PROCEDURAL JUSTICE AND ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE IN A MUNICIPAL ORGANIZATION

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ABSTRACT

Management consultants should clarify their norms and values insofar as they play a role in planning change processes. This principle is illustrated by an abridged description of the project "job satisfaction in a municipal sanitary service organization." A net-utility theory of job satisfaction was tested among 102 workers. The theory stood its test very well. Based on this theory and on democratic, empowering values of the consultants, a change process was planned and implemented. Several aspects of the timetable of that change process are discussed: initiators, client situation, organizational culture, type of organization, functions of temporary structures, anchorages for change, choice of change strategy, diagnosis and the role of hard signals, action plans, implementation, and evaluation. The project was evaluated positively. Attention is paid to the causes of satisfaction with participation in decision making. It is concluded that many organizational change projects can be interpreted according to the language of procedural justice theory.

PRINCIPLES OF ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

Many change agents have a favorite kit of change techniques. One-sidedness is sometimes apparent. Instead of paying attention to the organizations' problem(s) and selecting the appropriate technique, they apply their pet technique without

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asking whether this is the best way to solve the problem(s). We have little sympathy with change agents of this kind because their intervention is often harmful to the organization. But what, then, is the right procedure? Our view is set forth below.

An organization has problems. A change agent is consulted. First of all, a careful diagnosis of the problems is necessary, otherwise the change process will probably fail. It is our opinion that the diagnosis and the actions of change agents should be based on explicitly stated theory. In this way, one supports the growth of knowledge in the social sciences. Furthermore, sound theories have proved to be very useful and practical in guiding planning. People remain people, though, and this applies to change agents as well. They are guided not only by their (theoretical) insights but also by their personal norms and values, and this means a second principle is necessary: Insofar as the planning of organizational change is not based on theoretical foundations but on personal norms and values, these norms and values should be made explicit, because they determine the choice of change strategy. Unfortunately, this is rarely the case in practice. Many activities of change agents seem whimsical at first sight when in fact, they are based on a personal value system that has not been explicitly stated.

In this paper we illustrate our principles of organizational change using our project: "job satisfaction in a municipal sanitary service organization." In planning and implementing this project, our personal norms, values, and preferred change strategies were important:

- people should be held as responsible as possible for themselves and their fate; but
- to be able to bear responsibility, they must have an opportunity to influence the course of events. Therefore, increasing organizational democracy is an important strategy.

Our two principles of organizational change imply that in complex change projects it is a wise policy to hire experts, to make use of their sophisticated knowledge. But at the same time, conditions should be created that facilitate the participation of (representatives of) stakeholders in the organization. One should involve both workers and management in planning the activities from the start.

THE QUESTIONS

The town council of a large Dutch town asked for our help in improving the job satisfaction of workers in the municipal sanitary service. The following questions were to be answered:

1. How do the workers experience their work (e.g., are they satisfied or dissatisfied?).

- 2. What causal factors influence perceptions of the job; with special reference to the factors affecting job satisfaction?
- 3. Being aware of these causal factors what can be done to influence these factors, and how should this be done?

Note that the second question is a purely explanatory question, as distinct from the first, which merely requires a description. Answers to the second question, together with personal norms and values, provide guidance in trying to answer the third question, the "policy" question.

PRINCIPLES OF ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE IN PRACTICE

Our ideas about giving responsibility to members of organizations had, of course, implications for planning and implementing the change project in the municipal sanitary service. First, though formally our contract had to be concluded with the town council and the mayor—since they were the legal contracting party—we made it very clear that we wanted to do our job only if both top management and works' council of the service organization approved of the change project. This implied that these two stakeholders can be seen as informal contracting parties. Top management had already agreed with our principles of making people responsible, and, together with the director, we informed the works' council of our plans and ideas. The project should not be seen as something imposed by the town council: it had to be "owned" by the workers and the management of the organization.

The works' council also gave us permission to start the project. As one of the first steps, a steering committee was formed to think about all stages of the project and to develop policy immediately after receiving research results that answered the first two questions of the project. The director of the organization, two staff members of the municipality's personnel department, the three project researchers, two representatives of the work's council, and a representative of middle management were all members of this steering committee. Thus, workers' representatives were involved in strategic decisions.

Next, a "working party" was formed to work out the steering committee's brief and to pave the way for changes in the organization. Elected representatives of middle management and elected workers' representatives from all departments in the organization sat in this working party, together with researchers and members of staff departments. Thus, a voice for the workers was guaranteed. In other words, all members of the organization were made responsible for the course of events to follow, to a greater or lesser degree.

Both steering group and working party were only temporary structures that were to be dissolved at the end of the project. But all members of these structures agreed that one of the objectives of the project was that the organization should "learn"

how to recognize and solve problems—in particular problems in the quality of working life. Therefore, high priority was given to improving communication in the organization and to strengthening the so-called "werkoverleg". Werkoverleg is a Dutch system of regular and formalized consultation between a superior and his/her subordinates as a group. There was a rudimentary form of job consultation in the municipal service organization, but departments differed rather strongly in the quality of their job consultation meetings.

It should be noted that creating the temporary project structures and improving the werkoverleg imply more room for negotiations between representatives of all groups in the organization, both at the high hierarchical level and at lower levels. Moreover, workers and representatives of the works' council may profit from these learning opportunities to strengthen their skills, while management learns that many good ideas may be harvested in structures that guarantee a two-way flow of communication. But two questions have to be answered. First, does this method work? And secondly, are employees really satisfied with such participative structures and, if so, why? To gain a clear understanding of the problems involved, it seems best to start with a description of the general timetable of organizational change processes.

THE TIMETABLE OF ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

Change projects are very complicated, but in each process there is a "when" question, i.e., "when must something happen?" It is very difficult to answer this question, partly because of the lack of change theories, and partly because of disturbing, unplanned events that make ad hoc adaptations inevitable. However, in discussing the problem with many change consultants in several workshops, we finally agreed that the following timetable (see Figure 1) is a fairly good description of how a certain kind of organizational development—improving the quality of working life—should preferably be planned.

Concise comments on this table are given, sometimes with some references to the sanitary service project by way of illustration. Unfortunately, want of space forces us to confine ourselves to only a few topics and illustrations. The project as a whole took about twenty months to get completed; twenty months during which many things happened, so every description implies a strict selection.

It should be noted that a linear timetable is, in fact, a simplification of the reality of change projects. Phases of real-life projects almost always overlap each other. Moreover, after the entrance phase, often a cyclical process follows, in which stages are followed through several times: after the diagnosis an action plan is made and implemented, but the evaluations function as new diagnoses, leading to adapted or even completely renewed action plans. This cyclical approach resembles the well-known Plan-Do-Check-Act (PDCA) cycle, developed by the famous quality guru Dr. Deming [1]. However, the time axis is valuable, since it

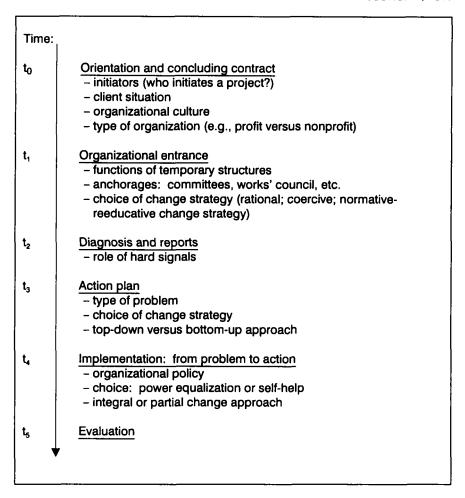


Figure 1. The timetable of organizational change projects.

illustrates clearly that in certain phases of change processes, particular points and phenomena need extra attention.

Initiators

Who initiates a project? management? A (meeting of the) shareholders/ stockholders? (Local) government? The union? A coalition of groups and persons? Internal or external coalition? This is an important point, since initiators may differ widely in their motives and expectations, and they will try to influence the perceptions and opinions of the change agent.

Client Situation

Expectations of clients and professional change agents should be compared. Note the notorious difficulty in changing organizations: There are several parties in an organization (and often enough, there are even external parties involved). Their wishes and expectations may conflict. In our project this turned out to be the case with middle management versus the workers. At one point middle management displayed a very strong resistance to change. We succeeded in weakening the resistance of these managers by making it clear to them that their rewards could be influenced by the results of the project (a smoother-working organization, motivated personnel, et cetera). Support of top management was indispensable at this point. The support was given, and the resistance was reduced. So, professional change agents must have some expertise in reconciling the wishes of opposing parties.

Organizational Culture

Values, norms, attitudes, and historically developed habitual and ritual behaviors play an important part. Several instruments for diagnosing organizational culture have been developed [2, 3]. In the project, however, none of these instruments were used. Interviews with representatives of all parties involved indicated a widely shared consensus that "red tape" was a problem and that the process from decision to action generally was extremely time-consuming.

Type of Organization

Of course, the characteristics of organizations heavily influence the change processes. For example, striving for higher profits is of utmost importance in profit-making organizations, and change processes will be strongly colored by this aspect. In governmental organizations, schools, and hospitals, things are different (even though efficiency is highly valued in those organizations, too).

Functions of Temporary Structures¹

What is the role to be played by temporary structures such as a steering group and special committees?

¹The elements temporary structures, anchorages for change, and choice of strategy and roles were placed in the phase of organizational entrance. In many change projects, including the one presented in this paper, this is indeed the stage in which these elements already play an important role. However, one may defend the statement that the most logical place of these elements lies further down on the time-axis, namely after the diagnosis of the problems has been made.

Anchorages for Change¹

This has to do with the point mentioned above. Temporary structures may be very important, but they should not be created automatically. Briefly, they should be formed only when the organization at a certain point needs to focus lots of attention and energy on the change project. Often this is hard to reach without disrupting the normal workflow, and in such cases temporary structures may be instituted. This should be done in harmony with the more permanent structures (works' council, management team, job consultation groups) and it should be made very clear which responsibilities belong to which structure.

Choice of Change Strategy

In this stage of the project (but not always here, and certainly not only here) the change agent has to make important choices:

- Which strategy should be used: the rational, normative-reeducative, or "power" strategy? [4]
- Partly overlapping with the strategy choice is the adoption of a role: process consultant (fitting with the normative-reeducative approach); expert (rational approach); politician (power strategy, but also necessary to succeed in using other strategies without getting into trouble).

Our project was characterized by a mixed strategy: both rational and normativereeducative strategies of consultancy were used rather frequently. Gradually, the rational approach was reduced, to serve our goal to make people in organizations as responsible as possible for the changes. So, process consultancy gradually gained more weight.

Diagnosis and the Role of Hard Signals

The diagnosis of problems and how to solve them can best be done by using theories that have proved their value. In the present change project we made use of a slightly adapted utility theory to explain satisfaction and motivation of workers, based on the following rationale.

Behavior is a function of the person and of the environment. The same is true for experience and perception. The environment in our case—the job and the circumstances—involved has more or less rewarding properties. Environmental properties may also be a burden on persons, but they are more stressful to some than to others. The net utility of a job can be defined as the difference between the sum of perceived rewards and the sum of perceived burdens (perceived stressors) a job offers to a worker. Of course, the same job can have a higher net utility for one worker than for another worker. We then went on to make an important assumption: the more positive the net utility of a job, the higher the job satisfaction will be. Our theoretical position is summarized in Figure 2.

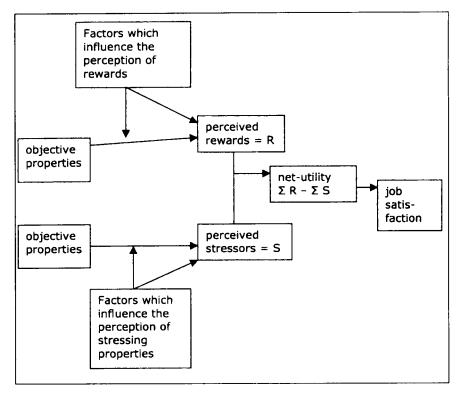


Figure 2. The model of job satisfaction.

The model can be considered as an integration of the "Michigan stress model" [5], the Vroom model [6], and the Hackman & Oldham model of job characteristics [7]. This model served as a guide in trying to find the causes of job (dis)satisfaction in the sanitary service organization. To complete the boxes (properties, factors that influence perceptions, perceived rewards, and perceived stressors), literature about job satisfaction and about the quality of working life was studied, and several persons (employees, managers, staff members from the personnel department, occupational health expert) were interviewed. We then constructed a questionnaire. Among the topics covered in this questionnaire were: general job satisfaction; safety; health; general well-being; job content; context variables; role ambiguity; quality of human relations (both relations with colleagues and with supervisors); equitable payment; participation in decision making; job demands; demographic data; and work ethic.

Both the steering group and the working party could suggest topics to be included in the questionnaire. After a try-out it was decided that questionnaires should be filled out during a personal, individual interview with the workers. Since

this was rather time-consuming, and considering that the time pressure of the project was already rather high, it seemed only natural to approach a sample of the employees. Some 115 employees (i.e., about 50 percent of all employees) were asked to participate, and the response rate was high: questionnaires were answered by 104 workers.

Results provided answers to the question of how workers experience their work. It was concluded that quality of working life (QWL) was rather low. For several aspects QWL in this organization turned out to be lower than QWL in other organizations. Survey feedback was used not only as a check on the questionnaire results, but also as an impetus for creating change. What were the answers to the question asking which causal factors affect job satisfaction? The theoretical model stood its test very well. Several hypotheses about (dis)satisfying intrinsic and extrinsic job factors and about the effects of personal factors were confirmed. Results were used in formulating tentative answers to the third question: What can be done to influence factors affecting job satisfaction, and how can this be done best? Of course, personal norms and values also played a major role in answering this question.

The results of interviews and questionnaires were published in two reports, and the survey feedback method was used to inform all workers and supervisors about the results and to get a better picture of the situation. However, an interesting problem arose—one that frequently can be seen in organizational change projects. Our reports functioned as hard signals that something was wrong—and more so than several people had thought. Some members of middle management denied the existence of the problems. However, distribution of the survey feedback of the results to all members of the organization made it very clear that the results were acknowledged to be correct by (almost) all employees. The steering committee took the results seriously, and an action plan was developed.

Action Plan

It is, of course, a lucid thought that the type of problem influences the type of solution to a problem. For example, bad leadership can't be solved by buying new office furniture. Changes in the assessment and training of managers are better methods! However, often several options are available, and each option has its pros and cons. In such situations discussions and negotiations between representatives of stakeholders flourish well, and change agents should offer process consultancy (and, sometimes, they should teach methods to negotiate and chair meetings to optimize results). Again, in planning actions, choice of change strategy is important. Special attention should be paid to the problem of using a top-down or a bottom-up approach. Top-down approaches seem to work faster, but in reality, this may be an illusory speed: changes are not really accepted by important parties. Bottom-up approaches often seem to use up more time, but have the advantage of changes that take root because they are supported by large groups

in the organization. We hold the opinion that it is possible to *combine* the top-down and the bottom-up approach, but doing so requires a good social intelligence. Unfortunately, we cannot elaborate on this subject.

With regard to the change project in the municipal sanitary service organization, we may characterize the action plan as ambitious, but offering plenty of opportunities for the organization to develop capacities for change. The action plan consisted of many minor changes and few larger-scaled subprojects. Several steps could be taken by the organization itself, on which no further comment will be made here.

There were also activities for which our help was indispensable. We provided this help, but took care to enounce that gradually the organization would be able to do without our assistance. To speed up this process, we enlisted staff members of the municipality to serve in a task force.

Tasks to be done:

- improve human relations between workers;
- improve middle management's concern for people;
- improve werkoverleg (a system of regular and formalized consultation between a superior and his subordinates as a group);
- · develop job enrichment policies;
- improve communication (information and communication channels were blocked or did not exist); and
- start a project to decrease sickness absenteeism.

Implementation

Action plans should fit neatly in the general organizational policy. There should be harmony between the financial, economic, technical, strategic planning, and human resources policies. One should never forget that organizations always and everywhere simultaneously are both systems of (clusters of) variables that are closely connected and conglomerates of parties: groups and coalitions with partly identical but also opposing interests. Changing isolated variables almost inevitably results in counterforces by the system. A careful analysis of pro and con forces of the organizational structure, culture, technology, et cetera is the basis for planning changes that demonstrate a good sense of reality. And, of course, one should try to find broadly based social support for change plans.

The democratic change approach in which (representatives of) all groups in the organization share responsibilities for planning and implementing changes is currently the best method available to turn such wishes for support into reality. As for the choice between power equalization and/or stimulating self-help: In terms of our norms and values, both should be done. Empowering people creates win-win situations, which in the final analysis results in stronger, more flexible, and more efficient organizations. In the present change project, our principles of

empowerment and stimulating self-help could be recognized in several aspects and (sub)projects:

- The composition of steering group and working party.
- The tasks and responsibilities of steering group, working party, and temporary project groups and task forces for most of the subprojects. In all cases, representatives of middle managers and employees participated in solving problems and implementing suggested solutions. This process did not always run smoothly, but it seemed to work. It resulted, for example, in a new communication structure with more systematic exchange of information, and more insight into who should do what, how, and when.
- Intergroup conflicts (conflicts between departments) were put on the agenda by workers in the job-consultation groups involved. The problems were solved by discussing the causes and by trying to work out reasonable ways to reduce intergroup problems.
- Comments on research reports were integrated into the final text of these reports (for example: Appendix I = comments by middle management).
- Implications for Quality of Working Life of the Dutch Work Environment Act revisions were discussed in two large-scale (search) conferences by many representatives of all groups and departments of the organization. The management team immediately reacted to proposals developed during these large-scale conferences. Sometimes this resulted in accepting proposals, sometimes in rejecting proposals, but with a clear account of why a proposal was rejected.
- Counseling and training of persons and groups to strengthen the social and technical skills needed to handle complex tasks and changes.
- Continuously involving the works' council and trying to commit its members to paying lasting attention to QWL.

The phase of implementation is also characterized by a difficult choice between the integral or the partial-change approach:

- Should a piecemeal approach be adopted or should one start changes all over the organization?
- Is it necessary to focus on one central aspect or element or should one attack many problems simultaneously?

In general, it can be said that organizations are systems, so changes should always be interpreted with the contextual variables in mind. Though this suggests a preference for the integral-change approach, it is of course also true that time, monetary budget, and change capacity will limit the possibilities. So, priorities should be established, and this can be done best in structures giving voice to all parties involved. Of course, this may result in vivid negotiations.

Evaluation

Both outcomes and change process should be evaluated. After about one year of action research, the job satisfaction project was evaluated by several methods: observations, expert judgments, changes in objective measures of quality of working life, and—again—a survey study. Several aspects of QWL showed significant improvements (for example, content of job; relations with colleagues; relations with supervisors; participative leadership style; quality of "werkoverleg").

These results—obtained after only one year of action research—are promising. So, the first question we asked—does it work?—definitely can be answered affirmatively: the democratic change method works. How about the second question? Are employees satisfied with participative structures?

SATISFACTION WITH PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING

Why are members satisfied with participation in decision making? Our utility model suggests the answer. Satisfaction with participative structures is a function of the (difference between the sum of) perceived rewards and the (sum of) perceived burdens the structure offers to a worker. An important section of the questionnaire used for diagnosing QWL focused on the perceived outcomes of two participative structures: the job consultation groups and the works' council. Respondents had to indicate with "yes" or "no" whether outcomes could be attributed to the werkoverleg (i.e., job consultation, a form of direct participation). The same method was used to measure perceived positive and negative outcomes of the works' council. Of course, the works' council is a structure that allows only indirect participation, since decision makers of the works' council are elected representatives. Tables 1 and 2 summarize the items used to measure the perceived outcomes of job consultation groups and the works' council, respectively.

Table 1 summarizes the relations between perceived outcomes and the attitude toward job consultation, while Table 2 summarizes the relations between perceived outcomes of the works' council and the attitude toward the works' council. Attitudes were measured with a seven-point scale from "very dissatisfied" to "very satisfied."

The pattern of results is the same for both tables: positive outcomes covary with positive attitudes, while negative outcomes seem to covary with more negative attitudes. Correlations of negative outcomes appear to be somewhat less strong. Outcomes are presented here separately to give an impression of their relative contribution to attitudes. Combining the outcomes in a net-utility scale according to our formula for net utility leads to even more impressive results: the net utility of werkoverleg correlates r = .64 (p < .000) with the attitude toward job consultation, while the net utility of the works' council correlates r = .43 (p < .001) with

Table 1. Perceived Outcomes of Job Consultation Groups: Correlations with Attitude toward Job Consultation

Paragized Outcomes of Joh Consultation Course	Pearson Correlation with Attitude toward
Perceived Outcomes of Job Consultation Groups	Job Consultation
Positive Outcomes:	
One knows better what is going on in the	
organization	.39***
More influence on usual course of events	.52***
Interests of employees are better served	.58***
Better decisions	.48***
(Top) management has better knowledge of	
problems that should be solved.	.13 N.S.
Improved social climate	.45***
On better terms with supervisor	.36***
Better use of human resources and experiences	
of employees	.45***
People can improve their quality of working life	.44***
Negative Outcomes:	
Job consultation causes tensions/stress	2 5 **
Loss of Time	31 * **
You can get problems with your supervisor	11 N.S.
Job consultation is stressful and fatiguing	11 N.S.
One does not get around to doing other more important things	2 7 **
Workers are not allowed to influence things that really matter	31***

^{*}p < .05

the attitude toward works' council. Both net utilities also correlate with job satisfaction of the workers: the Pearson correlation between the net utility of job consultation and general job satisfaction is r = .25 (p < .02); the Pearson correlation between net utility of works' council and general job satisfaction is r = .19 (p < .10). General job satisfaction was measured with the scale developed by Brayfield and Rothe [8].

Job consultation and works' council are different forms of participation. Works' councils are structures with indirect participation: elected representatives of workers participate in decision making. Discretionary powers of works' councils are regulated by law. This gives (Dutch) works' councils formal power to have a say in many domains of organizational decision making. Decision making in job

^{**}p < .01

p < .001

Table 2. Perceived Outcomes of Works' Council: Correlations with Attitude toward Works' Council

	Pearson Correlation with Attitude toward
Perceived Outcomes of Works' Council	Works' Council
Positive Outcomes:	
One knows better what is going on in the	
organization	.53***
More influence on usual course of events	.47***
Interests of employees are better served	.39***
Better decisions	.50***
(Top) management has better knowledge of	
problems that should be solved.	.22 *.
Improved social climate	.51***
Better relation between top management	
and employees	.42***
Negative Outcomes:	
Works' council causes stress/tensions	28*
Colleagues think members of works' council	
are "odd fishes"	09 N.S.
Members of works' council can get problems	
with their supervisor	.06 N.S.
Works' council activities stressful and fatiguing	−.19 p< .10
By participating in the works' council one does not	·
get around to doing other, more important things	−.11 N.S.
Members of works' council are not allowed to	
influence things that really matter	.13 N.S.

^{*} p < .05

consultation groups is more informal, and the decisions apply to more down-to-earth and routine problems. Job-consultation groups are characterized by direct participation, in which all workers participate. So, the mean distance between workers and decisions is smaller in job-consultation groups. Small wonder, then, that many workers had some difficulty in answering the questions about the outcomes of the works' council. Nearly all the workers answered all questions about job consultation, but only 51 percent of all respondents were able to answer all questions about the works' council. One cannot help thinking about Robert Michels' "iron law of oligarchy" [9]. Michels argued that in any organization, even the most democratic, there is a tendency for top-level officials to take over and to exclude the influence of lower-level members. This may lead to feelings of

^{**}p < .01

^{***}p < .001

alienation and loss of commitment among the less-powerful people. So, works' councils have the advantage of having formal power, but there is a risk that electors get estranged from their elected representatives. Therefore, it seems best to combine the advantages of works' council and job consultation groups. In essence, this is what we are doing in our change projects, including the project in the sanitary service organization.

How about the satisfaction and motivation of the workers participating in steering groups and working parties? Personal, in-depth interviews indicated they were satisfied with the influence granted to them in these groups. The number of elected workers' representatives was too small to justify inductive statistical tests. We have done such tests in another change project, though, and in that project it was found that net utility of working parties correlated positively with both attitude toward working party and willingness to participate in such working parties. So, again our net-utility model stood its test well. But let's take a closer look at the outcomes summarized in Tables 1 and 2. Most outcomes can be clustered into two categories:

- 1. outcomes that may be characterized as direct rewards or direct costs of participating (e.g., improved social climate; tensions, stress and fatigue);
- 2. outcomes that are related to the opportunity to exercise control (e.g., influence the course of events; opportunity to improve QWL; no influence on things that really matter).

This second category contains outcomes that contribute to feelings of procedural justice.

PROCEDURAL JUSTICE OF ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE PROJECTS

Theories of procedural justice focus on the methods, the procedures by which outcomes are distributed. Perceptions of fair procedures may be influenced by several aspects: clarity, absence of bias, apprehensiveness (understandable rules), fact-based decision making, correctability, et cetera [10]. Most authors seem to recognize that the control of procedures is of central importance in procedural justice. People want to have a say in the procedures [11-14]; this guarantees concern for their needs and consideration of their views. At the same time, having a voice symbolizes that one is seen as a valuable, worthy person, belonging to the group or organization, and having respectable standing. So, procedural justice may have beneficial effects on the satisfaction and motivation of workers. Here we have a remarkable resemblance to the general model of humanization of work, which stresses the participation of workers in improving the quality of working life [15]. About half a century ago, Coch and French demonstrated the positive effects of participation in gaining acceptance for organizational changes [16]. Since then, participation has been a topic of interest for many organizational scientists. As for

ourselves, we have been involved in many action research projects to improve QWL. In these projects, several dimensions of QWL were improved. In all projects, workers participated in planning and implementing the improvements. All projects demonstrated the usefulness of the participative change strategy. In conclusion, it should be noted that many organizational change projects may be reinterpreted within the framework of theories of justice (see also the special issue of the Journal of Organizational Change Management [17]). Using such theories offers a methodology to select data in a meaningful way and to accumulate a body of knowledge by systematically testing hypotheses.

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