpretations may be considered irrelevant and/or nonlegitimate by organization members who focus on the meaning of the conduct vis-à-vis its organizational considerations - functional contributions, compliance demands, and stylistic aspects.

Organizations are primary entities programmatically constructed in the descriptive accounts of actors. Indeed, Westhues (1976) suggests 'organization' has become a fundamental interpretive/analytical device (paradigm) for sociological-scientific sensemaking, and is not merely a common sensemaking resource. This may be displayed by noting that social scientists search for cause and effect relations in social affairs by programmatically constructing organizations as social actors characterized by 1) functional needs and requisites (e.g. systems theorists' models; e.g. Thompson, Katz, Kahn), 2) rules and organization charts as aspects of organizational structure, and 3) common styles manifest in the informal structure, norms and interaction patterns. These three analytical schemes are used to display causes and effects as scientifically ascertained outcomes of organization behavior. Organizations as PCEs are thus significant analytical resources in the production of 'scientific conclusions'.

Organizations populate the descriptive accounts and theories of both common sense actors and social scientists. The present study develops the concept of 'PCEs' as a metatheoretical resource which displays social construction processes. This allows one to move to what may philosophically be considered a more basic level of analysis, one which provides for the reflexive examination of scientific theorizing.
It illuminates the processes of reality production and sensemaking, allows one to note parallels in common sense and scientific sense-making, and leads to the conclusion that organizations are entities which often populate and dominate descriptive accounts as major aspects of human sensemaking.

Much of what occurs in sensemaking is oriented toward describing and producing some 'organization(s)'. The case analyses in previous chapters indicate talk is oriented toward this, the bulk of talk is talk about the organization(s), and phenomena are made sensible as constituent elements, causes and/or effects of organizations. A wide range of phenomena are experienced, detected, warranted and interpreted by programmatically constructing organizations.

Organizations are routinely constructed in one or more of the three typical forms - integrity, style and compliance - in fashioning descriptive accounts. It is perhaps useful to briefly recapitulate the theoretical conception of these three typical forms.

The model of organizational functional integrity interrelates various organizational activities, displaying how these are relevant to one another in terms of contributing to the ongoing existence of the organization. This model is a basic integrative and evaluative device: there seems to be no more basic question to be asked of some phenomenon than the question 'how does this interrelate with organizational functions, and how is this relevant to the continued existence of the organization?' The best warrant for some activity is to show it contributes to functional integrity: conversely, the most damning indictment is to indicate the phenomenon, activity, person, institution or organization jeopardizes the functional integrity of the focal unit.
The model of compliance includes rules and regulations which may be invoked for accomplishing and assigning meaning to practical activity. The organizational model specifies the hierarchy of organizational positions with contingent duties, as well as supplying criteria for evaluating the organizational appropriateness of some activity or actor. For example, compliance demands may specify the characteristics of a suitable position incumbent, including his professional self or qualifications, some aspects of his physiological self (for example, minimal and maximum height and weight, as in Police Department recruitment rules) and so on.

The model of style relates to common patterns, styles and tastes which are conceived as having their source in 'the organization' even while they are seen to both index and constitute the organization.

These three models are the typical forms which organizations are provided with during their verbal construction. Theoretically, any and all types of organizations are constructed in one or more of the typical forms. And the typical forms provide generalized expectancies for recognizing organizations, and relating disparate phenomena to them.

The final type of entities constructed in sensemaking, and observed in the present study, are persons which may be composed of one or more of the following selves: social-psychological, professional, financial and physiological. This typology is a second order analytical scheme representing members' theories of 'persons' and it is perhaps the major insight into person perception which was gained by the present researcher. Thus while social psychologists such as Guiot (1977) argue that persons construct the identities of others either in terms of social roles or personality factors, the present research suggests there are at least four distinct aspects of identity that one recurrently perceived. And two of these aspects - the physiological
and financial selves - are not necessarily constitutive of particular social roles or personality factors. Thus common sense theories of persons are more general than lay theories of personality: actors are conceived as being more than personalities and social roles, and have distinguishable selves which include various nonpersonality factors. I now turn to an examination of these four selves, their theoretical meanings and the substantive first order aspects subsumed by each.

The professional self was developed as a theoretical concept during data analysis, and is the one self not hypothesized prior to the start of data collection (see chapter 1). Nonetheless it is the major self assigned to predecessors and successors by the respondents. Basically, the professional self includes those aspects of a person constituting his or her career sequence, occupational history and training, traits and characteristics which are displayed as relevant to the performance in an organizational position and/or a member of some profession. This self is thus constructed with a history of jobs and training, and descriptors of professional or occupational membership (for example, engineer, M.D., clerk typist, industrial psychologist, and so on). The professional self may be shown to compose a model of functional integrity, including certain needs which maintain one's professional status, competence and ongoing professional membership. One such need is a suitable job. It may also be constructed as a model of style relevant to professional activities (for example, an aggressive leader), where the style is seen to be manifest in these professional acts per se and is not conceived primarily as trans-situationally displayed outside the professional activities and work setting. General social-psychological traits thus become traits constitutive of the professional self when these are shown to take
some particular form related to performance of professional activities.

A professional self may be constructed for a particular person or it may be composed of a set of general traits relevant to membership qualifications in some profession, occupation, and/or organizational position. When a professional self is constructed as a general model, it is often specified by the formal compliance model of some collective entity, such as the formally defined recruitment criteria for the assistant highways engineer, outlined in governmental policy as in case 8. In such a case, the standard general image is compared with person unique images to determine membership eligibility or to select qualified candidates in a manner which I have termed 'the matching hypothesis'.

The social-psychological self is another self which may be constructed in producing some actor or person (including oneself). This self includes social demographic characteristics such as ethnic background or nationality, various psychological motives, intelligence, and other transsituational psychological traits and descriptors. This self thus subsumes members' theories of the psychology or personality as applied to some actor including socially scientifically sanctioned descriptors such as achievement motivation, and diagnostic labels such as the label of paranoid schizophrenic applied to Peter Black in case 7.

Various motives and traits internal to the actor are often decidable by common behavioral styles which are seen to index their underlying psychological causes. Thus the social-psychological self of some actor includes a model of style or common behavioral patterns and personal habits which display the traits and motives. The model of style of the social-psychological self may overlap professional
style, which is shown to be a limited manifestation of more general dispositions. The social-psychological self may also be constructed as a model of functional integrity including a 'steady state' self with needs preventing psychological breakdown or alterations which would compose a qualitatively 'new' psychological self. Thus one may be said to need a job to keep from going crazy, to provide a source of needed social interaction, and so on. The actor as a social-psychological self is thus conceived as an integrated entity, with integrity maintaining requirements which contribute to the steady or optimal state(s). Certain styles of behavior may enhance or jeopardize this integrity or may be used to evidence the state of the self. Yet the models of style and integrity are analytically distinct and can be constructed as distinct by members.

The financial self is a third self which may be used to compose an image of some actor. General financial descriptors - such as rich person - are relevant here. The financial self may be shown in the typical form of a model of integrity including money which is needed to support the person's financial status, and obligations or salary changes that may decrease one's income hence decreasing one's relative financial integrity. The financial self is bounded by bankruptcy, as a state of disintegration of the financial self. Within the boundary, one may find integrity decrements such as a lowered income following retirement which alter one's integrity relative to its maximum state, and restrict the financial arrangements one may enter into. A model of style of the financial self was also discerned, and this includes one's money management habits, common practices, and spending patterns. Constructions of financial selves were rather infrequent in the present study, but future research may well find this to be an important
PCE in some settings and for certain purposes, for example when requesting a bank loan.

The final self unearthed in the present study is the physiological self of the actor. Various needs and descriptors relate to the functional integrity of the physiological self: the boundary is death, which constitutes physiological disintegration. Within the boundary, various illnesses are located and may be used to characterize the person - for example, he has a heart condition. Other descriptors such as age and height are also linked to the physiological self. A model of style could conceivably be produced by characterizing how the person treats his physiological self - for example, he exercises a lot, overeats, and so on. Again, this self was not extensively produced by respondents and future research may uncover contexts where it becomes a primary concern and interpretational scheme - such as in patient-physician interactions.

These selves may be constructed as distinct, separate aspects of the person. For example, in case 5, KL - the academic dean of the college - constructed the social-psychological and professional selves of the college president who resigned as separable and distinct selves: "you [the president] are a nice person but can we keep that separate from the fact that you are a rotten administrator" (case 5, respondent 2, utterance 368). The selves can also be shown to interrelate and overlap. Thus in case 9, respondent AB constructs the two former chief clerks as undesirable social-psychological types - creeps - and their social-psychological characteristics are shown to spill over into their professional duties and ultimately these are problematic to the functional integrity of the government.
In constructing and discussing some person, production of one self is often sufficient to specify the person although the focal self may imply other selves. And the particular self or selves constructed in displaying some person are related to the context and practical purposes of the discussion of that person. In the present study, the professional and social-psychological selves received greatest attention, probably because the succession topic gave primacy to organizational behavior - acts interpreted by the professional self and related social-psychological attributes. Other discussion contexts and purposes - such as a patient in a doctor's office or a discussion of handicapped employees - would likely involve more elaborate constructions of physiological selves than were observed in the present study. Thus the discussion context, topic, and practical purposes are relevant to deciding which selves are primary interpretational resources. Other selves may be constructed to supplement the primary ones, to indicate noteworthy or causative abnormalities in the person relevant to the topic at hand, or to explain activities and phenomena related to the topics of interest. A general discussion of decision processes relevant to selecting certain selves in doing descriptive accounts is beyond the scope of the present study, although this study hopefully will provide a basis for such an endeavor.

One may see from this discussion that the 'selves' have the characteristics of PCEs and indeed, in doing descriptive accounts actors enact the sensemaking practice of doing programmatic construction of persons as general entities composed of one or more of the various selves. Yet it should also be noted that each self is commonly assembled in only 2 of the 3 typical forms - model of functional integrity and model of style.
This section suggests that programmatic construction is a sense-making practice commonly used in providing descriptive accounts. Further, the entities which are programmatically constructed are not simply any entities but are certain types of entities. The findings regarding programmatic construction are briefly summarized by the following proposition.

**Proposition 8-10:** Programmatic construction of certain entities occurs in human sensemaking, and particularly in the process of providing descriptive accounts of worldly phenomena. These entities include:

a. collective entities - social institutions and organizations - which are routinely constructed in one or more of three typical forms - as models of functional integrity, compliance and style.

b. individual entities or persons which are constructed as one or more selves - professional, social-psychological, financial and physiological - and these selves are routinely constructed in one or two typical forms, as a model of functional integrity or a model of style.

**GENERAL IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS**

In chapter 1 I discussed previous research on organizational succession. It will be useful to briefly review my critique of past studies prior to discussing the implications of the present study as the critique essentially displays the problematic aspects and limitations of earlier research which the present study has sought to overcome.

Probably the most common approach to the study of succession involves the application of quantitative research methodologies to succession phenomena. Researchers in this tradition (see Helmich, 1977 for a literature review that focuses on quantitative succession research) seem to prefer questionnaire responses or secondary
quantitative data which are expressed in the form of a data matrix. In the production of such a matrix these researchers assume there is an objective world of social facts which they have measured and which are properly expressed in numeric form. Further, production of such a data matrix is associated with a heavy emphasis on the formal structure of the organization and in particular the rate of change of incumbents of formally defined positions. The concern for quantification leads these researchers to largely ignore the qualitative details of cases of succession, the language and meanings of participants, and to offer their research conclusions as superior to - and perhaps inconsistent with - common sense knowledge.

The other common approach to succession research involves the use of qualitative case studies. This approach is exemplified by Gouldner (1954), Guest (1962a, 1962b) and Zald (1965). I have asserted the qualitative studies have been deficient because they have failed to provide a general theoretical model of succession, they often ignore predecessor departure, and they have not attempted to link their theoretical concepts to the language and meanings of the actors involved in the succession cases.

The present study avoids these pitfalls and might be construed as an attempt to start anew in the development of succession theory. The foundation for the present approach is the assumption that there is no singular objective world of social facts: rather, there are numerous realities which are socially produced and maintained, hence facts are themselves socially produced and limited to the finite provinces of meaning of particular realities. One must then study how these realities are produced and apprehended, rather than taking certain facts as absolute givens. Therefore, in studying succession one must
focus on how social actors make sense of succession, socially produce it, and apprehend it as a possible bracketing or recognizable form which certain aspects of realities can acquire. And since one cannot know 'the real facts' one must necessarily examine the facts as members apprehend these and describe them to the researcher in providing accounts of succession. Therefore succession was studied as a phenomenon embedded in descriptive accounts of cases of succession.

Such descriptive accounts are composed by social actors and hence involve their language and meanings. Further, these accounts include the whatsoever bits and pieces of news which the actors assemble as cases of succession, and these bits and pieces involve phenomena which have been social scientifically referred to under the rubric of 'the informal organization' including microsociological processes and informal interactions. The accounts were constituted by talk which therefore became a phenomenon of theoretical interest, and the various topics discussed by actors commonly included such things as the details of predecessor departure. Thus the decision to collect descriptive accounts of succession that followed from the ontological assumption regarding the nature of realities produced data that potentially allowed the researcher to circumvent most of the criticisms levied against previous research. The reader of course must decide if the researcher was successful in this regard.

The theoretical concepts of chapter 1, when applied to the descriptive case accounts, led to the construction of substantive models of different types of succession. These models involve social scientific theorizing about common sense knowledge of succession, are constructed to subsume members' meanings and language, explain many of the contingencies, inconsistencies, and unique aspects of specific
qualitative cases of succession, and include explicit consideration of the social construction of the realities wherein succession is produced and apprehended as an actual event. The study thus provides a rich conceptual and theoretical framework for examining organizational succession. And the present chapter has elaborated a general integrative framework for all types of succession as well as providing insight into basic human sensemaking practices.

This dissertation has several implications for succession research, and indeed perhaps for social science generally. First, related to succession research, the dissertation provides an alternative framework for analyzing succession that avoids the limitations of earlier approaches and which does indeed consider and explain a myriad of qualitative phenomena the quantitative approach seemingly ignores. The framework is by no means a completed theory but it is a grounded theoretical model suitable for elaboration and use in the study of other cases of succession. Second, it shows that social scientific theory can be constructed from common sense knowledge: there is no particular need to debunk common sense knowledge or deplore its inconsistencies. Rather, it is eminently possible to develop a consistent theoretical framework that explains substantive inconsistencies in common sense theorizing by focusing on the process of common sense-making instead of examining only the substantive output. Given the lack of a single objective reality, the present approach seems considerably more sophisticated than those approaches which assume one such reality and implicitly demean or ignore everyday life meanings in the attempt to impose such a singular, objective, 'scientific' reality on common sense realities. If one wishes to understand organizational or social realities, one must first examine these
realities as participants themselves render them meaningful and that has been a major task attempted by the present study. I think the study has shown such a task is both feasible and useful.

The present study also displays that it is possible to do qualitative social science, to avoid explicitly using variables, and to engage in theory construction. One need not immerse oneself in the rhetoric of verification (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) to do good science, and one does not need sophisticated statistical procedures to do data analysis.

There are also some practical implications of the present study. Because the theoretical framework has been grounded in concrete cases, the framework should apply to other cases and aid in understanding them. Indeed as the present cases and the analysis included various practical problems in doing succession, and the theoretical concepts have been related to common language descriptors and meanings, I would assert the framework and the present approach are especially well suited for practitioner use. The data which have been analyzed are the sort of data readily available to practitioners and it seems to me practitioners could readily be instructed in the present mode of analysis. There is no necessity for learning advanced statistics or for administering questionnaires. The practitioner merely has to observe and absorb the conversations and activities he or she daily encounters, and then do a form of social scientific sensemaking of the common sense knowledge of everyday life events.

One final implication of the present study deserves mention. Human sensemaking has been studied as a process basic to organizational succession. The sensemaking practices which have been discussed may well prove useful in studying other social phenomena and indeed the
assumptions of the present research suggest that adequate social scientific research and theorizing must consider human sensemaking as a process or processes underlying all human knowledge, including scientific theorizing. Thus the current study suggests not only the need for an alternative approach to the study of succession: it may also serve to underscore the need to study human sensemaking per se in numerous situations as a process or processes inextricably related to the supposed objective realities which scientists and laymen alike have long taken for granted.
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Dear Respondent:

Thank you for offering to participate in a research project which examines organizational succession. As promised on the telephone, this letter briefly outlines the intent of the research and the information requested from you.

The research is my doctoral dissertation project and is an attempt to understand the process of organizational succession as witnessed by organization members. Succession is defined in the study as the change in occupants of a formal organizational position and occurs through either: 1) the death, 2) retirement, 3) firing or demotion, 4) advancement, promotion or transfer, or 5) voluntary resignation of some predecessor. It also includes the installation of a successor.

Past research on succession has commonly used questionnaires and/or psychological tests as data collection tools. While useful, such devices fail to uncover many interesting and important aspects of succession. Thus in the present study I am interviewing administrators in a variety of organizational settings and am requesting them to describe cases of various types of succession. From these cases, a more adequate theory of succession will be constructed which aims at explaining concrete activities and events in the succession process. It is hoped that such a theory will have considerable implications for management practice.

What I would request from you is an interview of approximately one hour during which you describe one case of each type of succession, five cases in all. Thus each case description should take about 10 to 15 minutes. Preferably the cases you describe will have occurred in your present organization and will be cases which were visible and somewhat familiar to you, that is, cases you have observed in some detail. Please select those cases which you feel most comfortable discussing.

The only particular guide for case selection I would suggest is that the various cases involve succession to relatively similar organizational positions. For example, five cases of succession in 'assistant to' positions (one case per type of succession) would fit my research design better than five cases which include one case of retirement of a secretary, one case of promotion to 'director', etc. However, as it seems likely that you may not be able to provide one case description of each type of succession for any