# CONCEPTUALISATION AND OPERATIONALISATION OF RESISTANCE TO CHANGE

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## 1. Introduction

The present paper is meant to provide a systematic conceptualisation and operationalisation of the notion of resistance to change (RTC) that might serve as basis for an empirical investigation and analysis. Specifically, the main aim is to conceptualise the notion of RTC, linking it to a broader conceptual theoretical framework of reference. The objective is then to develop a working definition of RTC for use in the research. Once RTC is defined, the concept is operationalised through the identification of a set of 'items' that are supposed to measure the individual level of resistance to change. Building on the significant RTC literature devoted to the analysis of the manifestations of RTC, those 'items' exemplify a scheme of behaviourally distinct patterns through which individuals usually express their resistance to change. A long period of observation and two pilot studies in the investigated organisation (ENEL - Ente Nazionale per l'Energia Elettrica) had the purpose of contextualising the construction of the specific questionnaire 'items', used to operationalise and measure the phenomenon amongst the sample of middle managers covered in the research. These issues are considered in the second half of the present paper along with a detailed analysis of the psychometric properties of the proposed scales of RTC and a discussion regarding the capability of the various scales to measure the level of resistance to change of individuals.

## 2. RTC in this Research: the Alternative Perspective

Traditionally RTC has been viewed in relatively negative terms. It is only recently that a more objective or positive approach to RTC has become more common in the literature, although the number of studies adopting such a positive approach is still quiet small when compared to research having a negative perception of RTC. In terms of this alternative perspective, RTC is seen as a natural, acceptable phenomenon. Depending on the nature of the change, the surrounding environment and the conditions in which the change occurs, resistance is not always and necessarily a negative event. It is true that when

resistance occurs, it causes problems for the organisation, but it is also a natural consequence of other problems.

These repercussions are implied by Bauer's extensive elaboration of Lawrence's analogy to pain (1954): resistance, as pain, is an alarm; it might be a warning that something is failing in the change process, but it also reveals that the organisation is responding to the change (1993). If resistance is managed properly, it could provide constructive feedback to the change process. In fact, according to Johns, "…resistance to change can be the climax of other problems to monitor… it may help to identify pockets of low morale and motivation in the organisation; it can pinpoint communication weaknesses, on the assumption that resistance to change can arise from inadequate understanding of reasons for the change; it may force those initiating the change to give more attention to human relations on future occasions" (1973, p.36). Klein (1969) took Freud's theory about resistance of patients to treatment as a starting point to establish that the mobilisation of forces against change is a necessary pre-requisite of successful change. More recently, Marris (1993) has gone further indicating three principles concerning the management of change: first, that the process of reform has to expect and even encourage conflict, because conflict gives people an opportunity to assimilate the change and develop their own responses; second, the change must respect the sense of autonomy and experience of the different groups, so that unfamiliar concepts do not jeopardise people's organisational response. "Third, there must be time and patience, because the conflicts involve not only the accomodation of diverse interests, but the realisation of an essential continuity in the structure of meaning" (Marris, 1993, p.219).

Following a less negative interpretation of resistance to change proposed by a few scholars in more recent years (e.g. Bauer, 1993, Marris, 1993), in this study the attempt is to consider a more objective interpretation of the phenomenon and to adopt the perspective of the impartial observer. The objective of such an alternative perspective is also to attempt to minimise the bias generally linked to the study of the RTC phenomenon. "Studies of change appear to be taken from the perspective or bias of those who are the change agents seeking to bring about change rather than of the clients they are seeking to influence" (Klein, 1969, p.498).

## 3. A Framework of Reference: Extra-Role Behaviours (ERB)

As seen, from a conceptual point of view resistance to change has sporadically been treated as a self-contained and free-standing topic. Therefore, it seems as though RTC lacks a nomological framework that clearly identifies the boundaries and dimensions of the concept. The setting up of a clear nomological framework is essential in order to identify the relationship between RTC and a number of other related behavioural constructs and to develop an appropriate working definition of resistance to change for use in the research. Theoretical relevance can only be settled after a construct has been clearly defined and its domain has been specified (Van Dyne, Cummings and McLean Parks, 1995).

The attempt here is directed towards addressing the ambiguities that characterise the area of individual behavioural responses to organisational change. This objective is achievable only if an explanation of the

relationship among the different behavioural reactions to change is provided. This will then serve as the basis for the development of a relevant and suitable working definition of RTC.

A useful starting point for conceptualising RTC is in relation to the nomological network of extra-role behaviours (ERB) proposed by Van Dyne, Cummings and McLean Parks (1995). These authors provide the following definition of ERB:

> *Extra-Role Behaviour is defined as behaviour which benefits the organisation and/or is intended to benefit the organisation, which is discretionary and which goes beyond existing role expectations* (1995, p.218).

Four connotations of ERB are also indicated as prerequisites:

a) the behaviour has to be voluntary. It is not part of ascribed role duties and it cannot be formally rewarded;

b) it must be intentional;

c) it must be positively intended by the actor or positively perceived by an observer;

d) it has to be perpetrated to benefit above all someone else, even if the actor can be moved by some personal interests.

Van Dyne, Cummings and McLean Parks (1995) examine, through an analysis of the existing literature, four different forms of ERB, from organisational citizenship behaviour (OCB) to pro-social organisational behaviour (PSOB), from whistle blowing (WB) to principled organisation dissent (POD). They also propose a nomological framework according to four groups of ERB. Alongside the two standard classes of behaviour, based on the actor's motivation, i.e. affiliative/promotive behaviours (co-operation and helping others) and challenging/prohibitive behaviours (disclosing illegal, immoral or illegitimate behaviours, or raising conscientious objections based on moral principles), they have introduced two new classes of behaviour, namely challenging/promotive and affiliative/prohibitive behaviours.

According to the literature on ERB, as well as the Van Dyne, Cummings and McLean Parks (1995) classification, WB and POD depict actions that belong to the category of challenging/prohibitive behaviours. Indeed, considering the character of resistance to change, my aim is to contribute to this area.

## 3.1. Whistle Blowing

Researchers of different scientific disciplines have dedicated much effort to the study of WB (Bok, 1980; Perrucci, Anderson, Schendel and Trachtman, 1980; Elliston, 1982; Miceli and Near, 1984; Miceli and Near, 1985; Near and Miceli, 1985; Dozier and Miceli, 1985, Near and Miceli, 1987). Near and Miceli (1985, p.4) define whistle blowing as "the disclosure by organisation members (former or current) of illegal, immoral or illegitimate practices under the control of their employers, to persons or organisations that may be able to effect action". Like all forms of dissent, WB makes public[1] a

disagreement with a negligence or an abuse warning of a risk, and assigns responsibility for this risk (Bok, 1990).

## 3.2. Principled Organisational Dissent

Graham  refers to principled organisational dissent as "a protest and/or effort to change the organisational status quo because of a conscientious objection to current policy" (1986, p.1). Indeed, POD is a behaviour characterised by positive intentions based on personal principles. An employee that becomes aware of circumstances in the workplace that in some way violate principles and values which she or he believes in, is a classic example of conditions where a manifestation of POD may begin (Graham, 1986).

# 4. Resistance to Change as Organisational Dissent

Both whistle blowing and principled organisational dissent are manifestations of organisational dissent. This kind of expression of disagreement towards the organisation's policies and practices can be seen as a form of protest that lies within the field of political action inside the organisation. Farrell and Petersen define political activities as "those activities that are not required as part of one's organisational role but that influence, or attempt to influence, the distribution of advantages and disadvantages within the organisation" (1982, p.405). Members of organisations have numerous opportunities for political action of this kind to seek autonomy, for example, or to dissent from organisational policies, to oppose organisational authority, to depose existing leaders, or to transform the political structures within which they work (Perrucci, Anderson, Schendel and Trachtman, 1981). All these actions are manifestations of discord with the actual distribution of power among individuals and groups and aim to correct or re-negotiate the situation. Indeed, WB is often created as an act of organisational dissent in the context of political conflict (Stanley, 1981).

In the same vein, Bauer (1991) has argued that even RTC is a form of conflict that lies outside established procedures of conflict management. The change promoter and the change resistor form a temporary social coalition that might disagree on several aspects of the change, such as the values, goals, plans of the project and the change management style. Through all these aspects, the change inevitably undermines and challenges the existing system of responsibility and power within the organisation, and sometimes threatens established levels of autonomy and authority, proposing a new equilibrium that obviously may disrupt the existing balance of power, responsibilities and/or resources between individuals and groups. Seen from this perspective, therefore, there are important parallels between RTC and various forms of organisational dissent, with RTC, WB and POD all representing potentially important manifestation of political action within organisations. Conceptually, however, there are also important differences between RTC and both WB and POD, and these are discussed below.

# 5. Characteristics of WB, POD[2] and RTC

Resistance to change has mostly been defined and categorised according to the characteristics of the behaviours involved: collective or individual, active or passive, formal or informal (Coch and French, 1948; Lawrence, 1954; Sayles and Strauss, 1966; Johns, 1973; Stanislao and Stanislao, 1983; Klein, 1984; Caruth, Middlebrook and Rachel, 1985; Judson, 1991; Bauer, 1993, King and Anderson, 1995). Although all these classifications delineate a large set of resistant behaviours focusing on the typology of actions that individuals pursue, none of them consider other important defining characteristics of RTC such as the negative or positive intentions of the actors involved.

WB, POD and RTC Comparison According to Seven Characteristics

| Characteristics | WB | POD | RTC |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Focuses on: | | | |
| ■ actor's intent | Yes | Yes | No |
| ■ perc. Outcome | No | No | Yes |
| ■ intent (+/-) | +/- | + | - |
| | | | |
| 2. Actor status (current/former member) | Both | Both | Current |
| | | | |
| 3. Intended beneficiary: (individual/group/org) | Organisation | Organisation | Individual Group |
| | | | |
| 4. Type of actions: | | | |
| ■ institut/non-institut | Institutional. | Institutional. | Non-institution. |
| ■ violent/non-violent | Non-violent | Non-violent | Non-violent |
| ■ open/hidden | Open | Open | Mostly hidden |
| | | | |
| 5. Practices to fight: (illegal/unethical/ immoral/inconvenient) | Illegal Immoral | Immoral Unethical | Unpleasant Disagreeable Inconvenient |
| | | | |
| 6. Risk for the actor: (high/medium/low) | High | Medium | Low/Medium |
| | | | |
| 7. The resolution of the situation | 'Stop and change the practice' | 'Stop and change the practice' | 'Slow down or stop the change' |

Table 1

Based on a review of the relevant literature, Table 1 identifies and compares the main differences and similarities between WB, POD and RTC in terms of seven key criteria.

## 5.1. The Focus

The first characteristic indicates whether the focus is on the intent of the actor or the perceived outcome of the action, and whether the intent is perceived as positive and/or negative.

Van Dyne, Cummings and McLean Parks (1995) argue that, in the case of WB and POD[3], the focus of attention is on the intention of the actor in engaging in the action. In the case of POD the intention is, by definition, positive (Graham, 1986), while WB can be guided by both positive and negative intentions (Bok, 1980; Near and Miceli, 1987).

The literature on RTC is not unanimous on this point, but most studies have considered the perceived outcome of the action, rather than the intentions behind it, as the focus of the concept of RTC. The fact that the primary concern of a majority of the research in this area is with developing possible ways of overcoming resistance to change, (Coch and French, 1948; Lawrence, 1954; Bartlem and Locke, 1981; Stanislao and Stanislao, 1983; Caruth, Middlebrook and Rachel, 1985; Strebel, 1996) is a confirmation that the change agent's point of view, and therefore the perceived outcomes of resistant actions, are given priority. This managerialist approach is the cause of the widely shared conviction among researchers, that all resistant behaviours are negatively intended.

## 5.2. The Actor's Status

The second characteristic refers to whether the actor is a former or current member of the organisation.

The definitions of WB and POD do not exclude the possibility that the actor is a former member of the organisation (i. e. Miceli and Near, 1984). This is a very controversial issue because it raises many questions about the definition of roles, and whether extra-role behaviour can be performed by someone external to the organisation.

Regarding RTC, semantics, manifestations of resistance and most of the literature in the area, suggest that only a member of an organisation can be a resistor. In this sense, people who decide to leave the organisation because they disagree with some aspects of the change, are pictured as resistors that embark on an extreme measure, that exceeds the limits of resistant behaviour. Once they have left, former members cannot manifest any form of resistant behaviour.

## 5.3. The Intended Beneficiary

The third characteristic relates to whether the beneficiary of the behaviour is the individual, the group or the organisation (Figure 1).

For WB and POD the intended beneficiary is the organisation that, by rejecting illegal, unethical or immoral actions, will benefit in the future. Nevertheless Dozier and Miceli object that whistle blowers may seek personal gain, according to them, "they may simply wish to rectify a problem that directly affects them, such as a workplace violation" (1985, p.824). In the same way, POD may include some personal or group interests (Graham, 1986).

For RTC, the intended beneficiary is the individual (the actor) or a group of individuals (to which the actor belongs). Unlike WB and POD, in fact, RTC directly originates as a response to a change process and, therefore, involves behaviour that is explicitly designed to defend or preserve existing personal or group interests. In fact, "change challenges the *status quo* and may be resisted because of powerful vested

interests in maintaining the current equilibrium position" (King and Anderson, 1995, p.169). The personal and/or group interests that resistors may want to defend can vary from tangible things, such as wages and bonuses and organisational resources, to intangibles like positional power, status and social contacts.
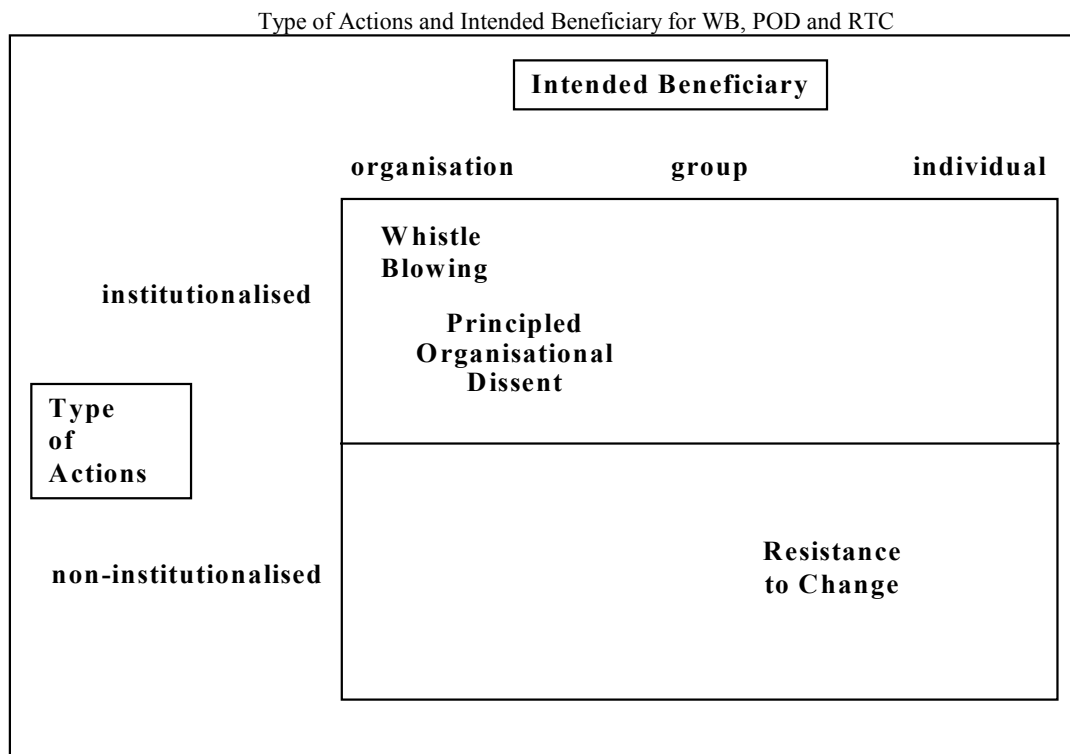
Type of Actions and Intended Beneficiary for WB, POD and RTC



Figure 1

## 5.4. The Type of Actions

The fourth characteristic pertains to whether the actions and behaviours involved are institutionalised or non-institutionalised (Figure 1), violent or non-violent, and overt or hidden.

In this context "…institutionalised actions like collective bargaining, workers council or forms of organisational participation are examples of formal procedures to put conflicts on the agenda for negotiation" (Bauer, 1993, p.224). All actions, individual or collective, that require an antithetical official position in confrontation with the organisation, can be made to appear institutionalised.

WB is usually expressed through institutionalised, non-violent, overt actions and may manifest itself in different ways. The whistle blower usually informs colleagues, sends memos to superiors or contacts top managers before engaging in some form of public protest. The assumption is that employees feel some obligation to the company, and therefore would first exhaust internal communication channels, before 'going public'. Nevertheless, corporate whistle blowers may send anonymous reports inside and outside the organisation giving details of corporate misconduct (Elliston, 1982). In such a case, the perpetrator of the action is hidden, but the outcome is a public matter.

According to Graham, POD manifests itself in a variety of ways that cover a range of overt actions. In fact, "POD can take a variety of forms. Examples include constructive criticism, or protest expressed to

others within the organisation; blocking actions, such as working to rule or sabotage; and resigning in protest" (1986, p.3). Van Dyne, Cummins and McLean Parks (1995) have argued that these examples of POD, do not pertain specifically to conscientious principles because they are not consistent with constructive criticism based on moral values or ethical standards.

The literature is still slightly controversial on the manifestations of RTC. Caruth, Middlebrook and Rachel (1985) consider complaining openly, intentionally slowing down the job and sabotage as forms of open/direct resistant behaviours. Judson (1991) classifies expressed protest as passive resistance, and deliberate sabotage as active resistance. In this classic article on RTC, Lawrence (1954) mentions quarrel hostility[4] and slowdown strikes[5] as types of resistance.

Even with respect to the difference between resistance to change and opposition, the literature has not always been consistent. According to Hirschmein and Newman (1988) resistance to change is an adverse reaction to a proposed change that may manifest itself in a visible, overt fashion such as direct opposition, or in a covert way, such as inert behaviours. Judson (1991) does not distinguish resistance from opposition. Caruth, Middlebrook and Rachel (1985) consider open attacks on changes as opposition, and passive behaviours as resistance.

Bauer (1991), in a recent study, has introduced another dimension. He has drawn a distinction between resistant institutionalised and non-institutionalised actions. The first category is ranked as opposition, while the second as resistance.

The prevailing confusion on the peculiarities of RTC versus opposition behaviours seems to underline the need for an effective definition of RTC that can also cover a range of generally accepted manifestations of RTC.

## 5.5. The Practice to Challenge

The fifth characteristic relates to whether the practice that is being challenged is illegal, unethical, immoral or simply inconvenient (Figure 2).

The identification of the type of practices that prohibitive/challenging behaviours tackle is well defined in the literature. By definition WB is a behaviour that pursues illegal or immoral practices (Miceli and Near, 1985), while POD follows the contravening of an impersonal system of values like justice or honesty, based on conscientious objection (Graham, 1986).

The category of practices to be challenged is a very discriminating factor, and constitutes a significant element of conceptual clarity in the framework of extra-role behaviours. As a matter of fact, the domain of practices to which WB and POD pertain is well specified, as are those practices that are not pertinent to WB and POD. Moreover, Near and Miceli argue that "when organisation members attempt to change the organisation's actions which are legitimate, this is not whistle blowing. The concept of legitimacy (in the Weberian meaning) therefore seems critical" (1987, p.330). On the same issue Van Dyne, Cummings and McLean Parks note that "POD…carries a strong normative connotation and would not apply in situations

where an employee simply criticises the status quo. POD only applies when the behaviour is based on some principle or value to which the dissenter subscribes" (1995, p.249).
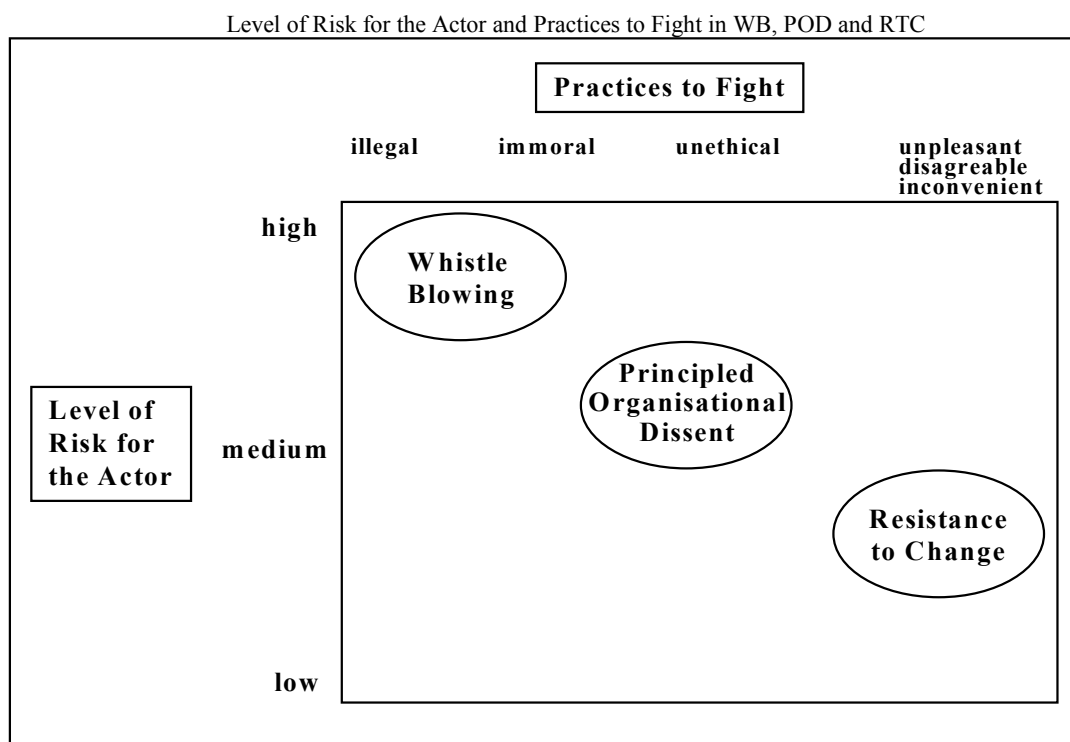
Level of Risk for the Actor and Practices to Fight in WB, POD and RTC



Figure 2

RTC challenges all those practices that are disagreeable, unpleasant and/or inconvenient for employees[6]. Individuals may resist change for ideological reasons; they do not agree with some aspects of the change: for example they believe that the way things were done in the past was the best way; or people may dislike or consider the change inconvenient because it requires, provokes or imposes several modifications in their personal situation or in their working conditions (Nadler, 1993).

## 5.6. The Risk for the Actor

The sixth characteristic relates to whether the level of risk for the actor is high, medium or low (Figure 2).

There is no doubt that the denouncing of illegal or immoral activities might, to a certain extent, backfire for the whistle blower. The strength and the nature of the response by the receiver of the complaint may vary depending on the characteristics of the organisation (size, private or public, industrial sector etc.) and the kind of violation reported. Although the consequences of whistle blowing are often difficult to predict, WB is often considered as the last alternative because of its side effects. Other routes are often considered, analysed and rejected before resorting to WB. "They may be rejected if they simply do not apply to the problem at hand, or when there is no time to go through routine channels, or when the

institution is so corrupt or coercive that steps will be taken to silence the whistle blower should she/he try the regular channel first" (Bok, 1980, p.286).

The same kind of warning is valid for POD as well. The reaction of the organisation is also not predictable, as the receiver of the complaint could opt for accepting, ignoring or refusing the principled dissent (Graham, 1986). Since POD does not report illegal misconduct, it is reasonable to expect that, despite there being a considerable chance of an adverse reaction, the level of risk is likely to be lower for the principled dissenter than for the whistle blower.

The level of risk that a resistor may face is notably lower if it is compared to that for a whistle blower and a principled dissenter. This is for three reasons. First, the object of the confrontation between the organisation and its member is less dangerous than that for the other two cases, since the practice is certainly legal and may even be ethical and moral. Second, the behaviour is more a defensive action by the individual than an attack against the organisation (Bauer, 1993). Third, RTC manifests itself very often in covert, soft and sophisticated ways, thus it is very difficult to detect while it is being perpetrated.

## 5.7. The Resolution

The seventh characteristic is the resolution of the situation for WB, POD and RTC.

The main difference in the contextual situation concerns WB and POD in comparison with RTC. In fact, WB and POD are meant to stop or modify a habitual illegal, immoral or unethical practice that began in the past and that is still happening. Therefore, the resolution of the situation is: 'stop and change the practice'.

RTC, instead, is meant to slow down or stop a disagreeable or unpleasant and inconvenient action, which is the result of a change process that is affecting the present and will affect the future. Therefore the resolution of the situation is: 'stop or slow down the change'.

# 6. RTC and ERB: Some Elements for Discussion

The overview of the literature on WB, POD and RTC according to the seven characteristics described, has allowed me to reach the critical conclusion that RTC may have a conceptual link with the framework of challenging/prohibitive behaviours. The analysis produced up to this point has signalled that important dimensions or features of challenging/prohibitive behaviours also apply to RTC, even if with some limitations. This does not necessarily mean that RTC is an ERB. Nevertheless, in view of the conceptual closeness of RTC to POD and WB, some proper objections can be made to the assumption that an ERB must be positively intended to benefit the organisation, either by the actor that pursues the behaviour or by the observer that perceives it; and that the actor must act disinterestedly.

## 6.1. The Positive Intent and the Disinterest of the Actor

These two requisites of ERB might be sources of discussion in relation to RTC. Undoubtedly, RTC is usually negatively perceived by the observer (the change agent), but it may be argued that the actor that pursues the behaviour can act through positive intent.

This is a very elaborate issue that hints at the relativity of different perspectives. The point is that resistance is wholly in the eyes of the beholder. In fact, it is possible in an organisation that the same action will be seen as personal, selfish and a harmful impediment by some, while simultaneously as an altruistic, responsible and wise expression of commitment to the organisation by others (Kanter, Stein and Jick, 1992; King and Anderson, 1995). For example, managers working for an electronics company, who resist the decision to relocate one of the factories to a different region, would experience very opposite judgements and reactions. The change agent will usually see resistance as negatively intended, while the change resistors will often claim to be driven by positive intentions.

With respect to the disinterest of the actor, it is worth noting that, in relation to ERB, Van Dyne, Cummings and McLean Parks emphasise that, although the behaviour must be driven by an altruistic purpose, the actor may have some interests for her/him self, and that "disinterest does not require an absence of interest on the employee's part" (1995, p.218). As already mentioned, Dozier and Miceli (1985) and Graham (1986) make a similar argument for WB and POD respectively.

Furthermore, if the change does not damage the personal or group interests of individuals but, for example, only represents a challenge to their personal values and beliefs, it can be expected that the interests of the organisation will not be extensively damaged. Indeed, a person may honestly disagree with the aim or the implementation of a change, based on her/his individual evaluation that the change would damage the company. Consequently, a resistant behaviour that would be likely to benefit a person or a group, does not always necessarily seriously threaten the organisation's interests. Therefore, I may argue that, in the same way, as the actions of whistle blowers and principled dissenters are not completely devoid of personal interests, the actions of resistors may not also be devoid of organisational interests.

## 6.2. A New Element: Stated and Unstated Intentions

My point is that the constructs of POD, WB and RTC with regards to the actor's intentions are oversimplified and misleading. POD and WB, by definition, consider only the stated intentions (positive and pro-organisation) of the actor, although the unstated intentions are shyly contemplated. On the contrary, the literature on RTC explicitly focuses only on the unstated intentions of the actor (negative and anti-organisation), ignoring entirely the stated intentions. In other words, principled dissenters and whistle blowers are judged merely on the basis of what they say, while resistors' actions are judged according to the observer's perception of those actions. Does this merely mean that whistle blowers and principle dissenters are sincere truth-tellers while resistors are selfish liars? This conclusion has slightly biased the treatments of these topics. It is assumed that POD and WB are meant to benefit the organisation. Is this always the case? Consider, for example, a nurse that blows the whistle because the hospital where she

works performs legal abortions. Although the practice may be seen as unethical, would the nurse's action be perceived as benefiting the organisation or society at large? In this example, the nurse may be driven by stated high moral principles, but she may also be motivated by unstated personal interests. It can be argued that only the first option is relative to extra-role behaviours, because the discriminating factor is the stated intention. I accept this pattern, but why is this not valid for resistance to change? Why should the stated intentions of resistors be ignored in favour of unstated intentions?

### 6.3. Conclusions

I do not claim to be able to answer these very important questions. Rather, I would only like to put forward the fact that POD, WB and RTC are often defined and differentiated on the basis of dissimilar criteria. If unstated intentions are very difficult to detect for POD and WB, the same limitation would also be true for RTC. Therefore POD and WB, along with all the other ERB, would deserve further empirical investigation in order to detect and identify unstated intentions. The same consideration sounds logical for RTC, in attempting to establish whether an individual is pursuing personal or organisational interests or both, and to what extent. Additional research could modify the ERB framework, leading to the conclusion that some manifestations of RTC may be considered as ERB, and some behaviours that are believed to be ERB may be found to lie outside the classical confines of ERB. A different approach could discover new frontiers, not only for challenging/prohibitive behaviours, but also for the less controversial affiliative/promotive behaviours, within which stated intentions are taken for granted and unstated intentions are ignored.

In this interpretation, WB, POD and RTC are closer constructs than they appear at first glance. However, it has emerged that RTC is concerned more with challenging than with prohibitive type of behaviours. In other words, the challenging nature of this construct means that RTC, rather than being concerned with raising objections based on moral principles, is concerned with raising objections based on personal and/or group evaluations.

At the end, I may conclude that although RTC cannot be considered as an extra-role behaviour in the full meaning of the term, it occupies a borderline position, adjacent to the territory of challenging/prohibitive extra-role behaviours and overlooking the more explicit and challenging constructs of organisational dissent.

## 7. The Characteristics of RTC

The characteristics of RTC according to the seven key criteria discussed above can be summarised as follows:

| |
|---|
| 1. The focus is on the actor's intent |

In this research the focus is on the actor's intent rather than the perceived outcome. The added value of the research would be to prevent further references to resistors as bad patients who refuse to take their medicine. RTC has to be neutralised from the universally shared prejudice that resistors are always moved by negative intentions.

> 2. The actor is a current member of the organisation

> 3. The intended beneficiary is the individual (the actor) or a group of individuals to which the actor belongs or relates to.

> 4. Resistance to change manifests itself mostly through hidden individual or collective non-institutionalised, non-violent and active, passive or indifferent types of behaviour.

The present definition of resistance to change adopts Bauer's distinction between institutionalised (opposition) and non-institutionalised actions (resistance to change). The other key element is the violence of the actions. The non-violent factor is critical in characterising resistant behaviours. In the history of industrial relations, this categorising element has been traditionally common above all among blue-collar workers, and during particular historical periods marked by drastic technical or organisational changes. Violent initiatives such as the destruction of the means of production, the occupation of factories, sabotage and aggression constitute expression of opposition rather than just resistance. Both the non-institutionalised and the non-violent labels, narrow down and strongly delimit the spectrum of possible resistant behaviours. The exclusion of violent and institutionalised behaviours eliminates from the study framework further elements of complexity and misunderstanding. It also takes into consideration the characteristics of the sample to be investigated. Middle managers of public utilities do not consider, for the most part, the type of violent and institutionalised actions discussed above as realistic options to be taken in response to change within their organisation.

> 5. RTC challenges changes that involve legal, disagreeable or unpleasant and inconvenient practices and connotations.

Sometimes RTC challenges change processes that involve immoral or unethical practices, which are in any case legal.

> 6. The level of risk for the actor is low/medium, slightly lower than the risk principled dissenters take and definitely lower than the risk for whistle blowers.

7. The resolution of the situation is 'stop or slow down the change'.

## 8. A Working Definition of Resistance to Change

It is now necessary to establish a conventional working definition in order to clarify scientific and semantic misinterpretations. Thus, the working definition of the present study is as follows:

> *Resistance to Change is a form of organisational dissent to a change process (or practices) that the individual considers unpleasant or disagreeable or inconvenient on the basis of personal and/or group evaluations. The intent of RTC is to benefit the interests of the actor or a group (to which the actor belongs or relates to) without undermining extensively the needs of the organisation. RTC manifests itself in non-institutionalised individual or collective actions. It might take the form of non-violent, indifferent, passive or active behaviour.*

This definition may seem mild, in comparison with other formalisations. Here the intention is not to provide a sympathetic definition of RTC, but to relate RTC to the logical framework of extra-role behaviours. In a large part of the literature on behaviours in the face of change, many actions (passive or active, individual or collective, violent or non-violent, institutionalised or non-institutionalised) have been ranked as resistance. This has caused an enlargement of the resistance sphere that is then superimposed on the concept of opposition, which has led to misinterpretation, and sometimes oversimplification of the notion of resistance. This misclassification lies behind the clichè of resistors as individuals that go on strike, set up picket lines and sabotage machines whenever they do not agree with a change process. The attempt here, has been to delineate a conceptual identity for resistance to change in order to avoid generalisations. The too-simplistic approach utilised until now has resulted in a superficial level of analysis. This is especially true if it is compared with the in-depth research that has been carried out in the study of extra-role behaviours.

## 9. The Set of Resistant Behaviours to Change

Having delimited the boundaries of resistance to change, the next question then concerns its different manifestations. The literature is particularly generous in the identification of reactions towards change. There are several criteria for classifying actions as manifestation of RTC. Bauer (1991) emphasises the level of participation (individual or collective) and the 'gender' of behaviours (passive, active or indifferent). Judson (1991) stresses indifferent actions as distinct from active and passive resistance. Caruth, Middlebrook and Rachel (1985) reinforce this classification, by distinguishing between open/direct attacks, hidden/indirect actions and passive/dropping out behaviours.

Manifestations of Resistance to Organisational Changes [7]

| Level of Particip. 'Gender' | Individual | Collective |
|---|---|---|
| Indifferent | • indifference<br>• apathy<br>• loss of interest in the job<br>• waiting | • sticking to old ways of doing things |
| Passive | • doing only what is ordered<br>• non learning<br>• rationalising refusals<br>• apparent acceptance, later return to old ways<br>• laughter, irony, pleasure about the system failures<br>• personal withdrawal (increase time off and away from work)<br>• slowing down | • working to rule<br>• slow diffusion rates |
| Active | • reduced performance levels<br>• criticism of top management<br>• grievances<br>• refusal of additional work load | • high turnover<br>• absenteeism and increased morbidity<br>• reduced output in quantity (low productivity)<br>• reduced output in quality |

Table 2

An adapted spectrum of resistant behavioural manifestations towards organisational change is now necessary (Table 2). The set of resistant behaviours has to be consistent with the definition of resistance to change. In line with this requirement, behaviours will be classified and justified on the basis of two main criteria, namely 'gender' and the level of participation involved. The first criterion discriminates between active, passive and indifferent behaviours, while the second criterion refers to the individual or collective nature of the behaviour and, in so doing, may also point to the type of interest that a particular action may be motivated by.

Congruent with the concept of resistance to change, as described above, spoilage, deliberate sabotage, aggression, the destruction of the means of production and the occupation of factories and any other

violent behaviours will not be taken into consideration because they are not signals of resistance to change, but opposition.

Moreover, the predominance of individual actions compared with collective behaviours is due to the fact that the majority of actions promoted and taken by groups frequently fall into the class of either institutionalised or violent conduct. In fact, moving from active to passive and then to indifferent manifestations, collective actions progressively decrease. Indeed, resistant behaviours, which very often are perpetuated with the purpose of slowing down the change process, find a stronger affiliation with behaviours adopted by individuals.

## 10. The Guidelines for the Operationalisation of RTC

After having related the construct of RTC to a theoretical framework and identified a working definition of RTC for use in this research, the following step was to operationalise the concept of resistance to change. In order to operationalise RTC correctly, there has to be consistency among the notion of RTC in this research and the actual items chosen for measuring the individual level of RTC. Although the spectrum of probable manifestations of RTC (see Table 2) provides a useful starting point for the construction of an RTC scale, it presented two major characteristics that could make the measurement of RTC less efficient. First, some manifestations of RTC did not fit well into the overall purpose of the study since they were related to general economic quantitative parameters (i.e. high turnover, absenteeism and level of productivity). Consequently those parameters had to be discarded. Second, such a spectrum seemed to be very wide. Therefore it appeared opportune to verify in the field the chances of coming across the various resistant actions indicated in Table 2.

Indeed, field observations and qualitative interviews with management staff at different levels in the hierarchy served as a basis for operationalising the notion of RTC within ENEL and develop appropriate items for inclusion in the survey questionnaire. These field notes along with two pilot studies helped to narrow down the spectrum of possible resistant behaviours, in the case of middle managers, significantly contributing to the construction of the questionnaire. All this observation and preparation work resulted in highlighting also three main characteristics in the questionnaire. First, avoiding explicit questions as they may be misleading and fruitless. The items chosen reflect this as they represent an attempt to find a compromise between efficacy and efficiency in wording the items. Second, the items were designed to have general applicability so that, with few changes and adaptations, they can be used in other organisations. The aim, in other words, was to develop a general scale of RTC that could be applied and used not just in ENEL, but also in other organisations with different samples of employees. But third and at the same time, though, a great effort was made to contextualise the questionnaire, so that respondents could easily relate to the situations mentioned in each item. Following this logic, a preamble referring to the change process which had taken place in ENEL in the last twelve months was included in the questionnaire just before respondents were asked to answer the items comprising the scale for RTC (see

questionnaire in Appendix A). This was designed to remind respondents of the different elements of the change, thereby helping to focus and contextualise their answers.

# 11. The Items for Measuring RTC

For the measure of the dependent variable, 13 items were created (Table 3), each scored on a five-point response format scale[8]. These items are designed to tap thirteen different actions related to the way individuals have responded to the change taking place within ENEL.

Thirteen-Item Scale for Resistance to Change

| | |
|---|---|
| BEH1 | I am doing much more of what is required from me to help this organisation through the numerous changes. |
| BEH2 | I co-operate actively to realise the change. |
| BEH3 | I encourage actions to support the realisation of the change. |
| BEH4 | I promote the change with enthusiasm. |
| BEH5 | I try to convince others of the opportunity of the change. |
| BEH6 | I sustain with vigour the change in public discussions. |
| BEH7 | I make considerable effort so that my subordinates understand the change. |
| BEH8 | I am critical about the change in public discussions. (R) |
| BEH9 | I am critical about the change with my superiors. (R) |
| BEH10 | I support union activities against the change. (R) |
| BEH11 | I support the actions of my subordinates against the change. (R) |
| BEH12 | I support the actions of my colleagues against the change. (R) |
| BEH13 | I report complaints about the change to my superiors. (R) |

Table 3

From the field observations and the two pilot studies in ENEL, it transpired that the classification of resistors into the six categories suggested by the overview of the significant literature (see Table 2), is, in practice, debatable. This is mainly due to two reasons. First, there are areas of overlap between indifferent and passive resistance and, in practice, such a differentiation seems to be unnecessary. Second, the collective resistant actions identified in Table 2 are better interpreted as individual manifestations related to interactions with other people, rather than as agreed upon actions taken by a group of individuals. Hence, the 13 items developed to measure RTC and listed in Table 3 are not explicitly designed to capture either collective resistant actions or possible differences between indifferent and passive forms of resistance. Within the ambit of RTC, however, they can usefully be seen as representing and capturing the following four key classes of behaviours towards a change process:

1. well-disposed behaviours revealing personal conformity to the change (BEH1, BEH2, BEH3 and BEH4);

2. approving behaviours directed at promoting and facilitating the change with other people (BEH5, BEH6 and BEH7);

3. critical behaviours displaying personal dissatisfaction with the change (BEH8 and BEH9);

4. behaviours aiming to sustain other people's actions in disagreement with the change (BEH10, BEH11, BEH12 and BEH13).

Although the classification of manifestations of RTC outlined in Table 2 is debatable, many of the actual resistant behaviours identified, were clearly witnessed during our field observation. Indeed, the 13 items chosen for the construction of the RTC scale for this study correspond, to a large extent, the different manifestations of resistant behaviours as outlined in Table 2. For example, items BEH8 'I am critical about the change in public discussions' and BEH9 'I am critical about the change with my superiors' relate to 'criticism' dimension in Table 2; item BEH1 'I am doing much more of what is required from me to help this organisation through the numerous changes' refers to 'doing only what is ordered'; item BEH4 'I promote the change with enthusiasm' relates to 'apathy' and so on. The key point of the RTC scale is that the first seven items (BEH1-BEH7) tap the frequency of behaviours that are in favour of the change (here named pro-change behaviours), while the last five items (BEH8-BEH13) tap the frequency of behaviours that are against the change (here named anti-change behaviours) and taken together, therefore, should provide measure of individuals overall level of resistance to change.

## 12. The Factor Analysis

The first step of the data analysis was to factor analyse the 13 items chosen to measure RTC, in order to verify whether they constitute a homogeneous scale of RTC. Two factors (Table 4) were extracted from the 13 items[9]. The first factor (items BEH1-BEH7) comprised all those items that express manifestations of agreement towards the change (pro-change behaviours). The second factor (items BEH8-BEH12) comprised all items that reflected disagreement with the change (anti-change behaviours). The two factors explain 56.3 percent of the common variance. The appropriate items loaded on each factor with the exception of item BEH13.

It was decided to discard item BEH13 because it loaded equally on both components. Initially it was expected that this item would load on component 2 (anti-change behaviour). In all likelihood, this unexpected result is due to the wording of the item which was misinterpreted by the respondents. The item 'I report complaints about the change to my superiors' was intended to capture a form of disagreement with the change. The assumption was that an individual would feel bound by an informal mandate on behalf of others (colleagues and/or subordinates) so that she/he would report complaints (which she/he shared) about the change to superiors. In the event, it would appear that the item also tapped a form of conscientious pro-change behaviour so that individuals might report complaints about the change, with which they did not necessarily agree, to superiors with the sole objective of facilitating the change process.

Factor Analysis Results for RTC

| Code | Item | Component | |
|------|------|-----------|---|
| | | 1 | 2 |
| | | Pro-change behaviours | Anti-change behaviours |
| BEH1 | I am doing much more of what it is required from me to help this organisation through the numerous changes. | **.66** | .13 |
| BEH2 | I co-operate actively to realise the change. | **.79** | -8.939E-02 |
| BEH3 | I encourage actions to support the realisation of the change. | **.81** | -.16 |
| BEH4 | I promote the change with enthusiasm. | **.78** | -6.542E-02 |
| BEH5 | I try to convince others of the opportunity of the change. | **.76** | -.14 |
| BEH6 | I sustain with vigour the change in public discussions. | **.75** | -6.485E-02 |
| BEH7 | I make considerable effort so that my subordinates understand the change. | **.77** | -8.877E-02 |
| BEH8 | I am critical about the change in public discussions. | -.13 | **.69** |
| BEH9 | I am critical about the change with my superiors. | 6.924E-03 | **.57** |
| BEH10 | I support union activities against the change. | -.18 | **.68** |
| BEH11 | I support the actions of my subordinates against the change. | -5.489E-02 | **.77** |
| BEH12 | I support the actions of my colleagues against the change. | -6.656E-02 | **.80** |
| BEH13 | I report complaints about the change to my superiors | .31 | .36 |
| Eigen Value Variance (%) | | **33.84** | **19.29** |
| Total Variance (%) | | **53.13** | |
| KMO | | **.86** | |

Table 4

When scaled, both factors exhibited acceptable levels of internal reliability: α=.88 for factor 1 (pro-change behaviours) and α=.76 for factor 2 (anti-change behaviours).

# 13. Setting a Paradigm for the Interpretation of the Results

At the beginning of the field project and while piloting the questionnaire, the original intention was to develop an overall multiple-item scale of RTC based on the 13 questionnaire items outlined above. In fact, I was expecting to extract a one-factor solution from the 13 items so that the mean response on the items would serve as an overall measure of the degree of resistance to change for each respondent. As already

seen, a two-factor solution resulted from the factor analysis. Approving behaviours directed at promoting and facilitating the change with other people (BEH5, BEH6 and BEH7) and well disposed behaviours revealing personal conformity with the change (BEH1, BEH2, BEH3 and BEH4) make up the first factor, that can be said to tap respondents' pro-change behaviours. Critical behaviours displaying personal dissatisfaction with the change (BEH8 and BEH9) and behaviours aimed at supporting other peoples' actions in disagreement with the change (BEH10, BEH11, BEH12), on the other hand, go to make up second factor that can be said to tap respondents' anti-change behaviours.

From a conceptual point of view, this means that pro-change and anti-change behaviours are not perceived or considered to be two sides of the same construct, but rather are two distinct concepts. Although the factor analysis has indicated that they are two separate constructs, it may be assumed that they are not completely independent of each other and that the relationship between them is not random. As might be expected, in fact, the correlation between the pro and anti-change scales is significant and negative ($r = -.19$, $p < .05$) suggesting that a high frequency of pro-change behaviours tends to be associated with a low frequency of anti-change responses, and vice versa. In addition, when examined together, the distribution of responses on the pro and anti-change dimensions yields four distinctive behavioural patterns as presented in Figure 3. The mid-point on both the pro-change and anti-change scales was used as the cut-off point for the construction of the following matrix.

Pro-Change and Anti-Change Behaviours Matrix

| | **Anti-change Behaviours** | |
| | Low | High |
|---|---|---|
| **High** | **1**<br><br>**Supporters**<br>**of the Change** | **4**<br><br>**Confused about**<br>**the Change** |
| **Low** | **2**<br><br>**Indifferent/Passive**<br>**Resistors to**<br>**the Change** | **3**<br><br>**Active**<br>**Resistors**<br>**to the Change** |

**Pro-change Behaviours**

Figure 3

1. The first cell covers individuals that report frequently engaging in pro-change behaviours but seldom or never in anti-change behaviours. In other words, they support the change and make many efforts to facilitate it, either by promoting the change with other people or dedicating themselves personally to the change, or both. They are the **supporters of the change.**

2. The second cell includes individuals that report a low frequency of both pro-change and anti-change behaviours. They do not facilitate the change by engaging in supportive behaviours, but, at the same time, they do not behave in a way that reveals disagreement with the change. They are the **indifferent/passive resistors to the change.**

3. The third cell relates to individuals that report seldom or never engaging in pro-change behaviours but frequently engaging in anti-change behaviours. They do not endorse the change and either personally engage in anti-change behaviours or support someone else's actions against the change. They are the **active resistors of the change**.

4. The fourth cell includes individuals that report a high frequency of both pro-change and anti-change behaviours. It is assumed that these pro and anti- change behaviours are spread out over-time since nobody can simultaneously engage in potentially contradictory behaviours of this kind. However, this category is taken to include individuals who are **confused about the change**.

With the exclusion of the individuals who are confused about the change (fourth cell), the first, second and third cells identify three very distinct behavioural response patterns to change. Resistors and supporters of the change represent behavioural prototypes that are present in any 'story' of organisational change. In particular, those termed **active resistors** engage in various manifestations of overt resistance to organisational change, which in ENEL are based on persistent grievance and strong criticism of management. Individuals who are **indifferent/passive resistors to the change** embody forms of passive resistance which in ENEL are characterised by indifference, apathy and the personal choice of non-involvement in the change process.

## 14. The Type of Behavioural Responses

As expected, the group of respondents that report a high frequency of both pro and the anti-change behaviours (i.e. those that are confused about the change) is not relevant in size (see Table 5). It is assumed that this group comprises those that did not pay very much attention or did not feel very committed to the completion of the questionnaire.
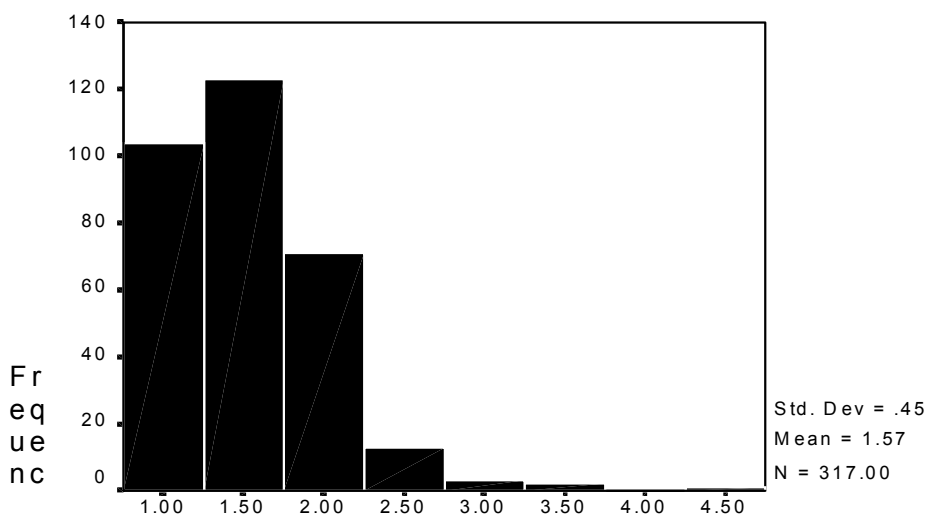
The Distribution of Behavioural Responses to the Change

| CATEGORY OF RESPONSES | TYPE OF BEHAVIOUR | % | NUMBER |
|---|---|---|---|
| Supporters of the change | High frequency of pro-change behaviours<br>Low frequency of anti-change behaviours | 68 | 215 |
| Indifferent/passive resistors | Low frequency of pro-change behaviours<br>Low frequency of anti-change behaviours | 30.8 | 97 |
| Active resistors | Low frequency of pro-change behaviours<br>High frequency of anti-change behaviours | 0.6 | 2 |
| Confused about the change | High frequency of pro-change behaviours<br>High frequency of anti-change behaviours | 0.6 | 2 |

Table 5

As expected, the largest group is made up of respondents who support the change. Just over two thirds (68%) of the sample, in fact, fall into this category. In contrast, the indifferent or passive resistors group comprises just under one third (30.8%) of the sample, while less than one percent (0.6%) of the sample fall into the category of active resistors. In other words, although the sample is quite strongly skewed towards those who claim to support the change in term of their day-to-day behaviour in the organisation, a significant minority of respondents report a less positive response to the change. The latter group, however, consists almost completely of indifferent or passive, rather than active resistors. Only a handful of individuals, in fact, report active resistance to change. This distribution is not, perhaps, all that surprising given the characteristics of the organisation and the nature of the sample (i.e. middle managers) involved. Nevertheless, these results suggest that the anti-change scale has low discriminatory power and that on its own, therefore, its usefulness as a measure of RTC may be limited. This is confirmed if we look at the pattern of responses for the pro-change and anti-change scales separately and in slightly greater detail. Figure 4 shows the distribution of responses on the scale for anti-change behaviours. This confirms the low discriminatory power of this measure with the vast majority of responses clustering at the low end of the scale. This is also reflected in the low value of the mean (1.57) for this scale, as well as in the low standard deviation (.45) associated with this measure of RTC.

Histogram of Anti-change Behaviours



With reference to pro-change behaviours, the distribution of responses more closely approximates a normal distribution (Figure 5). The value of the mean (3.49) denotes a slight tendency for respondents to report a relatively high frequency of engagement in pro-change behaviours, but the value of the standard deviation (.78) indicates a reasonable variation in responses on the pro-change behaviours scale.
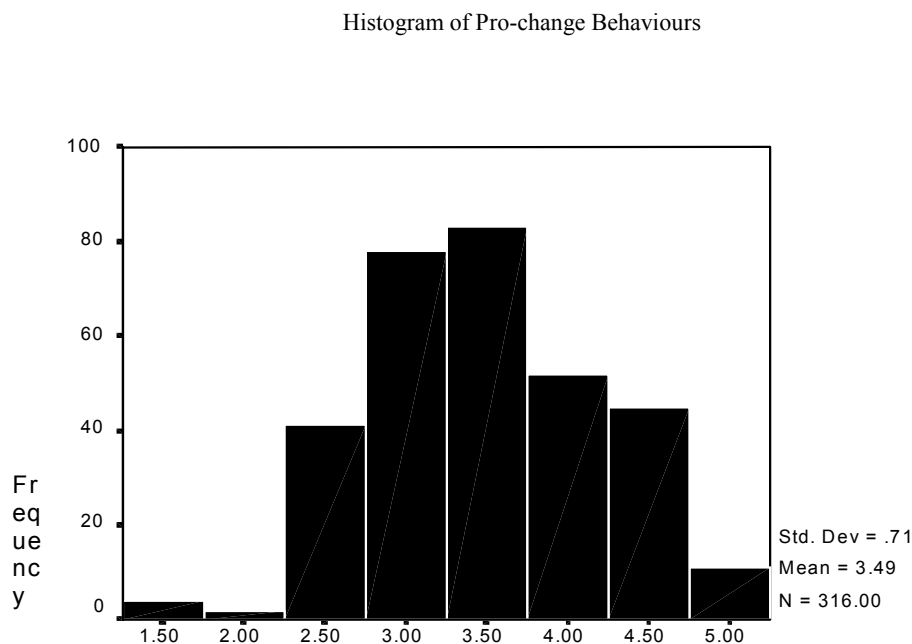
Histogram of Pro-change Behaviours



Figure 5

# 15. Indifferent/passive Resistors or Timid Resistors?

*There is no doubt that the existence of only a marginal group of active resistors represents a key discussion point for the present research. I already mentioned the problems and the difficulties in studying resistance to change. Some of these problems and difficulties are all more evident when the analysis of RTC is based, as in the present case, on self-report questionnaire surveys. Particularly important in this respect are possible problems of acquiescence and social desirability associated with the use of a self-report questionnaire methodology. Acquiescence is "the tendency for a respondent to agree with items, regardless of content", while social desirability is "the tendency for a respondent to choose the socially desirable response, regardless of the veracity of the response" (Spector, 1987, p.438).*

Both acquiescence and social desirability are issues of which I was aware at the time of the construction of the questionnaire. The choice of RTC items, the negative or positive wording of the questions, the number of options provided and their order, are all factors that I considered in order to minimise the risk of acquiescent or socially desirable responses. An acquiescent response is mainly due to the way the question is phrased, while a socially desirable response can also depend on the phrasing of the question, but it is the content of the question that can 'suggest' in some way the answer to the respondents. A survey investigating domestic violence has greater probability of eliciting socially desirable responses than a survey investigating football preferences, regardless of the way in which the questions are asked.

Indeed, in general terms, RTC, due to its characteristics, is a concept that may be subject to this kind of bias. Looking at the distribution of the responses, it is possible that some individuals have been influenced by the content of the items, so that they gave socially desirable answers.

Social desirability is an unavoidable threat to any research on resistance to change and, in the present case, may well be an important factor helping to explain the very small number of active resistors to be found in the ENEL sample. The rarity of active resistors, however, may not necessarily be just a function of social desirability and response bias effects. Other more substantive factors may also be at work including, for example, the nature of the organisational climate within ENEL, the type of change involved, the nature of social interrelations within the organisation, and the profile of the sample of middle managers. Because of all these factors resistance within ENEL may well manifest itself prevalently through passive/indifferent forms of behaviours rather than through more overt negative actions. In other words, the virtual absence of active resistors within the ENEL sample may not simply be a methodological artifact. It can not and should not simply be ascribed to social desirability bias in individuals' responses to the RTC questionnaire items. This is not to suggest that the measurement of more open and extreme resistant behaviours is simple or unproblematic. As we have seen, in fact, the anti-change behaviour scale has a highly restricted response range. This seriously limits its usefulness for the analysis of RTC. However, on the assumption that this restricted range is not purely a function of social desirability bias, the anti-change scale still provides useful information which can contribute to an understanding of individual managers' responses to change within the organisation. This is true, in particular, if the information captured in this scale is combined with that obtained from the pro-change behaviour scale, as is explained below.

## 16. The Choice of the Scale

Since the distribution of responses on the anti-change behaviour scale is characterised by a convergence of opinions, this scale, on its own, is not able to provide a significant assessment and measure of different reactions to change. However, the pro-change scale exhibits a more balanced distribution of responses, and therefore its discriminating and measuring capacity is superior. In light of this, it might be tempting to ignore the anti-change behaviour scale altogether and consider the pro-change behaviour scale only. However, this would mean ignoring any manifestation of active resistance to change in the study. Thus, although the anti-change scale has a compressed distribution, individuals do show differences in their responses; and these differences, albeit small, should be taken into account when looking at RTC. Even if the measuring capacity of the anti-change behaviours scale is limited, therefore, maintaining it as a component of the dependent variable provides additional information that can contribute to a broader understanding of RTC.

In order to take into account both pro-change and anti-change behaviours, I constructed a new composite behavioural scale of RTC (CHABEH1). This was constructed by taking the difference between the value on the pro-change behaviours and the value on the anti-change behaviours and then inverting the

sign on the resulting RTC scale which can potentially range from -4 to 4. In this way high scores on the new combined scale of RTC correspond to higher levels of resistance.

As shown in Table 6, the pro-change and anti-change behaviours scales are naturally highly correlated to the new composite RTC scale. The pro-change behaviours scale remains the principal measurement tool for RTC in the present study, but the anti-change behaviour scale and the new composite RTC scale will also be utilised as part of the research.

Correlation Among PCB scale, ACB scale and New Composite RTC Scale [10]

|       | PCB  | ACB  | RTC  |
|-------|------|------|------|
| PCB   | ---  | ---  | ---  |
| ACB   | .19  | ---  | ---  |
| RTC   | -.87 | .65  | ---  |

Table 6

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# Notes

[1] First inside the organisation and then outside the organisation.

[2] Characteristics number 1,2 and 3 are identified by Van Dyne, Cummings and McLean Parks (1995) for WB and POD only.

[3] This is also true for Pro-Social Behaviour.

[4] Quarrel hostility can be assimilated into a form of open protest.

[5] Slowdown strikes are forms of blocking actions.

[6] Sometimes RTC behaviours challenge a change process that carries unethical or immoral practices, which are definitely legal.

[7] This scheme is adapted from an overview of the literature and practical study (Bauer, 1991 and 1993; Judson, 1991; Caruth, Middlebrook and Rachel, 1995; King and Anderson, 1995.)

[8] Where option 1 corresponds to 'never', option 2 to 'sometimes', option 3 to 'often', option 4 to 'most of the time' and option 5 to 'always'.

[9] Extraction: principal component analysis; rotation method: Varimax with Kaiser normalization; rotation converged in 3 iterations.

[10] Pearson correlation. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).