CRANFIELD UNIVERSITY

Chris Taylor

Constructive Deviance in the Defence Context

School of Management
Executive Doctorate of Business Administration

DBA
Academic Year: 2015 - 2022

Supervisor: Professor Emma Parry
Associate Supervisor: Prof David Denyer
May 2022

CRANFIELD UNIVERSITY

School of Management
Executive Doctorate of Business Administration

DBA

Academic Year 2015 - 2022

Chris Taylor

Constructive Deviance in the Defence Context

Supervisor: Professor Emma Parry
Associate Supervisor: Professor David Denyer
May 2022

© Cranfield University 2022. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced without the written permission of the copyright owner.

ABSTRACT

*"Do not conform to the pattern of this world, but be transformed by the renewing of your mind". (*Romans 12:2)

This study addresses the question: what motivates and influences constructively deviant behaviour in the UK Defence context? It answers this question by asking interviewees, in semi-structured interviews, to reflect on two occasions when they had the opportunity to constructively deviate. By comparing the enablers and barriers from an episode in which they destructively conformed with those from one in which they constructively deviated, the research focuses on the organisational and contextual factors that affect people's decisions to constructively deviate or destructively conform. The research suggests that individuals in the Defence context are motivated to constructively deviate to improve their immediate environment or increase operational effectiveness or efficiency. It finds that there are factors in the Defence context which influence constructive deviance that are common to those in less normative environments such as supportive leadership, felt empowerment and a sense of responsibility. It also finds that there are Defence-specific factors that influence constructive deviance such as the relative importance of leaders compared to peers, leader rhetoric, the performance appraisal system and Defence bureaucracy. The research adds to the body of knowledge through its exploration of enablers and barriers to constructive deviance and a deeper understanding of the UK Defence context.

Keywords:

Constructive deviance; destructive conformity; Defence; motivators; enablers; barriers.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It's taken me a long time to get here. As such, it's impossible to mention everyone who's had an impact on this research and on me whilst I've been doing it. So, I'll just try to mention some things I learned and appreciated on this journey.

Emma and David – you've taught how to research and do it (almost) independently. Thank you. Emma, you're probably almost as glad as I am that this is nearly over. Thank you for your reassurance, at Every. Single. Meeting.

My DBA cohort – you are all brighter, funnier and more successful than me in so many ways. Thank you for your company on this journey, even though I finish alone. My doctoral wife, Kim, especially – you got there before me and inspired me to drag my sorry self across the finishing line.

Ludovico Einaudi – I learned all by myself that all-nighters aren't as romantic as they first seem, no matter what soundtrack you play, but I thank you for keeping me company in the dark hours.

Our extended Ukrainian family – in a very short time, you've taught me what laughing in the face of adversity really looks like. And it makes a doctorate look easy.

Mum – I got there in the end. Thanks for nagging me to get on with it. I got this in on Dad's birthday. I hope he would have been proud. Happy birthday, Dad. Love you, both.

Charlie, Pippa, Josie – you are all amazing, in your own unique and special ways. You probably won't understand this yet, but you've taught me infinitely more about love than a million doctorates can teach anyone about anything. I'm sorry we've missed so much time together, but I'm back now. Love you, all, very much.

Rosy – I know the research didn't excite you enough for you to want to read it, but that's okay. What matters is the easy silence that you make for me, the peaceful quiet you create for me, and the way you keep the world at bay for me. Love you. Xxx

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS v
LIST OF FIGURES viii
LIST OF TABLES ix
1 INTRODUCTION 11
1.1 The practical problem 11
1.1.1 Sexual abuse 12
1.1.2 Poor patient care 13
1.1.3 Corporate and cultural poor behaviour 15
1.2 The structure of the thesis 16
2 LITERATURE REVIEW 19
2.1 Warren's typology of conformity and deviance 19
2.2 Norms 21
2.2.1 Hypernorms 24
2.2.2 Organisational norms 25
2.3 Social influence 26
2.3.1 Conformity 27
2.3.2 Bystander effect 29
2.3.3 Groupthink 31
2.4 Employee silence 34
2.5 Obedience 35
2.6 Constructive deviance defined 37
2.6.1 Recent literature and definitions 37
2.6.2 Approaches and definitions of constructive deviance 38
2.7 Antecedents of the choice between destructive conformity and constructive deviance 43
2.7.1 Organisational factors versus individual factors 43
2.7.2 Leadership 44
2.7.3 Accountability, autonomy and empowerment 48
2.7.4 Culture and climate 55
2.7.5 Perceived consequences 61
2.8 Previous contributions 64
3 DESTRUCTIVE CONFORMITY AND CONSTRUCTIVE DEVIANCE IN DEFENCE 69
3.1 Destructive conformity in Defence 69
3.2 The case for constructive deviance 71
3.2.1 Governmental and Defence leadership rhetoric 72
3.2.2 The Defence community view 73
3.2.3 Defence initiatives and actions to date 75

3.3 The Defence context 76
3.3.1 The military context 77
3.3.2 Culture 77
3.4 Relevance of Defence to the study of constructive deviance 93
4 METHODOLOGY 95
4.1 Research philosophy 95
4.2 Study design 97
4.2.1 Interview protocol 98
4.3 Sample selection 101
4.3.1 Pilot interviews 102
4.4 Data collection 102
4.4.1 Sample size and data saturation 103
4.5 Analysis 105
4.5.1 Peer-coding process 107
4.6 Ethical considerations 108
5 FINDINGS 109
5.1 Motivation for constructive deviance 109
5.1.1 Organisational effectiveness 110
5.1.2 Well-being of individuals or groups 111
5.1.3 Organisational efficiency 112
5.1.4 Reputational issues 112
5.1.5 Safety 113
5.1.6 Improving inclusivity 114
5.2 Barriers and enablers 114
5.2.1 Leadership 115
5.2.2 Accountability, autonomy and empowerment 122
5.2.3 Culture and climate 130
5.2.4 Perceived consequences 134
5.2.5 Fresh eyes 143
5.3 Conditions for constructive deviance 145
6 ANALYSIS 147
6.1 Patterns and connections between enablers and barriers 147
6.1.1 Enablers and potential barriers in the constructive deviance condition 147
6.1.2 Barriers and potential enablers and in the destructive conformity condition 151
6.2 Relationships between enablers and barriers 156
6.2.1 Explanation of tables 156
6.2.2 Relationships in the constructive deviance condition 159
6.2.3 Relationships in the destructive conformity condition 160
6.3 Relationships between differentiators 161
6.4 Patterns between motivators and enablers and barriers 162

7 DISCUSSION 165
7.1 Motivations for constructive deviance 165
7.2 Barriers and enablers 166
7.2.1 Leadership 166
7.2.2 Autonomy, accountability and empowerment 171
7.2.3 Culture and climate 176
7.2.4 Perceived consequences 178
7.2.5 Fresh eyes 183
8 CONCLUSIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS 185
8.1 Conclusions: motivations in the Defence context 185
8.2 Conclusions: influences in the Defence context 185
8.3 Contributions 188
8.4 Limitations and implications for future research 189
9 IMPACT STATEMENT 193
9.1 Beneficiaries 194
9.1.1 Policy makers 194
9.1.2 Trainers and educators 195
9.1.3 Individuals, groups and organisations 195
9.1.4 Leaders and managers 196
9.2 Engagement 197
9.3 Dissemination 199
9.3.1 How you have disseminated so far/will disseminate your findings 199
9.3.2 Teaching dissemination - academic 199
9.3.3 Teaching dissemination – Active Bystander workshops 201
9.3.4 Defence dissemination to date 204
9.3.5 Defence dissemination in future 205
9.3.6 Non-Defence Dissemination 207
9.4 Future exploitation 208
9.4.1 Performance appraisal 209
9.4.2 Constructive deviance workshop 210
9.5 Evaluation of impact 212
9.6 Next steps for Defence 212
REFERENCES 215
APPENDICES 251

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Graph showing data saturation of motivators reported by interviewees 104

Figure 2: Graph showing data saturation of enablers for and barriers to constructive deviance 105

Figure 3: Conditions for constructive deviance and destructive conformity 146

Figure 4: Enablers for constructive deviance in the constructive deviance condition 148

Figure 5: Potential barriers to constructive deviance in the constructive deviance condition 150

Figure 6: Potential perceived consequences barriers to constructive deviance in the constructive deviance condition 150

Figure 7: Barriers to constructive deviance in the destructive conformity condition – all second order codes..... 151

Figure 8: Barriers to constructive deviance in the destructive conformity condition – perceived consequences 152

Figure 9: Barriers to constructive deviance in the destructive conformity condition – most frequent first order codes 153

Figure 10: Potential enablers to constructive deviance in the destructive conformity condition – leadership, AAE and perceived consequences.... 155

Figure 11: Enablers and barriers that differentiated behaviour between conditions 161

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Typology of Deviance (Warren, 2003) 20

Table 2: Comparison of Definitions of Positive and Constructive Deviance 40

Table 3: Table showing sample selection criteria 101

Table 4: Table showing interviewees 101

Table 5: Motivators for constructive deviance as reported by interviewees 109

Table 6: First and second order codes of enablers and barriers 115

Table 7: First order codes aggregated to the second order code of leadership 116

Table 8: Enablers and barriers under the second order code of leadership ... 117

Table 9: First order codes aggregated to the second order code of accountability, autonomy and empowerment 123

Table 10: Enablers and barriers under the second order code of accountability, autonomy and empowerment 123

Table 11: First order codes aggregated to the second order code of culture and climate 130

Table 12: Enablers and barriers under the second order code of culture and climate 131

Table 13: First order codes aggregated to the second order code of perceived consequences 135

Table 14: Enablers and barriers under the second order code of perceived consequences 136

Table 15: Fresh eyes code 144

Table 16: Enablers and barriers under the fresh eyes code 144

Table 17: Enablers and potential barriers in the constructive deviance condition (frequency) 156

Table 18: Enablers and potential barriers in the constructive deviance condition (percentage) 157

Table 19: Barriers and potential enablers in the destructive conformity condition (frequency) 157

Table 20: Barriers and potential enablers in the destructive conformity condition (percentage) 158

Table 21: Relationships between motivators and enablers and barriers for the constructive deviance condition (%) 163

Table 22: Relationships between motivators and enablers and barriers for the destructive conformity condition (%) 164

Table 23: Engagement to date 197

Table 24: Teaching engagement 201

Table 25: Proposed OJAR descriptors 210

Table 26: Interview questions used to identify barriers and enablers to constructive deviance 264

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The practical problem

On 16 September 2003, the discovery was made of the lifeless body of Baha Mousa in Abu Ghraib Prison, near Baghdad, Iraq; he was a hotel receptionist, not a combatant, and the cause of his death was, amongst other things, a beating delivered by British soldiers whilst he was a detainee in their custody (Gage, 2011). In a speech to the House of Commons in response to the report about this event, the then Secretary of State for Defence, Dr Liam Fox, stated that there was "a lack of moral courage" to report prisoner abuse and a "perverted sense of loyalty that turns a blind eye to wrongdoing or erects a wall of silence to cover it up" (Fox, 2011). Gage further reported that evidence was lacking because of an "obvious closing of ranks" (Gage, 2011, p48) within the military. There are several questions that arise from this specific event. What situation allowed this type of behaviour to develop? Why did nobody intervene to stop it happening? Why did it take so long for anyone to speak up about the events that took place? Why was there a lack of moral courage to report and a closing of ranks about what happened?

That such abhorrent behaviour was allowed to happen, with the apparent knowledge of others within the organisation, is indicative of some level of normalisation of the behaviour, or at least a willingness by observers to allow it to happen without intervention and a concomitant reluctance to report. That raises the question: when onlookers were faced with this barbaric behaviour, what made them choose silence over speaking, inaction over action, acceptance over rejection?

These choices made in this example, of silence or inaction, are examples of destructive conformity. This is defined as behaviour which aligns with the organisational norms of a reference group but fails to meet some higher level or global standards, known as hypernorms (Warren, 2003). The converse of destructive conformity is constructive deviance. This concept will be unpacked in much greater detail later in this thesis, but constructive deviance is defined as "behaviour that deviates from salient norms, yet is positive in its intention or effect" (Mertens et al, 2016b, p1288). This thesis focuses on how the choices between destructive conformity and constructive deviance are made in the military context. However, as will be shown, this question doesn't apply only to the military context – destructively conformist behaviour has appeared in many forms in a variety of sectors. Some of examples of these will be presented below.

1.1.1 Sexual abuse

Decades-long sexual abuse scandals within several high-profile institutions have come to light in recent years, many of which have been covered up for significant periods. This normalisation of silence is demonstrated, perhaps most notably, in the case of the Catholic Church which has been rocked by multiple scandals including those at Ealing Abbey and St Benedict's School in the UK (Jay et al, 2019). The formal report indicates that even though abuse was happening for over three decades and that pupils, other members of staff and parents were to some extent aware of it, it was allowed to continue, due the "inaction of those who had the power to do something to stop it" (ibid, p3). Whilst there is no suggestion that abusive behaviour is normalised across the Catholic Church, the absence of people speaking out indicates that there was a normalised unwillingness to take action against even the cruellest of behaviours. In this case, the destructive conformity took the form of institutionalised silence. The constructively deviant action would have been to speak out about the abuse that was taking place.

Gray and Watt's (2013, p4) report into Jimmy Savile's abuse at the BBC reveals a "compelling picture of widespread sexual abuse by a predatory sex offender" in which at least 214 offences were identified over the course of six decades, mainly against children. One of the fundamental questions that the investigation and subsequent report sought to answer, was why the behaviour was not noticed or reported. The report notes that the small number of victims who did speak out had their accounts dismissed by those who should have been caring for them, such as parents and carers. It further notes a "reluctance to confront abusive behaviour", especially by those in "positions of authority or influence" (ibid, p23). Among the reasons for this failure to report is the star status that was afforded to Savile at that time. This is another example of destructive conformity in the form of normalised silence about abuse.

In a deeper look into BBC culture and practices, Smith (2016) states that whilst she could not conclude that the BBC was corporately aware of Savile's behaviour, there were many individuals that knew about it and should have reported it upwards, and yet failed to do so. The reasons why they failed to report included the BBC's macho culture which inculcated a fear of reprisals for those that complained (which remained at the time of writing) and the deep sense of loyalty to the organisation. In this case, loyalty to the organisation (usually a positive trait) led to the destructively conformist behaviour of non-reporting of abuse.

Similarly, a report (Geekie, 2019, p88) into sexual abuse of children at Chelsea Football Club during the 1960s and 70s indicates that adults as well as other children, knew with confidence something of the "planned and systematic abuse", but failed to take appropriate action. The report into Edward Heath's sexual abuse of young footballers indicates that there was an "under-reporting" (ibid, p205) of sexual abuse. It also highlights the particular risks that arise in sporting situations, because of the authority of the coach, which prevents any challenge to that behaviour by players or their parents. Also, loyalty to the coach and wider team is such that winning matches takes precedence over players' safety and reduces the likelihood of reporting. The power that Heath had in this situation is clear and allowed him to escape punishment as he died more than twenty years prior to the information coming to light.

Whilst it is too soon for an academic review, the now notorious case of Harvey Weinstein has received substantial press coverage (see the BBC, 2020[1] for example) of sexual abuse spanning four decades. Again, prevalent in this reporting is not just that the abuse and assaults were taking place and that the victims didn't report it, but that there were countless others that were aware of the abuse, who, instead of speaking up, conformed with the destructive norm of simply accepting that this behaviour should be tolerated.

Whilst the reasons for not speaking out by victims of sexual harassment, sexual assault and rape are recognised as being complex (Garret and Hassan, 2019), the events described above have something in common – they were known about by others; others who for whatever reason, failed to take action. Given the numbers of individuals involved, it seems unlikely that they all would have individual characteristics that would incline them towards silence. Therefore, it could be that there is something about the situation or organisation that led to this destructive conformity, rather than encouraging constructive deviance.

1.1.2 Poor patient care

Numerous scandals have hit the UK's NHS over the past few years. As will be shown, a common theme amongst them is the inability or unwillingness of staff to take action or speak up about their experiences. This is indicative of cultures that fail to encourage voice or that do not welcome challenge, both examples of constructive deviance, even in the spirit of improvement.

[1] https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/entertainment-arts-41594672

In the 1980s and 90s there were tragic and unnecessary losses of children's lives in the paediatric cardiac unit at Bristol Royal Infirmary, which arose from both organisational and individual failings. Kennedy (2001, p202) reports that there existed a culture which made open discussion "more difficult rather than more easy" and that the organisation failed to encourage staff to speak openly. In this situation, destructive conformity resulted in continued silence about the deficiencies that existed at the hospital. In addition, the "continued existence of a hierarchical approach" (ibid, p268), between doctors and nurses, and even between different types of doctor, generates barriers to speaking up about professional performance. Some unnecessary deaths might have been avoided had there been a culture in which people could take the constructively deviant action of speaking up and challenging what they perceived as poor behaviour.

The Public Inquiry into the Mid-Staffordshire NHS Foundation Trust (Francis, 2013) highlights "conditions of appalling care" (p7) within a hospital in Stafford. Francis attributed the existence of these problems, in part, to his finding that "no one spoke up about concerns" (p41). The report describes a negative culture which, over a number of years, led to hundreds of unnecessary deaths, poor patient care and callousness towards patients and their families. In an organisation which exists to care for those most vulnerable in society, significant numbers of staff must have known about the situation there, and yet very few chose to do anything about it, because poor behaviours had become normalised, as had a culture of silence. One result of the Francis Report (ibid) was the establishment of the National Guardian's Office[2] within the NHS's Quality Care Commission, with the specific role of changing culture so that staff might feel empowered to speak up.

More recently, the Paterson report (James, 2010) identifies "poor behaviour and a culture of avoidance and denial" (p1) and members of staff who "turned a blind eye" (p204) in his report about a surgeon who was ultimately imprisoned for 20 years for wounding with intent – crimes committed in relation to his patients. Some individuals are quoted as not raising concerns because they knew others "knew what [Paterson] was doing" (p208). In spite of the National Guardian's work, encouraging staff to speak up about patient care, there is clearly still work to be done.

[2] https://www.nationalguardian.org.uk/

1.1.3 Corporate and cultural poor behaviour

In addition to the specifics of sexual abuse and poor patient care, there are numerous other cases, in which poor organisational practices or individual behaviour have been allowed to continue because it has been accepted as normal or because people have failed to take action or speak up.

Investigations into the 2018 collapse of Carillion PLC continue (NAO, 2018), but already recognised is the "rotten corporate culture" (Baskar et al, 2018, p4) that allowed the collapse to occur. The same report (ibid, p70) notes "systematic exploitation of workers" suggesting that many employees could have been aware of the issues. The report also notes that board members were either "negligently ignorant…. or complicit" in that culture (p88). Just one director was identified who was willing to "speak the truth and challenge the status quo", further noting that these qualities "were not evident in any of her colleagues" (p45). The picture presented at Carillion is one of significant cultural issues in which personnel feel unable to speak up or even try to make a difference.

In 2015, the news broke that Volkswagen had unethically altered the emission data of their engines through the addition of software, in order to meet timelines and budgets. This was allowed to happen as the result of a culture which had normalised poor behaviour and allowed the deceit to be covered up for as long as a decade (Boston et al, 2015). The Chief Executive of Volkswagen has recognised the need for nonconformists and courageous individuals who might have spoken out about the widespread issues at Volkswagen (ibid). Mansouri (2015) states that the business culture allowed the deception to persist and that a more democratic approach in which individuals were able to voice concerns would have improved productivity.

Examples of poor behaviour being normalised or accepted are not just from the workplace; in 2017 Thames Valley Police have started a Hidden Harm campaign[3] which is designed to encourage members of the public to report crimes which they believe may otherwise go unreported, because the crimes are accepted by the cultures in which the crimes are committed. Examples include honour-based abuse, modern slavery and domestic abuse. The campaign is designed to raise awareness of such crimes and encourage people to not turn a blind eye.

[3] https://www.thamesvalley.police.uk/hiddenharm

There are numerous other examples of crimes being committed, the reports about which make mention of passive onlookers. These include the case of 14-year old Reena Virk, who was beaten, burned and drowned in a river (Hughes, 2018), whilst others looked on and the two and a half hour gang-rape of a 15-year-old girl witnessed by two dozen onlookers (Allen, 2009). Whilst many of the examples so far have existed over perhaps months and years, these are examples of destructive conformity taking hold within a matter of hours. A constructive deviant might have stepped forward and stopped the assaults.

Whilst drawn from a range of organisations, demonstrating different behaviours and outcomes which vary in severity, the examples offered do share some commonalities. Each of them has some form of poor behaviour, which appears to have become normalised to the extent that individuals within the organisation or situation chose not to take action or speak out – this is the nature of destructive conformity. It is unreasonable to think that all the individuals that chose inaction over action were either insufficiently capable or caring enough to act, and as such it could be deduced that there is something at an organisational level which discouraged a constructively deviant response. Additionally, in each situation there was an element of destructively conformist behaviour in order that the culture was able to develop to the extent it did, and for the behaviours to continue without censure in such a pervasive manner for so long.

Destructive conformity is a significant issue across society within a variety of organisations. The enablers and barriers that influence an individual's choice to constructively deviate are therefore worthy of deeper investigation. This research will examine those enablers and barriers within the highly normative context of UK[4] Defence.

1.2 The structure of the thesis

This first chapter has described the practical problem that the research project investigates. It has described some particularly negative incidents in a variety of organisational settings that have potentially occurred because of destructive conformity.

Chapters 2 and 3 will present the existing literature which is relevant to this research. Chapter 2 will discuss the social psychological phenomena that can lead to destructive conformity. Warren's (2003) typology of deviance will be used to introduce the antithesis of

[4] The UK Defence context includes both military personnel and the Civil Service. For clarity, in this thesis, the term 'Defence' is used to describe the whole UK Defence organisation, including the Civil Service. If discussion refers specifically to the 'military' context, this means members of the Armed Forces only.

destructive conformity, constructive deviance. The chapter will conclude with a thematic analysis of the organisational antecedents that influence whether individuals destructively conform or constructively deviate.

Chapter 3 will discuss constructive deviance in the Defence context, starting with a review of the literature about this specific and unusual environment. The chapter will culminate with a synthesis of the organisational antecedents of constructive deviance, established in chapter 2, with this description of the Defence context.

Chapter 4, methodology, will justify and describe in detail the design of the research undertaken. Chapter 5, findings, will present a description of the outcomes, which are analysed in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 will discuss these findings in the context of existing research, identifying where this research supports, refutes or augments existing literature. Chapter 8 will present the conclusions and contributions from this research, noting limitations and offering ideas for future research. Chapter 9 will describe the specific impact that this research has already had, and how it may do so in the future.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will use existing literature to unpack some of the key concepts and constructs relevant to this research, noting some shortcomings in existing knowledge and thereby justifying this study. It will begin with Warren's (2003) typology of deviance as the basis for this research. Then, so that this typology can be fully understood, the central underlying concepts will be explored. This will begin with norms, explaining that they frequently have a positive and beneficial impact, for both organisations and individuals, in the form of constructive conformity. The chapter will then explore the negative side of norms, by looking at destructive conformity, making the observation that there is currently a scarcity of qualitative research that has attempted to understand the individual actor's interpretations of the situational factors that have driven them to destructively conform. It will then fully investigate the concept of constructive deviance, developing the hitherto confused definition of the concept.

The latter half of the chapter will present a thematic analysis of the organisational antecedents for destructive conformity and constructive deviance, answering the question: what are the organisational and situational conditions that influence the choice between constructive deviance and destructive conformity? It will also demonstrate that there is a shortage of rich, qualitative research into the organisational antecedents that influence destructive conformity and constructive deviance behaviours and that as yet, none has examined these in a highly normative environment. The chapter will propose that the Defence context is an appropriate context in which to advance understanding of constructive deviance.

Finally, the chapter will conclude with the research question: what motivates and influences constructively deviant behaviour in the Defence context?

2.1 Warren's typology of conformity and deviance

Norms and hypernorms will be more fully explored in the next sections, but to understand their centrality to this research, it is first necessary to introduce Warren's (2003) typology of conformity and deviance that will be used as a basis for this research. As a working definition for the purposes of this introduction, norms have been described simply as socially enforced rules (Horne, 2008) which create pressure to conform to certain standards for behaviour at an individual level (Lahno, 2009). In her seminal work on constructive deviance, Warren (2003) observed that there are differing sources of norms, namely organisational norms and hypernorms. Where these norms are in conflict, it is the choice

that an individual makes between these norms that might define their behaviour as either constructive deviance or destructive conformity. Organisational norms exist in an individual's local surroundings and might be specific to that particular environment. At a higher level, Warren (2003, p628) described hypernorms as "global standards". Whilst the difficulties with identifying norms that might be universally accepted will be explored later, Warren (2003) suggested freedom and physical security as globally held standards that constitute positive norms.

Warren (2003) proposed that ordinarily, organisational norms and hypernorms align. In this situation, an individual simply has to choose between conforming to those norms or deviating from them. If an individual chooses to align their behaviour with these coherent norms, this is constructive conformity. As shown in Table 1, this is behaviour which is perceived positively by both the organisation and by society as a whole. Warren (2003) considered adherence to positive norms such as loyalty and discipline as an act of constructive conformity. In cases like this, she posited that the behaviour can be expected to be viewed as beneficial by those within the organisation and by the wider population within society.

	Normative standard (hypernorms, other group norms or standards)		
Referent group norms		Conform	Deviate
	Conform	Constructive Conformity	Destructive Conformity
	Deviate	Constructive Deviance	Destructive Deviance

Table 1: Typology of Deviance (Warren, 2003)

Warren (2003) suggests that the alternative action for an individual, faced with organisational norms aligned with hypernorms, is to deviate from both sets of norms. In this case, she suggests that the behaviour would be perceived negatively within both levels and is known as destructive deviance. Whilst the same issue, identified above, with identifying universally accepted negative norms is recognised, an example of destructive deviance might be theft or dishonesty, as in general, these are behaviours that are viewed negatively both at the organisational level and at the societal level.

The point of interest for this research arises where there is conflict between the organisational norms and hypernorms, when the individual is faced with making a choice between these two diverging norms. For example, a hypernorm might be one of tolerance and equality. Within an organisational culture that has allowed the normalisation of

discriminatory behaviour, an individual is faced with making a choice between these two conflicting norms.

When an individual opts to comply with the organisational norm, which diverges from the hypernorm, Warren (2003) describes this as destructive conformity. This is behaviour that she suggests would conform with the organisational norm but is destructive because it is in conflict with the hypernorm of tolerance and equality.

Conversely, Warren (2003) proposes that if an individual behaves in a manner which prioritises the hypernorm over the organisational norm, this could be described as constructive deviance. In the example above, the individual might choose to adopt a behaviour that is inclusive and tolerant or perhaps even speaking out against discriminatory behaviour. This could be described as deviance, because it breaches the organisational norm, but constructive, because it aligns with the hypernorm of tolerance. More broadly, Mertens et al (2016, p1288) define constructive deviance as "behaviour that deviates from salient norms yet is positive in its intention or effect".

In order to further unpack the concepts of destructive conformity and constructive deviance, the next sections will examine the detail of the central underlying constructs, starting with norms at the organisational level and then at the higher global level of hypernorms. It will then consider how these norms can negatively influence individuals to behave in destructive ways before examining the definition of constructive deviance.

2.2 Norms

The theory of social norms has its roots as far back Adam Smith's work of the 1700s and social psychology research since then has largely validated Smith's moral theory (Blay, 2018). Norms have become known as the "grammar of society" (Bicchieri, 2006, pix) that "specify what is acceptable in a given context" (Tesar, 2020, p135). For the purpose of this research, norms are the reference points from which individuals choose to either deviate or conform. Whilst the power of norms varies with characteristics of the group (Kelley et al, 1954), it is clear that social or informal norms have at least as much influence as formal rules or policies.

There are several similar definitions of norms:

- "a rule guiding social behaviour, the deviation from (adherence to) which is negatively (positively) sanctioned" (Diekmann and Przepiorka, 2016, p1310)

- “rules and standards that are understood by members of a group, and that guide and/or constrain social behaviour without the force of laws (Cialdini and Trost, 1998, p152, in Bobek et al, 2013)
- “informal, external rules shared by the members of the relevant group, sustained by sanctions” (Gagne, 2007, p448)
- “rules that prescribe and proscribe behaviour in specific social situations…. lacking internalization, norms must be enforced socially if they are to be effective” (Hechter, 2008, p663 and p665)
- “commonly known standards of behaviour that are based on widely shared views of how individual group members ought to behave in a given situation” (Fehr and Schurtenberger, 2018, p458)

Common to all these definitions is the idea of informal rules which are established and enforced by some referent social group. Warren (2003) proposes that if that referent social group influences at the organisational level, in a way that conflicts with a hypernorm, the individual is presented with a choice between these two sets of norms. They can constructively deviate by following the hypernorm at the expense of the organisational norm, or destructively conform by following the organisational norm over the hypernorm. The proximity of that referent group could mean that the organisational norms are more difficult to ignore for an individual, compared to hypernorms. In short, where organisational norms and hypernorms conflict, the choice that an individual makes between these norms is what defines their behaviour as constructive or destructive (Warren 2003). As such, norms are of paramount importance for this research.

Societal and organisational norms provide guidance and influence the way that human beings behave. Spreitzer & Sonenshein (2004, p834) describe norms as “shared understandings, patterns or expected ways of doing things”. For Armstrong (2014, p121) they are the “unwritten rules of behaviour, the ‘rules of the game’ that provide informal guidelines on how to behave”. Brooks (2006) describes how norms develop in a “very natural and almost unspoken way”, which become “a shared, ‘taken for granted’ group psyche”. Brennan et al (2013, p1) state that these informal rules or norms are “ubiquitous in social life” and Philippe and Durand (2011) recognise norms as “powerful standards of behaviour that are rooted in widely shared beliefs about how actors should behave”. Norms influence human behaviour both positively and negatively, so both organisational norms and

hypernorms have influence on an individual, but when they are in conflict a choice must be made by the individual between constructive deviance and destructive conformity.

Norms are powerful in their influence. Hechter (2008, p663) stated that "it is difficult to overstate the importance of norms" and that they do nothing less than "make social life possible". This is a sentiment shared throughout much of the literature; norms are: "crucial for the attainment of social order" (Lopez-Perez, 2009, p557), "part of the weave of social life" (Fehr and Schurtenberger, 2018, p458), "central to human societies" (Morris and Cushman, 2018, p101) and "one of the most powerful ways that people influence each other's behaviour" (Moore and Gino, 2013, p56). Wang et al (2018) notes that adherence to norms is what differentiates humans and other animals.

Norms influence many aspects of human behaviour, either positively or negatively and contribute as underlying mechanisms to other theories. Butler (2014) suggests that the norms are the mechanism through which social identity influences individual behaviour and Lahno (2009) stresses the fundamentality of norms to social theory. Rastogi (2010) notes that minor disorders lead to a gradual deterioration of society and concludes that norms have an important role in the maintenance of social order. Earlier, Axelrod (1986) saw that such is the influence of people on others, based on the work of Sherif (1935) (in Gross (2010) and Asch (1956), economists and others were starting to take an interest in the phenomenon. Since then, the effect of social norms has been examined in a range of contexts including recycling, littering and tax evasion (Cialdini and Goldstein, 2004) with Cialdini (2007) suggesting that personal and social factors will have a much greater significance for behaviour than any efforts made to enforce rules through compliance. In short, "individuals' attitudes and behaviours often conform to perceptions of what people normally think or do in a situation" and "it is well known that group cues and social norms influence opinions about the political and social world" (Panagopoulos and Harrison, 2016, p405). Bicchieri and Xiao (2009) acknowledge the importance of norms in decision-making at the individual level, and so norms will influence whether an individual chooses to constructively deviate or destructively conform.

This section has demonstrated the impact of norms at the individual level. The following sections will examine the sources of these norms, which is of utmost importance for this research. This is because it is when there is a conflict between norms from different sources that an individual needs to choose between those norms. It is this conflict between hypernorms and organisational norms that essentially provides the individual motivation to

constructively deviate or destructively conform. The next section will look at hypernorms and a discussion about organisational norms will follow.

2.2.1 Hypernorms

Warren's (2003) typology of deviance, described earlier, relies on the assumption that there are different sources of norms by which people are influenced – those at the organisational or referent group level and those at some higher, more universal level. She adopts Donaldson and Dunfee's (1994, p267) concept of hypernorms which tend to be based on "core human rights" and the "obligation to respect the dignity of each human person". This concept, however, has not been without criticism, and so will be explored in more detail now.

Donaldson and Dunfee's (1994, 1999) explicitly consider business ethics and therefore tend to focus on the economic activity of organisations; whilst this focus is different to the public sector which this research investigates, the overarching concept is still helpful. Particularly useful is their definition of hypernorms as "settled understandings of deep moral values" (Donald and Dunfee, 1999, p27). Also useful is their recognition that hypernorms are "so fundamental, they can be used to judge lower-order norms" (ibid, p50), which in this case, are organisational norms. However, how one goes about identifying hypernorms is less clear, although Donaldson and Dunfee's (1994, 1999) efforts are well-regarded by some (Fort, 2000; Gilbert and Behnam, 2009). Other authors have attempted to establish them based on the amalgamation of the principles of several international organisations (Brenkert, 2009; Fort, 2000), but there is yet to be a definitive list (Brenkert, 2009). Donaldson and Dunfee (1999, p54) suggest that such a list would imply a form of "moral absolutism", a concept with which they disagree.

The establishment of norms that are universally accepted is demonstrably difficult (Spicer et al, 2004). Warren (2003) notes that there are difficulties with establishing universal norms and so adopts Donaldson and Dunfee's (1994) concept of hypernorms, however, their approach is not without shortcomings (Douglas, 2000; Brenkert, 2009). Donaldson and Dunfee (1999) note that "the task of identifying and interpreting a comprehensive list of hypernorms is immense", which is a criticism that has consistently followed the concept, such that no list has yet to be developed. Indeed, Donaldson and Dunfee's (1999) attempt at categorisation exemplifies the difficulty with defining hypernorms, as they establish the three high level categories of "procedural, structural, and substantive" with only very limited explanation of what hypernorms might exist within each (Gilbert and Behnam, 2009, p217). Brenkert (2009) agrees, describing such a search for such universally applicable norms as

a principlist view, that would be impossible to agree upon. Instead, Brenkert (2009) offers a contextualist view which proposes that hypernorms can be established through the level of convergence that certain norms converge with other societies; those ordinary level norms which converge closely with those from other societies achieve the status of hypernorms. This is not dissimilar to Donaldson and Dunfee's suggestion that a hypernorm might occur where ideas from religion, philosophy and politics converge. Douglas (2000) suggests a different approach, which rather than a layering of norms, proposes there is instead a set of priority rules, which indicate which norm to adopt, should they come into conflict.

This section has shown that there are two main critiques of the concept of hypernorms. Firstly, the difficulty with identifying a norm which is universally acceptable, and secondly, on that basis, creating definitive list of what constitutes a hypernorm. Whilst some of the criticism is around the clarity and universal applicability of definitions, for the purposes of this research, the debate is mainly semantic. For this research, the hypernorm is, from the relativistic perspective of the subject, simply a more socially worthy ambition, than the one which might be offered by the organisational level norm, which will be looked at next.

2.2.2 Organisational norms

At the organisational level, norms are a method by which a company culture can be transmitted. This could be welcomed by a company if those norms align with the preferred culture. Where company culture aligns with hypernorms, this is likely to be a form of constructive conformity. Individuals are influenced by the normative standards that are part of the social environment around them, and as Feldman (1984) suggests, this influence is often beneficial because they express the values and standards that are important to the group and so drive its members to behave in accordance with those values. As such, norms regulate behaviour (Baron, Byrne, & Branscombe, 2006), bring predictability and even avoid embarrassment (Feldman, 1984). For the individual, this shows that norms offer parameters within which people find a shared understanding of what constitutes acceptable behaviour.

The process by which norms influence individuals has also been examined, with Blay (2018) noting that this can happen both consciously and subconsciously and that for some individuals, recognising the expectations of a social environment is enough to produce compliance, whereas others need to believe that there will be some form of sanction for non-compliance. Emett (2019) notes that where there is conflict between norms, there is a tendency of individuals to prioritise norms of self-interest over those of social interest. Research suggest that the transfer of norms arises through observation and modelling of

behaviour (Moore & Gino 2013; Jaeger & Schultz 2017). Moore and Gino (2013) note that this applies to behaviour that might even be seen as immoral or unethical, which would likely be a form of destructive conformity.

Hechter's (2008) states that norms can be either enforced externally or internally. Bicchieri and Chavez (2010) suggest that there are three conditions that need to be met for norms to function: norm salience (an awareness of the norm and the situation to which it pertains, internal expectation of adherence (for both the individual by others and by others of the individual) and fulfilment of that expectation by a sanction when violation is observed.

It has been proposed that individual norm compliance occurs because failure to conform risks social repercussions. Hechter (2008, p665) notes the risk of "feelings of shame or embarrassment that would be entailed by violating norms" and Lopez-Perez and Vorsatz (2010, p527) identify sanctions such as "social disapproval, humiliation, insults, peer pressure, public embarrassment, and social ostracism". Given that the "shame and embarrassment" to which Hechter (2008, p665) refers and the "social disapproval" proposed by Lopez-Perez and Vorsatz (2010, p527) are likely to come from those socially closest to us, the pressure on individuals to destructively conform is likely to be substantial.

Norms are a significant influence on individual behaviour and are enforced by a referent group. Axelrod (1986) suggests that even the enforcement of norms has with it norms associated – he terms these metanorms and describes them as the norm of punishing those who fail to punish those who fail to conform to norms. The next section will examine some specific types of destructive conformity that might be felt by individuals as a result of the example (conformity), direction (obedience) and even just the simple presence (bystander effect) of those around them.

2.3 Social influence

To be human is to be social; this inherently means that individuals are influenced by others around them. When individuals are influenced to behave in a way that conflicts with hypernorms, this could be what Warren (2003) refers to as destructive conformity. Hogg and Vaughan (2014, p236) define social influence as occurring when "attitudes and behaviour are influenced by the real or implied presence of other people". To further analyse the definition of social influence, the "presence" of others can take a variety of forms. It could simply be the real or perceived unengaged proximity of others such as that exhibited in the bystander effect (Latane and Darley, 1968), which proposes that people are less likely

to respond to a given situation, simply because there are others around them. This "presence" could also take the form of influence through the example set by others such as that demonstrated within conformity studies (see Asch, 1956, as an example). Finally, influence could take the form of direction from others, such as that shown in obedience studies (see Milgram, 1965).

These different concepts clearly overlap. For example, obedience is conforming with the direction of an authority figure; the bystander effect, at least in part, is conforming with other inactive bystanders (Aronson 2011). These phenomena can also work in conjunction with each other as demonstrated by the Stanford Prison Experiment[5] (Zimbardo, 2007). Whilst frequently the effects of these phenomena might be positive in nature, there may be times when they could lead to destructive conformity. The next subsections will define each of these different types of social influence, showing how they can result in destructive conformity. The antecedents to each of these behaviours will be examined later in this chapter. The first type of social influence to be considered is conformity.

2.3.1 Conformity

Conformity is defined as "a change in belief or behaviour in response to real or imagined group pressure when there is no direct request to comply with the group nor any reason to justify the behaviour change" (Zimbardo and Lieppe (1991) in Gross (2010, p401)). More simply, conformity is the tendency of people to "behave in ways similar to those around them" (Emmett, 2019, p119).

Conformity to social norms is frequently considered beneficial to the functioning of society (Fehr and Schurtenberger, 2018; Sunstein, 2002). Compliance with norms is viewed positively as a sign of cooperation within society (Fehr and Schurtenberger, 2018). Cialdini and Goldstein (2004) state that conformity is required in order to achieve social approval and build relationships – fundamental elements of a functioning society which are clearly constructive. However, as will be seen, conformity can also be destructive in nature if it involves compliance with norms that are contrary to hypernorms.

An example of destructive conformity is offered by Asch's (1956) seminal work on conformity which is now recognised as a "mainstay of psychology research" (Emett, 2019, p119; Baron, 2005). Asch's (1956) study involved a very simple line length perception test in which people

[5] The Stanford Prison Experiment took place in 1971 and demonstrated that human behaviour is significantly influenced by situational factors including the social influence of other participants.

were coerced into giving the wrong answer by a number of stooges giving the incorrect response and demonstrated that individuals can be persuaded to conform with the group, counter to their own inclinations, by merely setting an example. Aronson and Aronson (2012, p25), whilst recognising the "indispensable condition" of conformity recognise the pollution of an individual's function and loss of individuality that can be caused by conformity.

It has been suggested that there are differing levels of influence (Sowden et al, 2018; Kelman, 1958; Cialdini and Goldstein, 2004). At the shallowest level, this influence takes effect at the surface level of behaviour, which Kelman (1958) terms compliance – a behavioural change for outward effect, but without necessarily involving a change in underlying beliefs. At a deeper level, social influence can change the way an individual might feel about something, either through identification (adopting another individual's view because the want to be part of their group) or through internalisation (genuinely adopting new attitudes or beliefs at the deepest level) (Aronson, 2011).

As well as differing levels of conformity, different reasons for conforming have been proposed. Aronson (2011) posits that this can be informational in nature (mimicking behaviour due to uncertainty and desire to make the right decision) or normative (adopting behaviours in order to feel included or be liked within the social group). Scholars in social identity theory criticise the simplicity of this approach and suggest a process known as referent informational conformity (Turner et al, 1989). This is distinct from the previous two, in that it relies on conformity with social norms (rather than with other people) that are created by a group. A group defines itself in part by a set of social norms and therefore, conformity to these social norms defines the individual as belonging to that group. An example might be working longer hours than is strictly necessary, because that is what a particular group of members of staff see as acceptable behaviour.

In spite of the support for the concept and replicability of conformity (Baron, 2005; Deutsch and Gerard, 1955), Perrin and Spencer (1981) replicated the experiment, demonstrating almost no conformity effects, declaring that the Asch Effect was a "child of its time", arising as a result of a conformist culture across the US at the time. Swann and Jetten (2017) note that subjects' prevailing response to the conformity condition was actually dissent, thereby noting that conformity should not be considered as widespread as Asch (1956) proposes. In addition, Hodges and Geyer (2006) suggest that these studies are misconstrued as well as noting that conformity is not always the evil phenomena as presented by Asch. They suggest that the analysis focuses too much on the trials in which subjects conform,

insufficiently investigating the reasons that people dissent from the group norm, or in other words, constructively deviate. There is, therefore, a shortcoming in the extant understanding of conformity effects: a deep and nuanced understanding of how and why individuals make their choice between constructive deviance and destructive conformity is missing. This research responds to this final criticism, to better understand why people dissent, particularly when that dissent is intended constructively. This dissent would be the constructively deviant act, as opposed to destructive conformity.

Conformity to organisational norms which are in conflict with hypernorms is a type of destructive conformity. Whilst conformity is the effect on behaviour based on the example of others, the next type of social influence to be discussed is that which is enacted simply by the presence of others – that of the bystander effect.

2.3.2 Bystander effect

The bystander effect is a specific type of social conformity (Fennis and Aarts, 2012; Moore and Gino, 2013), in which an individual fails to take necessary or positive action in a situation because of the presence of other passive onlookers. The absence of intervention in a situation which clearly requires some level of involvement could be construed as an act of destructive conformity, because it is conformity with the social norm of non-intervention at the expense of the hypernorm of helping those in need. Conversely, intervention could be described as an act of constructive deviance.

Darley and Latane (1968), supported by significant amounts of research since (Buckley et al, 2016; Rowe, 2018), suggested that if an individual knows that other people who are not responding are aware of the situation, this gives permission for that individual to also not act – this is known as the diffusion of responsibility (Darley and Latane, 1968). Moore and Gino (2013) also support the notion of diffusion of responsibility as they see this as a sharing of the psychological costs of non-intervention, making action less likely. Coupled with ambiguity (Clark and Word, 1972), informational conformity needs predict that before responding, individuals will look to others in order to decide how to respond. Whilst this happens, people tend to exhibit socially acceptable composure, rather than indicating the problem through outward anxiety or panic, resulting in the perpetuation of the perception of the situation as being non-urgent or not requiring intervention, known as pluralistic ignorance. Some research (Latane and Nida, 1981; Pantin and Carver, 1982; Rutkowski et al, 1983) has shown that the likelihood of intervention was negatively related to the number

of bystanders, but this has been contested since with some researchers finding the opposite effect (Brody and Vangelisti, 2016; Przepiorka and Diekmann, 2018).

The bystander effect was first exposed following the brutal rape and murder of New Yorker, Kitty Genovese[6] in 1964 (Latane and Darley, 1968) and has been re-examined frequently in the intervening years (for examples see Piliavin et al, 1969; Clark and Word, 1972; Darley and Batson, 1973; Chekroun and Brauer, 2002; Levine et al, 2020). Whilst the number of witnesses to Genovese's murder is now recognised as being grossly exaggerated (Manning et al, 2007), other real-life stories have come to light that support the existence of the bystander effect, in which naïve observers to an incident that clearly requires intervention are predisposed to inaction, simply by the presence of other onlookers (for example the tragic case of "Little Yueyue", a Chinese toddler run over by a van in a market place; she was passed by 18 witnesses, none of whom offered assistance (BBC, 2011)),. Funder and Ozer (1983, p109) recognised that it is the "steady stream of news accounts describing people in clear and desperate need who are not aided by others" that contributes to the continued interest in the phenomenon. For the purposes of this research, the decision between passivity and active intervention could be respectively aligned with the decision between destructive conformity and constructive deviance.

Despite bystanders' predictions that they would act, the empirical evidence suggests that helping intentions are frequently a poor predictor of actual likelihood of intervention (Abbate et al, 2013; Báez-León et al, 2016). Such is the weight of evidence for the existence of the bystander effect, Rudy-Hiller (2020) suggests that it is one of "social psychology's most robust findings" (p2954). Despite significant research into this area and the broad agreement about the effect itself (Przepiorka and Diekmann, 2018), there remains a need for more research into the antecedents (Rowe, 2018; Van Bommel et al, 2012) especially in the military context (Holland et al, 2016; Curphy et al, 1998).

Despite the level of support for the concept of the bystander effect, it is not without criticism. Rowe (2018) notes that there are frequent occasions in which bystanders have engaged with an emergency situation, while Levine et al (2020) found that in street-based violence or emergency situations, bystander presence can actually encourage intervention. Van

[6] The murder of Kitty Genovese was, at the time, reported by the New York Times to have been witnessed by 38 bystanders, with intervention. The number and actions of bystanders are now recognised as apocryphal, but nevertheless, the murder was the incident that initiated research into what became known as the Bystander Effect.

Bommel et al (2012) note that there has been too much focus on the negativity around bystander apathy, suggesting that more research is needed on how the effect can be reversed, thereby creating positive effects. This is akin to increasing the likelihood of constructive deviance.

Much of the previous research has been centred around contrived laboratory-based situations. Rowe (2018) notes the historic reliance on hypothetical situations and stresses the need for research applied to real-life situations. Relatedly, another notable absence from much bystander research is a rich, descriptive understanding of why bystanders failed to intervene. Instead, much of the research (Piliavin et al, 1969; Darley and Batson, 1973; Chekroun and Brauer, 2002) delivers a quantitative examination of how many individuals responded passively, or how long individuals took to respond (Clark and Word, 1972). More recently CCTV footage has been used to ascertain how onlookers are affected by the situation (Levine et al, 2020). None of these studies took the opportunity to investigate the onlookers' interpretations of events, that might have offered a deeper understanding of why they chose to intervene or not.

Whilst these emergency scenarios are relatively extreme examples, the bystander effect has been recognised in a multitude of other contexts from those as innocuous as responding to someone's request to enter a room (Fennis and Aarts, 2012), through to drink driving (Buckley et al, 2016), workplace bullying (Báez-León et al, 2016), public sector organisational failure (Hendy and Tucker, 2020), perpetuation of toxic culture (Van Rooij and Fine, 2018) and sexual assault (Holland et al, 2016). In fact, Van Bommel et al (2012, p926) notes that any situation is "vulnerable to the bystander effect".

The bystander effect is a type of social influence which has the potential to lead to non-intervention or inaction in a situation in which an intervention could be expected to yield a positive effect; being a passive bystander could therefore be described as a form of destructive conformity. The constructively deviant act would be to respond to such a situation with a deliberate intervention. Curphy (1998) notes that the military context specifically is absent in the existing literature around the bystander effect and given its prevalence across so many situations it remains worthy of interest for this study.

2.3.3 Groupthink

A specific type of conformity is groupthink (Aronson, 2011), first considered by Janis in 1971. (Turner and Pratkanis, 1998). Janis (1982, p9) suggested that groupthink occurs when

within a given group, “the members’ strivings for unanimity override their motivation to realistically appraise alternative courses of action”, thereby leading to defective decision-making. Whereas other forms of conformity might have positive as well as negative outcomes, Janis is clear that groupthink is only negative in its effect as he describes it as “a deterioration of mental efficiency, reality testing, and moral judgement that results from in group pressures” (ibid), which makes it clear that groupthink is a form of destructive conformity. Gross (2010, p411) emphasises this negative impact as he describes groupthink as “an extreme form of normative influence, where the norm to reach and maintain consensus and harmony within the group completely eliminates any informational influence”. In this case, an action that is taken with the intent of disrupting the effects of groupthink, could be described as an act of constructive deviance.

In his of analysis of historical fiascos[7] Janis (1973) noted eight symptoms of groupthink: the illusion of invulnerability; collective efforts to rationalise in order to discount warnings; belief in the group’s morality; stereotyped views of rivals or enemies; pressure on members who dissent; self-censorship of deviation from consensus; the illusion of unanimity and mind-guards to protect from adverse information. These eight symptoms create over-optimism about the competence of the group, can lead to extreme risk-taking and ignores external inputs which drives high rates of conformity within the group and allows the individuals to believe that the group is unanimous in its decisions (Mannion and Thompson, 2014).

The observations of Janis (1973) have had significant support. Festinger et al (1952) noted that groups have a tendency to suppress dissent and Stasser et al (1989) found that groups prefer to discuss areas of agreement versus areas of conflict. Myers and Lamm (1976) found that groups would polarise individual attitudes, creating extremes of opinion within the group and Stasser et al (2000) established that decisions made in groups would be more confidently held by the individuals within those groups. Janis’s (1973) methodology has also been successfully replicated more recently through the lens of prisoner abuse at Guantanamo Bay, a US detention facility (Handelsman, 2017).

However, there are significant criticisms of the model, particularly around antecedents to the occurrence of groupthink (Ben-Hur et al, 2012) which will be examined later in this chapter. Also, it is worth noting that there is not even universal support for the effects and outcomes

[7] Janis compared case studies that resulted in disastrous outcomes with those in which those outcomes were avoided. Examples include the Korean War stalemate, the Vietnam War escalation, the failed invasion of the Bay of Pigs and the Cuban Missile Crisis

of groupthink. Criticisms have been levelled on the basis that the groupthink phenomenon cannot be studied in laboratory conditions, because of the range of antecedent variables (Flippen, 1999), and yet this is after others have claimed to have studied it under laboratory conditions, finding that the theory posited by Janis was fundamentally correct (Courtright, 1978; Callaway and Esser, 1984). More recently, others have demonstrated the applicability of the theory to real-life events, finding support for the phenomenon in "ordinary… and day-to-day events" (Jaeger, 2020, p537). Others have criticised the retrospective approach to case studies that Janis and others have used (Park, 1990; Jones and Roelofsma, 2000) and for missing important variables that might also influence decision-making ability within groups (Park, 1990; Jones and Roelofsma, 2000). Choi and Kim (1999) suggest that premature concurrence-seeking is not necessarily detrimental to decision-making and in some situations, may even promote group performance.

A critical shortfall of the fiasco analysis methodology used by Janis (1982) and the similar methodology used by Handelsman (2017), however, is that the case studies in question were based mainly on secondary sources such as published governmental papers and the memoirs of those involved. Whilst this approach might offer some insights into the groupthink phenomenon, the antecedent conditions as experienced by the individuals involved are necessarily extrapolated and interpreted without their direct input. This has the potential for missing these individuals' interpretations of the situation that led them to exhibit groupthink behaviours. There is a fundamental absence of information around those individuals' constructed interpretation of that particular situation.

In spite of its intuitive appeal (Schafer and Crichlow, 1996), some researchers (Fuller and Aldag, 1998) have gone so far as to describe groupthink as an "invalid and preposterously overdressed bogeyman" (p171) an "urban legend" (p166) and a "myth" (p177) that "represents an unfortunate episode in the history" (p163) of the research area because of the limited empirical evidence, ignorance of critiques and a failure of researchers to speak out against mistaken beliefs. Whilst recognised as elusive (Turner and Pratkanis, 1998) and widely debated (Ben-Hur et al, 2011), the groupthink model is widely accepted, well-cited and presented as a model with validity in most social psychology textbooks (e.g. Baron, 2005). It has achieved "almost universal acceptance" (Fuller and Aldag, 1998, p166) and has been applied to medicine, law and management research (Jones and Roelofsma, 2000).

Despite the mixed findings (Park, 2000), the influence of the concept of groupthink is difficult to ignore and has clear utility (Turner et al, 1992) with regard to the study of group processes.

The concept has generated significant debate, particularly with regard to how antecedent factors contribute and combine to create the occurrence of groupthink (Baron, 2005), but many studies have found high levels of support for Janis's proposals (Jaeger, 2019). However, the major shortfall of previous research is that it has failed to gather a meaningful account of the factors that influenced the individual actors, instead extrapolating secondary data to offer the antecedent conditions.

Within the context of this study, groupthink is a phenomenon that is a specific type of conformity that results in poor decision-making. As such, this is a type of destructive conformity which has relevance for the purposes of this study.

2.4 Employee silence

Morrison and Milliken (2000, p706) defined organisational silence as "widespread withholding of information about potential problems or issues" by employees. Depending on the driver behind silence behaviour, this could arise as a result of any of the aforementioned types of social influences (Hussain et al, 2019). However, silence and its antithesis of voice are usually treated distinctly, such is the level of interest and prevalence of research in this specific area (Rybnikova, 2016; Nechanska, 2020). This section will focus on the destructively conformist behaviour of silence, but first, to ensure clarity of these related concepts, its relationship to the constructively deviant antithesis of voice (which will be discussed in more depth later) is considered.

The relationship of employee silence with its ostensibly opposing concept of employee voice continues to evoke academic debate (Rybnikova, 2016) and has been conceptualised in three different ways (Knoll et al, 2016). The first conceptualisation views voice and silence as binary opposites, in that one exists to the exclusion of the other (Bowen and Blackmon, 2003; Rybnikova, 2016). Secondly, they have been conceptualised as two ends of a continuum along which individuals allow one or the other to dominate on certain issues (Vakola and Bouradas, 2005). The third suggests that they are orthogonal constructs, in that they are unrelated, and therefore an organisation could have high levels of silence as well as high levels of voice. This conceptualisation contends that each is driven by different antecedents (Van Dyne et al, 2003). Recent research has supported the observation that the antecedents have not been found to be equivalently opposite, such that the absence of a factor that creates silence doesn't necessarily lead to voice; this therefore lends weight to the view that they should be treated as independent constructs (Schlosser and Zolin, 2012, Morrison et al, 2015; Al-Hawari et al, 2020). In any event, and regardless of which

mechanism causes silence behaviour, for the purposes of this research employee silence is recognised as a type of destructive conformity.

Several different types of silence have been identified, largely based on the motivation for remining silent. Van Dyne (2003) et al suggest that there are three types of silence, although for this research, only the first two (excluding prosocial silence, which is by definition not destructive in nature) are considered as destructive conformity:

- Acquiescent Silence – based on resignation and a belief that the subject is unable to make a difference
- Defensive Silence – based on fear of reprisals or consequences

From the perspective of this research, silence of either of these types is a destructively conformist behaviour, because it is the absence of speaking up about a problem or issue that needs addressing. In this case, speaking up about those issues or problems, thereby dissenting against silence (Taras, 1991), could be the constructively deviant behaviour (see later for a deeper discussion) of employee voice.

2.5 Obedience

Whilst conformity and obedience have some parallels, as they are both associated with some form of social pressure, the primary difference between them is that conformity exerts pressure through the example of others, whereas obedience is more explicit and is manifested through direction from an authority figure (Cialdini and Goldstein, 2003). Like conformity, obedience is a natural response to authority within organisations. Every aspect of collective life is based on some sort of obedience to authority, in order to maintain social order and stability (Passini and Morselli, 2009) and is often beneficial and positive (Aronson and Aronson, 2012). However, where obedience occurs that is misaligned with hypernorms, this could be interpreted as an act of destructive conformity; conversely, disobedience in a way that allies to a hypernorm might be recognised as an act of constructive deviance.

The series of experiments into obedience conducted by Milgram (1965) were hugely influential (Benjamin and Simpson, 2009) and have been applied in a variety of research areas including history, political science, economics, and neuroscience (Haslam and Reicher, 2012). These were exemplified in a case study of prisoner abuse in Guantanamo Bay (Handelsman, 2017). Milgram's (1974) studies, examining the Nuremburg Defence of 'just following orders' when committing atrocities, demonstrated that seemingly normal people could be easily compelled to commit such crimes – in this case, electrocuting a

learner to lethal levels in an experiment, believed by its participants to be about memory. Individuals followed orders, in spite of not apparently being toxic “yes-men” as described by Thomas et al (2017). These are examples of what might be considered destructive conformity.

Milgram (1965) proposed that subjects entered into an agentic state that enabled them to carry out the orders, although the precise reasons why individuals follow direction to commit such abhorrent acts are debated (Burger et al, 2009; Swann and Jetten, 2017) and will be discussed later in the chapter. However, what is clear is that individuals have a tendency to follow the direction of others, even in the knowledge that it is wrong to do so (Haslam and Reicher, 2012; Miller, 2009; Navarick, 2012). Whilst research in the intervening years has been “virtually non-existent”, not least because of ethical constraints (Miller, 2009, p20), Milgram’s findings have been replicated (Burger, 2009; Bocchiaro and Zimbardo, 2010) and reanalysed (Blass, 1999; Packer, 2008) in the intervening decades, with broadly similar conclusions, even though in some cases, it was made easier for the participants to resist authority (Burger, 2009), resistance which might be described as constructive deviance.

Whilst Milgram’s work “cannot be ignored” (Reicher et al, 2014, p394) it is not without criticism. Firstly, the criticism on ethical grounds of Milgram’s original work “remains unabated” and has been described by some as “criminal” (Reicher et al, 2014, p396; Griggs, 2017). Immediately after the publication of his original work, there were accusations that he adapted his “personal standards” rather than protecting the “ethical sensibilities” of the profession (Baumrind, 1964, p423) amid doubt that any amount of post-experiment care could make up for the “emotional disturbance” the experiment might have caused (ibid, p422).

Secondly, Milgram’s methodological approach has come under scrutiny. Immediately after the initial study, Baumrind (1964) suggested that the laboratory setting will generate higher levels of obedience and therefore the findings cannot be generalised to the real world. More recently, the completeness of reporting by Milgram has been questioned, suggesting that only the higher rates of obedience were reported, and that other variants with lower rates were ignored (Haslam and Reicher, 2012; Russell, 2014; Griggs, 2017). The consistency with which the orders were presented has also been questioned (Gibson, 2013).

Finally, the interpretation of how and why obedience occurs has been challenged. Authors have suggested that rather than the agentic state which could affect anyone, proposed by Milgram, obedience stems from identification with the experimenter or the experiment itself

(Burger et al, 2011; Haslam and Reicher, 2012; Haslam et al, 2014) and through the persuasive efforts of the experimenter (Gibson, 2017). This suggests that only those subjects with an affinity with either the experimenter or the experiment will be destructively obedient. This challenge also highlights another shortcoming in obedience research – the absence of primary data around the subject's interpretation of the situation that led them to either obey or dissent, with key studies (Milgram, 1965; Burger, 2009) focussing instead on quantitative approaches. They have succeeded in providing evidence about how much individuals might obey, but there is currently an absence of specific accounts of the situational factors that influenced their behaviour with respect to constructive deviance and destructive conformity.

Despite the ethical and methodological controversy around Milgram's experiments and the remaining debate around the precise mechanisms that create the obedience effect, there is sufficient evidence to accept that the effect exists. The following of direction, which is known to the respondent to be inappropriate, illegal or simply inefficient is a clear example of destructive conformity. The constructively deviant response to such a situation would be to resist the direction and take either contrary action or no action at all.

This section has examined the destructively conformist, related concepts of conformity, groupthink, the bystander effect, employee silence and obedience. The next section will examine the antithetical equivalent of these, constructive deviance.

2.6 Constructive deviance defined

2.6.1 Recent literature and definitions

The results of the literature search show that there has been a great deal of interest and investigation into constructive deviance (and associated phenomena) over the last ten years. Despite this surge of positive emphasis, there is still broad recognition that outside of this specific literature, deviance is almost entirely perceived in a negative sense (Appelbaum et al, 2007; Bryant et al, 2010; Heckert and Heckert, 2002; Irwin, 2003; Li et al, 2015) that focuses on self-interest and/or destructive intent towards the organisation (Dahling et al, 2012; Galperin, 2012; Kura, 2016; Mertens et al, 2016a; Mertens et al, 2016b, Morrison, 2006; Spreitzer and Sonenshein, 2004; Tziner et al, 2010; Vadera et al, 2013; Warren, 2003; Wolf and Zuckerman, 2012). The idea of constructive deviance has even been "categorically rejected" by some authors as a contradiction in terms (Shoenberger et al, 2015, p476).

In addition, there are still mixed perceptions and debate surrounding the definition of constructive deviance (and whether it should be called constructive or positive deviance). Several attempts (Galperin, 2012; Gary, 2013; Mertens et al, 2016b; Spreitzer and Sonenshein, 2003; Vadera et al, 2013; Warren, 2003) have been made to address this apparent confusion and further refine, clarify and operationalize the definition (and of subcategories such as employee voice (Morrison, 2011)) for future research, and yet there are still explicit differences between the conceptualizations of the phenomenon. These will be discussed in the next section.

2.6.2 Approaches and definitions of constructive deviance

The concept of constructive deviance is still relatively immature, particularly in comparison to that of the various types of destructive conformity. As such, there is still some confusion around an accepted definition of the phenomenon. On superficial inspection, the phrases "constructive deviance" and "positive deviance" produce value-laden assumptions, questions and uncertainty, filled with Suddaby's "inner grammar" (2010, p347). Positive in comparison to what? In who's eyes? In what context? Deviant from what? Given this confusion, in line with Suddaby's (2010) notion of construct clarity, this section will, based on previous literature, clarify and develop the definition of constructive deviance.

As can been seen from Table 2, there are various elements of the definition. The phenomenon has variously been called positive, constructive or both almost interchangeably (Morrison, 2006; Dahling, 2012; Galperin, 2012; Mertens, 2016b). Most dictionary definitions[8] of the word "positive" tend to revolve around the scientific nature of the word (being certain, present, greater than zero or being non-negative), which contribute little to this debate and its usage has likely come about as a simple contrast to the historic negativity associated with deviance. Positive deviance is also a term used to describe a process-based approach to problem solving (Pascale et al, 2010) which examines in detail similar contexts to establish the factors that generate or solve problems in one context, but not in the other. This is not relevant to this research. As such, from here on in, this research will use the terminology, constructive deviance.

The next element in Table 2 is the voluntary or intentional nature of constructive deviance. Galperin and Burke (2012) and Morrison (2006) both specifically exclude events that arise

[8] see www.thefreedictionary.com for example

accidentally and given the current focus at the individual level of behaviour this constraint is retained in this study.

More complex is the question of the deviance itself, which whilst all using norms as the comparator, can be approached from four perspectives: statistical, supraconformity, reactive and normative (Spreitzer and Sonenshein, 2004). This research adopts the normative approach and rejects the other three. The statistical approach is rejected because it fails to identify the difference between constructive and destructive deviance (ibid). The supraconformity approach is rejected because it refers to excessive conformity or overconformity to norms, rather than being in conflict with those norms and is unlikely to generate any risk to the individual. The reactive approach, requiring an audience reaction to identify deviance, is rejected because it would not include any unobserved behaviour. Furthermore, this approach places the judgement or value of the behaviour on the audience, rather than on the individual, which is inherently unsatisfactory as the intent, by definition, rests within the individual (ibid).

Spreitzer and Sonenshein's (2004, p833) view of the normative approach, is "most complete because it clearly limits the relevant kinds of behaviours one ought to do (in contrast to the statistical view), avoids the reactive problem of nonobservable behaviours, and does not collapse into negative deviance like the supraconformity approach". This view is also held by others (Morrison, 2006; Warren, 2003; Wolf and Zuckerman, 2012). In addition, this allows for an element of the reactive approach, because the norms of the situation are set socially (so allow for the 'audience' input), but the norms remain even in the absence of that audience. Also, the definition of norms to date has not explicitly differentiated informal and formal norms; as Morrison (2006) indicates, pro-social rule breaking is a type of constructive behaviour, so the formal norms (or rules) of an organisation must be included in the definition of constructive deviance. Whilst the normative approach is not without criticism (Heckert and Heckert, 2000), as shown above, it does have the support of the main protagonists of this area and will be the one taken forward here.

Author(s) (Date)	Definition	Constructive or Positive	Intentional/ voluntary	Deviant to what?	Intent or output focus	Innovation, creativity or adaptability	Risk to individual
Galperin (2006)	"Voluntary behaviour that violates significant norms with the intent of improving the wellbeing of an organisation, its members or both"	CD	Yes	Norms	Intent	No	Implied
Galperin (2002) in Galperin and Burke (2012)	"Voluntary behaviour that violates significant organisational norms and in doing so contributes to the well-being of an organisation, its members, or both"	Both	Yes	Norms	Output	No	Implied
Gary (2013, p29)	"Intentional and honourable behaviour that departs or differs from an established norm; contains elements of innovation, creativity, adaptability, or a combination thereof; and involves risk for the person deviating"	PD	Yes	Norms	Intent	Yes	Yes
Mertens et al (2016b, p1288)	"Behaviour that deviates from salient norms, yet is positive in its intention or effect"	Both	Implied	Norms	I/K	No	Implied
Spreitzer and Sonenshein (2003)	"Intentional behaviours that depart from the norms of a referent group in honourable way"	PD	Yes	Norms	Intent	No	Implied
Vadera (2013, p1223)	"Behaviours that deviate from the norms of the reference group such that they benefit the reference group and conform to hypernorms"	CD	Implied	Norms	Output	No	Implied
Warren (2003, p628)	"Behaviour that deviates from the reference group norms but conforms to hypernorms"	CD	Implied	Norms	Intent	No	Implied

Table 2: Comparison of Definitions of Positive and Constructive Deviance

Whether the definition of constructive deviance should focus on intent or the realised output of a behaviour is critical to the definition, and yet has still to be agreed upon. Such is the level of confusion, Galperin (unpublished doctoral thesis (2002) in Galperin and Burke (2012) and in Galperin (2006)) has at different times considered both as the defining feature of constructive deviance. The difference is significant, especially when it comes to operationalizing the phenomenon. Given the meso level of analysis, the intent behind the behaviour must be constructive (and indeed, deviant). As Spreitzer and Sonenshein (2004) point out, if the focus was placed on outcome, there would be a further requirement to define the timescales for such an output, which for the individual actor, may be indeterminate. Mertens et al (2016b) support this view, as they highlight that it is the behaviour that is the focus, not the outcome; at the time of the act, the outcome is unmeasurable. As such, the definition here will focus on the intent of the behaviour, rather than the outcome of that act. Furthermore, in line with Mertens et al (2016b), to reduce some difficulties in defining specific behaviours, minor departures from expected behaviour are not considered deviance; there must be a significant departure from norms for the behaviour to meet the criteria.

Gary's (2013) additional constraint of constructive deviance needing to involve an element of innovation, creativity, or adaptability is too constraining – take for example voice, which is seen by many (Morrison, 2011; Vadera, 2013) as an archetypal constructively deviant behaviour; this requires none of these elements. Indeed, it is argued that these components are more likely to be products of deviance, rather than a prerequisite for constructive deviance (Mainemalis, 2010; Jetten and Hornsey, 2014). However, Gary does make one important contribution to the definition of constructive deviance – that of perceived risk.

The final aspect of the definition is that associated with perceived risk to the individual. As can be seen from Table 2 the explicit mention of risk in the published definitions of constructive deviance has been absent, until Gary's (2013) article, set in the healthcare context, although some authors have

considered it less explicitly (Warren, 2006; Appelbaum, 2007; Galperin and Burke, 2012). It is an implied presence in the examination of which behaviours constitute constructive deviance; for example, Warren (2006) suggests that constructive deviance must include "a departure from norms whereby employees must resist social pressure to conform" – inherent with resisting social norms is a risk of sanction. Galperin (2012) states that constructive deviance requires proactivity and risk-taking and Appelbaum (2007, p592) notes that "positive deviance requires real risk". As seen in the previous section, and supported by Schilpzand (2015), organisational norms are often enforced by sanction or the threat of sanction, and it is the perceived risk of sanction that defines whether a behaviour is deviance or not – deviance, as it were, is in the eye of the deviant, but only insofar as the likelihood of sanction. The addition of risk to the definition helps particularly to identify those behaviours which only under certain conditions would be categorised as constructive deviance and also facilitates the operationalisation of the concept.

Overall, taking the definitions of constructive deviance that are most frequently cited (Mertens et al, 2016b) including Galperin (2012), Spreitzer and Sonenshein (2004), Vadera et al (2013) and Warren (2003) and justifying the addition of one element of Gary's (2013) definition, the following definition is offered:

Constructive deviance is *a behaviour which significantly deviates from the perceived norms of the referent group, is enacted with the intention of creating an outcome more socially worthy than the ordinary mode and with it carries an element of risk of sanction for the deviant.*

Like Spreitzer and Sonenshein (2004), to be considered constructively deviant, any act must incorporate each element of this definition and within this definition, each of the following points are emphasised:

- In line with Warren (2003), norms include both social, informal norms such as accepted work routines and behaviours, as well as formal norms, such as rules, policies and procedures.

- The referent group is that which exerts normative influence over the individual and has capacity to apply sanctions.
- The intention is voluntary and, by the judgement of the individual, has the capacity to make things better – either within the group, or to some higher order group.
- The deviant action taken has associated with it the risk of sanction from the referent group.

With the concept of constructive deviance defined, the next section will review the literature that assesses the antecedents of such behaviours.

2.7 Antecedents of the choice between destructive conformity and constructive deviance

This section will thematically examine the literature, synthesising what is known about the antecedent factors that influence behaviour with respect to destructive conformity or constructive deviance.

2.7.1 Organisational factors versus individual factors

The existing literature has identified two broad categories of factors that influence behaviour around constructive deviance and destructive conformity: organisational factors and individual differences. Asch (1956) identified the basic aspects of the concept of conformity, that individuals fundamentally have a preference to appear similar to those around them, or more specifically, have a tendency to avoid the loneliness and pain of being different. Those who didn't succumb to pressure were described as having a basic confidence that allowed them to withstand the group's opinion. Individual differences have also been proposed as factors that influence groupthink, such as autonomy and levels of training (Moorhead et al, 1998) and individual insecurity (Baron, 2005).

More recent research into individual differences has indicated several influences on the likelihood of an individual constructively deviating. These include risk propensity (Morrison, 2006), minority ethnicity (Appelbaum et al, 2007), perceived importance of loyalty versus fairness (Dungan et al, 2015), innovation

(Galperin, 2012), marital status (Galperin and Burke, 2006), proactive personality, extraversion and creative self-efficacy (Kura et al, 2016).

However, John and Shafi (2020) note that that analysing individual differences alone is flawed as an approach, because of the significant influence of organisational and situational factors; they also highlight the lack of research into organisational factors. Various researchers have concluded that environment will have a more significant effect on constructively deviant behaviour than individual differences (Morrison et al, 2011; Appelbaum et al, 2007). Additionally, given that individual differences are largely out of the control of large organisations, research into individual differences is of limited use. Therefore, the organisational enablers and barriers are the focus of this research. The next sections will discuss the organisational factors considered by extant literature, starting with leadership.

2.7.2 Leadership

The literature suggests that leaders, including those above an employee's immediate line management, are frequently the recipients or observers of an individual's constructively deviant behaviour, and therefore leadership style and the relationship between them and their subordinates play an important role in influencing destructive conformity and constructive deviance (Detert and Trevino, 2010). Burger (2009) proposes that individuals are conditioned by society to follow the direction of legitimate authority figures, however, as this section will show, different leadership behaviours have been shown to illicit very different responses.

2.7.2.1 Leadership style

There is evidence that an authoritarian style of leadership has the effect of increasing some types of destructive conformity, for example groupthink (McCauley, 1989; Neck and Moorhead, 1995; Schafer and Crichlow, 1996) and employee silence (Dedahanov et al, 2016). Janis (1973) in his seminal work on groupthink suggested that an authoritarian leadership style increased the propensity of groups to suffer from the effect. Authoritarian leadership has also

been posited to lead to a reduction in an individual's sense of personal control, and thereby increase an individual's proclivity to obedience (Fennis and Aarts, 2012).

The literature also suggests that an authoritarian style of leadership allows the "displacement of responsibility" to occur (Bandura, 1999, p196); this is similar to Latane and Darley's (1968) diffusion of responsibly, except rather than responsibility being diffused to other onlookers, it is diffused to those perceived as being in charge. Casper et al (2020) support this finding, by finding that the empathic response to delivering pain is lower when it is done at the direction of a third party, than when the pain is administered voluntarily. Consistent with this, Tilker (1970) found much earlier that if individuals are made to take responsibility for their actions, they are more likely to take a socially responsible route, even if that means being less obedient. Contrary to these findings, Tu and Luo (2020) identify that authoritarian leadership acts as an enabler for prosocial rule breaking. Considering this with Bandura's (1999) findings, this could be explained through the concept of displacement of responsibility – an individual feels able to break the rules because of their ability to displace responsibility to the authoritarian leader.

Other styles of leadership have also been examined in relation to constructive deviance. A directive style of leadership has been found to increase the occurrence of groupthink (Mullen et al, 1994; Cruz et al, 1999; Chen et al, 1996; Choi and Kim, 1999; Vafeas and Hughes, 2016), as has a promotional leadership style of leadership, in which the leader supports a particular idea (McCauley, 1989; Flippen, 1999). Schafer and Crichlow (1996) found that impartial leadership reduced the likelihood of groupthink. Support for the relationship between directive leadership and groupthink is not, however, universal (Chen et al, 1996; Breitsohl et al, 2015).

Some evidence indicates that transformational leadership can increase the propensity for some forms of constructive deviance, such as employee voice (Detert and Burris, 2007). However, the literature also recognises that whilst this style of leadership can be empowering for some, for others it can overpowering

and confining (ibid). Indeed, Vadera et al (2013) found that transformational leadership encourages constructive deviance more generally.

There are indications that authentic leadership encourages employee voice (Wong et al, 2010; Monzani et al, 2019), although some research suggests that this only applies to employees with less proactive personalities (Guenter et al, 2017). Ethical leadership has been positively linked to employee voice (Bormann and Rowold, 2016; Chou and Chang, 2020) and to PSRB (Zhu et al, 2018).

Other styles of leadership that have been shown to correlate positively with constructive deviance include visionary leadership (Hartman et al, 2005; Kura et al, 2016), leaders that encourage moral imagination (Hartman et al, 2005) and benevolent leadership (Li et al, 2015). Conversely, abusive supervision has been found to increase levels of employee silence (Schlosser and Zolin, 2012; Hendy and Tucker, 2020; Al-Hawari et al, 2020; Wu et al, 2018b; Xu et al, 2015, Xu et al, 2019) and reduce constructive deviance more generally (Pan et al, 2018). Skip-level leaders (those at least two layers of hierarchy above the subject) have also been found to influence constructively deviant behaviour, mainly through stories (Detert and Trevino, 2010).

Other negative leadership traits which have shown tendencies to increase silence include supervisor ostracism (Jahanzeb et al, 2018; Lam and Xu, 2018; Takhsha et al, 2020), supervisor undermining (Frazier and Bowler, 2015; Jung and Yoon, 2019), bullying (Rai and Agarwal, 2018) and narcissism (Wang et al, 2018).

This research is not consistent; Detert and Burris (2007) found that a motivational leader may be perceived as either empowering or overpowering for constructive deviance, so could actually have a detrimental effect on constructive deviance. They have also found that the link to some styles of leadership is less important than approachability, after certain controls (for example, performance) were factored in.

Overall, the body of literature that has analysed the impact of leadership style on the incidence of constructive deviance has generally, although not exclusively, indicated that the styles of leadership that facilitate deeper levels of engagement

with the follower are most likely to encourage constructive deviance. These include authentic and transformational leadership styles. Conversely, styles of leadership which fail to consider the follower's intrinsic response, such as directive, authoritarian and abusive styles have been found to drive up individuals' inclination to destructively conform. Related to these findings is a leader's access and approachability which will be examined next.

2.7.2.2 Leader-follower relationship

Having access to and a perception of approachability have also been proposed as key determinants of constructive deviance. This includes voice behaviour (Saunders, 1992; Sobo and Sadler, 2002; Milliken et al, 2003; Detert and Burris, 2007; Detert and Trevino, 2010; Adelman, 2012; Morrison et al, 2015; Morrow et al, 2016; Takhsha et al, 2020; Vakola and Bouradas, 2005; Wu et al, 2018b). An open style of leadership has also been found to reduce the occurrence of groupthink (Flowers,1977; Fodor and Smith, 1982). However, actions matter more than rhetoric; a supervisor simply telling an employee that there is an open-door policy has been shown to reinforce the power differential, rather than to reduce it, thereby increasing silence (Detert and Trevino, 2010).

There is evidence that an organisation's effort to communicate with its employees can influence the choice between constructive deviance and destructive conformity. It has been found that management attempts to communicate with employees is reciprocated with employee voice (Detert and Burris, 2007; Dedahanov et al, 2015). Zhu et al (2018) found that example setting by leaders influenced behaviours around constructive deviance and destructive conformity; leader PSRB enabled follower PSRB.

The specific relationship between a leader and subordinate, in the form of leader member exchange (LMX) has also been shown to influence the choice between destructive conformity and constructive deviance (Tziner et al, 2010). High LMX has been shown to drive down silence amongst employees (Burris et al, 2008; Kim et al, 2014; Hussain et al, 2019) and to drive up voice behaviours (O'Toole and Bennis, 2009). Dahling et al (2010) report Mayer's (2007) unpublished findings that a high-quality supervisor–subordinate relationship is predictive of

PSRB behaviours. This finding is supported by John and Shafi's (2020) finding that LMX is positively related to customer oriented deviance (a subset of PSRB), and Dahling et al's (2012) findings that the perception of a high-quality relationship was correlated to constructive deviance in general. However, these findings are inconsistent with Fleming's (2020) research, which found no relationship between LMX and PSRB. Schlosser and Zolin (2012) and Hassan et al (2018) showed that high levels of trust in a supervisor reduced silence, whereas, counterintuitively, Khalid and Ahmed (2016) found that trust in supervisors did not lead to reduced silence, unless other contextual variables were present.

Fundamentally, leaders who establish a good relationship with their followers and behave and communicate in an approachable and open manner have been found to be most likely to encourage constructive deviance amongst their followers (Appelbaum et al, 2007; Argyres and Mui, 2007; Criscuolo and Ter Wal, 2014; Li et al, 2016; Trevino and Brown, 2005 (in Appelbaum et al, 2007); Mainemelis, 2010; Vadera et al, 2013; Bowen and Blackmon, 2003; Milliken et al, 2003; Parkes and Davis, 2013). The influence of empowerment and related themes will be examined next.

2.7.3 Accountability, autonomy and empowerment

Evidence suggests that when people are faced with the opportunity to constructively deviate or destructively conform, they are influenced by the level of accountability, autonomy and empowerment that they feel. This is linked to the previous section on leadership, as leader behaviour could affect the levels of autonomy and empowerment an individual feels (Chen et al, 2019) and a leader could also hold individuals to account. The literature suggests that if an individual is both psychologically and practically able to constructively deviate, they are more likely to take that opportunity (Kong and Kim, 2017).

Empowerment itself has been found to be positively linked to employee voice (Hassan et al, 2018). Detert and Trevino (2010), Schlosser and Zolin (2012) and Knoll et al (2016) suggest that those leaders who deliberately seek to empower employees to find solutions, rather than waiting for the employees to come to

them, are likely to get a positive response. Other literature also suggests that this applies to a lack of autonomy and empowerment in their role (Criscuolo and Ter Wal, 2014; Dahling et al, 2012, Dungan et al, 2015; Mainemelis, 2010; Morrison, 2006; Schilpzand et al, 2015; Vadera et al, 2013; Sharma and Singh, 2018). Likewise, Morrison demonstrated a positive relationship between both the level of autonomy an employee feels with the likelihood of PSRB. The relationship between autonomy and PSRB is supported by other research (Staw and Boettger, 1990; Kahari et al, 2017; John and Shafi, 2020). Additionally, Fazel-e-Hasan et al (2019) indicated that empowerment and autonomy were predictors of customer-oriented deviance. Finally, John and Shafi (2020) find evidence that involvement in decision-making and social support are positively related to customer-focused deviance. Mainemalis (2010), through a synthesis of creativity and deviance literature hypothesised that low levels of autonomy, associated limited access to resources and absence of psychological safety will stifle creative deviance.

This section will examine the specific factors that influence the level of accountability, autonomy and empowerment and how they affect constructive deviance and destructive conformity behaviours.

2.7.3.1 Organisational structure

Firstly, looking at organisational structure, there is evidence that hierarchy and bureaucracy can reduce the responsibility felt by individuals to take constructively deviant action.

From studies into obedience, this has been explained in relation to agentic shift (Milgram, 1965), defined by Fennis and Aarts (2012, p824) as the “tendency to relinquish personal control to an external agent”. This has been posited to happen when felt accountability reduces because this responsibility is displaced to those in authority. Kilham and Mann (1974) investigated this by examining differences in levels of obedience between transmitting orders and actually carrying out the orders, finding that those transmitting were more obedient than those carrying out the orders. In essence, evidence suggests that it is easier to justify poor behaviour if it has been directed by someone else.

Burger (2009) partially replicated Milgram's 1960's studies, and whilst he questioned the specific mechanisms that led to obedience, he established levels similar to Milgram. His findings implied obedience occurred because of the ability to displace responsibility to the experimenter, particularly as the experimenter was viewed as a legitimate expert, because they can be viewed as shouldering the responsibility for the subject's actions. Like Burger (2009), Haslam and Reicher (2012) contested Milgram's findings and particularly the generalised statements that anyone could be obedient. Fitch and Saunders (1976) noted that whilst bureaucracies and societies are built on obedience, this structure can allow obedience to become destructive, also noting that rank plays a part in this. Burger (2011) notes that individuals who are more willing to accept personal responsibility are less likely to be destructively obedient.

As with obedience the ability to diffuse responsibility, and therefore feel less responsibility for taking action, has been cited as a predictor for bystander apathy, which is a form of conformity (Moore and Gino, 2013). Moore and Gino (2013) suggest that membership of a bureaucratic organisation provides psychological protection to individuals, which allows them to passively stand by, rather than intervene, in morally dubious situations. This is supported by Holland et al (2016) who suggest that social standing within a hierarchy influences the likelihood of intervention, with lower social standing making an individual feel more precarious, and therefore, less likely to intervene. Fennis and Aarts (2012) previously found that a reduced sense of personal control, which could also come from a lower position in the hierarchy, produces the same effect. Similarly, hierarchical structures have been shown to encourage employee silence (Morrison and Milliken, 2000; Morrow et al, 2016; Schwappach and Gehring, 2014; Tulubas and Celep, 2014).

Criscuolo and Ter Wal (2014) suggest that environments which have a greater formalization will restrict constructive deviance. This includes the centralization of power, conservativeness, rigidity, high conformity, strict enforcement of norms and a high level of procedural rules. The centralisation of decision-making and power within an organisation has been found to increase silence (Milliken et al,

2003; Dedahanov et al, 2015; Morrison et al, 2015; Morrow et al, 2016; Rybnikova, 2016; Tulubas and Celep, 2014; Khatri, 2003). Conversely, Dedahanov et al (2015), found that centralisation had no effect on silence behaviours. Organisations with high power distance and collectivist cultures have also been found to have a propensity for employee silence (Dedahanov et al, 2016; Jahanzeb et al, 2018; Rhee et al, 2014). Fleming (2019) finds that hierarchical and formalised workplaces reduce PSRB attitudes and behaviour, but that centralisation has no influence over PSRB, contrary to John and Shafi's (2020) findings that decentralised decision-making enables PSRB.

2.7.3.2 Work design

Literature suggests that an alternative way of reducing destructive deviance is to give individuals responsibility for their actions (Chekroun and Baker, 2002). Perceived accountability has been shown to increase intervention behaviour for bystanders (van Bommel et al, 2012); when people are aware of being visible to others (via a camera), they are more likely to intervene. Accountability has also been shown to overcome the barrier of lack of time that is felt by some potential responders (Manapragada and Bruk-Lee, 2016).

The introduction of a devil's advocacy role[9] has been mooted as a way to reduce groupthink (Janis, 1972; Sims, 1992; McAvoy, 2013), but other research has found that this does not influence the quality of decision-making (Chen et al, 1996). Callaway (1985) suggests that for the devil's advocacy to work, an individual must be held accountable for that role. Linked, Kroon and van Kreveld (1991) suggest that giving individual accountability to group members reduced the propensity for groupthink tendencies, more so than giving collective accountability to the group as a whole.

Getting commitment from a bystander has also been shown to increase action (Guéguen, 2014; Guéguen et al, 2015), even if this is in the form of a brief

[9] This is a method by which individuals are tasked "to reflect different perspectives to groups, to ask questions in a different way, to introduce new questions, and to avoid groups arriving at premature solutions*" (MacDougall and Baum, 1997, p532).*

interaction between the bystander and victim (Guéguen et al, 2016). Holland et al (2016) found that power also influences intentions positively, with higher power individuals being more likely to intervene. Permission and perhaps even commitment are inherent with higher power. Perhaps related to power, status has been linked to constructive deviance, both in terms of perceived frequency (Dungan et al, 2015; Galperin and Burke, 2006) and support for doing so (Appelbaum, 2007). Dungan (2015) proposes that there is a higher likelihood of dissent amongst those who have greater occupational power.

Practical empowerment and sufficient autonomy to constructively deviate come from having sufficient resource, including time; Appelbaum (2007) and Mainemelis (2010) conclude that whilst keeping people busy with corporate tasks reduces the chance of them behaving in a negatively deviant way, it also reduces their opportunity for constructive deviance. In support of this position, Galperin and Burke (2006) found that feeling driven to work reduced subjects' appetite for constructive deviance. From an organisational perspective, greater access to resources, including spare time, also facilitated customer-oriented deviance (Leo and Russell-Bennett, 2012).

More specifically, with regard to the bystander effect, Darley and Batson (1973) looked at the effect of being in a rush, finding that situational factors that result in a perceived shortage of time on the part of the bystander reduced the likelihood of intervention. They attributed this effect to the conflict that exists between helping the perceived victim and the impact on whatever event they were rushing to. As such, if organisational design and process result in individuals lacking the autonomy to control their own schedule, this might result in them being less likely to intervene (constructively deviate) and more likely to demonstrate bystander apathy (destructive conformity). The relationship between autonomy and PSRB is also supported (Staw and Boettger, 1990; Kahari et al, 2017; John and Shafi, 2020). In a similar vein, time pressure has been found to increase the incidence of groupthink (Courtright, 1978; Neck & Moorhead, 1995; Choi and Kim, 1999) as has stress, which might arise from time pressure (Breitsohl et al, 2015).

However, Schafer and Crichlow (1996) found that neither time constraints nor stress contribute as antecedents to groupthink.

As much as the presence of non-responsive others can reduce an individual's propensity to help, research suggests that their intervention can also positively influence others. Literature suggests that when a bystander chooses to engage with the situation, it can encourage others to do the same (Báez-León et al, 2016). Literature indicates that even the gentle nudge to assist with defining the situation as one which requires involvement can influence an individual to intervene (Bickman and Green, 1977; Borges and Penta, 1977; Bickman, 1979; Bowes-Sperry and O'Leary-Kelly, 2005; Buckley et al, 2016). Likewise, evidence suggests that if other members of the group indicate that they are intolerant of a given behaviour, individual members of the group are more likely to react to an instance of that behaviour (Thomas et al, 2019). In a similar way, Morrison established a positive relationship between previous PSRB-behaviour of their co-workers with the likelihood of PSRB. There is also some evidence that constructive deviance in general can be contagious (Bryant et al, 2010; Criscuolo and Ter Wal, 2014).

2.7.3.3 Training and education

Evidence has also shown that individuals also need to have the capability to take action. Training and education have been shown to help address the issue of knowing how to respond which is critical in Latane and Darley's (1970) model (Banyard, 2011). Formal active bystander training has been shown to increase intervention behaviour in a variety of contexts, predominantly in higher education settings (Beaman et al, 1978; Banyard, 2009; Brody and Vangelisti, 2016; Rothman et al, 2018; Rojas-Ashe et al, 2019). Evidence suggests that especially effective are programmes that help attendees to socially rehearse situations that they might encounter (Bennett and Banyard, 2016). In addition, education in the form of information campaigns has also been shown to increase bystander intervention intentions (Bickman and Green, 1977; Pantin and Carver, 1982; Cismaru et al, 2010). Priming techniques such as participation in a discussion group about intervention (Tredinnick and McMahon, 2019) or even just exposing

a subject to words about helping (Abbate et al, 2013) have been shown to be sufficient to increase bystander intervention behaviours.

However, not all research is as positive about the effect of bystander priming and training. Priming in the form of a discussion about the parable of the Good Samaritan failed to demonstrate an increase in helping effects (Darley and Batson, 1973). Barone et al (2007) and Hetzel-Riggin (2017) found that one-off training interventions programmes fail to change attitudes or intervention behaviour and that ongoing peer-to-peer initiatives such as support groups are more effective. In addition, Rowe (2018) noted the requirement for ensuring that the targets of bystander intervention are trained how to be receptive to such challenges, rather than just focusing on the bystanders themselves.

Awareness and knowledge of organisational policies and processes have also been shown to influence behaviour. In order to break silence, researchers have found that individuals need to have knowledge of both processes for speaking out (Good and Cooper, 2014), and of the issue itself (Haskins and Freeman, 2015; Hussain et al, 2019). To mitigate lack of confidence and information, Haskins and Freeman (2015) proposed open management processes, information sharing as a default and the provision of regular strategic updates. Larson et al (1991) and Ben-Hur et al (2011) opined that access to information is imperative in order for good decisions to be made and for the avoidance of groupthink.

This section has shown evidence that to constructively deviate, not only do people need the opportunity and resources that come from autonomy, but they also need to feel the psychological safety that comes from empowerment (Appelbaum et al, 2007; Mertens et al, 2016a). This requirement for empowerment has been identified as problematic for constructive deviance as some research shows that true empowerment is uncommon in organisations (Morrison and Milliken, 2000), which perhaps comes from the cultural environments, to be examined next. This section also indicates that certain structures, particularly bureaucratic hierarchies, can allow individuals to diffuse responsibility for taking action away from themselves, onto others (Kilham and

Mann, 1974; Fitch and Saunders, 1976; Fennis and Aarts, 2012; Moore and Gino, 2013). In addition, work design (Kroon and van Kreveld, 1991; Galperin and Burke, 2006; McAvoy, 2013) and training and education (Banyard, 2011; Bennett and Banyard, 2016) have been shown to influence whether people will constructively deviate or destructively conform.

2.7.4 Culture and climate

Whilst there are various definitions of culture, "almost all definitions of culture agree that it is about people and behaviours" (Cheese in CIPD, 2016, p3) and whilst it can be difficult to articulate, culture has been identified as "one of the most important and valuable" attributes of an organisation. Schwartz and Davis (1981, p12) combined the visible with the invisible suggesting that culture is "a pattern of beliefs and expectations shared by the organisation's members. These beliefs and expectations have been posited to produce norms that powerfully shape the behaviour of individuals and groups". Whilst culture is often considered at the organisational level, the importance of group or team-level effects has been noted by some researchers (Erez and Gati, 2004; Shin et al, 2016).

Related to culture, the climate of an organisation relates to the shared perceptions of individuals within it and has variously been described at levels of analysis from individual to organisational (Wallace et al, 1999). Whilst there is confusion about the relationship between culture and climate, climate is defined as "the perception of formal and informal organisational policies, practices, procedures, and routines" and the influence on the individual is recognised (Ostroff et al, 2013, p650).

The evidence suggests that there is a variety of cultural and climatic factors that exist within the organisational and team level that will influence whether individuals constructively deviate or destructively conform (Morrison and Milliken, 2000; Vadera et al, 2013; Curphy, 2019). This section will bring together the cultural and climatic factors that influence that behaviour.

2.7.4.1 Culture

Cultural norms that exist within a given setting have been demonstrated to influence individuals' behaviour around constructive deviance and destructive conformity. At the level of organisational culture, norms have been shown to influence bystander intervention, such that if there is a salient norm of intervention, an individual is more likely to do so (Bowes-Sperry and O'Leary-Kelly, 2005**;** Otto et al, 2014). Rowe (2018) suggests that organisations can help this perception by communicating regularly and offering training. This supports Ashton and Severy's (1976) very early findings that simply granting permission to intervene increases the likelihood of intervention.

Bicchieri and Chavez (2010) suggest that for conformity effects to occur, the norm in question needs to be salient, that is, there needs to be awareness of the norm and an expectation that the norm will be followed. They propose that norm-compliance can be altered through the presentation (or not) of relevant information. Rudy-Hiller (2020) challenges the assertion that there is a significant difference between normative expectations (those placed on an individual) and predictive expectations (what one believes others are doing), suggesting instead that the predictive expectations generate the normative.

Moorhead et al (1998) proposed that the group norms that direct decision-making procedures are an influence, although Callaway et al (1985) found that decision-making procedures in themselves did not influence groupthink. However, as will be shown next, some processes do influence whether an individual destructively conforms or constructively deviates.

Lin et al (2016) also notes that the enforcement of norms within an organisation can generate neophobia (a dislike or fear of new or unfamiliar things) therefore reducing employees' aspirations for creativity. Tenzer et al (2019) finds that normative support for innovation reduces creative deviance because employees are more likely to find legitimate means for pursuing creativity.

2.7.4.2 Climate

Different climates such as perceived organisational support, organisational justice and organisational trust have been found to encourage constructive deviance in general (Kura et al, 2016; Cohen and Ehrlich, 2019). More specifically, perceptions of organisational support (Enrenla Tekmen, 2016) and organisational justice (Morrison et al, 2011; Tangirala and Ramanujam, 2008; Huang and Huang, 2016; Monzani et al, 2016) psychological safety (Detert and Burris, 2007; Liang et al, 2012) and trust (Schlosser and Zolin, 2012; Dedahanov, 2015) have been demonstrated as factors that increase employee voice. Relatedly, research has shown that voice climate (group level perceptions about voice) is also predictive of individual voice behaviours (Morrison, 2011; Frazier and Bowler, 2012). MacCurtain (2018) finds that a culture of organisational support and psychological safety are also associated with higher levels of intervention by bystanders.

Likewise, an ethical climate encourages employees to speak up (Wang and Hsieh, 2013), as does a climate that is positive about information sharing (Kim et al, 2014). Borry and Henderson (2020) examined the organisational climate for medical staff, finding that an ethical climate enabled PSRB whilst finding partial support for a negative relationship between a climate based on rules and procedures and PSRB. Fleming et al (2020) previously found the converse, that rule consistency within a workplace does not reduce PSRB. Overall, there is evidence that climate can have a substantial influence over individuals' propensity to constructively deviate.

Workplace spirituality (WPS) has been found to have a positive relationship with PSRB (Asadullah, 2017). Whilst not immediately obviously an organisational level factor, common elements of WPS from a multitude of definitions include meaning of work and a sense of community, which are clearly organisational level aspects of an individual's life (ibid). Garg and Saxena (2020) found that workplace spirituality is positively related to constructive deviance more generally.

Conversely, the impact of climate on destructive conformity is also noted. Mainemalis (2010, p567) finds that “organisations that place relatively greater emphasis on conformity than on creativity” are likely to have lower levels of creative deviance (when individuals ignore management direction in order to pursue new ideas). Proposals to reduce destructive conformity from Haskins and Freeman (2015) include initiatives that attempt to mitigate fear and apathy, such as avoiding reprisals for expression of voice, ensuring mission clarity, empowering individuals with resources and authority and closing hierarchical gaps. Adelman (2012) finds that an organisational focus on continuous improvement enabled employees to speak up to leaders with information, both positive and negative, creating an expectation of upwards feedback. This is similar to a “culture of candour” that is found to relate positively to voice (O'Toole and Bennis, 2009) and to felt obligation for constructive change (Liang et al, 2012). Organisational politics have also been cited as a being positively related to organisational silence (Khalid and Ahmed, 2016; Lam and Xu, 2019). One outlying study (van Bommel et al, 2016) found that if bystanders are under the influence of alcohol, whilst the amount of helping didn’t increase, those that did intervene, did so faster.

2.7.4.3 Cohesion

Whist the concept of cohesion is usually applied at the team level, it is also recognised as being important at the organisational level (Salas et al, 2015). Janis (1973) suggested that group cohesion, which might lead to a strong desire for acceptance, increases the propensity for groupthink, but this has been disputed. Highlighted by some as being the dominant factor influencing the incidence of groupthink (Park, 1990) group cohesion has variously been found to corelate positively (Callaway and Esser,1984; Vafeas and Hughes, 2016), have no significant influence (Park, 1990; Tetlock et al, 1993; Flowers, 1977; Fodor and Smith, 1982; Jones and Roelofsma, 2000; Postmes, 2001; McCauley, 1989; Cruz et al, 1999) or even have a negative relationship with groupthink (Breitsohl et al, 2015). Callaway and Esser (1984) found that intermediate cohesiveness was most likely to result in groupthink. Other studies (including Janis, 1972) have found that cohesion is a necessary, but not sufficient condition and as such is

only an influence when mediated by other factors (Flippen, 1999, Park, 1990; Turner et al, 1992; Mullen et al, 1992). For example, Callaway and Esser (1984) found that high cohesiveness was a factor only when combined with poor decision-making procedures and Mullen et al (1994) found that cohesion increased in its effect in larger groups, but only when combined with directive leadership.

Courtright (1978) found that groups with high levels of hostility and conflict (the opposite of cohesion) are least likely to suffer from groupthink. This position has been supported by others (Postmes et al, 2001; Troyer, 2009) who suggested that it is not cohesion per se that leads to groupthink, but that cohesion discourages criticism, the absence of which mediates groupthink effects. In essence, conflict can be good for avoiding groupthink. Linked to this, Erdem (2003) suggested that too much trust can lead to groupthink because of the absence of criticism that trust generates.

Synchronous behaviours such as “marching, dance and chanting”, that increase identity and cohesion have been shown to increase obedience (Wiltermuth, 2012, p87). Wiltermuth (2012) demonstrated that just a few minutes of marching in step with an experimenter increased subjects’ propensity for following direction to kill sow bugs by more than 50%, suggesting that synchrony can therefore be used “as a tool to spur people to act destructively at the behest of their leaders” (ibid, p87).

Based on the observations above, cohesion alone as a factor for influencing constructive deviance and destructive conformity is not clear, however, the balance of evidence is that high levels of cohesion may at least contribute to a disinclination to constructively deviate, especially when combined with leadership factors.

2.7.4.4 Identity

Related to cohesion, Turner et al (1992) suggested that groupthink can be explained from a social identity perspective. Others (Turner and Pratkanis, 1998; Baron, 2005; Hogg and Hains, 1998) supported this perspective, suggesting that

groupthink is more about protecting the reputation of the group, which stems from collective identity and dominant group norms. Levine (1999) extended this idea of obligation to a social group and noted that individuals adapt their behaviour to align with the values and standards of a group with which they associate. Toelch et al (2018) concurred and added that they find that if subjects are accustomed to receiving accurate social information from a group, their perceptions are more likely to coincide with that group, even when the social information becomes inaccurate. Suedfeld et al (1972) found that political identity may play a part, showing that banners in keeping with the message of a political rally, will result in greater chances of intervention by other participants. This effect is also noted by Vafeas and Hughes (2016). Haslam and Reicher (2012) suggested that identity also played a significant part in an individual's likelihood to obey, concluding that obedience was fundamentally about identity-based followership. Haslam and Reicher (2012) and Haslam et al (2014) also concluded that identification to the experiment or advancement of science played the strongest role in obedience, rather than the experimenter's orders, an observation supported by Swann and Jetten (2017). These included the reputation and prestige of the establishment where the experiment was conducted, and therefore the experimenter (and his authoritative white laboratory coat) and the purpose of the experiment itself. Burger's (2009) findings suggested that obedience is encouraged by the development of identity with an authority figure or with a cause such as scientific endeavour. Whilst the evidence supports the positive relationship between identity and obedience, in contrast with these findings, Monzani et al (2019) found that if employees identify with their organisation, they are more likely to constructively deviate, through the expression of voice.

2.7.4.5 Policy and process

Processes and policies within organisations have been found to influence destructive conformity and constructive deviance, both positively and negatively. Firstly, inefficient decision-making procedures have been found to increase the likelihood of an organisation suffering from groupthink. (Callaway and Esser, 1984). Likewise, Schafer and Crichlow (1996) found that methodical procedures and avoidance of conformity pressures are most important when trying to avoid

groupthink. Troyer (2009) suggested that brainstorming without evaluation by other group members can also inspire better decision-making. Larson et al (1998) and Ben-Hur et al (2011) made it clear that access to information is imperative in order for good decisions to be made.

With respect to employee voice, individuals have also cited administrative issues as reasons for remaining silent about issues (Harmanci et al, 2018). Ironically, Detert and Trevino (2010) found that having administrative processes in place, designed to encourage speaking up, has a counterproductive effect. Instead of discouraging silence, such process and procedures have the effect of reinforcing the beliefs that lead to silence, thereby leading to increased silence.

Whilst Detert and Trevino (2010) and Dedahanov et al (2016) found that formal strategies for reducing employee silence had the counterintuitive effect, Adelman (2012) found that formal strategies improved voice behaviours, although it should be noted that these strategies were in conjunction with managers informally availing themselves to employees as well. MacMahon et al (2018) found that policies supporting employee voice were ineffectual, and that management behaviours were significantly more influential. Detert and Trevino (2010) noted that attempts to keep briefings informal with skip-level leaders are likely to quickly become formal, with the power differentials suppressing voice.

Simply having a formal policy that states a zero-tolerance attitude towards sexual harassment was also found to increase intervention behaviour (Jacobson and Eaton, 2017). Vafeas and Hughes (2016) noted the benefit of employee turnover in bringing fresh eyes to an organisation. However, Saunders et al (1992) found that changing supervisors, rather than having the intended “new blood” effect, increased silence behaviours, at least temporarily.

2.7.5 Perceived consequences

This section will examine how the anticipated consequences and effects of taking action can influence constructive deviance and destructive conformity.

Fear of reprisals is a key consideration for individuals prior to taking constructively deviant action. As part of the decision-making process, bystanders have been

found to weigh up the cost against the benefit of intervention. Bystanders who felt that the risk of retaliation outweighed the potential benefits are less likely to intervene (Banyard, 2011; van Bommel et al, 2012; Báez-León et al, 2016; Fischer et al, 2011; Hennelly, 2019). These risks also drive silence behaviours. The unwanted consequences of damage to reputation or the possibility of reprisals, which are among the perceived "costs of speaking up" are balanced against the benefits (Schwappach and Gehring, 2014).

Individuals have been shown to consider the social consequences of taking constructively deviant action. Fear of retaliation or the creation of conflict has been cited by several researchers (Milliken et al, 2003; Brinsfield, 2013; Haskins and Freeman, 2015; Rybnikova, 2016; Manapragada and Bruk-Lee, 2016; Wu et al, 2018b; Hendy and Tucker, 2020). Troyer (2009) suggested that fear of evaluation by group members and a sense of competition between group members can stimulate groupthink effects. Likewise, the fear of isolation has also been cited as a reason for maintaining employee silence (Harmanci et al, 2018). It seems that the risk of isolation also has potential to become a vicious cycle, as other studies (Gkorezis et al, 2016; Jahanzeb and Fatima, 2018; Jung and Yoon, 2019; Takhsha et al, 2020; Wu et al, 2018a) have found that workplace ostracism (the "perception of being ignored or excluded" (Ferris et al, 2008, p1348)) increases the likelihood of employee silence. Gkorezis (2016) stressed the need to make employees feel included within the organisation, in order to reduce employee silence. Similarly, Schlosser and Zolin (2012) found that having a highly unionised workforce, instinctively something that might increase silence, through reduced trust, has the opposite effect.

Other researchers have found that fears about being perceived as a troublemaker by management increase silence behaviours (Milliken et al, 2003; Detert and Trevino, 2010; Detert & Edmondson, 2011; Schwappach and Gehring, 2014; Tulubas and Celep, 2014; Pirie, 2016; Vafeas and Hughes, 2016; Wang et al, 2018). This is consistent with Fleming's (2019) and John and Shafi's (2020) findings that threats of punishment for rule-breaking decrease PSRB. Argyres and Mui (2007) suggested that fear of reprisals, especially from managers and

the absence of economic enticements are most likely to supress principled organisational dissent. Contrary to Detert and Burris's (2010) views on formal systems, Argyres and Mui (2007, p118) suggested that having "rules of engagement" can encourage dissent because they provide some protection from hierarchical powers.

As proposed by Haskins and Freeman (2015), the result of these findings is that organisations should have in place initiatives that attempt to mitigate fear and apathy. This could include processes for avoiding reprisals for expression of voice particularly from managers, ensuring mission clarity, empowering individuals with resources and authority and closing hierarchical gaps. Argyres and Mui (2007) agreed, noting how the idea of "constructive confrontation" worked for Intel, but also that it takes a significant period of time to eliminate fear as a motivation for not dissenting, not least through the use of informal leaders.

Another consideration for individuals faced with a choice between constructive deviance and destructive conformity is the likelihood of success. Fazel-e-Hasan et al (2019) found that hope (the belief that they can achieve a successful outcome) was a predictor of customer-oriented deviance. This is process also affects willingness to speak up. Known as ineffectual silence (Morrison and Milliken, 2000), it is the expectation that nothing will happen as a result of speaking out that drives silence behaviours. Research has shown that people stay silent because they believe that managers will give an issue insufficient attention (Saunders, 1992; Manapragada and Bruk-Lee, 2016; Harmanci Seren et al, 2018) or because they believe it would not solve the issue (Milliken et al, 2003; Brinsfield, 2013; Schwappach and Gehring, 2014; Dedahanov et al, 2015; Donovan et al, 2016; MacMahon et al, 2018; Hennelly et al, 2019). As such, individuals need to have a belief that their actions will make a difference, likely based on previous experience or their observations of others, if they are to take constructively deviant action.

As well as fear of negative consequences driving destructive conformity, studies have shown that the potential for positive outcomes can help drive constructive conformity. In a similar situation to that studied by Asch (1956), Baron et al (1996)

found that offering a financial incentive for accuracy increased conformity levels dramatically for complex tasks, but reduced it for simple tasks, supporting the notion of informational conformity. Mainemalis (2010) found that inappropriate reward systems that promote conformity over creativity would produce just that. The need for appropriate reward systems is supported by Kim and Choi (2018) who also suggest that individual differences need to be appreciated by management if creative deviance is to be fostered. Like all forms of destructive conformity, there are individual differences that contribute to a person's propensity to obey, but Thomas et al (2017) noted that whilst some individuals are inclined to blindly follow (termed, yes-men), by rewarding that behaviour with promotion or additional responsibility, the organisation can clearly encourage that poor behaviour. Lin et al (2016) also noted the influence of leaders, suggesting that forgiving and rewarding creatively deviant behaviour encourages similar behaviour, more than punishing or ignoring it.

2.8 Previous contributions

This chapter has so far reviewed the literature about constructive deviance and destructive conformity, focusing on what is understood about the antecedent conditions for each. This section will briefly summarise the contributions that have been made so far, demonstrating that despite a wealth of research, the intricacies of how and why individuals choose between constructive deviance and destructive conformity are still not well understood, particularly in highly normative environments.

Much of the research into destructive conformity has focused on demonstrating that destructive conformity occurs, rather than focusing on the individual interpretations of why and how it occurs. Asch's (1956) studies demonstrated conformity effects in a contrived laboratory-based experiment but gathered little data on the subject's interpretation of the situation that encouraged them to conform, or what might have made them dissent. Similarly, Milgram's (1963, 1965) laboratory-based obedience experiments exhibited the effect of authority but didn't grasp a nuanced understanding of what drove the subjects to obey. Janis' (1982) and Handelsman (2017) mainly used documentary analysis to

extrapolate the antecedents of groupthink, rather than gathering individual perceptions on the situation that allowed people to fall foul of the effect.

An analysis of the contributions surrounding constructive deviance demonstrates a similar result, that whilst organisational factors that influence constructive deviance are recognised, how and why those factors influence individuals are less well understood. For example, research has indicated that different styles of leadership will influence whether an individual constructively deviates, but how and why leaders have this influence not been unpicked in detail from the perspective of the subjects. Similarly, previous research has suggested the perceived likely consequences of constructive deviance have an impact on an individual's propensity for taking action but missing is a deep and nuanced understanding of why that might be the case. A deeper understanding of how and why these different factors interact to influence individuals' perception is important, because only through understanding this will it be possible to consider and evaluate appropriate actions to encourage constructive deviance and reduce the likelihood of destructive conformity.

Researchers have used different methodological approaches (qualitative, quantitative or conceptual) and levels of analysis (individual differences or organisational factors) to the study of constructive deviance - these are shown in detail in Appendix B. Most research has focused on quantitative or laboratory-based approaches which have focused on identifying the extent to which destructive conformity or constructive deviance occurs, often at the expense of an intimate understanding of the situational factors, as interpreted by the individual subjects. Schilpzand et al (2015) noted that there is a paucity of "rich, real-life accounts" of constructive deviance and therefore "the emergence and facilitation of these actions" is not well understood. Rowe (2018) agrees, highlighting the historic reliance on hypothetical situations and the need for extending knowledge through the use of real-life situations.

Qualitative approaches that have investigated why and how organisational factors influence individuals' behaviour around constructive deviance are under-represented from an empirical perspective. The few studies that have taken a

qualitative approach have rarely unpacked how and why the interpretation of organisational factors drive either constructive deviance or destructive conformity. Instead, they have focused on the factors that drive constructive deviance without considering what might drive destructive conformity. Likewise, there have been studies that have looked at destructive conformity, that have insufficiently investigated what might have been different about that situation that would have driven constructive conformity. These two options are inextricably linked, as one outcome is, in effect, the absence of the other. For example, looking at voice versus silence, researchers have focused on the factors that influence people to destructively conform, without fully considering how and why those factors are interpreted by individuals or what might have encouraged them to constructively deviate (Milliken et al, 2003). Others have interviewed individuals who took courageous action, without considering those that failed to do so (Schilpzand et al, 2015). Whilst these studies have progressed the identification of the factors that influence individuals, the understanding of how individuals interact and interpret these factors, or what factors could have changed the outcome, needs deeper analysis. Therefore, the intention of this research, is to "capture the richness found in personal stories" (Milliken et al, 2003, p1458) in order to fully understand how and why individuals choose between destructive conformity and constructive deviance, rather than looking at just one side of that inextricably linked coin.

As can be seen from Appendix C, the research that has taken a qualitative approach to organisational factors has also frequently been conducted in environments in which individuals may experience few normative constraints and therefore might be more likely to constructively deviate. For example, research and development settings (Criscuolo and Ter Wal, 2014; Detert and Trevino, 2010) are likely to be relatively permissive towards constructive deviance. Arguably, creativity or challenging the status quo may be entirely normalised in these environments, which therefore fall short of the definition of constructive deviance, as by definition this is not a significant deviation from norms and carries no risk to the individual. Likewise, Irwin's (2003) research into tattooists is conducted in a subculture that is likely to positively welcome creativity and the

challenging of norms. Leo and Russell-Bennett's (2012) investigation into front line employees and Schilpzand et al's (2015) study into courageous acts are in environments in which are non-specific and general in nature. These might include a variety of contexts, but only one of the previous studies examined the military context, and that analysis was amalgamated with data from other contexts (Schilpzand et al, 2015).

Some qualitative research is used as a precursor for more generalizable quantitative research, rather than finding the depth and richness of what influences its occurrence that this research seeks (Mertens et al, 2016a). Other research looks at the outcomes of constructive deviance, such as Morrison's (2006) study into PSRB, rather than looking at what influenced its occurrence. Shoenberger et al's (2015) investigation into high-achievers, depending how the reference group is defined, may also fail to constitute constructive deviance, as the motive behind a pupil's high-achievement may not necessarily be focused on more socially worthy outcomes. As such, none of the previous research has specifically examined the hierarchical, highly normative environments like that found in the Defence context.

Taking the quantitative approaches to this area of study, shown in Appendix C, it can be seen many of these studies (Galperin, 2012; Galperin and Burke, 2006; Kura et al, 2016; Morrison, 2006; Leo and Russel-Bennett, 2014; Morrison et al, 2011; Walls and Hoffman, 2013) do not consider the nature of the organisational context at all but rather take a large number of interviewees from different contexts and ask them to consider a number of organisational factors that may enable or inhibit constructive deviance (based on existing literature). Like some of the qualitative studies, other quantitative studies focus on environments that may be more forgiving (or even welcoming) of constructive deviance such as education (O'Connor and Monin, 2016 and Staw and Boettger, 1990), research and development (Dahling et al, 2012) and advertising (Lin et al, 2016).

This research was therefore conducted in real-world situations in a hitherto unexamined highly normative context, in which it is reasonable to expect that there will be more normative pressure on individuals to destructively conform,

making constructive deviance more difficult. This allows for deepening of qualitative understanding of the influences that affect constructive deviance and destructive conformity, thereby offering a novel contribution to existing knowledge. As will be shown in the next chapter, the Defence context provides an ideal context for this investigation.

3 DESTRUCTIVE CONFORMITY AND CONSTRUCTIVE DEVIANCE IN DEFENCE

The previous chapter has demonstrated that existing research does not offer a deep and rich understanding of the enablers and barriers for constructive deviance. Analysis within a highly normative environment is notably absent.

This research addresses these shortfalls by providing a detailed qualitative examination of situations in which individuals constructively deviated and destructively conformed, focusing on the highly normative environment of Defence. This chapter will now take a deeper look at the literature which has reflected upon this Defence context.

The chapter will start by demonstrating that there have been examples of destructive conformity within Defence which have led to a desire for change, therefore demonstrating the relevance of this context for this study. The chapter will then compare what is known about the Defence context with antecedents described in the previous chapter, demonstrating that there is merit in examining the antecedents of constructive deviance and destructive conformity in the highly normative context of the military. It will propose the research question: what motivates and influences constructively deviant behaviour in the Defence context? Overall, this chapter will demonstrate that this context will allow us to develop academic knowledge, as well as to provide outcomes that are relevant to policy and practice within Defence.

3.1 Destructive conformity in Defence

There are several documented examples of destructive conformity within Defence. The findings of the Baha Mousa Inquiry (Gage, 2011) have already been described in the introduction of this thesis; however, this was not the only case of prisoner abuse by UK military personal in Iraq at that time. Amnesty International (2013) suggested that reports of abuse were “sufficiently numerous and credible” (p67) to warrant investigation; they also noted the “lack of moral courage to report abuse” (p68) – this silence is an example of destructive conformity in which the organisational norm of loyalty superseded the

hypernorms of justice and sanctity of life. A subsequent report looking at a decade of detainee mistreatment (Grieve, 2018) shows that there were many other cases of prisoner abuse and rendition[10]. Whilst the report concludes that there was no evidence that UK troops were directly involved in the mistreatment of prisoners, it makes clear that there were cases of UK troops witnessing first-hand the abuse of prisoners, which should have resulted in action being taken. In addition, there were over a hundred recorded incidents of UK troops being informed by either other countries' agents or the detainees themselves, that abuse was taking place, which again, should have resulted in action being taken, but consistently failed to do so. Grieve's (2018) report states that given the number of reports, they could not be perceived as isolated incidents and therefore should have been acted upon.

Defence procurement is another area which has been criticised for reasons that can be linked back to the absence of constructive deviance. The National Audit Office (NAO; 2013) in its a broad review of government projects notes the over-optimism of such projects and highlights the reluctance of staff to report bad news or to challenge the views of senior personnel. Specifically, within Defence, despite the identification of over-optimism years earlier (ibid), the NAO (2020) notes the continued over-optimism around the affordability of Defence-related projects. Even earlier, Gardener and Moffat (2008, p230), identified a "conspiracy of optimism" as being one of the major causes of cost overruns within the UK Ministry of Defence. Hartley (2016) identifies issues with optimism bias reaching back as far as the 1930s, indicating a deeply entrenched culture of failure to highlight financial risks in Defence procurement. If individuals had been able and willing to constructively deviate against this culture, mistakes could have been avoided.

[10] Rendition is the act of transferring a prisoner to a different country in which the legal framework allows interrogation techniques not permitted in the originating country.

McCulloch (2020)[11] notes that racism continues to be an issue within the UK's Armed Forces. This observation triangulates with Wigston's (2019) report into inappropriate behaviours within the military. Whilst focussing primarily on gender-based issues, Wigston also notes the disproportionate number of complaints that are registered by ethnic minorities within the military context. Conversely, he also notes that there are concerns about the underreporting of offences and that there are many reasons that servicemen and women fail to report offences, reasons that ultimately lead to the covering up of unacceptable behaviour.

These examples illustrate that the Defence context has had cases of destructive deviance. The next section will further develop the case for constructive deviance, by examining the rhetoric from across the organisation.

3.2 The case for constructive deviance

Within the military context, whilst the specific term is not used, there is a growing realisation that destructive conformity happens, most frequently in less extreme ways than in the Baha Mousa case. As such, there is a developing rhetoric that could be interpreted as a call for greater constructive deviance. This section will focus on current UK Government and Defence rhetoric, starting from senior leadership in the first subsection and working through to the more junior levels of the organisation in the second subsection. Whilst these are not necessarily academic sources, they show that, with regards to the negative impact some of these norms are having, there is significant appetite for change within Defence, advocated at all levels. The final subsection will look at initiatives and programmes that have been put in place in order to try to achieve the espoused aspirations.

[11] https://www.personneltoday.com/hr/defence-chief-demands-more-action-to-counter-racism-in-the-military/

3.2.1 Governmental and Defence leadership rhetoric

The last few years have seen a number of individuals expressing a desire for behaviours that could be described as constructive deviance. From the heart of government there is a desire to recruit people that can resist normalised behaviour. Cummings[12] (2020), in his headline-grabbing blog states his recruitment drive for "weirdos and misfits" noting that there is a "need to do things very differently" in today's UK government. He notes that frequently, great ideas seem bad in the first instance, and acknowledges that the culture of the normal government fails to encourage such ideas to materialise. His ideas have been criticised for being anti-trade-union (Serwotka, 2020) and for cultivating a "notion of eccentricity" which for some is unacceptable (Tricket, 2020), but they have support from some who recognise that government must "adapt or die" (Samuel, 2020). There is clearly an appetite for individuals that are capable of thinking in a constructively deviant manner.

The rhetoric around the need for change has also appeared within the upper echelons of Defence. Senior military officers are quoted by Haynes (2015), as saying that the context provides a "culture of risk-aversion, conformity and addiction to bureaucratic process" and that the military has "lost the art of constructive challenge" which has led to mission failure. She reports criticism from previous senior leaders saying, "staff officers masquerading as military leaders typically give in to politicians, whereas real military leaders stand up to them and provide good advice". Haynes (ibid) quotes the former Commander Land Forces as recognising that there was "great difficulty breaking out of triangular hierarchies" and notes that the conservative structure of the Armed Forces "discourages Mavericks from speaking out". The message here is clear: too much destructive conformity and not enough constructive deviance.

Chilcot (2016), in his Report of the Iraq Inquiry, makes clear that as an organisation, Defence does not embrace challenge. In response, the then

[12] https://dominiccummings.com/2020/01/02/two-hands-are-a-lot-were-hiring-data-scientists-project-managers-policy-experts-assorted-weirdos/

Deputy Chief of the General Staff, (the Army's second in command) (2018) directed a review of the culture of the Army, specifically looking at the appetite for constructive challenge. In doing so, he noted that within the Army, "there is an obvious tension: a hierarchical structure serves us well when fighting land tactical actions but it potentially stymies challenge and the full potential of our people to innovate in times of relative peace". This statement recognises that the military structure and culture is perceived to inhibit constructive deviance.

It is not only the UK military which has suffered from over-adherence to norms. Crosbie and Kleykamp (2018, p521), using examples of prisoner abuse, cheating on nuclear exams, and drunkenness, note that "over the past decade, the American armed services have witnessed a near-constant stream of so-called ethical lapses". They go on to recognise our "very limited social scientific understanding of these problems" (ibid, p522). A context in which constructive deviance was enabled might have allowed these ethical lapses to be called out and prevented.

In the MoD's (2019, p13) Report on Inappropriate Behaviours the now Chief of the Air Staff[13] notes that "military culture and a rigid hierarchy inhibits bystander intervention" and the ability to challenge poor behaviours. In response to that report CGS highlights the need to do more about passive bystanders in the face of poor behaviour (MoD, 2019). This is yet another message that there is too much adherence to the norm of keeping quiet, rather than speaking up about poor or inappropriate behaviour.

3.2.2 The Defence community view

Having looked at the view from Defence leadership, this subsection will now look at what the more junior members of the Defence community are saying.

Staff surveys indicate that there is dissatisfaction with the ability of individuals to speak up to their seniors. The Armed Forces Continuous Attitude Survey (MoD,

[13] Professional head of the Royal Air Force

2020), completed by a selection of military personnel, indicates that senior leaders are unwilling to listen to feedback and that challenge is unwelcome. Whilst this feedback indicates that the appetite for challenge is not healthy in any of the organisations represented by the data, it implies that the military and the civil servants working most closely within them, feel least comfortable about offering upwards voice or challenge.

Whilst only quasi-academic in nature, the Wavell Room[14] offers several articles that indicate the issue of destructive conformity is recognised by middle-ranking military officers. For example, Steve B (17 Apr 19), suggest that "military culture meant that doing something was rated more highly than doing the right thing" and that "the British military has a chain of command that encourages discourse, but largely refuses to engage with the conclusions". He goes on to suggest that if individuals consider anything other than doing as they're told, "the system will clamp down on them and their ideas" because they "may upset the General".

Perhaps one of the most emotive subjects of today, in response to the Black Lives Matter, one black officer (Chris J, 2020) uses the Wavell Room to reflect on his time in the British Army and notes that "saying and doing nothing is perhaps the safest approach in Defence" even when faced with racism. He notes the risk to individual's profile that comes with "standing up and challenging the culture around you". The message here seems to be that even something that is blatantly wrong, is difficult to confront.

Another Wavell Room writer, in his thoughts on "Speaking Truth to Power", Paul (2017) uses historical examples to demonstrate that "at every level of command it can be difficult to question your superiors". In spite of its espousal at senior levels, Nick (2017) notes the absence of mission command in home bases. This view is triangulated by the Chief of the Defence Staff (CDS) who notes in his annual Royal United Service Institute (RUSI) speech that whilst the philosophy of

[14] The Wavell Room is a website which publishes think pieces about contemporary military thinking, mainly from mid-seniority British Army officers, but is expanding to include other services and ranks. Anonymity is optional.

mission command is enacted well on operations, the "system freezes up" on home territory (RUSI, 2018).

At the Army's Change Leadership Conference[15] (The Army Leader, 2018) there was further criticism of conformity to norms and recognition of the need to cultivate nonconformists. Gowing (2018), challenged the audience by stating "if you are a leader at the top you are probably a conformist" to the culture of the organisation. He went on to suggest that this conformity, whilst getting individuals promoted, made them unqualified to deliver change for the organisation and would likely only result in further promotion of other individuals like themselves.

This apparent impasse, between needing nonconformity, which renders someone unpromotable, is summed up by Gino (2017)[16] who notes that "leaders say they want nonconformist employees. They sure don't act like it". As has been shown in this section, military leaders and personnel have said they want innovation, challenge, agility, thinking out of the box, mission command, but as Gino predicts, they don't always act like it. She notes that individuals are "taught to conform" early on their careers, which, as will be shown later in this chapter, is certainly true in the military. Given this apparent appetite for change, here follows a brief description of steps that Defence has taken so far, to reduce destructive conformity.

3.2.3 Defence initiatives and actions to date

Some initiatives have come from a single-Service lead, others from a Joint[17] standpoint. From a Joint perspective, Chilcot's Iraq Inquiry Report (MoD, 2017) which highlighted the absence of challenge and speaking truth to power within the military context, led to the creation of the principle of Reasonable Challenge (as an annex to the Good Operation (MoD, 2018)). This document makes reasonable challenge a duty, not a choice, for Defence personnel and offers guidance for both the recipient and provider of challenge.

---

[15] https://thearmyleader.co.uk/change-leadership/
[16] https://www.wsj.com/articles/leaders-say-they-want-nonconformist-employees-they-sure-dont-act-like-it-1494987000
[17] Joint refers to an amalgamated operation/process using more than one military Service.

Based on the newly founded Reasonable Challenge principle, the Vice Chief of the Defence Staff (2017) positioned himself as the champion of the culture of Challenge in Defence and set up advocates within each of the main budgetary lines. As a result, the Joint Forces Command People Strategy (MoD, 2019) committed to creating an "environment where challenge is actively encouraged" and people are given "permission to challenge".

The Defence Purpose Manager's Toolkit (MoD, 2019, p8) discusses the desire for personnel to both feel "empowered to challenge" and welcoming of "challenge from others". Finally, the "Defence Empowerment Programme launched (MoD, 2020) in order to build a more empowered workforce where we encourage our people to be bold and ask questions".

In essence, much has been done in order to get the ideas of challenge, mission command, trust and empowerment into the Defence lexicon. There have been numerous publicity campaigns for new doctrinal and policy documents, each one suggesting perhaps that the previous attempts have not achieved all that they intended.

These initiatives demonstrate the ambition and appetite for change, but Hollinger and Clark (1982, p342) suggest that "policies and procedures unilaterally enacted by management will no doubt be ineffectual in constraining employee deviance"; the extrapolation of this is that a greater impact on individuals' willingness to think differently will come at a cultural level, not from a top down approach, like that suggested by CAS, CGS etc., unless also conducted through achieving some form of normative consensus throughout the organisation. The investigation that requires focus then, is to examine what motivates constructive deviance in Defence, and then, to establish the enablers and barriers that influence that behaviour, but next is a deeper description of that environment.

3.3 The Defence context

This section will examine the military context and demonstrate that this is an interesting context in which to conduct this study because of the impact that it might have on individuals within it and their propensity to destructively conform

or constructively deviate. It will examine the military context and compare this with the existing literature on destructive conformity and constructive deviance, considering what impact this environment might be expected to have upon individuals within it. By doing this, we will demonstrate that the Defence context is appropriate for investigating constructive deviance and destructive conformity.

3.3.1 The military context

The military context is unlike many other institutions, at least in part because of its relatively distinctive raison d'être of delivering violence to an enemy (Paparone, 2008). Some literature goes further, suggesting that the military context is unique (Cole, 2014; Holland et al, 2016; Howard, 2006; Kirke, 2009; Luby, 2012). In addition, military personnel also face the prospect of violence being unleashed upon them, something which is quite likely to drive deeper the natural desire to belong (Baumeister and Leary, 1995; Whitehouse and Lanman, 2014), compared with other less kinetic environments. Despite its peculiarities, or perhaps because of them, there have been relatively few studies of military culture (Kirke, 2010).

Military life is also unusual because of its all-encompassing nature that impacts on not just its members but also their families (Arkin and Dobrofsky, 1978). It is described as a “total institution” (Kjellberg, 1965, p288) in which people live, work and are therefore indoctrinated into “common attitudes and standardized behaviours” (ibid, p288). Reger et al (2008, p22) suggests that its distinctiveness arises from its “language, a code of manners, norms of behaviour, belief systems, dress and rituals”; an encounter with the military is described by Cole (2014) as akin to visiting a foreign country. This offers an extreme context in which to examine the motivations for constructive deviance and the enablers and barriers that influence that behaviour.

3.3.2 Culture

Culture and norms are powerful drivers of behaviour within the military (Cole, 2014). As a key driver of human behaviour, having a culture in which people can be propelled to risk life and limb as well as to take the lives of an enemy, is vital

for operational success and as Firing et al (2009) point out, few actions are taken in the military context in isolation – group activity is the norm.

So, whilst this culture has the potential to inspire acts of heroism in individuals and is therefore invaluable for warfighting activities, it has also been described as a liability when change and transformation are required (Hill, 2015; Jungdahl & Macdonald, 2014). Cole (2014) notes that the military culture is so powerful, (she notes language, moral codes, hierarchy, sense of rules and regulations and warrior ethos as artefacts), it can induce a sense of sacrifice and hypermasculinity, not only in service personnel, but also in their offspring. Breslin (2000), whilst noting that some societal norms (liberty and individualism) are at odds with those in the military context (self-discipline, sacrifice, obedience and loyalty), suggests that a balance needs to be struck between maintaining societal norms and standards, but not becoming so "civilianised" that the military ceases to be combat ready.

Bond and Smith's (1996) review of conformity studies, which examines the effect of cultural differences, highlights that collectivist cultures have a higher degree of conformity, when compared with individualistic cultures. Whilst this language is usually reserved for an assessment at the national level, they (ibid) define collectivist culture at the organisational level as one in which organisational goals are considered more socially desirable than individual goals. Soeters et al (2006) identify that the military context is higher in collectivism (versus individualism) and power distance, which is likely to increase both constructive and destructive conformity (Cialdini and Goldstein, 2003). Chung and Moon (2011) note that even though the United Kingdom is considered individualistic compared to other countries, there are collectivist and individualist pockets within all national cultures. It therefore follows, that even within the UK, it is possible to have collectivist sub-cultures, such as that found within the military (Soeters et al, 2006; Firing et al, 2009; Hill, 2015). Chung and Moon (2011) found that in a collectivist culture, employee voice, which is a form of constructive deviance, is reduced.

Bond and Smith (1996) also note that specific events such as the Falklands Conflict and the Cold War have been found to increase conformity at a national

level; with war being the military's raison d'être, it could be reasonably expected that this would have a similar effect at an organisational level even outside the warfighting environment. Baumeister and Leary (1995) also note that an evolutionary sense of survival drives conformity as it can allow access to resources and bring a sense of belongingness. Even though this survival sense might be less relevant in the modern world, military experience of life-threatening situations might rekindle that need.

The military is also slow to change. Yildiz et al (2015, p107) suggest that organisations of today are "more flexible, creative, innovative and decentralized" than organisations might have been in the past. With its rigid bureaucracy, desperate clinging to tradition and inability to adopt meaningful change it is suggested that the military has failed to move with the times in the same way. As an example of the military's inability to maintain pace with contemporary issues, even though homosexuality was decriminalized in England and Wales in 1967 (Parliament of the UK, 1967), it took more than 30 years for the UK military to follow suit in 2000. Likewise, Dunivin (1994) notes that 20 years after women were allowed to join the US Air Force, the motto hanging over the gate was still "Bring me Men". The next section will look at the socialisation processes, including training that contribute to the sustainment of this culture.

3.3.2.1 Socialisation and training

Socialisation is "the process through which individual behaviours, values, attitudes, and motives are influenced to conform with those seen as desirable" (Huczynski and Buchanan, 2013, p807). Chao et al (1994) identify that organisational socialisation is the "primary process by which people adapt to new jobs and organisational roles" (p730) and that it is a "pervasive aspect of organisational behaviour" (p742). Firing (2009) suggests that a preference is developed for physical inconvenience over social inconvenience, which leads to the development of an internal habit of unconscious acceptance. Whilst higher levels of constructive conformity are to be welcomed, for example with regards to positive values and standards, they can also increase the likelihood of destructive conformity.

Pascale (1985, p3) suggests that socialisation is a systematic process which "encompasses the process of being made a member of the group, learning the ropes, and being taught how one must communicate and interact to get things done". He provides something of a seminal paper on socialisation and whilst his perspective is solely within a US culture, this is likely to have relevance to UK culture, given their similarity (Hofstede Centre Country Comparison website[18] accessed on 21 June 2020). Pascale's (1985) paper describes in some detail the process of socialisation and tends to focus on the positive aspects of adopting social norms, whilst only fleetingly noting the sometimes negative connotations that come with it. He makes just brief reference to the "cost of conformity" (applying only to superficial behaviour) and downplays previously acknowledged disadvantages such as the losses of innovation, individualism and individual rights and internal competition (ibid, p17). From a positive perspective, he goes on to state that "the aim of socialisation is to establish a base of attitudes, habits, and values that foster cooperation, integrity and communication" (ibid, p18), which should make the organisations more effective. The transmission of military values and standards in this way is clearly constructive conformity, but, as has been shown in the previous sections, there are times when over adherence to norms can produce unintended and negative consequences.

Often the longest period of training, initial military training is the "primary force of socialisation", involves an "inculcation of unquestioning acceptance of authority and development of conformity and disrupts "civilian patterns of adjustment" (and replaces "individual gratifications with group goals" (Arkin and Dubrofsky, 1978, p158) by which civilians are indoctrinated into the ways of military life. It shapes the "total person into being a disciplined cog within the military machine" (ibid). Initial military training appears to be intent on causing the "civilian's death and the military's birth" (De Brito and da Gloria Pereira, 1996). With routines of early morning physical training and late night inspections of uniform, equipment and accommodation, training is immersive and full time without even weekend relief. Residential in nature (described as trapping by Gee, 2017), this training is

[18] https://www.hofstede-insights.com/product/compare-countries/

comprehensive and designed to indoctrinate the civilian to the military in terms of values (Howard, 2006; Orak and Walker, 2019), emphasis on hierarchy and social control (Hutchison, 2013) and generating esprit de corps, mission first and self-sacrifice (Luby, 2012). Gee (2017) refers to the erasure of the civilian and creation of the soldier, through resocialisation, assimilation and programming. In short, isolation from other trainees or staff within that environment is almost impossible and so the attitudinal and behavioural influences from the military are all-encompassing, to the extent that allegiance to the military is inculcated at the expense of loyalty to an individual's previous existence (Orak and Walker, 2019).

For Arkin and Dubrofsky (1978, p158) "conformity to the prescribed rules of conduct is the focal point for change within the military processes of indoctrination". As such, starting with compliance around mundane activities such as standing to attention and marching in step, this obedience can incrementally develop into much more serious and damaging behaviours (Gilbert, 1981; Burger, 2009; Reicher et al, 2012). Wiltermuth (2012) demonstrates that just a few minutes of synchronous activity can lead to increased obedience, when subjects were asked to conduct the mildly immoral act of killing sow bugs (woodlice). He concludes that synchronous activities such as marching can "be used as a tool to spur people to act destructively at the behest of their leaders" (p87). If this can happen after just a few minutes of marching, the impact of not only months-long initial training, but also a decades-long military career, is perhaps worthy of investigation.

This continues throughout the serviceperson's career. Holland et al (2016) note that the norms of loyalty to and reliance on fellow servicemen and women can become so powerful, that they can compete with what would be incontrovertible norms in civilian life. They suggest that loyalty within service has driven, in part, destructive conformity such as the non-reporting of serious crimes, like sexual assault, which mirrors discussion from earlier in this chapter. These findings also reflect those of Eggensperger (2004) who notes that teams with very high intensity, which has a parallel with cohesion, results in a degree of isolation for

the rest of the organisation which might result in failure to report anything less than positive accounts of operational activity up the chain of command.

Pascale (1985, p5) describes norms as providing “an awesome internal consistency which powerfully shapes behaviour”; this builds on Hollinger and Clark’s (1982) assertion that employee behaviour is most significantly controlled or constrained by social interaction, rather than through formal managerial controls. Pascale (1985) makes several observations that resonate particularly with the highly normative environment of the military. For example, he mentions “near-mandatory participation on sports teams and attendance at social events” (p1) in order to help to build cohesion, camaraderie and togetherness, an archetypal description of initial military training. He also indicates long training periods to help mould individuals, enabling self-de-selection, humility-inducing experiences in the first few months, pressure-cooker environments, which reduce the ability to re-establish social distance from contemporaries, common language and social uniformity. These are all very recognisable characteristics of military training contexts, and there are many others: in-the-trench training, meticulous attention to measuring performance, adherence to values and personal sacrifice, folklore, mastery of a specific discipline, linked to rigid and structured promotion, grown only from within. These characteristics resonate so strongly, it is surprising that the research was based in a non-military context.

Fundamentally, there is an expectation of conformity from members of the military (Luby, 2012; Gee, 2017) and conforming is “just something that soldiers have always done” (Foreman, 2017, p1). Morrison and Lin Lawell (2016) suggest that the military places more emphasis on conformity than any other organisation. Cockerham and Cohen (1980) state that in any bureaucracy, there is a predisposition to follow orders because of the efficiency benefits and legitimate power differential presented. For some, the concept of the military is almost synonymous with obedience. In the military, they suggest that obedience is a “normative expectation of all involved” (ibid, p1273).

For the individual, conformity offers direction in uncertain situations (Sunstein, 2019), which might be more frequent in a military environment. The reasons

(informational or normative) and depth (compliance, identification, internalization) are difficult to disentangle but, for this study, matter less than the outward manifestations. It is, however, likely that the intensity and longevity of military experience described earlier will move individuals towards normative internalization more than less extreme vocations might (King, 2006). This is often for good reason; conformity brings with it a predictability of behaviour which can mitigate some of the ambiguity that volatile situations can provide, which is an especially valuable consequence in a kinetic environment. It could be argued that there is greater ambiguity, especially in an operational context, and greater social pressure to appear composed, thereby creating a context in which the bystander effect could appear.

The socialisation period for military personnel is therefore intense and all-consuming, which is quite likely to drive higher levels of conformity, which are often constructive, but could also be destructive in nature. Military identity is deliberately developed within initial training and continues throughout an individual's career. As Morrison and Lin Lewell (2016) note, whilst leadership influences are often important, the focus on community results in an increase in the impact of peer influence. Dahling and Gutworth (2017) go a step further to predict that identity leads to conformity when normative conflict is low, but dissent when normative conflict is high. It stands to reason that if individuals have internalised the norms of Service life, normative conflict will be lower and therefore conformity is more likely, making this context an interesting one in which to study constructive deviance.

3.3.2.2 Hierarchy and bureaucracy

After initial training, the individual enters one of a multitude of Defence organisations. Whilst there are some cultural differences, for example between arms, branches and regiments, (Luby, 2012) there are substantial similarities that appear across the majority of military organisations (Breslin, 2000). Starting with the bureaucratic and hierarchical nature of the military, the many artefacts (Schein, 1988) that create this environment in the military context will be examined now.

It has been noted that the military is “eminently hierarchical” and this is true of almost all Defence organisations which has the potential for reducing autonomy, accountability and empowerment (Martins and Lopes, 2012, p186). Being bureaucratic in nature, by definition, creates an unequal distribution of power (Brooks, 2017) and as Brief (1991, p392) notes, the nature of bureaucracy is to make “functionaries and mere cogs in the administrative machinery” of those that work there. Brooks (2018), in her examination of a police force (which is similarly hierarchical to the military) notes that this “command and control” type organisation creates a culture in which the centralised decision-making, structural formality and hierarchy reduces the expression of employee voice, speaking truth to power and opinion-sharing. This environment therefore may have a tendency to favour destructive conformity over constructive deviance. She does however suggest that expertise and experience can generate power, even in lower ranks (Brooks, 2017). Drummond (2017) also examines the police and argues that hierarchy imbibes in its workers a sense of discipline and an expectation to follow orders. Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) propose that centralised power and hierarchy generates high power distance between workers. As Hill (2015) argues, bureaucracies like the military depend on adopting standardized and consistent ways of working and anything which runs counter to these activities, such as innovation (Jungdahl and MacDonald, 2014) is discouraged and stifled, thereby encouraging destructive conformity. Overall, it is suggested that military structure leaves “little space for protest or open opposition” (Van Wijk and Finchilescu, 2008, p 238). Indeed, as Hutchison (2013) notes, the maintenance of hierarchy in the military context has been shown to take priority over the achievement of organisational outcomes.

The bottom-fed pyramidal structure means that responsibility for actions may be displaced up the chain of command, increasing destructively conformist behaviours such as obedience (Kilham and Mann, 1974; Fennis and Aarts, 2012) and reducing constructive deviance such as bystander intervention (Latane and Darley, 1968; Cockerham and Cohen, 1980; Buckley et al, 2016; Moore and Gino, 2013; Rowe, 2018). In any situation, there is a preference for social conformity over individual autonomy (Passini and Morselli, 2009), but the

response to the Iraq Inquiry (MoD, 2018) contended that the military institution has a particular propensity for groupthink and offers insufficient challenge or diversity of thought; this is destructive conformity in other words.

Burger's (2009) legitimacy of orders can be translated to the military context as stemming from the chain of command that ultimately leads back to the government; the result is that there is almost always someone with higher levels of responsibility than any individual. Holland et al (2016) note that rigid hierarchies can be more tolerant of poor behaviours such as sexual violence. Johnson and Smith (2017, p3) observe that too frequently, men in the US military are "bystanders, silent and impotent in the face of a toxic workplace" when it comes to sexual misconduct. This is perhaps because of Mannion and Davies's (2015, p504) observation that "entrenched hierarchical status and power differences" contribute to organisational silence and Levine et al's (2002) finding that bystanders are less likely to intervene if other bystanders are part of the ingroup. Taking Van Wijk and Finchilescu's (2008) finding that in the military context, women are often perceived as an outgroup and men the ingroup, this finding could be exacerbated, meaning that military personnel are less likely to speak up and expose themselves to their chains of command.

Passini and Morselli (2009) suggest that trusting the legitimacy of authority is a learned behaviour. In the military context, this trust is presumably there prior to joining, to least to some extent, as individuals volunteer for military service. This learning is then extended through initial training and in service, giving further legitimacy to the system, allowing individuals to pass responsibility to others, rather than taking it upon themselves.

This "sharply stratified rank structure" (Kirke, 2010, p359) is visibly demonstrated in the military context through uniform, to be looked at next.

3.3.2.3 Uniform and rank

Some of the most obvious visual artefacts of the military context are uniform and rank. As well as demonstrating power differentials, uniform has also been identified as a mechanism by which collective identity is generated (Van Wijk and

Finchilescu, 2008; Shamir et al, 2000; Whitehouse and Lanman, 2014) – uniform after all, means 'the same'. Worn in most Defence settings, uniform overtly displays the service to which an individual belongs, perhaps which regiment, branch or specialism and significantly, what rank they hold within the hierarchy (Hertz, 2007; Joseph and Alex, 1972; Van Wijk and Finchilescu, 2008). Hertz (2007) offers the military as an example of a totally regulated environment, an artefact of which is uniform. She suggests that uniform sends cues about status and likely physical and psychological behaviours and is also used to identify insiders and outsiders. Hogg and Vaughn (2014, p243) note that a military uniform "symbolises complete unquestioning obedience to the British Monarch". Van Wijk and Finchilescu (2008, p237) note that uniforms were a barrier to gender integration in a military context and "acted as artefacts of oppression and resistance to women". Moore and Gino (2013) also suggest that uniforms can create a further sense of anonymity and that structure offers protection from the consequences of wrongdoing as well as opportunities for advancement in exchange for obedience.

Anecdotally, even out of the work environment, in civilian dress, there are still accepted norms of attire – commissioned officers will frequently be observed wearing chinos and an open-necked shirt; this occurs within the military social setting (bars and dining halls) but notably, also "outside the wire"[19], in civilian establishments. It is worth noting that uniform was originally introduced to distinguish officers from the rank and file, and it was only in the middle of the nineteenth century (more than a century later than officers) that ordinary seamen were issued uniform; it now continues to serve the same purpose, amongst others – to demonstrate the power difference between individuals, which may serve to increase conformity and obedience.

Brooks (2017) notes that this visible display of power differentiation emphasises the formal relationship that exists between different levels of the hierarchy, a

[19] "outside the wire" is an often-used euphemism for being away from the military base.

formality which is perceived as low quality and therefore reduces employee voice. This is exemplified in the military context by Wigston (MoD, 2019) who notes that there are too many examples of passive bystander behaviour and a culture of silence – both forms of destructive conformity; he concludes that more needs to be done to improve reporting, specifically in relation to gender-based inappropriateness.

In the military setting, many of the elements, such as strong identity with the organisation, built through powerful socialisation, described by Burger (2009) and Haslam and Reicher (2012), are present. Authority and prestige are demonstrated by rank and uniform. Hertz (2007) states that the purpose of uniform is to provide control. Bickman (1974) established that uniform generates greater obedience than civilian attire, and stated that "in the armed forces, uniforms are of great importance in signifying relative power" (p47); he also suggested that the impact of uniform that signifies governmental authority will have even greater effect. This is supported by Bushman (1984, 1988) who found that a firefighter's uniform is indeed more influential in similar circumstances. Reicher and Haslam (2011) suggest that the experimenter's white laboratory coat creates a prototypical image of a scientist, who therefore has authority; it could be argued that uniform creates a prototypical image of military personnel, who are to be obeyed.

This evidence suggests that uniform and rank could contribute to an increased level of conformity which is likely to undermine individuals' propensity to constructively deviate. Rank differential also defines access to other benefits – size of office, shipborne accommodation and even family accommodation, as size of married quarters is based on rank, rather than need. Given the importance of rank, it is necessary to next consider how that movement through the ranks is achieved, by looking at the promotion systems within the military.

3.3.2.4 Promotion system

Promotion in the military context is conducted within a merit-based system in which personnel are advanced through the ranks by selection at promotion boards, usually convened by branch and trade within each Service. Whilst the

precise process varies slightly across Services and even branches, it is common across all that selection for promotion is by requirement (numbers necessary to meet the Service need) and that individuals are chosen based on annual reports known as Officers' and Servicepersons' Joint Appraisal Reports[20] (OJARs and SJARs respectively). These reports are almost always written by an individual's chain of command, known as the first, second and occasionally, third reporting officers (1RO, 2RO and 3RO). Because, as seen in the previous section, rank influences almost everything about Service life, promotion is usually highly sought after and often competitive, and therefore significantly influences individuals' behaviour.

Specifically, this promotion system may serve to limit challenge given to the chain of command because of the increased formality and power differential brought about by this type of system (Brooks, 2017). The perceived risk that comes with disagreeing with those in the reporting chain is that it might create a poor impression, which will reduce the chance of a positive report, leading to a lowered chance of selection for promotion or specific roles. Brooks (2017) specifically notes that those with no chance of promotion are frequently more willing to challenge the chain of command – an act of constructive deviance. This issue is highlighted by the National Audit Office (2012) in their report into Reforming the Ministry of Defence, which notes the tendency for staff to report only good news up the chain of command, leading to a culture of over-optimism. This is not a new problem – Kjellberg (1965) noted that the bounds of tradition and professionalism have led to a resistance from superior officers to new ideas from their subordinates.

Formal, extrinsic rewards are based almost entirely on the rank of the subject, with immediate superiors having little control over these rewards. However, the reporting and promotion system means that those in higher rank have significant influence over an individual's career, which is a key determinant of perceived success within the military structure. As Platow et al (2015) note, leaders have

[20] Joint Service Publication 757 is the Tri-Service Guidance for Appraisal Reporting

significant social influence, perhaps granted to them by the followers who have their own ambitions, because of the chain of command-based promotion system. Gee (2017, p12) suggests that Army training indoctrinates “collective, unconditional obedience”, which is then reinforced through the rewarding of compliance with seniors through this promotion system. As such, the promotion system has the potential for driving a tendency towards compliance and conformity with those individuals who are senior in rank, especially those with reporting responsibility. In turn, the fears highlighted in previous sections of being perceived as a troublemaker by management are exacerbated.

Combined with demographic homogeneity at senior levels (Argyres and Mui, 2007; Vadera et al, 2013; Morrison and Milliken, 2000, Staw and Boettger, 1990; Kim and Choi, 2018), the interdependence, loyalty and collectivist culture seen within the military (Dungan et al, 2015 Mainemelis, 2010; Narayanan and Murphy, 2017) and the demographic differences between senior management and lower levels (Morrison and Milliken, 2000) one could expect very low levels of constructive deviance in this context.

A further impact of this system is that the military is predisposed to have limited diversity in its senior positions. Gailbreath et al (1997) offer the military as an example, noting that the lack of diversity arising from a system of internal promotion leads to poor organisational performance and decision-making and a resistance to change. Likewise, Hill (2015, p88) suggests that “militaries value uniformity over diversity”, the result being that people with a desire to get promoted behave like those senior to them, because it is truism that it has worked for them. As Hutchison (2013) notes, this process is cyclical as the like-minded promote the like-minded and given the pride that the military seem to have in being conservative and authoritarian (Gee, 2017), this seems unlikely to change.

3.3.2.5 Leadership

Chapter 2 highlighted that leadership behaviour was a substantial influence on whether an individual might constructively deviate, concluding that open and inclusive types of leadership would be most likely to encourage such behaviour. In the military context, Foreman (2017) notes that sometimes, a “command”

response is necessary, a style which is taught early in Service careers. The inculcation of a direct style of leadership within the military is not without reason; as noted previously, when faced with the violence of the enemy, the ability to direct troops to unleash similar ferocity and terror, even when they might be disinclined to do so, certainly adds something to operational capability. In addition, the immediate response to that style is also engendered; as Whitehouse and Lanman (2014) suggest, ongoing rituals develop identification and social cohesion, which in turn cultivate commitment and acquiescence to authority figures. Cialdini (2009) describes other situations in which obedience is attractive, and identifies classrooms, familial homes and hospitals, when obeying the authority figure of teacher, parent or doctor respectively.

However, as Drummond-Smith (2017) notes for the police force, genuine critical problems that require that command response are rare – the same is true of the military; much time is spent waiting and watching, with the kinetic elements of military life being mercifully short and infrequent. History is littered with ugly episodes, frequently in a military context, in which blind or unquestioning obedience to direct styles of leadership has led to undesirable consequences. For example, the now infamous My Lai Massacre (Turse, 2013), the Jewish Holocaust and more recently, the widely publicised abuse of prisoners in Abu Ghraib prison during the Iraq war in 2003 will, as they should, remain in public consciousness. Like conformity, there is a balance to be struck, but the military offers a context in which the detrimental side of obedience might be exhibited all too easily. Post and Panis (2011) suggest that the concept of duty is important to military personnel, as defined by their superiors and that anything less than following orders could feel unpatriotic, even if the orders are to abuse prisoners.

In essence, the leadership style that is inculcated from early in individuals' careers is one that is direct and coercive, borne out of necessity within operational environments. However, in slower-paced and less kinetic environments, this is a leadership style which could encourage destructive conformity and inhibit constructive deviance.

3.3.2.6 Rules and routines

There is a strong sense of rules and restrictions in the military context (Cole, 2014), a sense which is continually reinforced through training, routines and exercise, even before personnel are sent to war (Gee, 2017). Kirke (2010, p363) suggests that "an outsider may be forgiven for concluding that an individual soldier's life is so hedged about with formal rules that he or she has little choice about how to behave and what to do next" and includes as examples rigid routines and what and when to eat, wear and salute, both on and off duty. He does, however, note that for them to take effect, "rule-following needs to be normalised" (ibid, p373). In this context, where there are rules and routines governing every aspect of life, it could be seen that an individual could begin to lose the ability to make decisions for themselves and tolerate behaviour around them as acceptable, even when it may not be the case.

Darley and Batson's (1973) findings that being short of time exacerbates the bystander effect are also potentially relevant. Although the imperative presented by the violence of war is rare, even for the military, the urgent attitude spills over into normal business and the result is that deadlines are artificially imposed, which again, may result in the rejection of deviance and appreciation of conformity. As such, in a military context, the discomfort that an individual suffers through their dissent, even though it is intended to benefit the organisation (Sunstein, 2002), might be felt more keenly. Whilst this will increase constructive conformity, the inclination to destructively conform may also be strengthened.

In addition, the posting cycles[21] that exist within the military might allow an individual the ability to escape a situation, (Piliavin, 1969) or not take accountability for their actions (Brief et al, 1991) which have also been shown to reduce bystander intervention. Whilst not deliberate, lack of expertise is frequently normal for military personnel as a result of this posting turbulence. The posting cycles of approximately two years result in nearly everyone being new to

[21] Military personnel will usually change posts frequently in order to provide a breadth of experience. The length of any given post ordinarily ranges from six months to three years.

the job practically permanently – military personnel rely on civil servants and contractors for continuity and corporate memory – which also disinclines individuals to speak up (Haskins and Freeman, 2015; Hussain et al, 2019).

3.3.2.7 Ceremony, tradition, rites and rituals

As part of developing a sense of collective identity, distinct to civilian life, Hill (2015) notes that significant value is placed upon ceremony and tradition in the military setting. Likewise, rituals abound in the military context, be it saluting, marching, addressing personnel as sir/ma'am, giving and receiving orders, language and writing conventions or the conduct of initiation ceremonies (Gailbreath, 1997; Van Wijk and Finchilescu, 2008; Whiteman and Lanman, 2014). Whiteman and Lanman (2014) suggest that front-line combat can lead to rites of terror, that will increase a positive feeling of kinship. Brown (2000) states that initiation ceremonies can lead to stronger bonds of affection and cohesion. These rituals have a significant impact on individual behaviour in the military context (Cockerham and Cohen, 1980) and can be both positive and negative. Whiteman and Lanman (2014) note that they create cohesion, bind groups together, build trust and increase commitment and kinship. They also note that the effectiveness of such rituals is positively related to how painful the rituals are (ibid). However, Gee (2017, p12) notes that the rituals of head-shaving and chanting (as an example "I hate civvies, I love the paras"), serve to suppress personal identity to the benefit of the collective; Firing (2009) suggests that these activities influence all thought processes within the military. Writing over a quarter of a century ago, Dunivin (1994) mentions charges of racism, sexism and hazing and things haven't changed in more recent times (Whitehouse and Lanman, 2014; Wigston, 2019). Whilst the sense of cohesion, trust and kinship have much to offer an individual in the military context, as well as generating the replication of beneficial and positive behaviours, it can be seen that this level of cohesion could also perpetuate destructively conformist conduct, as out of loyalty to the team, individuals may fail to challenge, and even cover up poor behaviour.

Similarly, some authors have focused on homogeneity as a factor that influences conformity, which is a recognised issue with Defence. Gaither et al (2018) found

that when functioning in a homogenous group, individuals are more likely to reflect on their conflicting opinions and alter their perspective, whereas an element of diversity within the group, leads to a greater willingness to share a dissenting perspective. They suggested that this is a function of informational conformity, and that individuals are more likely to trust the opinion of those that are similar to them. The example that Gaither et al (2018) offered was based on ethnicity; in the military context, this could be in single Service silos, which might lead personnel to trust other personnel from their own Service, over those from another. This assertion is supported by Bond and Smith (1991) who found that perceived similarity of the referent group will increase conformity.

King (2006, p493) notes that the military provides a level of cohesion which "is matched in few other social groups". Cohesion within the military is essential to operational effectiveness and is deliberately developed, so it would follow that groupthink might be more likely to occur, as is suggested by the MoD (2018). In addition, McCauley (1989) notes that group insulation, promotional leadership and homogeneity also set the foundations for groupthink – all elements that can be found within the military context. Likewise, Post and Panis (2011) suggest that the longer the hierarchy is accepted, the easier it is to justify its acceptance at the individual level. Given the longevity of military careers, and by definition, the length of service required to achieve any level of seniority, this is also likely to contribute to the likelihood of groupthink occurring. The fact that Turner and Pratkanis (1998) use so many military examples to illustrate their reasoning is telling about the propensity for groupthink within the military context. As such, it could be concluded that the Defence context is one in which there might be higher levels of destructive conformity, making it an interesting setting for the study of constructive deviance.

3.4 Relevance of Defence to the study of constructive deviance

This chapter has discussed some of the extant literature that describes the military context and considered how this environment might influence constructive deviance and destructive conformity. It has shown that this highly normative environment might increase conformity, both constructively and

destructively, and as such, whilst reducing the amount of destructive deviance, there is also a risk that it will reduce the likelihood of an individual choosing to constructively deviate, even when there is a compelling reason for doing so. The culture described within this context is one which values rules, regulations, policy, uniformity and adherence to norms. The literature reveals a hierarchical system which embeds conformity within its rank and promotion systems and frequently describes the prevalence of leadership styles that expect obedience rather than encourage engagement or facilitate challenge.

This literature combines to show a highly normative context in which constructive deviance is likely to be less discouraged, and as such, this study will deepen the understanding of how and why individuals choose to act, or not to act, in this extreme setting, which could then be applicable to less normative situations. The Defence context offers an almost ideal, real-life example of this uniquely contextualised environment which appears to be dominated by a pressure to follow norms, regulations and policies, which frequently fails to tolerate new ideas or departure from organisational norms. As such it is this situation which will be the focus of this research which aims to answer the research question: what motivates and influences constructively deviant behaviour in the Defence context?

4 METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the methods used for this research which aims to answer the research question: “what motivates and influences constructively deviant behaviour in the Defence context?”. Blaikie (2010, p8) identifies research methods as “activities for selecting, collecting, organising and analysing data”. The selected method is a semi-structured interviews using a variant of critical incident technique (CIT).

This research requires a richness and depth of data about the enablers and barriers that influence individuals’ behaviour around constructive deviance in the highly normative Defence context.

The chapter will begin with the research philosophy. It will then describe the design of the study including interview protocol, sampling information, data collection methods and analysis. The chapter will conclude with a reflection on ethical considerations for the research.

4.1 Research philosophy

Marsh and Stoker (2010, p185) state that the consideration of ontological and epistemological approaches is unavoidable for the researcher. They describe ontology as being about the form and nature of reality, describing the two broad positions as foundationalism/objectivism/realism (one “real” world) and anti-foundationalism/constructivism/relativism (a socially constructed world).

Marsh and Stoker (2010, p184) also note that outside these very broad categories, ontology is a contested issue, highlighted by Blaikie (2009, p93) who describes six ontological approaches: shallow realist, conceptual realist, cautious realist, depth realist, idealist and subtle realist.

This research examined the individual’s perception of their organisational and social environments and explored what it was about those perceived environments that influenced the choice between constructive deviance and destructive conformity. As such, there is no one definitive reality, but only that

environment and its influence as perceived by the individual, thereby following an idealist approach (Blaikie, 2009, p93).

Epistemology, or what can be known about the world is clearly related to ontology although, like the concepts themselves, this relationship is contested (Marsh and Stoker, 2010). That an idealist approach to ontology is taken lends itself to a constructionist approach to epistemology (Blaikie, 2009, p95). To argue for an independent understanding of a world that is in itself socially constructed would be “illogical” (Marsh and Stoker, 2010, p185).

This research involved an examination of the perception of the organisation from the individual’s perspective, which is by definition constructed. In addition, this perception was then interpreted by the researcher. It is acknowledged that different individuals will perceive and respond to a given situation in different ways. Therefore, the approach can be described as one of idealist constructionist which means that reality is socially constructed, and that the knowledge of that reality is observer dependent.

The researcher stance taken was that of an insider who could use their “experiences as a basis for understanding what is going on” (Blaikie, 2007, p11). Alvesson (2003) points out the many pitfalls associated with conducting interviews within the researcher’s own organisation such as subjectiveness, the influence of culture and the difficulty with obtaining a genuine representation of the truth. Bryman and Bell (2015) however, point out the advantages of insider research such as access to participants and understanding the language – both potential issues with the Defence context, overcome by insider research. However, the researcher needed to maintain objectivity as far as possible and therefore used a semi-structured approach to interviewing and ensured that information was based on the interviewees’ responses rather than the assumptions of the researcher. The transcribing of interviews and peer reviewed coding also added confidence to the reliability of the findings.

4.2 Study design

The idealist ontology and constructionist epistemology lend themselves to a qualitative research design. The study design had to accomplish "the trick" to gathering data (Fusch and Ness, 2015, p1409), which is to have both thick data (in terms of quantity of information) and rich data (many layered, intricate, detailed, nuanced).

Interviews were used to gather primary data in order to allow for the prompting or probing the subject or additional questions, which would uncover the nuances and interpretations of the subjects, avoid missing crucial information (Bryman and Bell, 2015; Bott and Tourish, 2016) and could achieve Fusch and Ness' (2015) richness. However, as well as finding that richness, the process also needed to ensure that within each case that was described, the criteria for constructive deviance were met, which required adding at least some structure to the interviews. Therefore, semi-structured interviews were used to provide this structure whilst also allowing the opportunity to "get close to the social actors' meanings and interpretations" (Blaikie, 2010, p207). This flexibility was required to avoid stifling responses when it came to exploring how and why actors responded to each situation.

The research required a close examination of a specific point in time, experienced by the interviewee. CIT (Flanagan, 1954) is a mechanism which allows the investigator and the interviewee to focus on the specific situational factors and elicit the details that influenced their behaviour during a particular event (Bott and Tourish, 2016). The "specific situation" for this research is the point at which an individual considered constructive deviance and the enablers and barriers that influenced that behaviour. Bott and Tourish (2016) further note that CIT is a well-established and "powerful research tool" that has been used across a variety of research fields. The methodology offers the opportunity to gather the data required to "develop theories that are more dynamic, deep and rich", particularly within a social constructionist approach. (Schilpzand et al, 2015).

As Flanagan (1954, p9) observes, CIT is not a "rigid set of rules", but more a "set of principles which must be modified and adapted to meet the specific situation

at hand". The focus in this research was on the organisational level enablers and barriers that influenced constructive deviance, a focus that translates to the interview protocol as described next.

4.2.1 Interview protocol

An interview protocol was developed by considering the requirements of the research, to focus on organisational factors and as much as possible alleviate the impact of individual factors. The research considered two conditions – one in which the interviewee constructively deviated and one in which the interviewee destructively conformed. The enablers and barriers to constructive deviance were examined under each condition. Therefore, interviewees were asked to identify and reflect upon at least two incidents (as similar in a nature to each other as possible) in which they had the opportunity to constructively deviate – one occasion on which they took that opportunity, and one occasion when they did not. Having considered the extant literature, section 2.6 redefined constructive deviance as *a behaviour which significantly deviates from the perceived norms of the referent group, is enacted with the intention of creating an outcome more socially worthy than the ordinary mode and with it carries an element of risk of sanction for the deviant.* As such, the interviews were structured so that each required element for constructive deviance could be ascertained. Any act must incorporate each element of this definition and within this definition, each of the following points are emphasised:

- In line with Warren (2003), norms include both social, informal norms such as accepted work routines and behaviours, as well as formal norms, such as rules, policies and procedures.
- The referent group is that which exerts normative influence over the individual and has capacity to apply sanctions.
- The intention is voluntary and, by the judgement of the individual, has the capacity to make things better – either within the group, or for some higher order group.

- The deviant action taken has associated with it the risk of sanction from the referent group.

Bott and Tourish (2016) note the necessity for clarity around what constitutes a critical incident, especially with regard to intent or outcome. As such, the interview structure allowed the interviewee to demonstrate how each of the required elements stated above for constructive deviance was met.

The interview protocol is shown at Appendix E, which was followed for each interview. In order to develop rapport and allow the interviewee to relax, the interview process started with asking the interviewee to broadly describe their current role and the history of the incidents they had selected to discuss, describing the background that led to that moment. They were then asked to share their response to each incident, including feelings, emotions and perceptions of the environment that influenced their choice, as well as describing the actual action they took. In order to isolate the organisational factors that influenced their behaviour, the interviewees were asked to draw comparisons between the incidents, including any factors that they felt might have resulted in them behaving differently.

Following this process, noting that phases 2 and 3 could be repeated, there were five main phases of each interview:

- Phase 1 (Introduce): included introductions, scene-setting and rapport-building, including role-based “warm-up” questions
- Phase 2a (Identify): asked interviewees to identify at least one opportunity in their experience for constructively deviant behaviour (or one that is known to them, as used by Schilpzand et al, 2015), in which constructively deviant behaviour was exhibited – the constructive deviance condition
- Phase 2b (Confirm): examined the incident and confirmed that it met the criteria for constructive deviance including:
    - the presence of a referent group which:
        - displays normative influence
        - has capacity to apply sanctions
    - significant deviation from formal or informal norms

    - the intention for more socially worthy outcomes
    - perceived risk of sanction
- Phase 2c (Explore): the exploration of how and why the individuals responded, including feelings, emotions and perceptions of the situation, noting the organisational factors that enabled the constructive deviance behaviour
- Phase 3a (Identify): asked interviewees to identify at least one opportunity in their experience for constructively deviant behaviour (or one that is known to them, as used by Schilpzand et al, 2015), in which destructively conformist behaviour was exhibited – the destructive conformity condition
- Phase 3b (Confirm): examined the incident and confirmed that this could have met the criteria for constructive deviance including:
    - the presence of a referent group which:
        - displays normative influence
        - has capacity to apply sanctions
    - significant deviation from formal or informal norms
    - the intention for more socially worthy outcomes
    - perceived risk of sanction
- Phase 3c (Explore): the exploration of how and why the individuals responded, including feelings, emotions and perceptions of the situation, noting the organisational factors that encouraged the destructively conformist behaviour
- Phase 4 (Compare): the comparisons of the different conditions, comparing the findings from phase 2 with findings from phase 3, identifying the critical differences
- Phase 5 (Close): the interview was brought to a close

Through this interview process, the investigator was able to check that the requirements for constructive deviance were met, whilst being able to gather rich data about the organisational factors that influenced the interviewee's behaviour. Interviewees were each assigned an anonymous code for tracking purposes. The selection of interviewees is described in the next section.

4.3 Sample selection

In order for the interviewees to have the experience required to contribute to the research, they needed a reasonably broad understanding of the Defence context and to have had the opportunity to constructively deviate, so for example, recent experience of a variety of roles was desirable. In addition, being in a decision-making role offered more opportunity to constructively deviate, so a degree of seniority was preferable. Finally, recent experience of being part of a significant peer group (i.e. not in lone or command posts) was important, as it is this peer group that may provide social influence. As such, to ensure the best chance of meeting these requirements, the target audience was mid-seniority Commissioned Officers OF2 (Captain) to OF6 (Brigadier) or Civil Service equivalent grades. To ensure the appropriate level of experience and allowing for all phases of initial training, it was further stipulated that interviewees should have a length of service no less than eight years. This is summarised in Table 3.

Interviewee Criteria	Justification	Sample requirement
Understanding of the Defence context	Ability to reflect on the impact of the environment	Experience of a variety of roles – minimum of eight years' service.
Opportunity to constructively deviate	To have experience upon which to reflect; decision-making role	Time served (Minimum of eight years); seniority (minimum of OF2 or equivalent)
Recent presence of a peer group	Peer group is required in order to offer the risk of sanction	Seniority (maximum of OF6)

Table 3: Table showing sample selection criteria

Although there may be some similarities between Services, the cultural differences between the three single Services (Royal Navy, Army and Royal Air Force) and between military and civilians are recognised (Greene et al, 2010). To ensure the best chance of eliciting all the enablers and inhibitors for the interviewees' responses, interviewees were drawn from across the three Services and from the Civil Service, as per Table 4.

Rank (or equivalent)	Naval Service	Royal Air Force	British Army	Civil Service
OF 2-6	8	10	3	2

Table 4: Table showing interviewees

4.3.1 Pilot interviews

Pilot interviews were conducted with two individuals, who met the above criteria, to test the interview process and ensure that relevant responses were being garnered. Post-interview feedback was gathered from those interviewees, with two main observations being made. Firstly, consistent with Bott and Tourish (2016), the interviewees indicated that more time to reflect on the incidents that they would offer for discussion would be useful. Secondly, clarity about what constituted constructively deviant behaviour was requested. The initial information provided was interpreted as requiring an event of great significance, which as Alvesson and Sveningsson (2003) note, is not the case; mundane and trivial activities are also of importance to the study of organisational behaviour. In response to this feedback, the interviewee information was updated and provided at least 48 hours in advance of the interviews.

4.4 Data collection

The researcher was a member of staff at the Defence Academy of the United Kingdom at the time of the research and as such was in frequent contact with military personnel, most frequently from commissioned ranks. As a former Royal Navy officer and academic lecturer to military students, the researcher also had wider access to a network of military personnel outside the Defence Academy. This network was used, along with snowballing techniques to generate sufficient interviewees.

The opportunity to take part in the study was advertised through internal communications such as online noticeboards; interested parties were invited to contact the investigator directly. At least 48 hours prior to the interview, interviewees were sent information about the interview process (shown at Appendix D).

Interviews were digitally recorded (permission was granted in all cases), linked to the interviewee code and transcribed for coding and analysis.

4.4.1 Sample size and data saturation

Fusch and Ness (2015) note that whilst there is “no one-size-fits-all” (p1409) approach to sampling, an approach which identifies how data saturation will be reached and identified is more important than simply defining a sample size and that having a strategy to achieve saturation might avoid a negative impact the validity of the research. Whilst they recognise the difficulty with defining saturation, they highlight three tests that may indicate that saturation has been reached:

- Ability to replicate the study
- When it is possible to contribute new information
- Further coding is no longer possible as no new themes are emerging

Fusch and Ness (2015, p1409) note that saturation will be more readily achieved through asking similar questions of each interviewee, to avoid “a constantly moving target”, which is achieved through the semi-structured nature of interviews in this approach. They also recommend the use of a “saturation grid” (in which first order codes are recorded against each interviewee) and coding by a second researcher. Both these techniques were employed in this research, in which a total number of 23 interviewees were interviewed.

To have confidence that all themes had emerged within the data, two aspects of the data were analysed for saturation. Firstly, the study collected the motivators which were perceived by interviewees as being the more socially worthy outcome. They were collected as part of the confirmation phase of the interview, for both the constructive deviance condition and the destructive conformity condition. Figure 1 shows the rate at which new motivators were reported by interviewees. This graph shows that data saturation was reached after seven interviews, after which no new motivators were reported. This graph offers a high degree of confidence that no more motivators would have been disclosed, had a greater number of interviewees been selected.

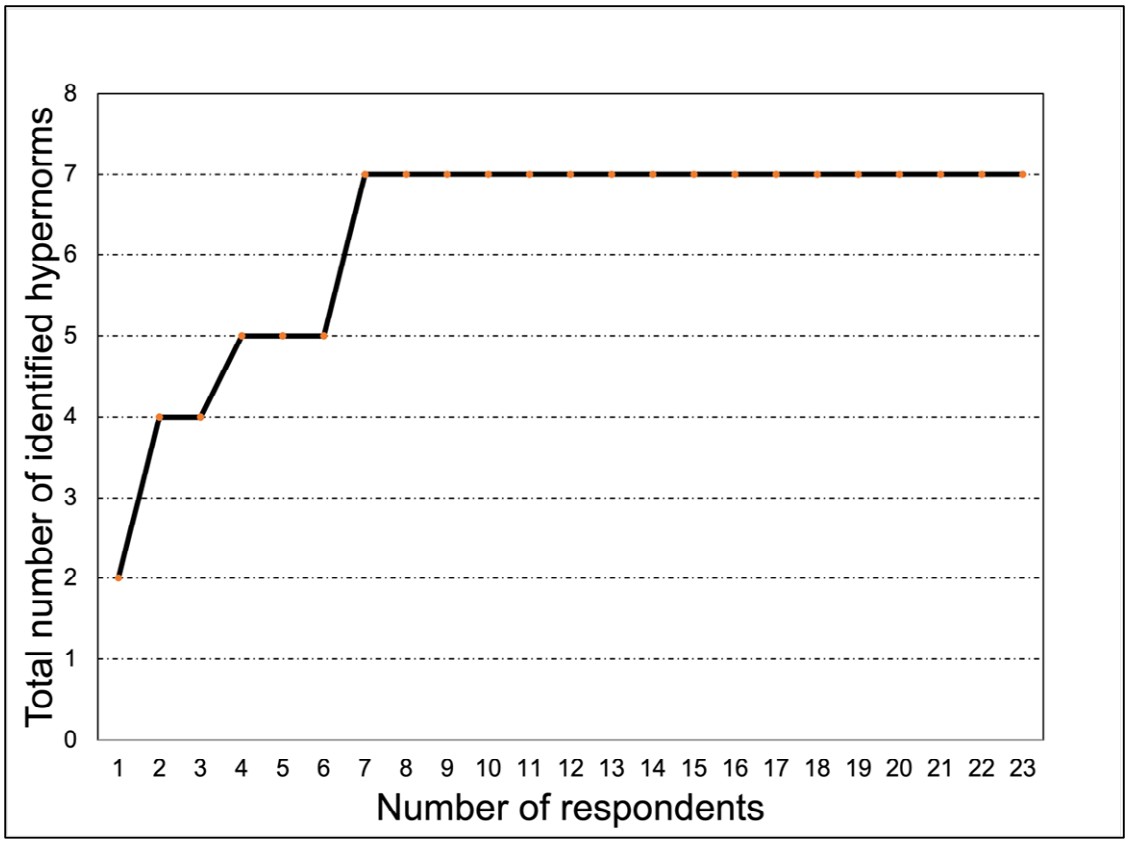

Figure 1: Graph showing data saturation of motivators reported by interviewees

The second aspect of the data that was examined for saturation recorded the enablers and barriers for constructive deviance that were reported as influencing interviewees' behaviour around and destructive conformity. Figure 2 shows the rate at which new factors were discovered as the interviews were conducted. This shows that data saturation was reached after 11 interviews, after which no new factors were identified. This graph offers a high degree of confidence that no more noteworthy enablers or barriers would have been uncovered, had a greater number of interviewees been selected.

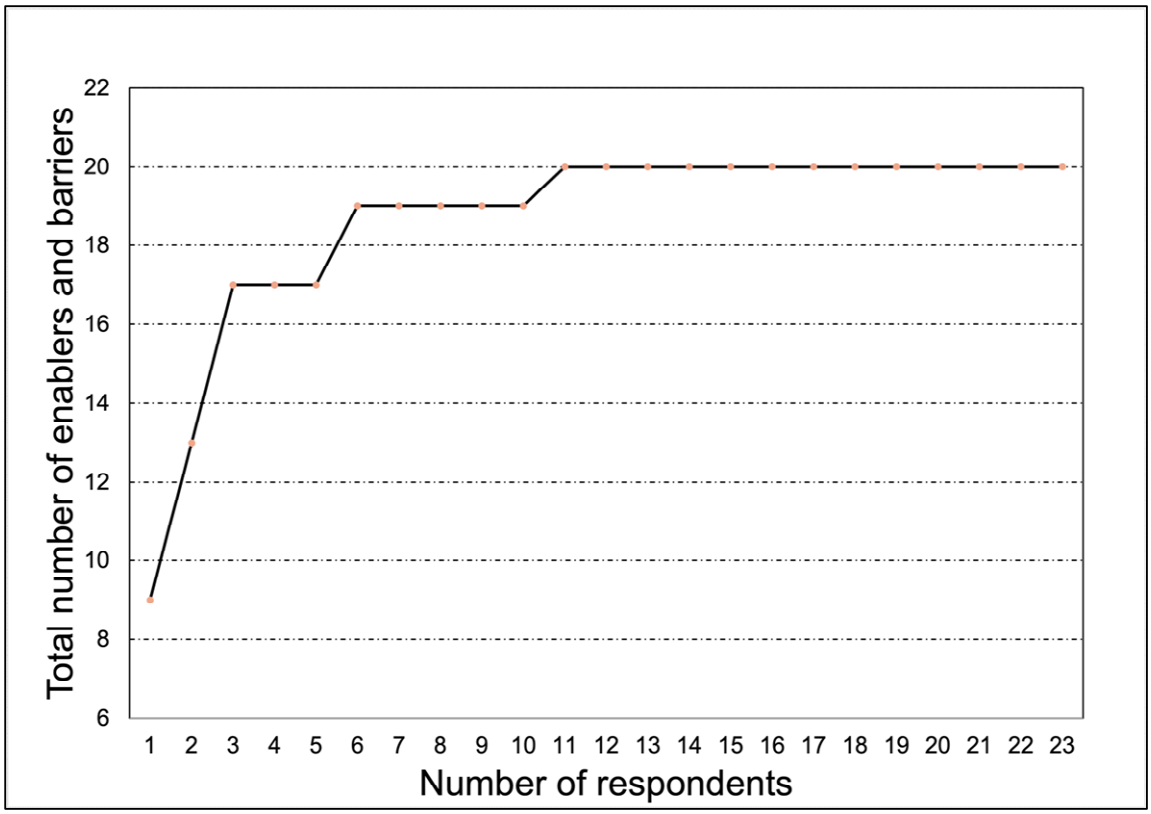

Figure 2: Graph showing data saturation of enablers for and barriers to constructive deviance

4.5 Analysis

The interviews were digitally recorded and manually transcribed by the researcher. Using the deep familiarity developed through conducting the interviews, transcribing the interviews, and rereading the interview scripts, the transcripts were analysed and coded by the researcher using the qualitative data analysis software, NVivo. Using a process similar to Walsh and Bartunek (2011), this analysis used two cycles of reasoning, the first inductive and the second, deductive.

The codes used for interview phases 2a, 2b, 3a and 3b (the 'identify' and 'confirm' phases) were based upon the definition of constructive deviance established in the literature review. This was done to ensure that the circumstances and actions being described by interviewees met the criteria for constructively deviant behaviour. Given sufficient time to prepare, all interviewees identified occasions

of both constructive deviance and destructive conformity on which they could reflect during the interview.

Firstly, the data gathered through phases 2b and 3b (confirmation phases for each condition) were used to inductively establish the first order codes for the motivators as reported by the interviewees. This provides data for the "what motivates constructively deviant behaviour?" part of the research question. Secondly, the data gathered during phases 2c and 3c (exploration phases) and phase 4 (comparison phase) were analysed to inductively ascertain the first order codes for the factors that influenced behaviour in each condition. This provides the data to answer the "what influences constructively deviant behaviour?" part of the research question.

This cycle of inductive reasoning was followed by a cycle of deductive reasoning in which, where possible, these first-order codes were clustered into the second-order codes identified during the literature review. This was done successfully for the factors that influenced destructive conformity and constructive deviance and the second order codes were:

- leadership
- accountability, autonomy and empowerment
- culture and climate
- perceived consequences

However, a review of existing literature showed that no sufficiently detailed categories have been established in the literature to provide second order codes for the motivators, so these are reported as first order codes only.

Once the enablers and barriers had been identified, two further analyses were undertaken. The enablers and barriers were compared to establish any relationships and patterns that exist between them. Then, the enablers and barriers were analysed against the motivators, to establish the relationships between those motivators and the enablers and barriers that had most effect. This will identify the enablers and barriers that are most likely result in a given a given motivation leading to constructive deviance or destructive conformity.

4.5.1 Peer-coding process

To increase confidence in the objectivity of the coding process, two transcripts were 'blind' coded by another researcher, previously unfamiliar with the data. The full instructions for this process can be found at Appendix F. In essence, two "clean" transcripts were passed to the peer-coder, embedded in an NVivo file, which had the researcher's original codes set up as nodes. The instructions included definitions of each code. The peer-coder was asked to read the transcripts and simply code against what they read, based on the definitions of codes provided; they were then asked to return the NVivo file to the original coder for comparison.

The coding architecture had the potential of 55 nodes that could be either present or not present within each interview transcripts. The peer-coder was asked to analyse two transcripts, giving a total number of 110 potential records. At first pass, prior to any discussion about the analysis process, this yielded a similarity of 75%. Following discussion and minor amendment of the codes, this similarity rose to 95%. Each of the amendments made to the coding is shown at Appendix G, with the most significant changes being the amalgamation of two codes ("Bureaucracy" was amalgamated with "Policy, process or direction supporting action" to become "Policy, bureaucracy or process"). In total, seven changes were made to the original coding with six of those changes affecting the data presented in the final analysis.

Most of the discussion points revolved around the explanation of terminology (for example, 1RO meaning first reporting officer or "the hierarchy" meaning chain of command, rather than hierarchical structure) and highlighting hitherto missed text. These anomalies could all be explained by the primary researcher's familiarity with the transcripts, developed through multiple exposures to the data (resulting from conducting the interviews and transcribing and checking the transcripts), a fluency with the military language used and a deeper understanding of the context in which the cases were situated. As a result, there is a high degree of confidence in the coding process from which the Findings in the following chapter are drawn.

4.6 Ethical considerations

The need to maintain ethical standards was recognised by the researcher and this research was bound by two regulatory bodies.

The first is Cranfield University which has an applicable Research Ethics Policy (Stephenson, 2016) with which the researcher is familiar, a University Ethics Committee (CUREC) and an electronic system (CURES) through which ethical approval is processed.

The second regulatory body is the Ministry of Defence Research Ethics Committee, (MODREC) whose regulations within Joint Service Publication 536 (JSP 536) apply to “research funded by MOD and/or involving MOD staff and/or MOD entitled dependants that involves human participants” (MOD, 2014). Annex E to JSP 536 provides a “decision aid” which is used to determine the requirement for MODREC approval and a reproduction of this can be found at Appendix H.

5 FINDINGS

This chapter will describe the findings from the research. The data will be presented in two sections, each contributing to answering the research question. The first section will unpack the motivations that interviewees gave for considering constructively deviant action in their particular situation. This section will show the types of issues that interviewees faced that gave them cause to consider constructive deviance. The second section examines the enablers and barriers that influenced their behaviour.

5.1 Motivation for constructive deviance

Interviewees offered a variety of motivators for constructive deviance as part of the interview process. They were asked to describe two conditions in which they had the opportunity to constructively deviate. The first condition was a situation in which they took the opportunity and constructively deviated. The second condition was one in which the saw the opportunity but chose not to constructively deviate, thereby destructively conforming. Table 5 shows a summary of the motivators for each condition. The number of interviewees who identified each motivator when they constructively deviated is in column 1 and the number of interviewees in the destructive conformity condition is shown in column 2. The total number of unique interviewees for each motivator is shown in column 3.

Constructive Deviance Condition	Destructive Conformity Condition	Total Unique Interviewees	Motivator for Constructive Deviance
12	10	18	Organisational effectiveness
9	6	13	Well-being of other individual or individuals
4	5	8	Organisational efficiency
4	1	5	Reputational issues
2	4	5	Safety
3	2	4	Improving inclusivity

Table 5: Motivators for constructive deviance as reported by interviewees

Each of these motivators will now be described in more detail, starting with the most frequently cited motivator of operational effectiveness.

5.1.1 Organisational effectiveness

The most frequently reported reason for considering constructive deviance was the delivery of organisational effectiveness. This includes delivery of military capability or capacity including that in the training environment. Three quarters of interviewees cited operational effectiveness as a reason for considering constructive deviance.

Some interviewees described constructively deviating to deliver capability within their unit. This included an engineer, who instead of following protocol and referring to a UK-based project team, chose to repair the equipment immediately to maintain the capability of the ship whilst overseas. When asked why, he said "*my focus is on restoring capability and providing something*", so for him, the timely maintenance of the individual ship was a more socially worthy outcome than the following of protocol which would have delayed operational capability. Another interviewee was focused on improving the response to a national crisis working for the Cabinet Office Briefing Room.

Those individuals who considered constructive deviance, but then destructively conformed indicated that their motivation for constructive deviance tended to focus on the individual's unit. One interviewee noted his failure to speak up, even though he knew there was a problem, which resulted in risk to the operational security of a submarine operation. At a more intimate level, when describing his constructively deviant actions to deliver operational effect, one interviewee said:

> *"We were making bombs safe, and no one got injured or killed during the process of me making a bomb safe. I define that as a success. It was constructive in that sense."*

As well as the operational context, interviewees also noted the desire to improve effectiveness within the training environment. One individual constructively deviated to deliver additional training to his division in a new entry training establishment. Another broke protocol to improve the training impact of weapons

drills. However, others saw the opportunity to constructively deviate within their training environments but chose to follow the existing regime without speaking up or acting outside organisational norms.

5.1.2 Well-being of individuals or groups

Over half the interviewees noted opportunities in which constructive deviance could have improved the well-being of an individual or a small group of individuals. Across all interviewees, just over a third took the opportunity to improve well-being by constructively deviating. A quarter of interviewees saw this opportunity but chose not to act and destructively conformed instead.

Frequently, interviewees were able to identify opportunities for constructive deviance in situations in which they had positional power over the potential beneficiaries of that action. For example, one line manager spoke up to senior management in defence of an individual who was facing disciplinary action. She said:

> *"…she was desperately grieving, there was all sorts of crap going on and she shouldn't have been at work, and she shouldn't have been penalised."*

Similarly, one individual who chose not to take constructively deviant action, noted that he could have spoken out to afford more protection to members of his crew. He felt they were being overworked to the point of causing mental health issues and potential fatigue-induced mistakes. Despite acknowledging that:

> *"individuals on submarines, the ones that were breaking, and families would have benefited",*

he complied with direction from his chain of command to maintain the working tempo rather than speaking out about the problems.

5.1.3 Organisational efficiency

The code of organisational efficiency included any descriptions of opportunities to constructively deviate that would save Defence resources. This included money and time.

One description of an individual's constructively deviant actions in the name of time efficiency was as follows:

> *"I administratively went outside the rules, and they were definitely conscious decisions to avoid bureaucratic nightmares that were unnecessary, for example, riding roughshod over base procedures, without being unsafe, but saving tens of hours of work for people."*

Another individual focused on saving money through finding efficiencies in the recruiting pipeline by removing unnecessary training. He said:

> *"…we had this issue where people are having to redo all their courses on re-joining. We had examples of people who had flown overseas or in other air forces, so still current and still pilots, and the air force would say that they have to redo all their [redacted] training; it was just ridiculous and wasn't going to happen… I knew that we were going to save money. It saved a seven-figure sum."*

When describing missed opportunities to save time and money through constructive deviance, one interviewee described her destructive conformity as failing to speak up about unnecessary overpayments for work-related accommodation. Another knowingly wasted organisational time as she continued to "*comply with the broken process*" rather than constructively deviate to save time.

5.1.4 Reputational issues

A small number of interviewees reported constructively deviating to protect the reputation of their organisation. Just one recognised the opportunity but failed to act.

One interviewee stated that they spoke up in a manner unwelcomed by his chain of command because "*it was about avoiding Defence screwing up publicly and also expensively*". The interviewee who destructively conformed noted that there was risk that the National Audit Office might highlight some of the practices that took place within her organisation. This could have been reputationally damaging, and she wanted to speak out to protect the organisation, but instead followed organisational norms and remained silent.

5.1.5 Safety

The small number of comments from interviewees about the impact of physical safety were coded here. This is connected to the previous section on well-being, but distinct because that predominantly focused on psychological well-being, whereas this code centres around physical safety.

The constructively deviant acts that were described were made by individuals who were in positions of authority over the beneficiaries to safeguard their physical safety. One, despite being directed by his seniors to execute a particular training serial, chose to cut it short out of concern for the physical safety of his trainees.

In a very similar training situation, another interviewee chose not to speak up about his concerns for safety and so "*went along with it*". He noted during the interview, that had he constructively deviated:

> *"the people who would have benefited were the people that ultimately became casualties".*

Another interviewee described how, on his arrival to the area of military operations he observed a training serial in which a senior non-commissioned officer (SNCO) was overly robust with a mock improvised explosive device (IED). He contemplated challenging the behaviour to make things safer, but because it seemed to be the accepted approach within that theatre, he remained silent. That SNCO later died whilst trying to defuse a real IED.

5.1.6 Improving inclusivity

All the opportunities that were coded in this way were about creating an inclusive environment and centred around voice behaviours. One interviewee who felt she was being side-lined because of her status as a civil servant, spoke up to her management chain. She said she wanted:

"to make the working environment more inclusive… to try to make things better for everyone else".

Another interviewee, who felt unable to speak out about a culture of homophobia within their unit, rued that decision by noting that:

"…this is where I kick myself… for me it would be… doing it to stop that happening to the people in the future."

Having looked at the motivators people gave for constructively deviating, the next section will examine the enablers for and barriers to following that motivation.

5.2 Barriers and enablers

This section will describe the barriers and enablers to constructive deviance. An overview of the codes is provided at Table 6. Each of the codes can appear as an enabler or a barrier; for example, where a factor is presented as an enabler, the absence of that factor is cited as a barrier and vice versa. They are explained in more detail in the subsequent sections.

Second order code	First order codes
Leadership	Perceived Chain of Command support
	Interpersonal relationship
	Leader trust
	Leader role-modelling
Accountability, autonomy and empowerment	Situational awareness
	Empowerment or discretion
	Experience or expertise
	Access or opportunity
	Responsibility
	Mission Command

Culture and climate	Policy, rules or process
	Perceived peer support
	Structure or hierarchy
Perceived consequences	Promotion or appraisal reports
	Perceived likelihood of success
	Discipline issues
	Reputation
	Previous personal experience
	Reward
Fresh eyes	Fresh eyes

Table 6: First and second order codes of enablers and barriers

Each second order code and the first order codes of which they comprise are explained below, starting with leadership.

5.2.1 Leadership

Leadership included those first order codes that directly involve the leaders within an interviewee's environment. These included the influence on interviewees of leaders, including their behaviours, style or the relationship that existed between the interviewee and the leader. The first order codes under the leadership umbrella are shown in Table 7 with a description of comments that would be included in this code and an example quote for each.

First order code	Definition/Indicators	Illustrative quote
Perceived Chain of Command (CoC) support for action	Any comments that indicated that the interviewees were influenced by their perceived level of support from their leadership and management chain	*I was confident that my line manager (my squadron boss) would support me*
Interpersonal relationship	Any comments that interviewees made about knowing or having a relationship with relevant leaders	*Knowing the commanding officer as I did, I felt the risk was worth it*
Leader trust	Any mention of the extent to which they trusted a particular person or group of people who held a leadership role	*I had faith and trust in the individuals above me*
Leader role-modelling	Any mention of the interviewee's previous experience of their leadership or management role-modelling constructive deviance	*I'd seen him deviate when he had to, and he certainly placed a higher priority on achieving the right outcome than following the rules*

Table 7: First order codes aggregated to the second order code of leadership

Table 8 shows the number of interviewees that mentioned each of the first order codes, that were aggregated under the second order code of leadership. The first and third column show the frequency with which these enablers for constructive deviance were mentioned by interviewees, for the constructive deviance and destructive conformity conditions respectively. Likewise, the second and fourth columns indicate the frequency with which these codes were mentioned as barriers for each condition. The fifth column indicates the interviews that mentioned this factor as a differentiator between the two conditions. The sixth column indicates the number of unique interviewees that mentioned this code as either an enabler or barrier and is taken as an indicator of the strength of representation for that code. Each first order code will now be discussed in turn.

Constructive Deviance		Destructive Conformity		Differentiator	Total interviewees	First Order Codes
Enablers	Barriers	Enablers	Barriers			
11	8	8	11	11	20	Perceived CoC support for action
8	0	2	4	2	10	Interpersonal relationship
7	0	1	1	2	7	Leader trust
4	1	0	1	0	5	Leader role-modelling

Table 8: Enablers and barriers under the second order code of leadership

5.2.1.1 Perceived chain of command (CoC) support for action

The most strongly represented theme was CoC support. This was mentioned by almost all interviewees. This code reflects any responses, positive and negative, that referred to the perceived level of support from their leadership and management chain.

In addition to the high number of interviewees endorsing this theme, the strength of feeling apparent in the language used by interviewees also emphasises the power distance that exists between a member of the military and their CoC; direction from senior personnel is almost indisputable. One interviewee noted:

> *"I think most people in the military would be very reluctant to deliberately disobey someone, unless it is the most serious of circumstances in which case it's going to get someone killed".*

Frequently, interviewees referred to the level of seniority or job role in their chain of command, referring to "the one-star", "the commanding officer" or "the commandant". This is indicative of the reverence attached to status.

One of the interviewees, an RAF pilot, described the time that he constructively deviated. For the benefit of injured personnel onboard his aircraft, he broke the rules by taking off from an operational airbase without the requisite ground controls in place. He stated that he felt able to do this because he "*was confident*

that my line manager (my squadron boss) would support me". In positions where interviewees felt they had this support, it reportedly offered them tacit permission to act and protection from any potential negative consequences.

When this factor was being described as a barrier to taking constructive deviance, typical comments from interviewees included: "*I didn't feel supported by my chain of command*". Another interviewee, described a time when he had the opportunity to circumvent process to get accreditation for some engineering training, but chose not to take that opportunity. He stated that:

> *"the reason I didn't do it is because I knew that when it all went wrong….. we would be hung out to dry by that group captain who had asked for it; there was no support from him".*

This demonstrates a link between the support from the CoC and the perceived risk of sanction that will be described under the second order code of perceived consequences. Interviewees who perceived that they had support from their CoC felt they could take constructively deviant action because they would have "*top cover*". Conversely, without that support, taking action would be "*exposing*" themselves to the CoC, which, for them, was simply not an option. As a result, they chose to destructively conform.

As can be seen in Table 8 almost half the interviewees cited support from their CoC as a factor in enabling them to constructively deviate. The same number cited it as a factor that influenced them to destructively conform when that support was lacking. Almost half the interviewees cited that this perceived support was a differentiating factor between when they did and when they did not constructively deviate. One interviewee stated that:

> *"In each case, it was the chain of command (and in one case the one individual); where we have taken risk, it has been because you know he has got your back and he is supportive".*

Another interviewee observed that, 'talking the talk' is not enough, but 'walking the walk' is also required to enable individuals to act. This demonstrates that as well as telling people they are supportive, leaders also need to follow through and

demonstrate that support when it is required. This interviewee was part of the team that had reviewed a significant Defence course. The team was presenting recommendations the project team had made, to the division that would be expected to implement the changes; he described what happened:

> *"It was stated…… that the one-star welcomed ideas, that nothing was set in stone and that he wanted people to challenge, but it very quickly became apparent that that was just a façade".*

The perception, whether based on rhetoric or action of leaders, of whether an individual has hierarchical support for constructive deviance is clearly an influential factor in the choice of whether to constructively deviate or not.

5.2.1.2 Interpersonal relationship

Interpersonal relationship refers to any comments that interviewees made about knowing or having a relationship with the relevant people within a given situation. Interviewees most often focussed on their immediate line manager, although some individuals did indicate skip-level leadership as being a factor. It includes any mention of knowing an individual or the perceived strength of relationship when asked why they did or did not take the opportunity to constructively deviate. As can be seen from Table 8, this factor was mentioned primarily as an enabler in situations in which interviewees constructively deviated. In this context, interviewees reported feeling able to take constructively deviant action more readily, when there was an existing personal relationship with their leader. When choosing to break with convention by circumventing the chain of command, one interviewee reported feeling able to do so because:

> *"I was fortunate to have a very strong and professional relationship with my three star.".*

Interviewees generally stated that having an established relationship with their leaders made them feel like they could take more risk and made leaders more approachable. Unlike the perception of support from the CoC, which was seen as quite binary, the relationship factor was described using language that

indicated much more of a continuum, with interviewees being more likely to take action as the relationship developed.

In all but one interview where the relationship between the interviewee and their leadership was mentioned, having trust and a strong relationship was viewed as an enabler to constructive deviance. Conversely, the absence of that relationship was perceived as a barrier. In the one exception to this pattern, an interviewee reported that the strong relationship and respect he had for his senior officer made a given instruction more difficult to reject. In this situation, the interviewee had been given the direction to attempt an air drop only once, due to the risk of small arms fire from enemy troops on the ground. Having been unable to establish communications with ground troops within the required timescales on the first pass, he felt that he could have taken a second pass in order to complete the drop (benefitting the ground troops). For that individual, the presence of a strong relationship with the individual who had given him the direction made constructive deviance more difficult. He stated:

> *"the fact that it came from him made it easier to follow… had I re-attacked I would have gone against what he said, and I would have been letting him down."*

In situations where interviewees destructively conformed, four cited the absence of a relationship with their leader as a barrier to constructive deviance and two offered it as a potential enabler that could have led to constructive deviance. In this context, the factor is typified by the statement "*my relationship with the captain wasn't strong at all*" with interviewees indicating that having a strong relationship would make them more likely to constructively deviate, and some referring to the personal relationship as being "*the most critical factor*".

5.2.1.3 Leader trust

The first order code of leader trust relates to comments which specifically mention the trust that existed between the parties involved. This is different to the previous code which included any comments about simply knowing an individual or having a relationship with them. Some interviewees specifically wanted to

make the distinction between likeability, indicating that this was not a factor, and trust, which did influence their behaviour.

As shown in Table 8, the majority of interviewees that mentioned trust were reflecting on a time when that trust had enabled them to take constructively deviant action. An example of this was from one interviewee who deviated from policy to accelerate a recruitment process. They said:

> *"I had faith and trust in the individuals above me, my first reporting officer, second reporting officer and third reporting officer."*

It was noted by two interviewees as a differentiating factor; this is exemplified by a comment from an individual comparing his experiences under two warship captains. For one, the trust was turned on "*like a switch*" at a specific point in time. He compared the two captains thus: "*I know he trusted me. With the other one there was no mutual trust*".

5.2.1.4 Leader role-modelling

This code concerns the example set or role-modelling behaviour by interviewees' leaders and managers and was mentioned by a total of five interviewees. It includes any mention of the interviewee's experience in which they've seen their leaders or managers behave in a constructively deviant manner. As can be seen in Table 8, this is mainly identified as an enabler in situations in which interviewees chose to take constructively deviant action.

This factor was described by a pilot, as he explained why he felt he could break regulations by taking off without ground support in place to return injured soldiers to the UK from Afghanistan for medical attention. He portrayed his senior officer through these words:

> *"I'd seen him deviate when he had to, and he certainly placed a higher priority on achieving the right outcome than following the rules".*

For the individuals that mentioned this role-modelling behaviour, it was cited as a clear indicator that constructively deviant action was acceptable – when asked how one interviewee's opportunity to take action was influenced by their leader,

he stated simply, "*he was also a constructive deviant*". Other interviewees indicated that even though a leader openly exhibited some nervousness about taking action or even retrospectively suggested that things "*went a bit far*", just knowing that their leaders had taken constructively deviant action in the past encouraged them to imitate that behaviour.

5.2.2 Accountability, autonomy and empowerment

The second order code of accountability, autonomy and empowerment includes any elements that psychologically or practically enabled the interviewee to take constructively deviant action. The first order codes that are aggregated under this second order code include comments indicating that interviewees either felt accountability or responsibility to act. They also include descriptions of occasions on which they have been given autonomy or have felt sufficiently empowered. This includes reflections about the environment in which they have found themselves, having access to resources (including time and people) or simply because they have had the requisite expertise or a sufficient understanding of the situation. The first order codes, their descriptions and example quotes are shown in Table 9.

First order code	Definition/Indicators	Illustrative quote
Empowerment or discretion	Any comments about being given discretion or latitude, or in which they felt empowered to take action	*it was just so black and white…… at that time it was an absolute no-no*
Mission command	Any specific mention of mission command	*I was given a certain element of mission command to make it work*
Experience or expertise	Anything that indicates how the interviewee felt about their level of experience or expertise	*First of all, the training. I have a huge confidence in the training that I did… I had the expert power.*
Situational awareness	Anything that indicates their level of understanding, or knowledge of the specific situation	*At no point did I feel that I had the complete picture of what I was seeing*
Access or opportunity	Any mention of having access to people or resources or the opportunity to constructively deviate	*If I'd have known he was going to be there, that would have made it easier*
Responsibility	Anything which refers to the perception of having responsibility for the situation or for taking action	*I felt a responsibility to say something relative to anybody else sat in there because I had been the officer supporting the review*

Table 9: First order codes aggregated to the second order code of accountability, autonomy and empowerment

Table 10 shows the number of interviewees that mentioned each of the first order codes under the second order code of accountability, autonomy and empowerment. Each first order code will now be discussed in turn.

Constructive Deviance		Destructive Conformity		Differentiator	Total interviewees	First Order Codes
Enablers	Barriers	Enablers	Barriers			
12	3	2	4	5	13	Situational awareness
9	2	6	9	9	12	Empowerment or discretion
8	2	1	4	4	12	Experience or expertise
1	0	2	7	1	7	Access or opportunity
0	0	0	0	6	6	Responsibility
4	0	1	0	1	5	Mission command

Table 10: Enablers and barriers under the second order code of accountability, autonomy and empowerment

5.2.2.1 Situational awareness

The most strongly represented first order code within this section was that of situational awareness. This code reflects any comments about the extent to which interviewees felt that they had the full grasp of facts about the situation. As can be seen from Table 10, just over half of interviewees identified this as a factor that encouraged them to take constructively deviant action.

Interviewees indicated that having access to information and the ability to understand the situation gave them confidence to act, in part at least because they would be able to justify their actions at a later date if required, clearly linking to the perceived consequences code that will be looked at later. This feeling was exacerbated if they were under the impression that others had less understanding than them or the "*piece of information that the rest of the command team don't*

necessarily have." Some interviewees referred to the ability to be more able to make an assessment or apply military judgement, based on the additional understanding of the situation.

One interviewee explained how his position enabled him to have the breadth and depth of awareness of a particular personnel issue that would affect the deployment of a major warship. He described the situation with regard to why he felt that this level of information encouraged him to take the constructively deviant action, particularly because he felt that others had less information then he; he said:

> *The whole time this [information] would come to my desk as a complete mishmash of conflicting priorities and none of [the others] had to fuse it altogether. So, I absolutely did have a better depth and breadth of understanding [of the situation].*

As a barrier to taking constructively deviant action, the absence of information and understanding is also clear. Despite instinctively knowing that lives were at risk on an expedition in Norway, one Royal Marine stated:

> *"I just knew that something was wrong the whole way along and I didn't say something because I didn't have the confidence in what I was seeing because I didn't have all the pieces of the jigsaw."*

This led to that Royal Marine following the direction of expedition leaders without speaking up. Whilst all members survived, there were some injuries and significant discomfort.

Situational awareness was cited as a differentiator between constructive deviance and destructive conformity for five interviewees. This is most usefully summed up by the aforementioned Royal Marine, who, when asked what the difference was between the two situations, said:

> *"[In the first situation] I had a clarity of fact of what I thought was right and what I thought was wrong and therefore when I took the decision to do something, I knew full well what the possible consequences could*

be and the relative cost benefit analysis of acting. In the other case I didn't have a clear view of any of it until hindsight."

This section shows that individuals are more likely to take constructively deviant action if they are armed with all the facts of a situation. Absence of information and understanding, on the other hand, is more likely to lead to destructive conformity.

5.2.2.2 Empowerment or discretion

This code includes any comments that were made by interviewees in which they referred to their perceived level of independence, discretion or latitude. It also includes the extent to which they felt the environment was one in which they were empowered, either formally or informally, to act.

Whilst there were references to leadership-related factors there were also references to broader, non-specific influences such as "the system" and the military in more general terms. Comments indicated that these factors affected the interviewees' perception of the freedoms or constraints within which they could act.

One interviewee mentioned the "*open and empowering environment*" that existed within a particular area of the Defence Academy, as an enabling factor. In a Special Forces context, one interviewee noted that the "guidance from above [was] '*I need you to do this but I'm not going to ask you how*'", which he felt enabled him to operate with significant latitude if his actions moved the organisation closer to the intended operational aim.

When this factor was described as a barrier to taking constructively deviant action it has a significant impact. One interviewee, when he chose to destructively conform rather than constructively deviate to improve a potentially life-threatening situation in an operational theatre, said:

"it was just so black and white. Ordinarily, any authorising officer or detachment officer worth their salt would leave it to your discretion to get that kit out…… at that time it was an absolute no-no".

There were also indications of an awareness of the nature of the military context, with some interviewees referring to the "*facets of groupthink*" being high within the military environment. Another interviewee made the observation that "*for constructive deviance, the system doesn't want to know*".

As can be seen from Table 10, nine interviewees noted that the presence of this factor was an enabling feature of that environment. The same number noted that the absence of empowerment led them to destructively conform. Nine interviewees noted this element as a differentiating factor when asked to compare the two conditions which they had described. Overall, more than half of the interviewees mentioned empowerment or discretion as a factor that influenced whether they would constructively deviate in one or more sections of the interviews. There is emergent narrative within this theme that describes some empowered environments successfully enabled constructive deviance, but also that the military context is one in which this latitude or discretion is frequently frustrated. Even when there is rhetoric which should allow the organisation to encourage constructive deviance, there are a multitude of examples when this has been sabotaged by the highly normative environment of the military. It appears that the command rhetoric could "turn off" constructive deviance, but even a proactive rhetoric is not necessarily sufficient to turn it on.

5.2.2.3 Experience or expertise

This theme includes any comments made by interviewees that indicate how they felt about their level of expertise in that role or comparative experience that either encouraged or discouraged them to take constructively deviant action. This might relate to the interviewee's ability to justify the actions that they took due to the level of expertise that they felt they had compared to others, or their level of experience.

One interviewee explained, that even though he wasn't the most senior person in the given situation, he felt he was able to constructively deviate because of his expertise. He said:

"I wasn't trying to persuade anybody else. I may have informed the captain, but he was going on my advice. I was the expert and in that situation the decision was mine to make.".

In this situation, the individual took the action which wasn't within policy guidelines, based on him having a deeper expertise of the situation than those immediately around him, including those above him.

When asked to compare situations, four suggested that experience or expertise was a differentiating factor. Drawing parallels between two very similar situations, one in which they destructively conformed and one in which they constructively deviated, one interviewee made this observation:

"I say that now with another 10 years' experience… because then I had very little expertise compared to them… and also, I've got a bit more experience now."

Just over half of the interviewees mentioned experience or expertise as a factor that influenced their behaviour in relation to either constructively deviating or destructively conforming.

5.2.2.4 Access or opportunity

This code related to the ability of a interviewee to be able to take constructively deviant action, either through having access to an individual, if such access was required to take the constructively deviant action or simply having the resources, invariably time, to do so. As shown in Table 10, this was only described by one interviewee as an enabler, but by eight interviewees when they were describing situations in which they had destructively conformed. It was mainly mentioned as something that stopped them, but also as something which might have encouraged constructive deviance when they destructively conformed.

The one interviewee found that access was an enabler when he was breaking with convention and circumventing the CoC by sharing information with someone significantly more senior than he and his immediate seniors. He describes this access as the prime reason for being able to take action, saying, "*the only thing is, I had access to Vice Chief, I knew him*". It was this access that he felt made

him able to approach the Vice Chief when he "*happened to be in the same room as him*" at an event unconnected to the information he wanted to share.

Other interviewees also described occasions when they destructively conformed, but might have constructively deviated, had they had access or opportunity. This is represented by the statement made by one interviewee, who felt that he needed to make his senior officer aware of problems within the Division, when they said:

> *"if I'd known he was going to be in the office, that would have made a difference, but trying to pin the bugger down at the moment is pretty difficult……. If I'd have known he was going to be there, that would have made it easier".*

When describing access or opportunity and specifically the lack of time, as a reason for not taking constructively deviant action, a senior officer working in a coalition headquarters cited an overwhelming busyness that meant they simply didn't have the capacity to take constructively deviant action. He explained his destructive conformity by saying:

> *"I was being significantly distracted by my other job….. and I was sweating spinal fluid trying to keep on top of them".*

The evidence suggests that having the opportunity to access individuals is an enabler for those who might want to take constructively deviant action. The depiction offered by these interviews is that busyness on either the interviewee's part or on the part of the individual that they require access to in order to act, plays a part in an individual's ability or willingness to take constructively deviant action. This factor was mentioned by just one interviewee as a differentiator and in total, was commented on by eight interviewees.

5.2.2.5 Responsibility

This code includes any response which refers to the perception of having responsibility for the situation or for taking action. Whilst this wasn't mentioned by any interviewees in their initial descriptions of situations in which they did or did not take constructively deviant action, as can be seen in Table 10, it was

mentioned by six interviewees when they were asked to describe the differences between the different situations that they had shared.

One interviewee described the time during which he had been a member of a team that had reviewed a substantial Defence-related course of education and felt that the final report did not fully reflect the views of the panel. At the final review presentation, being presented by the senior officer responsible for the project, the interviewee had the opportunity to voice his concerns, or to stay silent, as he perceived would have normally been the case. In explaining why he had felt that he was able to speak up at the review meeting, he said:

> *"I had the biggest investment in that review and therefore I had the biggest responsibility. I felt a responsibility to say something relative to anybody else sat in there because I had been the officer supporting the review…… in the second example in the [redacted], I recognised that although I felt quite passionately about it, I had no greater role to speak out than others".*

So, in this situation, because the interviewee perceived that he was the only person in a position to comment, he felt compelled to do so. Another interviewee, when comparing two similar situations, one in which they spoke out and one in which they didn't, simply said that being "*the bloke in charge*", gave him the responsibility to speak up.

5.2.2.6 Mission command

Mission command is a military philosophy which is based on the commander describing the intent or outcome of a given task, whilst the subordinates are given latitude and freedom as to how to achieve that outcome. This code includes any specific mention of mission command or any description of direction that matches that definition.

This was mainly mentioned by interviewees who referred to it as being an enabling factor in taking constructively deviant action. When asked why he felt he could take constructively deviant action, one interviewee simply stated: "*I was given a certain element of mission command to make it work*". With almost a

quarter of the interviewees referring to this factor, some noting the parallels between constructive deviance and mission command, this is clearly influential.

Some interviewees who mentioned mission command specifically noted that whilst the concept is often discussed and described, it is "*frequently misunderstood and almost always misapplied*", diminishing interviewees' willingness to constructively deviate and instead encouraging destructive conformity.

5.2.3 Culture and climate

Three first order codes were clustered into the second order code of culture and climate. These are shown in Table 11. They include any elements surrounding the interviewees' perception of what behaviour is expected of them arising from policies, rules and process, others' attitudes towards constructive deviance or organisational structure, including any mention of hierarchy.

First order code	Definition/Indicators	Illustrative quote
Policy, rules or process	Any reference to policy, rules or process including SOPs, EOPs, JSPs, DINs, standing orders etc	*I'd be pushing a big stone up the hill if I was to go against the way the bureaucracy works*
Perceived peer support for action	Anything about their perception of level of support from their peers, for constructively deviant action	*I felt I had the experience and the team behind me [to take action]*
Structure or hierarchy	Any mention of the organisational structure or hierarchical layers that influenced their behaviour	*Organisationally, the Cabinet Office was slightly looser and less hierarchical, although it still has the ranks and the grades, but they were less obvious I would say*

Table 11: First order codes aggregated to the second order code of culture and climate

Table 12 shows the number of interviewees that mentioned each of the first order codes, that were aggregated under the second order code of culture and climate. Each of first order codes will now be discussed in turn.

Constructive Deviance		Destructive Conformity		Differentiator	Total interviewees	First Order Codes
Enablers	Barriers	Enablers	Barriers			
7	1	3	10	2	13	Policy, rules or process
3	0	4	7	1	7	Perceived peer support for action
0	0	0	0	2	2	Structure or hierarchy

Table 12: Enablers and barriers under the second order code of culture and climate

5.2.3.1 Policy, rules or process

The first code in this category is policy, rules or process. This includes any mention of them as discouraging or encouraging constructive deviance. This might refer to high level governance, such as Joint Service Publications (JSPs) and Defence Instructions and Notices (DINs), formal processes at a more local level, such as standard and emergency operating procedures (SOPs and EOPs) or those in place for the regulation of financial conduct or recruitment. In addition, it includes any formal diktat from senior officers, such as published letters or direction and guidance. As shown in Table 12, this factor is predominantly reported as an enabler when people constructively deviated, and as a barrier to constructive deviance when people destructively conformed.

One interviewee had a clear desire to deliver improved education to military personnel within the Defence Academy of the United Kingdom. The deep frustration he felt was clear as he reflected on his inability to influence meaningful or significant change to the Division's output, because of the focus on policy and process which made such improvements almost impossible. He summed up this factor as a barrier when he said, "*I think I'd be pushing a big stone up the hill if I was to go against the way the bureaucracy works*". This view of military organisations being overly focused on process at the expense of output was common for those interviewees that mentioned this factor.

However, as is shown by the comment from another interviewee, this can also be an enabling factor. One interviewee made a decision with which a senior officer disagreed, that would significantly influence the conduct of the crew on a significant submarine deployment. He said that having a formal policy which gave him the authority to make that decision enabled the interviewee to resist the coercion of that senior officer. He said:

"I had a piece of paper which was a formal Royal Navy document saying, 'at the commanding officer's discretion'".

Having that policy which explicitly gave him the prerogative was used to resist this inappropriate direction from a senior officer.

An interviewee who identified bureaucracy as a differentiating factor, described process and policy as a "*safety net*" which he felt he could use to justify almost any action, either within or outside the rules. He stated:

"…if I am stopped it's normally by the finance department. It's by someone who is who is monitoring me carefully enough to do something about it. Bureaucracy".

He described himself as a natural deviant, always on the lookout for improvements. He felt that if he wasn't stopped by the bureaucratic processes, particularly those based on finance, that should control his behaviour, it was essentially the system that allowed him to get away with whatever constructively deviant action he felt appropriate.

5.2.3.2 Perceived peer support for action

Different to the perceived chain of command level of support, this code focuses on the perceived level of support from peers or colleagues. This includes any comments about the interviewees' perception of support from that cohort, for constructively deviant action. It could be based on contemporary information such as encouragement, or on previous experience of peer support.

As an enabler when interviewees took constructively deviant action, this factor is illustrated by the comment from one interviewee who described his experience

as part of a project team that was delivering an updated capability for loading aircraft in an effective and safe manner. He had been told to keep project information on close hold and within the immediate team. In recounting what encouraged him to speak out to someone that was not part of the project team, but was a key stakeholder, he said:

"this is probably one of the few occasions where I felt I had the experience and the team behind me [to take action]".

In situations where people had chosen to destructively conform, a lack of peer support was mentioned by seven interviewees. One example given involved the anguish that was felt by a interviewee as he battled with whether he should report sustained homophobic bullying and harassment that he'd witnessed whilst on overseas operations. He stated that the reason he didn't report the behaviour, even though he knew he should, and had on previous occasions and under different circumstances done so, he said:

"I felt isolated. I didn't feel like I had support. Because everyone turned their backs and walked away and didn't want to know."

In addition, when he was asked what could have made taking action easier, that interviewee suggested that "*having [peers] around me having a bloody backbone*" would have acted as an enabler to taking action.

This theme was also recounted by other interviewees who suggested that more peer support may have helped them act. These are exemplified by this comment:

"I'd be happy to stand up if I had a bunch of [peers] for example, that said 'right, that's what we got to do'".

As can be seen from Table 12, this factor was identified by just one interviewee as a differentiating factor and was mentioned by a total of seven interviewees.

5.2.3.3 Structure or hierarchy

Only mentioned by two interviewees, this factor relates to any mention of the organisational structure or hierarchical layers that made a difference to the

individual's willingness to constructively deviate. As shown in Table 12, both were mentioned in the comparison section of the interview.

One interviewee had experience in both purely military contexts and environments more generally populated by civilian staff. He described how he circumvented certain recruitment rules in order to achieve a more effective team structure. He stated that:

> *"Organisationally the [Civil Service context] was slightly looser and less hierarchical, although it still has the ranks and the grades, but they were less obvious I would say. I would chat to my two-star in the same way as we're chatting now. But I wouldn't do that to [my two-star here], …… in this environment if he was sat there, I would be totally straight, yes sir, no sir, three bags full sir. Whereas it wasn't like that in the [Civil Service context] at all".*

This interviewee draws a direct comparison between equivalent grades within a civilian context and that of the military. Whilst this is only one of the interviewees, it suggests that there is a difference in perception between the hierarchical nature of the military when compared with that of a civilian organisation. The interviewee suggests that this has made constructive deviance easier for him in a civilian context, compared with that of the military.

5.2.4 Perceived consequences

The second order code of perceived consequences includes first order codes which reflect any consideration on the part of the interviewee, on the likely consequences of constructive deviance. This includes the potential consequences for them, positive and negative, as well as the likelihood of success of taking constructively deviant action. Definitions and illustrative quotes are shown in Table 13.

First order code	Definition/Indicators	Illustrative quote
Career prospects	Any mention of promotion, career progression, appraisal, annual report	*I'm not going to promote anymore, so I feel safe in what I'm saying, in terms of promotion*
Perceived likelihood of successful outcome	Anything about the perceived likelihood of the action achieving the desired response	*There has to be a chance of success or otherwise you're just not going to do it*
Discipline issues	Any reference to being disciplined, formally or informally, as a result of taking action	*Ultimately, I could have faced administrative or disciplinary action*
Reputation	Any comments that refer to reputation, standing in others' eyes or a interviewee's "good name"	*You're the idiot that made that decision and you don't want to be known for that*
Previous personal experience	Anything which refers to the interviewee's previous experience of being constructively deviant and the response that it produced	*After a year and a half of being in that environment and trying it out various levels and feeling generally knocked back, I just didn't feel up for another knock*
Reward	Anything that refers to reward, formal or informal, for taking constructively deviant action	*Unless the individual sees perceived benefit I don't think they'll do that. Perceived benefit to them or to the organisation, but probably to them*

Table 13: First order codes aggregated to the second order code of perceived consequences

Table 14 shows the frequencies of responses for each of these first order codes. Each of the first codes will now be describe in more detail.

Constructive Deviance		Destructive Conformity		Differentiator	Total interviewees	First Order Codes
Enablers	Barriers	Enablers	Barriers			
6	16	6	10	5	19	Career prospects
2	1	4	13	4	13	Perceived likelihood of successful outcome
0	10	0	5	0	9	Discipline issues
0	4	0	5	1	7	Reputation
1	0	0	4	4	6	Previous personal experience

Constructive Deviance		Destructive Conformity		Differentiator	Total interviewees	First Order Codes
Enablers	Barriers	Enablers	Barriers			
0	0	2	0	0	2	Reward

Table 14: Enablers and barriers under the second order code of perceived consequences

5.2.4.1 Career prospects

The second most strongly represented code that was identified from across the interview data was that relating to career prospects, second only to the CoC factor in the leadership category. This code includes any of the interviewees' responses that included mention of promotion, career progression, annual appraisal or report or Officers' Joint Appraisal Report, colloquially known as the OJAR and the impact that this had on their likelihood to constructively deviate or not.

Where report-related responses were coded as enablers, interviewees cited the irrelevance of their reports as the enabler. On no occasion did an interviewee report that constructive deviance would have a positive impact on their report. This indicates that perceived promotion potential and appraisal reports provide limited or no motivational impact on personnel when it comes to encouraging constructive deviance. For example, it was the perceived absence of career prospects that made individuals feel that they had nothing to lose by taking action. These included situations such as individuals being too close to the end of their career, or that they had gained insufficient support for advancement from previous reports that promotion was no longer perceived to be achievable. In one case, the presence of a perceived "career foul" that had effectively ended any chance of promotion, released that individual from the threat of appraisal reports, enabling them to take constructively deviant action. When individuals had promotion prospects worth considering, constructively deviant action was

only perceived as a threat to promotion prospects or attaining a positive appraisal report. The perceived safety that comes from reaching a career plateau is typified by an interviewee who chose to circumvent recruits' medical procedures for the benefit of the organisation. He stated:

"I'm not going to promote anymore, so I feel safe in what I'm saying, in terms of promotion".

The absence of promotion prospects for full time reserve personnel echoed this attitude. One officer compared his now reserve Service with his previous regular Service. He said:

"I don't have a career, as an FTRS passed over squadron leader. That probably affects my approach as well. I might have done things differently 10 or 15 years ago when I thought I still have a career. I might have been a little more prepared to toe the line then".

However, when being described as a barrier to taking constructively deviant action, it was the presence of this factor that seemed to matter to interviewees. This was typified by the statement:

"the risk will be that I get a shit OJAR and that's the sort of thing you need to think about".

This statement was made by an individual who was given the opportunity to constructively deviate by granting early release to an individual who had submitted their notice to leave the Service. The interviewee had the authority to grant the individual early release, but because he perceived that his first reporting officer wouldn't approve of that action, he opted to retain the individual. This was even though that action would have been within the rules and arguably benefitted the service as well as the individual. He stated that he feared that granting that individual permission to leave early would result in a poor appraisal.

So, when people still felt that they were on a career path to promotion, taking constructively deviant action was seen as potentially detrimental to that process. Once people felt they were unlikely to promote and therefore that the reporting

system ceased to matter, the absence of that influence "allowed" them to take constructively deviant action. In no situation was constructive deviance perceived as being likely to positively influence the promotion and/or appraisal profile.

As can be seen in Table 14, career prospects were most frequently seen as a barrier to taking constructively deviant action; this was either as a reason for not taking the action or perceived as something that might have dissuaded them when they did take action. It was also noted as a differentiating factor by five interviewees, typified by the comment:

> *"…now that I've got less to lose, I sometimes might push the boat out more, including if people are resisting it or whatever, but I think that's an issue for more junior people, because I wouldn't necessarily recommend that approach of myself 20 years ago".*

Comments that were categorised as relating to career prospects were mentioned by a total of 19 interviewees, indicating a substantial strength of feeling.

5.2.4.2 Perceived likelihood of successful outcome

This element relates to any comments made by the interviewees in which they refer to the perceived likelihood of the action achieving a successful or beneficial outcome. It includes anything that indicates the level of confidence that the interviewees had that taking action would lead to the desired result. As can be seen from Table 14, it was primarily reported as a barrier to constructive deviance for people as they chose to destructively conform.

When this factor was described as an enabler, one officer stated that she took constructively deviant action, sidestepping an overly elongated process to facilitate the attendance of an external speaker on a course. She stated that she felt that there was a good chance of success, because:

> *"you don't set out to have an argument unless you have a strong chance of winning".*

As a barrier, one interviewee spoke of his desire to challenge the hierarchy about the pressure it was applying to a particular team to achieve an operational task. Despite this pressure having a significant and adverse effect on many members of the crew, he noted that his expectations constrained his actions. He said that:

"no matter what level I went to, I was going to get the [same] answer…. there is no other option".

As a result, that individual chose to stay silent rather than to speak up, destructively conforming rather than constructively deviating.

In more general terms, this factor was summarised by one interviewee who noted the likelihood of a successful outcome as a differentiator in the comment:

"That's the problem with this whole constructive deviance piece, there's got to be a chance of succeeding, there has to be a chance of success or otherwise you're just not going to do it".

Over half mentioned issues relating to perceived likelihood of success as a barrier to taking a constructively deviant act when they chose to destructively conform. Four interviewees mentioned it as a differentiator. All 13 that mentioned it somewhere in the interview assessed it as being a barrier to constructive deviance in the destructive conformity condition.

5.2.4.3 Discipline issues

Relating to any reference to being disciplined, formally or informally, as a result of taking action, it is unsurprising that this factor was only reported as a barrier or potential barrier to taking constructively deviant action. This is shown in Table 14. Discipline issues were not mentioned as a differentiating factor by any of the interviewees. In total, this barrier was mentioned by just under half the interviewees.

Whilst it is expected that the fear of disciplinary action might be a barrier to constructively deviant action within any organisation, most interviewees that mentioned disciplinary procedures as a factor noted the military context in which they were working. This might suggest that the disciplinary element was

perceived as being something that marked out this context as being different to other environments, in the minds of the interviewees at least. One interviewee, a pilot, had been told that due to safety concerns, they should only attempt to deliver each “stores drop” once, during a particular operation in Afghanistan. Having failed to make contact with ground troops on the first pass, but establishing communications seconds later, the pilot had the opportunity to “*re-attack*”. However, because of the fear of a senior officer “*jumping up and down*”, he chose to follow the direction to the letter, bringing the stores back to base, potentially leaving the troops on the ground in short supply.

Other interviewees described the more formal side of possible disciplinary action. One individual described the possibility of being court-martialled or being removed from post, as being a potential barrier to constructive deviance. This was when he made the decision to move his trainees closer to a bombing target on an artillery range to a distance less than the dictated safety margins. He reduced the distance between them and the target to a shorter distance so the trainees would get a better feel for the effect of the munitions, thereby improving the training effect. Another interviewee noted the risk from constructive deviance when he said that:

> *“if you tell a direct lie or disobey a direct order, they are serious offences which can be punished by the weight of the military justice system”.*

5.2.4.4 Reputation

Any comments made by interviewees that indicated that they had been influenced by the anticipated impact on their reputation or standing were coded under reputation. This includes specific mention of reputation, and related phrases such as standing in others' eyes or their "good name".

As can be seen from Table 14, reputation wasn’t reported as an enabling factor when people took action or a factor that would have enabled constructively deviant action in the destructive conformity condition. This is similar to the career prospects factor, in that constructive deviance is not perceived to be beneficial to

reputation. However, it was viewed as a barrier by four interviewees who chose to destructively conform. It was also reported by five interviewees as something that might have made constructive deviance harder, even though they chose to take such action. An engineer was working remotely to the operating authority for a given piece of equipment, when he made the decision to operate that equipment outside normal procedures in order to deliver operational effect. He eloquently described the potential consequences:

> *"The other worry for me is the reputational damage to me as an engineer. I don't want people back in Abbey Wood thinking that I'm some sort of cowboy fuck knuckle, who will do anything to get something up and working".*

A representative comment came from another interviewee, when they described how reputational concerns prevented them taking action whilst working in a coalition partnership operational headquarters. He said:

> *"that whole world is one in which credibility is tremendously important and it's won hard but lost easily if you're not careful".*

The reputational factor was mentioned by just one interviewee as a differentiating factor. It was mentioned by a total of seven interviewees.

5.2.4.5 Previous personal experience

This code refers to the interviewee's previous experience of being constructively deviant and the response that it produced. Not surprisingly, the interviewees reported that a positive experience of taking constructively deviant action encouraged them to do so again. Conversely, a previous negative response would generate in them an unwillingness to repeat their action. As can be seen in Table 14, this factor was reported in only two situations: as an enabler for when an interviewee chose to take constructively deviant action and as a barrier when one chose to destructively conform.

When describing how previous experience within a Defence educational setting had encouraged the interviewee to take action, they stated that they had become:

"used to an environment where I had backed myself to say what I thought, which had been positively received",

which allowed them to form a "*habit*" of constructive deviance and take action more frequently in the future.

However, that same individual, as he moved to different environment in a single Service headquarters described a very different experience. This was equally habit-forming but resulted in learning to destructively conform. As an explanation for how their experience had discouraged them to take constructively deviant action, he said:

"I just didn't feel that after a year and a half of being in that environment and trying it out various levels and feeling generally knocked back, I just didn't feel up for another knock, basically. So, I protected myself, which was by not exposing myself".

This evidence suggests that at an individual level, taking action could build momentum for taking more action in the future, but equally, a previous negative response will reduce the willingness of individuals to leave themselves open to further undesirable reactions. The factor was noted as a differentiator by four interviewees, exemplified by this comment when comparing one positive environment with one less so:

"That was very apparent there [indicating one environment], and it was absolutely not apparent at [redacted – the other environment]. I literally can't think of an example where the hierarchy changed its mind based on a new idea".

Whilst only mentioned by a comparatively small number of interviewees, the impact that previous experience had on those interviewees is clear. Interviewees were able to describe, in a good level of detail, occasions on which constructively deviant behaviour received a negative response. They were then able to link that experience directly to the decision-making in situations (often within the same environment) that arose later. One interviewee was considering speaking up to her seniors about the normalised fraudulent behaviour within her organisation.

She stated that she felt unable to do so, because she was "*once bitten, twice shy*". This factor was mentioned in total by six interviewees.

5.2.4.6 Reward

This factor relates to any comment that refers to reward, formal or informal, that influenced an individual's likelihood of taking constructively deviant action. It is mentioned by just two interviewees, as shown in Table 14. Both reported this factor as something that might have encouraged them to act in situations in which they destructively conformed.

One interviewee had chosen to follow some ambiguous safety rules which may have made some adventurous training more dangerous, rather than break those rules. When asked how the situation could have been different in a way that could have encouraged constructive deviance, he said:

> *"I think they need to see meaningful benefit..... Unless the individual sees perceived benefit I don't think they'll do that; perceived benefit to them or to the organisation, but probably to them. I think that's the driver for most people".*

Another interviewee, when asked how constructive deviance could be encouraged, said "you have to make it worth their while". Whilst the potential reward isn't made clear from these comments, earlier comments and the context of the conversation indicated that this reward might be connected to the preceding section of career prospects.

5.2.5 Fresh eyes

This section describes the code of fresh eyes and the impact that this has on an individual's willingness to constructively deviate. This factor, shown in Table 15, is about being new to an organisation and therefore seeing aspects of that organisation with relative inexperience compared to other members.

First order code	Definition/Indicators	Illustrative quote
Fresh eyes	This is about coming into the organisation recently and therefore seeing aspects in a new light	*Most people come in….. and want to change it, see it originally….., but then they get beaten down by the people that are already there and by the bureaucracy*

Table 15: Fresh eyes code

Frequencies and the conditions under which they appeared are shown in Table 16.

Constructive Deviance		Destructive Conformity		Differentiator	Total interviewees	First Order Code
Enablers	Barriers	Enablers	Barriers			
1	0	1	1	0	3	Fresh eyes*

Table 16: Enablers and barriers under the fresh eyes code

When describing how fresh eyes could encourage constructive deviance early on tenure at a new organisation, one interviewee described how they felt:

> *"most people come in full of piss and vinegar and want to change it, see it originally and think that's rubbish, but then they get beaten down by the people that are already there and by the bureaucracy, 'do you as you're told', 'what you've got to understand is' and the pat on the head".*

When viewed as an enabler, another interviewee suggested that on arrival to a new squadron they were enabled to take constructively deviant action, because they weren't' yet "*emotionally attached to [the squadron or the location]*" and hadn't been "*assimilated into their way of doing business*". However, another interviewee on arrival to a multinational operations team referred to himself as being "*the new boy*" which discouraged him from acting.

Of the small number of interviewees who mentioned being new to an organisation, one perceived it as an enabler and one as a barrier. Another saw it as an opportunity in their early days but failed to capitalise on that “newness”.

5.3 Conditions for constructive deviance

This chapter has described the findings from the interviews which have now been translated into the diagram in Figure 3. Firstly, this shows the reasons or motivations that might lead individuals to constructively deviate. Secondly, faced with the opportunity to either constructively deviate or destructively conform, the second part of the diagram shows the conditions that will either enable constructive deviance, or discourage it, thereby leading to destructive conformity. The next chapter will examine the patterns in the data and connections between the factors that influenced the interviewees’ behaviour.

What motivates individuals to constructively deviate?

- Improving or maintaining organisational effects
- Organisational efficiency - saving time or money
- Creating an inclusive environment
- Psychological well-being
- Physical safety
- Protecting organisational reputation

What factors influence constructively deviant behaviour? Conditions that lead to constructive deviance or destructive conformity				**Outcome**
Leadership	**Accountability, autonomy and empowerment**	**Culture and climate**	**Perceived consequences**	
• Explicit support for CD from CoC • Relationship-based leadership • Mutual trust between leaders and followers • Role-modelling of constructive deviance • Leaders are available to subordinates	• Empowered action is celebrated and rewarded • Information sharing to increase situational awareness • Personnel are suitably qualified and experienced • Responsibility is delegated • Effective Mission Command empowers personnel	• Focus is on outcomes over process • Policy and process is challenged • CD is championed at all levels	• CD is rewarded through annual reports • Success is publicised and celebrated • Failure is permitted and learned from	Constructive deviance
• Directive leadership style • Micromanagement and absence of trust • Leaders unwilling to constructively deviate	• Freedom of manoeuvre is limited by rhetoric • Information is held by few individuals	• Decisions are driven by policy and rules	• Individuals are chastised for creativity and CD	Destructive conformity

Figure 3: Conditions for constructive deviance and destructive conformity

6 ANALYSIS

The previous chapter has described the various enablers for and barriers to constructive deviance, examining them in isolation from each other. This chapter will now examine the data and identify patterns and connections within those enablers and barriers. Firstly, there is then a section on how these factors interrelate to enable or discourage constructive deviance. The second section examines how the motivators relate to the barriers and enablers for constructive deviance.

6.1 Patterns and connections between enablers and barriers

This section will look at the constructive deviance condition first. It will then look at the destructive conformity condition. Each of the codes can appear as an enabler or a barrier; for example, where a factor is presented as an enabler, the absence of that factor is cited as a barrier and vice versa. Similarly, each code can appear as a potential enabler (that may have enabled constructive deviance in the destructive conformity condition) or a potential barrier (that would have discouraged constructive deviance in the constructive deviance condition).

6.1.1 Enablers and potential barriers in the constructive deviance condition

This section will look at the reported co-existence of enablers and potential barriers for the constructive deviance condition. This will first describe the factors that enabled constructive deviance. Then it will describe the barriers that weren't present for interviewees, but had they been, were perceived by the interviewees to have the potential to encourage constructive deviance.

6.1.1.1 Enablers when constructively deviating

Interviewees were frequently able to identify multiple enablers for constructive deviance in the condition in which they constructively deviated. The second order codes and the extent to which they appeared concurrently are shown in the Venn diagram in Figure 4.

Accountability, autonomy and empowerment (hereafter known as AAE) was the most frequently mentioned enabler in this condition, with leadership in very close second. Culture and climate and perceived consequences appeared in joint third place. Almost all interviewees (21 of 23) mentioned either AAE, leadership or both as being an enabler for constructive deviance. Only two interviewees mentioned neither, and they both cited enablers coded as culture and climate. Perceived consequences were mentioned by nine interviewees, but only in conjunction with other codes and in all cases, it was the absence of consequences that they felt enabled their behaviour.

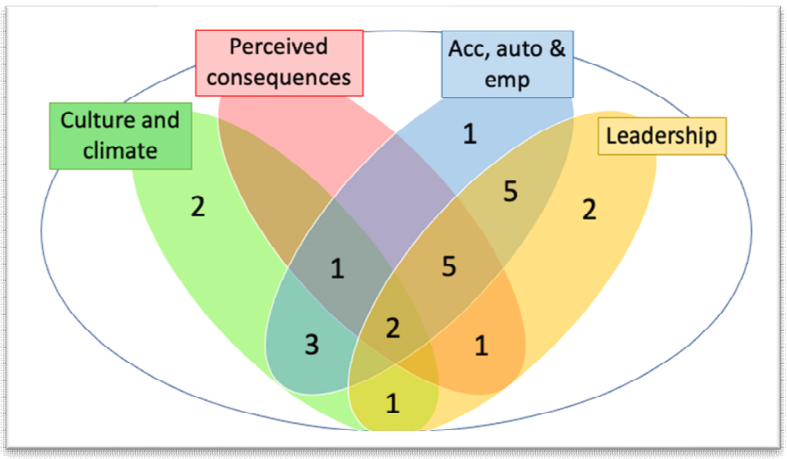

Figure 4: Enablers for constructive deviance in the constructive deviance condition

There is a substantial intersection between AAE and leadership codes. Analysis shows that just over half (12) mentioned both these second order codes. It might be expected that leaders could influence accountability and so a relationship between leadership and accountability could be predicted. However, because so many interviewees mentioned both factors, it is difficult to draw a conclusion that one leads to the other; it could simply be that they are both often present when constructive deviance occurs. However, it is clear that in the majority of incidents of constructive deviance studied here, one or both of these enabling factors was present.

Four mentioned just leadership codes without AAE and five mentioned AAE without leadership. Only six interviewees didn't mention any AAE factors. Of

these six, four interviewees mentioned at least one leadership factor as an enabler. Only seven interviewees didn't mention any leadership factors. Of these seven, all but two mentioned at least one AAE enabler.

Based on the numbers seen in Figure 4, it could be argued that the culture and climate factors have had limited bearing on the interviewees, with only two indicating that this was the only factor that influenced their behaviour. They both cited policy, rules and process as enabling constructive deviance. Likewise, it could be argued that perceived consequences did nothing in isolation to enable constructive deviance but were only mentioned in conjunction with other enablers. However, they were only cited inasmuch that it was the absence of perceived consequences that enabled constructively deviant behaviour.

These findings indicate that whilst AAE factors were the most frequently recorded enablers for constructive deviance, closely followed by leadership factors, the absence of either might be mitigated in most cases by the other. In the rare case of both being absent, constructive deviance might be enabled by culture and climate, specifically policy, rules and process. The next section will look at the relationships between the potential barriers to constructive deviance.

6.1.1.2 Potential barriers when constructively deviating

This section continues with the analysis of the constructive deviance condition. It looks at the factors that interviewees indicated might have been barriers to constructive deviance, that is, the factors that might have caused them to destructively conform. In the constructive deviance condition, interviewees reported fewer potential barriers to constructive deviance than they did enablers. All the reported potential barriers are shown in Figure 5.

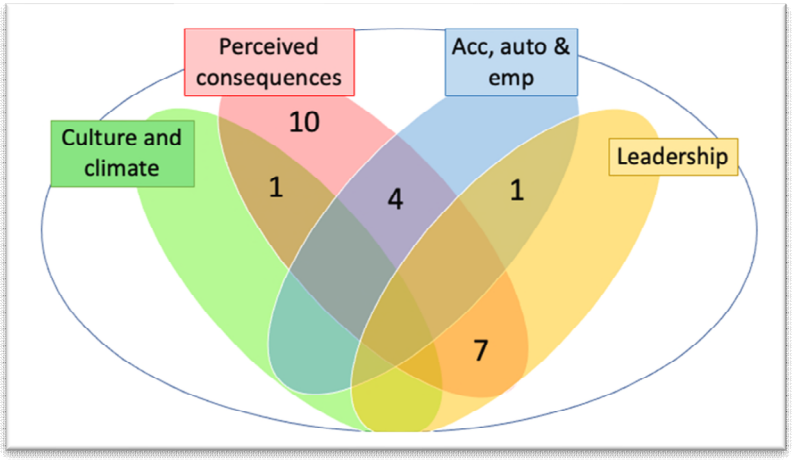

Figure 5: Potential barriers to constructive deviance in the constructive deviance condition

Perhaps the most striking observation from Figure 5 is that all but one interviewee indicated that the presence of perceived consequences might have discouraged their constructively deviant behaviour, thereby causing destructive conformity. This includes those interviewees who hadn't cited the absence of perceived consequences as an enabler. Deeper analysis of this second order code, as shown in Figure 6, reveals that all of them cited either career prospects (16), disciplinary concerns (10) or both (four). Perhaps of significance, is that for ten interviewees, the threat to career prospects alone was perceived as being a potential barrier to their constructively deviant behaviour.

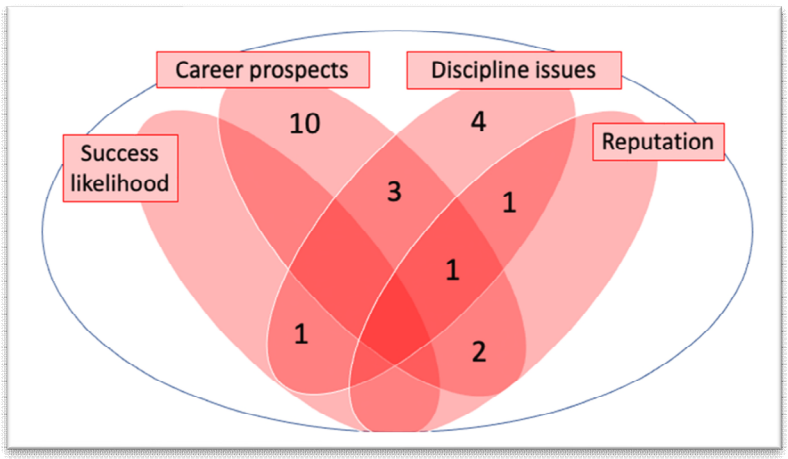

Figure 6: Potential perceived consequences barriers to constructive deviance in the constructive deviance condition

Of the seven interviewees who mentioned leadership as a potential barrier, six of these indicated that absence of chain of command support would have discouraged their constructive deviance.

These findings indicate that most interviewees would be least encouraged to destructively conform if there was a significant threat to promotion or career prospects or of disciplinary action. This section will now move on to look at the destructive conformity condition.

6.1.2 Barriers and potential enablers and in the destructive conformity condition

This section will in turn look at the co-existence of reported barriers and potential enablers for the destructive conformity condition. Firstly, the section will describe the factors that were described as barriers to constructive deviance, thereby resulting in destructive conformity. Then it will describe the enablers that weren't present, but were perceived to have the potential to encourage the interviewees to constructively deviate, had they been present.

6.1.2.1 Barriers when destructively conforming

Interviewees were frequently able to identify multiple barriers to constructive deviance in the condition in which they destructively conformed. The second

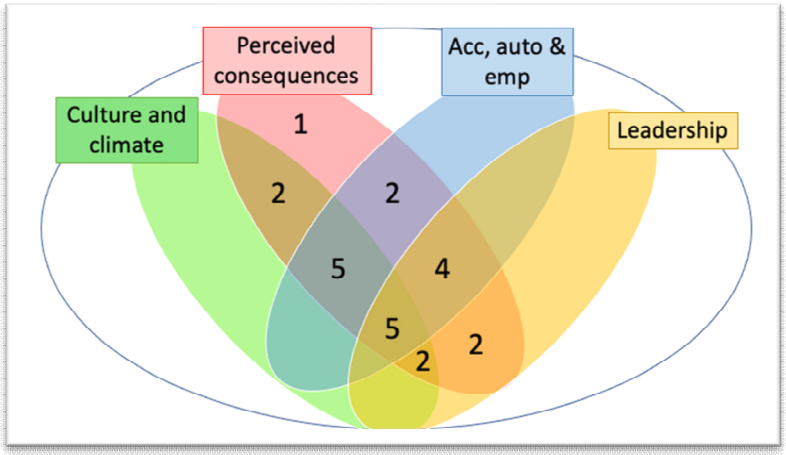

Figure 7: Barriers to constructive deviance in the destructive conformity condition – all second order codes

order codes and the extent to which they appeared concurrently are shown in the Venn diagram in Figure 7.

As can be seen in Figure 7, all 23 interviewees cited perceived consequences as an influence in the destructive conformity condition, although only one mentioned this as the sole barrier. The next most frequently mentioned barrier was AAE (16), followed by culture and climate (14) and leadership (13).

The ubiquity of perceived consequences justifies a deeper analysis of this particular code. As shown in Figure 8, within this second order code, most interviewees mentioned two of the first order codes – perceived likelihood of success and career prospects. The perceived likelihood of success is the most frequently mentioned of the two codes, with over half of interviewees suggesting that they destructively conformed, because they felt that constructively deviating offered no reasonable chance of success. Ten respondents indicated that they constructively deviated because of the perceived threat to their career prospects in doing so. There were a limited number of interviewees that indicated both these as barriers suggesting that there is little or no relationship between the two.

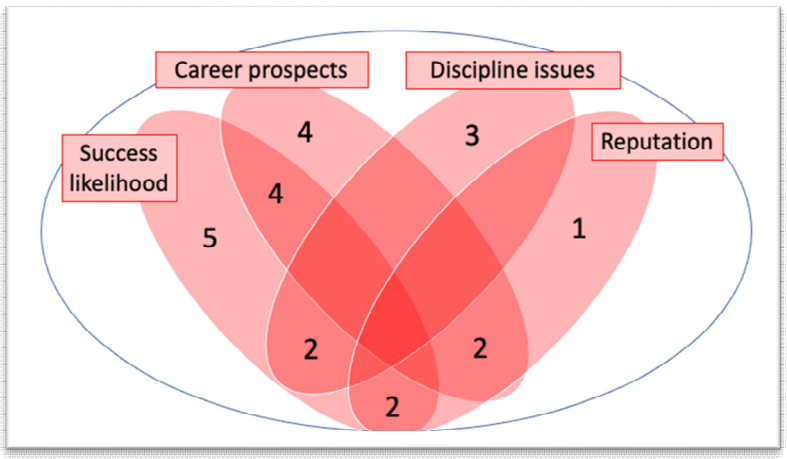

Figure 8: Barriers to constructive deviance in the destructive conformity condition – perceived consequences

The next most frequently mentioned second order code was that of AAE, with more than half of all interviewees indicating that this was a factor that influenced their behaviour in the destructive conformity condition. The two main first order

codes that were mentioned by interviewees, were access or opportunity (seven) and empowerment or discretion (nine). In addition, there were three interviewees who mentioned both these factors, indicating that there might be a weak relationship between the two.

At the level of first order codes across the second order codes, the four most frequently cited barriers scored similarly; each were offered by around half the interviewees. These barriers to constructive deviance were likelihood of success (13), CoC support for action (11), policy rules or process (10) and career prospects (10). However, a deeper analysis of how they interconnect shows that the combination of the two most frequent is not the most impactful. As shown in Figure 9, when taken together, likelihood of success and CoC support only accounts for 17 interviewees. In addition, CoC support combined with career prospects only accounts for a total of 15 interviewees. However, when taken in combination, CoC support and policy, rules or process account for almost all (20 of 23) interviewees. This indicates that there is a relationship between CoC support and career prospects that is more substantial than the relationship between CoC support and either likelihood of success or policy, rules or process.

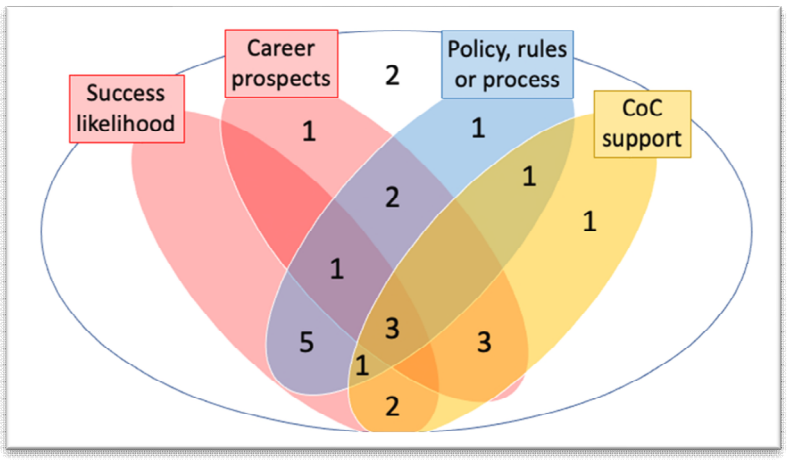

Figure 9: Barriers to constructive deviance in the destructive conformity condition – most frequent first order codes

Of the four most frequently mentioned barriers to constructive deviance in the destructive conformity condition, the combination of any three resulted in almost all the interviewees being accounted for. The most effective three, covering 21

interviewees, were CoC support, career prospects and policy, rules or process. This indicates that if the barriers to constructive deviance are to be mitigated, these areas could be usefully examined, with the expectation that a combination of these factors will have the most impactful effect.

Overall, this section shows that the most influential barriers were those coded under the second order code of perceived consequences, mentioned by all interviewees in this condition. This code was also the only one that served to influence behaviour in isolation, albeit for only one interviewee. This shows that if an individual perceives that there may be negative consequences to taking constructively deviant action, this could increase the likelihood of destructive conformity. Although, as can be seen from Figure 7, more than half the interviewees mention each of the other second order codes, suggesting that there is some interaction between those three and consequences. As many interviewees mentioned several different influences, it is difficult to draw any specific conclusions from these particular findings, but it is clear that the perception of negative consequences plays a substantial part in encouraging destructive conformity.

6.1.2.2 Potential enablers when destructively conforming

In the destructive conformity condition, as might be expected interviewees reported fewer potential enablers to constructive deviance than they did barriers. The overall picture of the frequency with which interviewees mentioned potential barriers is in Figure 10. This shows that more than half of interviewees were only able to identify one enabler that might have encouraged constructive deviance, with the majority of the remainder mentioning two.

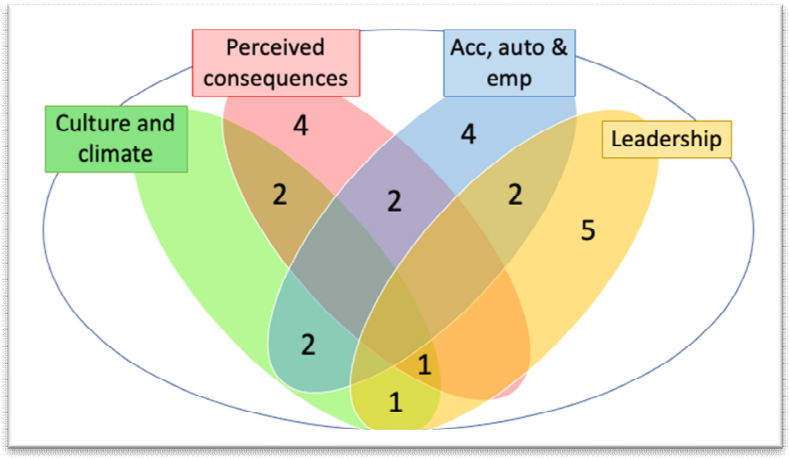

Figure 10: Potential enablers to constructive deviance in the destructive conformity condition – leadership, AAE and perceived consequences

Despite the main barrier to constructive deviance being perceived consequences, from the previous section, the potential enablers were spread more evenly across three of the second order codes. These codes were leadership, AAE and perceived consequences. The analysis indicates that these codes encompassed all responses for this condition, with culture and climate only being mentioned in conjunction with other codes. This suggests that culture and climate alone was not predicted to enable constructive deviance in itself.

When the first order codes within these second order are examined, it is seen that just three first order codes account for 18 of 23 interviewees. The most frequently mentioned potential enabler (when interviewees destructively conformed) was CoC support for action with about a third of interviewees suggesting that this might have changed their behaviour. Interviewees indicated in equal numbers that the presence of CoC support or the absence of a threat to career prospects might have encouraged constructively deviant behaviour. As with the second order codes, these are almost evenly split with only limited relationships appearing between them.

The findings from the destructive conformity condition offer several insights. The analysis of the barriers suggest that it is the perception of negative consequences that most frequently deter individuals from constructively deviating. However, when asked what might have encouraged constructive deviance, the responses

indicate that more overt support from their CoC, greater feelings of accountability, autonomy and empowerment and more discretion would be most effective. This is interesting, because it shows that the enablement of constructive deviance might not simply arise from the absence of the equivalent barrier. As such, the next section will take a deeper look at the relationships between enablers and barriers in each condition.

6.2 Relationships between enablers and barriers

This section will look more holistically at each condition, examining the frequencies with which each enabler and barrier was mentioned in relation to each other. The data are represented in two formats for each of the conditions. The format of this data will be explained first.

6.2.1 Explanation of tables

Firstly, Table 17 and Table 19 show the frequencies with which enablers and barriers appeared for each of the other enablers/barriers, for the constructive deviance and destructive conformity conditions respectively. The comparator is

		Enablers				Potential barriers			
		Leadership	AAE	Culture and climate	Perceived consequences	Leadership	AAE	Culture and climate	Perceived consequences
Enablers	Leadership	**16**	12	3	8	8	4	1	15
	AAE	12	**17**	6	8	4	5	1	16
	Culture and climate	3	6	**9**	3	2	2	0	9
	Perceived consequences	8	8	3	**9**	3	2	0	9
Potential barriers	Leadership	8	4	2	3	**8**	1	0	7
	AAE	4	5	2	2	1	**5**	0	4
	Culture and climate	1	1	0	0	0	0	**1**	1
	Perceived consequences	15	16	9	9	7	4	1	**22**

Table 17: Enablers and potential barriers in the constructive deviance condition (frequency)

		Enablers				Potential barriers			
		Leadership	AAE	Culture and climate	Perceived consequences	Leadership	AAE	Culture and climate	Perceived consequences
Enablers	Leadership	**100**	75	19	50	50	25	6	94
	AAE	71	**100**	35	47	24	29	6	94
	Culture and climate	33	67	**100**	33	22	22	0	100
	Perceived consequences	89	89	33	**100**	33	22	0	100
Potential barriers	Leadership	100	50	25	38	**100**	13	0	88
	AAE	80	100	40	40	20	**100**	0	80
	Culture and climate	100	100	0	0	0	0	**100**	100
	Perceived consequences	68	73	41	41	32	18	5	**100**

Table 18: Enablers and potential barriers in the constructive deviance condition (percentage)

		Potential enablers				Barriers			
		Leadership	AAE	Culture and climate	Perceived consequences	Leadership	AAE	Culture and climate	Perceived consequences
Potential enablers	Leadership	**9**	2	2	1	6	5	4	9
	AAE	2	**10**	2	2	6	8	6	10
	Culture and climate	2	2	**6**	3	4	4	6	6
	Perceived consequences	1	2	3	**9**	3	8	6	9
Barriers	Leadership	6	6	4	3	**13**	9	7	13
	AAE	5	8	4	8	9	**16**	10	16
	Culture and climate	4	6	6	6	7	10	**14**	14
	Perceived consequences	9	10	6	9	13	16	14	**23**

Table 19: Barriers and potential enablers in the destructive conformity condition (frequency)

		Potential enablers				Barriers			
		Leadership	AAE	Culture and climate	Perceived consequences	Leadership	AAE	Culture and climate	Perceived consequences
Potential enablers	Leadership	**100**	22	22	11	67	56	44	100
	AAE	20	**100**	20	20	60	80	60	100
	Culture and climate	33	33	**100**	50	67	67	100	100
	Perceived consequences	11	22	33	**100**	33	89	67	100
Barriers	Leadership	46	46	31	23	**100**	69	54	100
	AAE	31	50	25	50	56	**100**	63	100
	Culture and climate	29	43	43	43	50	71	**100**	100
	Perceived consequences	39	43	26	39	57	70	61	**100**

Table 20: Barriers and potential enablers in the destructive conformity condition (percentage)

in the left-hand column. So, for example, from Table 17, reading across the first line of data, of the 16 interviewees that cited leadership as an enabler, 12 also gave AAE, three culture and climate and eight perceived consequences. Continuing along that row, of those 16 that mentioned leadership as an enabler, eight of them also cited leadership as a potential barrier, four AAE, one culture and climate and 15 perceived consequences. In the second row of data of Table 17, of the 17 interviewees that mentioned AAE as an enabler, 12 mentioned leadership, six culture and climate and eight perceived consequences and so on. The cells are colour-coded from green to yellow to red to represent high to low.

The data are also represented as percentages; this is shown in Table 18 and Table 20 for the constructive deviance and destructive conformity conditions respectively. Again, the comparator is in the left-hand column. So, for example, across the first line of data, of those that mentioned leadership as an enabler, 75% also gave AAE as an enabler, 19% culture and climate and 50% perceived consequences. Similarly, of those that mentioned leadership as an enabler, 50%

mentioned leadership as a potential barrier, 25% AAE, 6% culture and climate and 94% perceived consequences. In the second row of data of those that offered AAE as an enabler, 71% also gave leadership, 35% culture and climate, and so on.

6.2.2 Relationships in the constructive deviance condition

The data from the constructive deviance condition are represented in Table 17 (frequencies) and Table 18 (percentages). This section will identify the data which offer greatest insight into how enablers and potential barriers interact.

The first notable about the data in these tables is that in most cases, the potential barriers are not the same as the enablers. This indicates that simple absence of enablers will not necessarily encourage destructive conformity. For example, of those interviewees that cite leadership as an enabler, only 50% propose that different leadership would have discouraged constructive deviance. Likewise, of the interviewees that refer to AAE as an enabler, just a quarter of them indicate that the absence of AAE would have encouraged destructive conformity. Similarly, of the interviewees that mention culture and climate as an enabler, none mention that this would have encouraged destructive conformity.

The only second order code that bucks this trend is perceived consequences. Of the interviewees that mention perceived consequences, (all of which indicated that it was the absence of such that would encourage constructive deviance), all of them indicate that the presence of perceived consequences would discourage constructive deviance.

Looking from the perceived barriers perspective, it can be seen, most usefully in Table 18, that in general, potential barriers were in fact the converse of the enablers. This is exemplified by the potential barriers of leadership and AAE; all the interviewees that mentioned these as potential barriers had mentioned them as enablers. The pattern doesn't follow for culture and climate, but his was mentioned by so few interviews that it is impossible to draw any conclusion there. It also doesn't follow for perceived consequences. All interviewees mentioned at

least one perceived consequences factor as a potential barrier, even though only 41% mentioned the corresponding absence as an enabler.

Overall, the data indicate that whilst there are several enablers for constructive deviance, the presence of perceived consequences was perceived to be sufficient to override this enabling influence in almost all cases. This is indicated by the data even where the absence of perceived consequences was not cited as an enabler.

6.2.3 Relationships in the destructive conformity condition

The data from the destructive conformity condition are represented in Table 19 (frequencies) and Table 20 (percentages). This section will identify the data which offer greatest insight into how barriers and potential enablers interact.

Similar to the findings from the constructive deviance condition, the first notable relationship is that potential enablers are not simply the converse of the barriers. Again, the equivalent perceived enabler is only reported around half as frequently as the barrier to constructive deviance. This is seen in the bottom half of Table 20. Leadership is reported as a potential enabler by 46% of interviewees who cited it as a barrier. A similar relationship is found for AAE at 50%, culture and climate at 43% and perceived consequences at 39%.

Looking from the perspective of the perceived enablers, it can be seen that a much higher proportion of interviewees who cited a given potential enabler, had noted the equivalent as a barrier. This is the case for culture and climate and perceived barriers. All interviewees who noted these potential enablers had also noted them as barriers. This drops slightly for AAE; of those interviewees who sited AAE as a potential enabler, 80% had noted it as a barrier. Likewise, of those interviewees who had noted leadership as a potential enabler, 67% had indicated that this was a barrier to constructive deviance.

The other notable finding that is clear from Table 20, is the impact of perceived consequences. As previously reported, in the destructive conformity condition perceived consequences are mentioned by all interviewees as a barrier. What is interesting is that despite the strength of feeling about this as a barrier, relatively

few interviewees mention it as a potential enabler to constructive deviance, regardless of the perceived barriers. Overall, the data from the destructive conformity indicates that whilst perceived consequences are sufficient to discourage constructive deviance, simply removing them won't necessarily encourage constructive deviance.

This section has looked at the relationships between enablers and barriers within each condition. The next section will unpack the data further, as it explores the relationships between factors that reportedly differentiated between the conditions.

6.3 Relationships between differentiators

Interviewees were asked to identify the key or most important differences between the constructive deviance condition and the destructive conformity condition. Whilst interviewees still frequently identified more than one specific differentiator, the number of factors they reported was reduced, when compared to earlier sections of the interview. The results are shown in the Venn diagram in Figure 11.

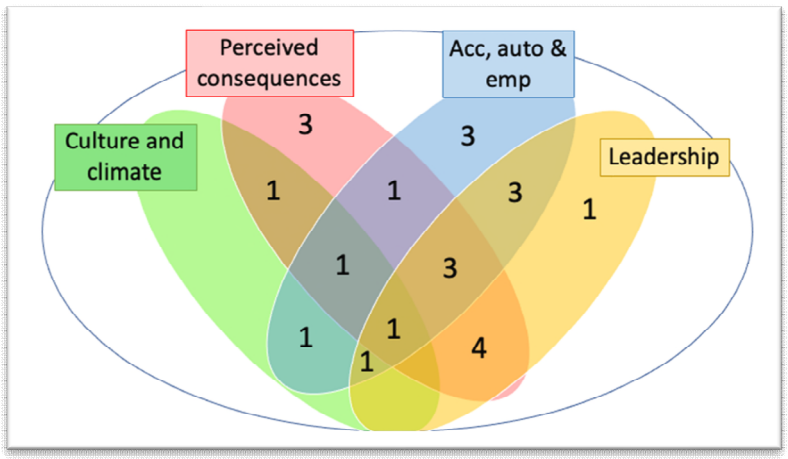

Figure 11: Enablers and barriers that differentiated behaviour between conditions

An analysis of these differentiators shows that there are three notable relationships between second order codes. The first is the relationship between leadership and the accountability, autonomy and empowerment code which is a

combination mentioned by eight interviewees. This suggests that leadership may influence the extent to which individuals feel accountable, autonomous and empowered. Similarly, eight interviewees mentioned both leadership and perceived consequences, indicating that there is a relationship between those two second order codes. There is also a slightly weaker relationship between the accountability factors and perceived consequences, a combination mentioned by six interviewees.

6.4 Patterns between motivators and enablers and barriers

This section will compare the data gathered about the motivations for constructive deviance and the factors that influenced such behaviour. It will start by looking at the constructive deviance condition and move on to examine the destructive conformity condition.

Table 21 shows the data that demonstrates the patterns in motivations for constructive deviance compared with the enablers and barriers for such behaviour. Enablers are shown in green, and barriers are shown in red; in each case the depth of colour is indicative of the strength of the relationship between motivators and enablers and barriers. It should be noted that most interviewees gave more than one factor, so the percentages total more than 100%.

Most striking about the data in Table 21 is that irrespective of the motivation for taking constructively deviant action, in almost all cases interviewees indicated that the perception of a negative outcome would act as a barrier to such action. In comparison, other potential barriers are substantially less influential.

Whilst the enabling side of Table 21 is less polarised, the influence of leadership and accountability factors is notably stronger across most motivators. One notable exception to the trends shown is the motivation for improving inclusivity which seems to be affected more than other motivators by culture and climate factors. The improving inclusivity motivation is also less affected than other motivators by the accountability factor.

	Total interviewees	Leadership	Accountability, autonomy and empowerment	Culture and climate	Perceived consequences	Leadership	Accountability, autonomy and empowerment	Culture and climate	Perceived consequences
		Enablers				Barriers			
Organisational effectiveness	12	75	100	42	42	33	33	8	92
Well-being of others	9	67	56	33	22	44	11	0	100
Improving inclusivity	3	67	33	67	33	33	0	0	100
Safety	2	100	50	0	0	50	0	0	100
Organisational efficiency	4	100	75	0	75	25	25	0	100
Reputational issues	4	100	100	25	75	25	0	0	100

Table 21: Relationships between motivators and enablers and barriers for the constructive deviance condition (%)

In a similar way to the data above, Table 22 shows the patterns between motivators and enablers and barriers for the destructive conformity condition. Again, the impact of perceived consequences is striking in its impact on interviewees' behaviour, with every interviewee indicating that this was a factor in them taking destructively conformist behaviour. Although it only involves two interviewees, it is also noteworthy that both interviewees that were motivated by improving inclusivity mentioned every barrier to constructive deviance.

	Total interviewees	Leadership	Accountability, autonomy and empowerment	Culture and climate	Perceived consequences	Leadership	Accountability, autonomy and empowerment	Culture and climate	Perceived consequences
		Enablers				Barriers			
Organisational effectiveness	10	40	50	20	30	40	70	60	100
Well-being of others	6	50	33	0	33	83	83	50	100
Improving inclusivity	2	50	0	50	50	100	100	100	100
Safety	4	50	75	25	25	25	75	50	100
Organisational efficiency	5	20	60	40	40	60	40	80	100
Reputational issues	1	100	0	100	0	100	0	100	100

Table 22: Relationships between motivators and enablers and barriers for the destructive conformity condition (%)

That completes the findings and analysis chapters, which described and analysed the data gathered during the research. The next chapter will compare these findings with the previous literature review, drawing on other literature as is relevant.

7 DISCUSSION

This study has developed the understanding of constructive deviance by examining the behaviour in the highly normative context of Defence. Constructive deviance has not previously been studied in this relatively unusual environment, so this offers information that has not previously been exposed. By comparing enablers and barriers for both constructive deviance and destructive conformity, the study has maintained focus on the organisational level, whilst mitigating for individual differences. It has shown that many of the factors that influence constructive deviance in the Defence context align to those found in previous studies of less normative environments. These include experience and expertise in the given situation and felt empowerment. However, it has also shown that some factors appear to be felt more strongly in the Defence context, such as the impact of leadership and leader behaviour. There are also some notable differences between the Defence context and those contexts examined in previous studies. Most conspicuously, this study found that negative leader rhetoric and the performance appraisal system used in the military context is disempowering for personnel and therefore reduces the likelihood of constructive deviance. These developments will be discussed in more detail below.

7.1 Motivations for constructive deviance

This study suggests that the motivations for constructively deviant behaviour in the Defence context focus on either the organisational level or the individual level. At the organisational level motivation centres around improving effectiveness and efficiency within a unit, an establishment, or an individual's Service. At the individual level, motivation is driven by improving well-being, safety or inclusivity for other personnel within that organisation. The study offers no indication that individuals in this context are motivated by an external or higher-level norm.

The information from this study contributes to answering the question posed by Warren (2003) who discussed whether individuals were motivated to constructively deviate by hypernorms or by a lower-level standard. This study suggests that Warren's (2003) latter proposition is more likely in the Defence

context. These findings do not support Donaldson and Dunfee's (1999, p68) suggestion that "transcultural ethical norms [that] include bona fide human rights" (ibid, p68) are required. Instead, this study finds support for the more immediate benefits of constructive deviance being the key motivators. Specifically, the research supports the findings of Dahling (2010), who proposed that motivation was likely to be at the organisational level. She specifically cites the maintenance of restaurant's reputation as a sufficiently greater good to motivate constructive deviance. Likewise, Galperin's (2012) focus on organisational benefit is supported.

In the Defence context, there is no need for an overarching, almost universally accepted hypernorm; in the eyes of the deviant, just something better will suffice. Instead of referring to higher ethical standard as suggested by Donaldson and Dunfee (1999), motivations in Defence are more likely to focus on the immediate environment. These motivations include increasing efficiencies in unit level process or improving the effectiveness of training delivery or operational capability. If the subject can justify that the deviant behaviour can deliver an outcome that is more socially worthy than the ordinary mode, as perceived by them, the deviance is justified.

7.2 Barriers and enablers

The study has found that there are a broad range of factors within the Defence context that influence constructive deviance, some of which have been established by previous research and some which are specific to this context. These will now be discussed here under the four broad headings of leadership, accountability, autonomy and empowerment (AAE), culture and climate, and perceived consequences.

7.2.1 Leadership

This study found that leadership played a significant role in influencing the prevalence of constructive deviance in the Defence context. Style of leadership and leaders' behaviours substantially influence the likely occurrence of constructive deviance. Also, accessibility and approachability of leaders and the

quality of the perceived relationship between them and their followers play a substantial part in encouraging or discouraging constructive deviance. Whilst not quantifiable directly, the apparent strength of findings here suggest that this effect is exacerbated in the highly normative context of Defence. These different facets will be discussed and compared with existing literature here.

7.2.1.1 Perceived CoC support for action

This study suggests that the perceived support from the CoC has a considerable influence over the likelihood of constructive deviance in the Defence context. The perceived presence of that support acts as a key enabler and its absence presents a fundamental barrier to constructive deviance. Whilst it is recognised that CoC is a term reserved almost exclusively for the military context, there are parallels in other contexts, such as those studied in leadership and management literature. Many of these studies have examined voice or its subset of issue selling; this type of action has frequently been described by the respondents in this study. The findings from this study support the array of literature in which managerial openness has been positively associated with the constructively deviant action of expressing voice including Bowen and Blackmon (2003), Detert and Burris (2007), Dutton and Ashford (1993), Premeaux and Bedeian (2003), Dutton et al (1997) and Ashford et al (1998).

This research also reveals that leaders should go beyond supportive rhetoric to encourage constructive deviance. The findings indicate that simply telling subordinates that they are supported is insufficient, particularly when actual responses are incongruous with that rhetoric - there needs to be genuine commitment behind the espoused intent. This study supports the proposition of Vadera et al (2013); they predicted that constructive deviance would be encouraged by leaders who display a willingness to listen to subordinates, consider those ideas and take appropriate action. Their conclusion is supported by this research that when there is a discrepancy between the rhetoric and action, actions will always speak louder than words. In addition, this study supports previous findings that authoritarian or directive leadership may lead to destructive

conformity such as groupthink (McCauley, 1989; Neck and Moorhead, 1995; Schafer and Crichlow, 1996) and employee silence (Dedahanov et al, 2016).

This study also finds that skip-level leadership has a similar influence to immediate line management on the propensity for constructive deviance, often referred to in the military context as second and third reporting officers. This finding lends specific support to Detert and Trevino's (2010, p256) study into the effect of skip level leadership, or the "boss's boss" as an influencing factor on voice behaviour.

Overall, the findings from this study provide support for much of the existing literature that considers the relationship between supervision and constructive deviance, in that the perceived support from those higher in the organisation play a critical role in facilitating such action. Given the hierarchical nature and structure of the military context, in which everyone is subordinate to someone, it is suggested that leadership support might be more important in this context and that to enable constructive deviance at any level, it needs to be enabled at all levels.

7.2.1.2 Interpersonal relationship

This study suggests that a high-quality relationship between a leader and follower is useful if constructive deviance is to be enabled. In the military environment, in which postings to new organisations happen regularly, relationships are frequently fleeting, but of note in this context just "knowing" someone from a previous role can be sufficient to allow an individual to constructively deviate. This finding supports much of the literature which has examined interpersonal relationship and its influence on constructive deviance (Dahling et al, 2012). It also specifically supports previous findings that individuals are less likely to speak up to supervisors if the relationship is not perceived as being high quality (Ashford et al, 1998; Milliken et al, 2003). This study also provides examples of destructive rule-following in the absence of a high-quality relationship which supports Dahling et al's (2010) positive connection between supervisor-subordinate relationship and pro-social rule-breaking. It also supports Tziner et al's (2010) finding that LMX can influence the choice between destructive conformity and constructive

deviance whilst refuting Fleming's (2020) research, which found no relationship between LMX and PSRB.

If a high-quality relationship can be assumed to correlate with higher levels of approachability and social identification, which seems likely, this study also offers support to Saunders et al's (1992) and Landau's (2009) findings that approachability encourages constructive deviance and Liu et al's (2010) study of social identification, all with respect to voice behaviours.

7.2.1.3 Leader trust

This study found that trust between supervisors and subordinates is an enabler for constructive deviance. The absence of trust within that dyadic relationship was found to be a barrier to the occurrence of constructive deviance. These findings support previous literature that has previously established the enabling effect of supervisor trust on employee voice (Gao et al, 2011; Premeaux and Bedeian, 2003; Milliken et al, 2003; Schlosser and Zolin, 2012 and Hassan et al, 2018). This research undermines Khalid and Ahmed (2016) who found that trust in supervisors did not lead to reduced silence, unless other contextual variables were present, although a relationship between trust and other factors has not been established here.

The findings from this research undermine existing research in two other ways. Absent from this research is any finding that refers to trust between co-workers or trust at the organisational level; trust was only presented as a factor within the dyadic relationship between follower and leader. Looking first at the impact of trust between co-workers, whilst this study doesn't directly contradict Bowen and Blackmon (2003) who found that trust between peers is an enabler for voice, it does undermine their conclusions. The findings from this research shift the emphasis more towards the dyadic relationship between an individual and their supervisor, away from peer relationships. Secondly, this study found no support for trust being an enabling factor at the organisational level. This fails to offer support to previous research (Kura et al, 2016; Chiang et al, 2011; Demir, 2011; Narang and Singh, 2012) in which organisational trust as an enabling factor was established.

Overall, the findings from this study suggest that in the Defence context, it is the dyadic trust relationship between leader and follower that has a more marked influence than trust either between peers or in the broader organisation. This is perhaps more so in Defence than in any other environment because the chain of command has so much influence on the likely experience of individuals in the military context practically in terms of promotion (Brookes, 2017), socially (Platow et al, 2015) and even on their families (Arkin and Dobrofsky, 1978).

7.2.1.4 Leader role-modelling

In this study, it was found that when individuals observed senior personnel taking constructively deviant action, this implied that the behaviour was acceptable and therefore made it easier for those individuals to take similar action. In essence, senior people taking constructively deviant action provided what might be termed 'top cover' to those of lower rank. These findings support Detert and Trevino's (2010) findings in their employee voice study, which was the was the only one of note who referred specifically to the role-modelling of constructively deviant action being a significant enabler for others.

However, this current study finds no evidence that constructive deviance by senior personnel erodes the psychological contract and therefore reduces constructive deviance. This undermines Bryant et al's (2010) findings who noted that if pro-social rule breaking at a managerial level is witnessed by employees, this can have the effect of breaking the psychological contract and eroding trust which could have the effect of inhibiting constructively deviant action. A possible explanation for this finding is that, because of the emphasis that is placed on rank as a measurement of success within the Defence context, a senior individual simply by virtue of their rank is defined as being more successful. Therefore, by role-modelling constructively deviant behaviour, the message is sent that constructive behaviour results in success, and so is mimicked by those personnel junior to that individual (Hill, 2015). Whilst not specifically aimed at leadership role-modelling, this offers support to Panagopoulos and Harrison's (2016) findings who suggest that this mimicry of what is considered normal behaviour is

predictable – if a leader can normalise constructive deviance through their role-modelling, this will encourage the same in subordinates.

In the Defence context, constructive deviance role-modelling by leaders seems to not have the negative impact that Bryant (2010) suggests but does have the impact of granting permission for subordinates to do the same. It follows therefore, that, in the Defence context, leaders can demonstrate constructive deviance in the knowledge that it might inspire others to so the same.

7.2.2 Autonomy, accountability and empowerment

This study suggests that autonomy, accountability and empowerment are important factors for enabling constructive deviance in the Defence context. These broadly encompass the practical capability to act from having the access and opportunity to relevant resources, be they time or specific individuals, and psychological safety from the perception that individuals have the latitude to act, without an outbalancing risk of sanction. The findings under these themes will now be discussed in the context of existing literature.

7.2.2.1 Situational Awareness

This study finds that in the Defence context, individuals are more likely to constructively deviate if they have a comprehensive understanding of the situation. The absence of situational awareness was also found to be a substantial barrier. These findings lend support Spreitzer's (1995) findings, which drew a link between access to information and psychological empowerment. More specifically for constructive deviance, this study supports Galperin's (2012) findings that access to information is important for constructive deviance. However, her study quantitively established a link between access to information and organisational constructive deviance but found no such link between access to information and interpersonal constructive deviance. In this current study, whilst different types of constructive deviance were not separated out due to the qualitative nature of the study, there were examples of both organisational (directed towards the organisation) and interpersonal (directed towards individuals) constructive deviance that were enabled by situational awareness.

These findings thereby offer support to Galperin's (2012) hitherto unsupported hypothesis that access to information can generate interpersonal constructive deviance as well as at the organisational level. In addition, this study finds support for Dutton and Ashford's (1993) proposals that issue selling is more likely from personnel who are central to the flow of that information. This also supports Larson et al (1991) and Ben-Hur et al (2011) who noted that good decisions and the avoidance of groupthink rely on access to information.

That situational awareness is of significance in the military context matters, because of the institutional inclination to protect information (Thomas, 2020). It suggests that if constructive deviance is to be encouraged in this context, information needs to be shared more fully in order that personnel can better understand their situation.

7.2.2.2 Empowerment or discretion

This study proposes that perceived empowerment or discretion is an enabler for constructive deviance in the Defence context. When personnel felt that they were given latitude to take action to achieve an end state, they were more likely to constructively deviate than if that leeway was absent. These findings support several previous studies in which the positive relationships between constructive deviance, empowerment and discretion are well-covered. In particular, these findings support Appelbaum et al (2007), Criscuolo and Ter Wal (2014) and Mertens et al (2016a) who recognised empowerment as a key enabler for organisationally beneficial deviant action. Likewise, the findings from the Defence context align with Morrison (2006) and Dahling et al (2010) who noted the positive relationship between autonomy and pro-social rule-breaking, Mainemalis (2010) between autonomy and creativity and Schilpzand et al (2015) between autonomy and courageous action.

In a similar vein, this study found that the absence of felt empowerment or discretion acted as a barrier to constructive deviance in the Defence context, meaning that personnel were more likely to destructively conform. These findings align with Mainemalis (2010) and Vadera (2013) who note that controlling or close

supervision is a barrier to creativity and constructive deviance more generally, respectively.

At a higher level of analysis, the observations made by respondents about the military in a broader sense, or “the system”, support the findings of Schilpzand et al (2015) in their study of courageous action. They note that certain cultures, particularly with regard to centralised power structures, such as the military, will discourage risk-taking and voice behaviours.

As previously mentioned around CoC support, rhetoric also matters when it comes to empowerment. Rhetoric alone appears to be sufficient as a barrier to constructive deviance but is insufficient on its own as an enabler. Simply telling someone that they are empowered doesn’t necessarily make them feel empowered; supportive action is also required to enable constructive deviance. Whilst there is limited literature relating constructive deviance and rhetoric, this finding offers particular support for Spreitzer (1995) who notes that empowerment cannot be imposed but must be felt by the subject.

This research finds that whilst perceived empowerment and discretion enable constructive deviance in the Defence context, the achievement of this effect takes substantial time to build by leaders. However, it can be taken away in short order by rhetoric alone, an observation which supports Drummond’s (2017) findings around the sense of discipline within a hierarchical organisation. Again, it is suggested that it is the dominance of the influence that comes from the chain of command as described by Brookes (2017) and Platow et al (2015) that drives this finding.

7.2.2.3 Experience or expertise

This study suggests that in the Defence context, people are more likely to constructively deviate if they have relevant experience or expertise in the issue at hand. This gives them the confidence, credibility and often the authority to take positive action which might not align with existing policy or norms. This applies particularly when that experience or expertise is greater than that of others present. The findings within this context contribute to a relative paucity of

previous literature that links such elements but does lend support to Dutton and Ashford's (1993) proposals that issue selling is more likely from personnel who have expertise in the area.

This study also finds that the reverse is the case. If personnel in the Defence context perceive that they have a relative lack of experience or expertise compared to others present, they are less likely to constructively deviate. This supports Haskins and Freeman (2015) and Hussain et al (2019) who found that a lack of expertise discourages voice behaviours.

Overall, this study finds support for Vadera et al's (2013, p1256) prediction that expertise or experience is one of the "myriad of variables" by which constructive deviance is influenced. Experience and expertise will contribute to the level of "personal mastery" (ibid) perceived by the individual. As such, ensuring the right levels of experience and expertise in the right people at the right times could encourage constructive deviance in Defence.

7.2.2.4 Access or opportunity

This study finds that access or opportunity, particularly with respect to senior individuals, is an enabler for constructive deviance. This applied particularly to voice behaviours. These findings strongly support Morrison and Milliken's (2000) voice study; quite simply, if an individual doesn't have access to line management, they'll be unable to express voice. This supports Park and Blenkinsopp (2009) and Detert and Burris (2009) observe that if the behaviour is difficult to perform, it is less likely to happen. Similarly, this study finds support for the array of previous literature that indicates having ready access to leaders can support voice behaviours (Saunders, 1992; Sobo and Sadler, 2002; Milliken et al, 2003; Detert and Trevino, 2010; Adelman, 2012; Morrison et al, 2015; Morrow et al, 2016; Takhsha et al, 2020; Vakola and Bouradas, 2005; Wu et al, 2018b).

This study also indicated that busyness, either on the part of the subject or the person to whom they required access, was a barrier to constructive deviance. This lends support to Darley and Batson (1973) who found that busyness will

reduce the likelihood of constructive deviance, specifically in their case, bystander intervention. According to this data, for individuals within the Defence context, time and availability for them and their hierarchy, is of substantial importance.

7.2.2.5 Responsibility

The findings from this study suggest that if individuals are put in a position of responsibility for a particular outcome or activity, they are more likely to constructively deviate to achieve that outcome. This was particularly apparent when they were the only or best-placed individual to deliver that effect. When other individuals were present in that given situation, either peers or those senior, the evidence from this study suggests that individuals somehow felt released from their obligation to act and were therefore more likely to destructively conform. This offers support to Latane and Darley's (1968) seminal work on the bystander effect which found that if there was a sense of responsibility placed on an individual, for example by being the only person to witness a given situation, they were more likely to respond. This is perhaps why the concept of the 'tenth man[22]' employed by the Israeli Defence Force works so well. Specific to the military context, this research also lends support to Brief (1991) and Martins and Lopes (2012) who suggest that the hierarchical nature of Defence could have the effect of reducing the level of responsibility felt by individuals because they can defer that responsibility to those in charge. This may make constructive deviance less likely.

In this study personnel in positions that were perceived as being crucial to the organisation (command, key roles on review teams) felt the need to speak up in the absence of anyone else that could do it on their behalf. This evidence supports Schilpzand et al (2015) found that those who feel responsibility for a situation are more likely to take courageous action. It also lends very specific

[22] The tenth man is a concept employed by the Israeli Defence Force to reduce assumptions in decision-making. If there are nine people in a room who agree on a particular decision, it is up to the tenth to provide 'devil's advocacy' or an alternative view.

support to Venkataramani and Tangirala (2010) who found that workflow centrality is positively related to voice.

7.2.2.6 Mission command

The evidence from this study suggests that where mission command[23] is practised well, it is an enabling factor for constructive deviance. However, it is also found that too often it is a concept espoused rather than enacted in that senior officers will state that those junior to them have mission command, but then fail to remove themselves from the detailed decision-making and planning processes. This adds to the literature in a specific way because there is no apparent literature that links constructive deviance with mission command. However, the concept is not new. Bailyn (1985, p134) describes "operational autonomy" as the "freedom, once a problem has been set, to attack it by means determined by oneself, within given organizational resource constraints" which is almost identical to the military's notion of mission command. It aligns with the notion of empowerment discussed earlier and is well-promulgated within the military context.

7.2.3 Culture and climate

The evidence from this study suggests that there are elements of culture and climate that exist within the Defence context that have an impact on individuals' propensity to constructively deviate. Of substantial influence were the policy, rules or processes that exist within this context, which often inhibited constructively deviant behaviour. This factor and those of perceived peer support and the influence of structure or hierarchy will now be discussed in the context of previous literature.

7.2.3.1 Policy, rules or process

This study offers an additional contribution to the hitherto limited research on the impact of bureaucracy on the incidence of constructive deviance, finding that

[23] Mission command a military philosophy aligned with the principle of empowerment which is based on the commander describing the intent or outcome of a given task, whilst the subordinates are given latitude and freedom as to how to achieve that outcome.

policy, process or rules were a significant inhibitor in the Defence context. Defence personnel in this study presented a passionate desire to improve the way Defence operates, that was too often frustrated the administrative processes that exist within this context. The overarching narrative was of an environment which focuses on process and policy, at the expense of progress and output. The examples given ranged from financial bureaucracy and form-filling to information gathering for no purpose; frequent reference was made to the possibility that Defence is spending more money on protecting the public purse, than the public purse is saving.

This study lends support to several previous studies. Specifically, the evidence supports Criscuolo and Ter Wal's (2014, p1292) conclusion that that constructive deviance is unlikely to thrive in an organisation if the "ways in which goals are achieved becomes more important than the goals themselves". This study also finds that personnel are often unwilling to challenge policy or process, which strongly supports Morrison and Milliken's (2000) suggestion that many organisations don't encourage challenge to centralised or corporate policy.

The study uncovered a deep sense of irony around policies which at face value are designed to encourage constructive behaviour, and even constructive deviance where appropriate. Scepticism around the Reasonable Challenge (MoD, 2017) initiative was common; whilst the intent was understood enactment was rarely welcomed in practice. This supports Detert and Trevino's (2010) assertion that the introduction of policies that intend to empower personnel might have the effect of reinforcing the "*deep-seated beliefs about hierarchical authority structures rather than to break them down".* It also supports Dedahanov et al's (2016) conclusion that policies designed to reduce silence can have the opposite effect. In sum, it is suggested that Defence needs fewer policies, fewer rules and fewer process if it is to encourage constructive deviance.

7.2.3.2 Perceived peer support for action

Evidence from this study suggests that perceived peer support for taking constructively deviant action is an enabler to such action, although to a lesser extent than the impact from leaders. This study finds very specific support for

Bowen and Blackmon's (2003) study which found peer support enabled voice behaviours around diversity and inclusion. It also finds wider support for Tucker et al (2008) who concluded that co-worker support encourages voice more generally. Likewise, these findings offer limited support to Morrison's studies into prosocial rule breaking (2006) and voice (2011).

Therefore, this study provides limited support to these existing findings, but more strongly felt in the Defence context is the inhibiting effect of the absence of that support. This may support the assertion of some (Baumeister and Leary, 1995; Whiteman and Lanman, 2014) that the military context drives a deeper desire to belong and therefore make individuals resistant to acting in a way that may undermine that sense of belonging.

7.2.3.3 Structure or hierarchy

This study offers only very limited evidence that hierarchy is a significant barrier to constructive deviance, with the Defence context being perceived as hierarchical compared to a civilian context. Given the extremely hierarchical nature of the Defence context, it would be predicted that if hierarchy was a factor in influencing constructive deviance, it would be found here. That only very limited support was found for the influence of hierarchy tends to undermine the previous literature (Milliken et al, 2003; Brooks, 2017 and Drummond, 2017) who found that hierarchical structure was negatively related to voice. This research is undermined not least because of the paucity of evidence around the influence of hierarchy, but also because the evidence presented in this context was around pro-social rule breaking and the aforementioned studies considered voice. Despite several examples of voice being presented, this study found no relationship between hierarchy and voice.

7.2.4 Perceived consequences

The evidence from this study suggests that individuals in the Defence context contemplate the potential consequences of constructive deviance prior to taking such action. These considerations include the repercussions for them personally in terms of career, disciplinary action and reputational issues. In addition, they

consider the likelihood of constructively deviant actions translating to a successful outcome often based on their previous experience. Each of these considerations will now be discussed in the context of existing literature.

7.2.4.1 Career prospects

The evidence from this study overwhelmingly suggests that within the Defence context, there is a perception that constructively deviant behaviour will negatively impact on an individual's career via the performance appraisal system. The findings indicate a substantial strength and depth of feeling that performance appraisal acts as considerable deterrent to constructive deviance. The evidence further suggests that only once performance appraisal becomes inconsequential for an individual does the freedom from that constraint becomes an enabler to constructive deviance. At no stage, was any evidence presented that indicated that constructive deviance might improve performance appraisal or prospects of promotion. As will be discussed now, these findings support some existing research, but other literature is contradicted.

The fear that constructive deviance might impact negatively on performance appraisal and therefore on promotion prospects is clear from the evidence presented in this study. These findings strongly support (with added prominence for this context) Milliken's (2003) study which notes a fear of not getting promoted as a barrier to voice. It also supports Morrison and Milliken's (2000) study into voice which highlights the perceived threat of negative feedback, especially for managers, on whom this study focused. Milliken (2003) also notes that this effect might be exaggerated in those who have high aspirations for promotion – again, a theme which is supported by the findings in this study in which performance appraisal was regularly linked to promotion. However, Milliken's study does not attribute the emphasis to this factor with the strength of feeling that was found in the highly normative context of Defence.

The findings that performance appraisal reduces the likelihood of constructive deviance contradicts Zhang (2014) and Memon and Ghani (2021) who demonstrated a positive relationship between performance appraisal and voice. It also contradicts previous literature (Baird et al, 2020) which has identified that

performance appraisal is a mechanism through which empowerment, and thereafter constructive deviance (Waheed et al, 2018), occurs. This might imply that there is something about the performance appraisal system used in Defence that somehow disestablishes the relationship between that system and felt empowerment.

It might, however, support Kim and Holzer (2016, p37) who note the frequent over-emphasis on the evaluative purpose of appraisal, which can be seen as "coercive and punitive" when used in command-and-control centred organisations. The reason behind the disparity between the findings from this study and previous literature might be explained by Dahle (2021). He found that there is a positive relationship between voice restrictions and performance appraisal dissatisfaction and control oriented HRM processes, mediated by low LMX. Essentially, Dahle (2021) posits that command-and-control type HRM processes and dissatisfaction with the performance appraisal system can lead to poor LMX which in turn leads to less voice behaviour. Congruence between the findings in this study and existing literature can be found if the performance appraisal system is perceived as unsatisfactory in the Defence context, which leads it to negatively impact on the propensity to constructively deviate. Whilst not examined explicitly, this interpretation of these findings supports previous literature that performance appraisal is frequently a source of dissatisfaction (Baird et al, 2020) especially in the public sector (Kim and Holzer, 2016).

This study found that the absence of career potential was an enabler for constructive deviance. This unambiguous finding offers substantial and specific support to Brooks' (2017) finding within the police context. Her study found that those individuals who no longer had the potential to promote were more likely to challenge their chain of command.

There was no indication in this study that fear of informal feedback from subordinates was a significant barrier to constructive deviance. This undermines Morrison and Milliken's (2000) contention that fear of negative feedback from subordinates may act as a barrier to constructive deviance. This is perhaps

because in the context of this study, certainly at the formal level, this fear is less relevant as the military has yet to embrace 360-degree feedback.

7.2.4.2 Perceived likelihood of successful outcome

This study has found that another substantial influence on individuals' willingness to constructively deviate is their belief that their actions will achieve the desired result. If the perceived likelihood of success is high, individuals are more likely to constructively deviate. These findings support previous research which suggests that this relationship between likely efficacy of action and constructive deviance is mediated by psychological empowerment (Withey and Cooper, 1989; Raub and Robert, 2012; Vadera, 2013). This supports expectancy theories of motivation which predict that individuals are more likely to be motivated if there is a positive expectation of success (Huczynski and Buchanan, 2013). It also supports the theory of planned behaviour as applied to whistleblowing by Park and Blenkinsopp (2009, p546), who suggest that "beliefs about the consequences" of acting will influence an individual's propensity for action.

In addition, the findings in this study support Dutton and Ashford's (1993) and Dutton's (2002) studies found that issue selling was more likely when associated with expected success. Likewise, whilst whistleblowing is not necessarily an inherently constructively deviant action, this study finds support for Miceli and Near's (1988) observation that prosocial action is encouraged by the perception of having an ability to effect change.

More strongly apparent in this study, is the finding that if success is perceived as an unlikely outcome, this acts as a barrier to constructive deviance. This supports the findings of researchers such as Milliken et al (2003), Park and Blenkinsopp (2009) and Detert and Trevino (2010) who have found that the perceived futility of action is a substantial barrier to voice behaviours.

7.2.4.3 Discipline issues

There is some limited evidence from this study that suggests a fear of disciplinary proceedings acts as a barrier to constructive deviance. The disciplinary risks described in this study vary from relatively informal responses, such as verbal

rebuke, to the most serious of being removed from post or being court-martialled. The risk of formal discipline as found in this study supports findings from just one previous study in which Milliken et al (2003), noted it as a likely barrier to speaking up. The findings here align with Milliken et al's (2003) study in that the risk of informal sanction or even just being perceived as a troublemaker was more likely and was therefore a greater deterrent to speaking up. Milliken et al's (2003) findings and those found by others on the informal side of punishment (Bowen and Blackmon, 2003; Mainemelis, 2010; Detert and Trevino, 2010, Morrison, 2011) are supported by the findings from this current study.

7.2.4.4 Reputation

This study found that perceived reputational risk is a barrier to constructive deviance. No evidence was presented that there was a possibility of reputational enhancement through constructive deviance. This suggests that in this context it was perceived that constructive deviance could only ever impact negatively on one's reputation. This finding supports those findings from limited previous research into issue-selling, a subset of voice, in that issue-selling is less likely in situations where there is greater risk to an individual's image (Dutton and Ashford, 1993; Ashford et al, 1998; Dutton et al, 1997).

7.2.4.5 Previous personal experience

This study finds that previous experience of constructive deviance, either through observation or personal activity, influences constructive deviance particularly as a barrier when that experience has been negative. These findings support previous literature on personal experience (Lin et al, 2016), who find that earlier experience and reactions to constructive deviance influence the likelihood of an actor repeating that behaviour.

More specifically, the evidence from this study suggests that previous negative experience is more likely to deter constructive deviance than positive experience is to encourage the behaviour. This more strongly supports the conclusions of Argyres and Mui (2007) who offer the observation that just one instance of a manager responding negatively to constructive deviance can take years to repair.

This study finds very limited evidence that constructive deviance could in some way be contagious between peers. It offers only the very weakest support for the proposition reported by Dahling et al (2010) and Morrison (2006), that the vicarious influence of witnessing other behaviours provides encouragement for future constructive deviance.

7.2.4.6 Reward

This study offers an indication that extrinsic reward might make constructive deviance more likely in the Defence context. This offers support for the positive relationship between economic reward and constructive deviance which has been noted by Argyres and Mui (2007).

7.2.5 Fresh eyes

In this study, there was evidence for two effects that having fresh eyes, being newly arrived in an organisation, has on the propensity for an individual to constructively deviate. The first, positively, is the ability to see the organisation from a fresh perspective, perhaps bringing new ideas and the ability to question assumptions that have been made by longer serving members. This finding has not been reported in other contexts and therefore is perhaps specific to the Defence context.

Conversely, the second effect indicated within this research was that being fresh to an organisation can have the 'new boy' effect, which means that credibility and understanding have yet to be built sufficiently to allow those challenges to take place. This latter finding supports Stansbury & Victor (2009) who found that shorter tenure (defined at less than 3 years, which is often the longest someone could in expect to stay in role in the military context), will reduce an individual's willingness to constructively deviate, particularly regarding voice, because of the perceived lower power within that organisation. Likewise, this supports Saunders et al (1992) who investigated voice behaviours in the US and found that changing supervisors increased silence behaviours, at least temporarily. That shorter tenure reduces the likelihood of constructive deviance also aligns with Liao et al's (2010) investigation into creativity who found that longer tenure is positively

related to creativity. However, this is set against a different cultural backdrop (the collectivist culture of India) and it is questioned whether creativity sufficiently departs from organisational norms to be defined as constructive deviance. In this highly normative environment of the military context, that creativity could be perceived as deviant is certainly plausible.

Therefore, the evidence presented here about fresh eyes is inconclusive. The Defence context adds a layer of complexity however, that despite short tenure, individuals can still have high power as propagated by rank (Joseph and Alex, 1972; Hertz, 2007; Van Wijk and Finchilescu, 2008).

8 CONCLUSIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

This study set out to answer the research question: what motivates and influences constructively deviant behaviour in the Defence context? This chapter will firstly describe the main conclusions of this research. Secondly, it will highlight the contributions this research has made to this field of study. Finally, it will describe the limitations of this research and consider the implications for further research.

8.1 Conclusions: motivations in the Defence context

The first part of the research question was: what motivates constructively deviant behaviour in the Defence context? This study concludes that within this context, the motivations for taking constructively deviant action are focused on either making the organisation more effective or efficient, particularly with respect to operational capability, or on improving the environment for the individuals within that organisation. It also concludes that in the Defence context, individuals maintain the focus on making improvements within that immediate context rather than referring to any higher level philosophical or ethical standard.

8.2 Conclusions: influences in the Defence context

The second part of the research question was: what influences constructively deviant behaviour in the Defence context? With respect to the organisational factors that influence constructively deviant behaviour, this study concludes that that there are many factors that are the same within the Defence context, some factors which are appear noticeably stronger in the Defence context than might be found in less normative environments and some that are specific to this environment. This will be looked at in turn now.

This research concludes that leadership and leader behaviour play a substantial role in influencing the likelihood of constructive deviance amongst followers. It also concludes that the criticality of leader rhetoric is specific to the Defence context, but only when it comes to diminishing the likelihood of constructive deviance.

Simply having an existing relationship with an individual can help to facilitate constructive deviance. This research concludes that the higher the quality of relationship that exists between a leader and follower, the more likely it is that constructively deviant action will be taken. An influential part of that relationship is trust, and specific to the Defence context is the conclusion that leader trust is more influential than trust between peers or in the broader organisation in affecting the propensity for constructive deviance. The role-modelling of constructive deviance by leaders in the Defence context is also concluded to have a positive impact on the likelihood of constructive deviance. Also dissimilar to other contexts, is that role-modelling of constructive deviance by peers is much less influential than that by leaders.

This study concludes that the sense that an individual has about their own level of autonomy, accountability and empowerment influences the likelihood that they will constructively deviate. The research concludes that having situational awareness, expertise or experience around a particular issue can enable constructive deviance in the Defence context; the absence of that situational awareness is more likely to lead to destructive conformity. Specific to the Defence context is the relevance and power of rhetoric around empowerment within the Defence context. Similarly, mission command works when employed properly, but too frequently the concept is espoused without the necessary enactment. Empowerment and mission command can be removed simply by verbal instruction from a senior figure. This is important in the Defence context because there are times when personnel need to act rather than question or comply rather than challenge. This study concludes that busyness on the part of the would-be constructive deviant is a barrier to action, as is that on the part of an individual who may be the target of such action. In addition, if an individual is made to feel sufficiently responsible for a given outcome or activity, either purposefully or as the situation dictates, this is likely to propel the individual into action.

This research concludes that Defence is awash with policy, rules and process which are a considerable barrier to constructive deviance. Whilst having so much

bureaucracy might initially present more opportunity for constructive deviance, the evidence suggests that the paralysing nature of such an environment means that many efforts are simply frustrated, leading to destructive conformity. Conversely, this study concludes that structure and hierarchy have less influence than might be expected in the Defence context. Likewise, whilst peer support provides some impetus for constructive deviance around specific issues such as inclusion, this stimulates action less than the support from chain of command. This is important for defence, because it reemphasises the significant influence that the chain of command has over individuals within this context.

This study concludes that the performance appraisal system is detrimental to the prevalence of constructive deviance in the Defence context, a stark contradiction with what might be expected in other environments in which performance appraisal empowers employees. The Defence context is evidenced here as one in which success is measured by rank and promotion, to which constructive deviance presents a threat. The result is that constructive deviance is perceived as too risky an option and is therefore frequently bypassed, until promotion is no longer possible. At this time, the freedom from the threat of a poor performance appraisal allows the individual to begin constructively deviating.

The likelihood of a successful outcome will more likely generate constructive deviance in the Defence context, this study concludes. Conversely, if the prospect of success is low, individuals will all too frequently succumb to destructive conformity. This study concludes that the risk of disciplinary procedures presents only a slight barrier, but that the informal risk of reputational damage is more impactful. It appears that despite the rhetoric around needing to do things differently, a reputation for constructive deviance is rarely welcome. This research concludes that the fresh eyes factor, common in the Defence context, can influence both constructive deviance and destructive conformity. This is important to Defence, because so many individuals have fresh eyes, due to posting cycles, and more could be made of this opportunity.

8.3 Contributions

By examining the motivations for and influences on constructive deviance in the Defence context, this research has made two meaningful contributions to the literature.

First, this study has provided detailed evidence of the motivations and influences through a qualitative investigation of real-life experiences of individuals who have been faced with choosing between constructive deviance and destructive conformity. This approach was previously under-represented in the literature and has answered Schilpzand et al's (2015) call to find "rich, real-life accounts" of constructive deviance. It also fulfils Rowe's (2018) desire to understand more about the "dilemmas actually experienced" by individuals faced with this choice. In doing so, this research has added to the debate around what motivates individuals to constructively deviate, concluding that it is the immediate organisation that is perceived beneficiary of such action. It has also highlighted and reaffirmed the enabling effect of supportive leadership, felt empowerment, a sense of responsibility and a high-quality leader-follower relationship in enabling constructive deviance. The research has also supported existing literature in that busyness and an expectation of low efficacy will inhibit constructive deviance.

However, this research has also emphatically refuted previous literature in the finding that the perceived risk to individual performance appraisal has a substantial inhibiting effect on constructive deviance. It also contradicts previous research in that the hierarchical structure offered no inhibiting effect on constructive deviance. It has offered partial support to previous findings around tenure, in that this research was inconclusive about the impact of fresh eyes within an organisation. For some this was an enabler for constructive deviance, for others it was a barrier. This research is important because it has complemented the existing, mainly quantitative work into constructive deviance, with a deeper and more descriptive account of the influences around such behaviours.

The second contribution this research makes is to provide evidence about the motivations and influences on constructive deviance in the highly normative

environment of Defence. This adds to the body of knowledge because most previous research into constructive deviance has focused on less normative environments, such as educational or research and development organisations. This research has found that the highly normative context makes a difference to the enablers and barriers to constructive deviance. Most notable is perhaps the strength of feeling around the importance of the chain of command and leadership in general, especially when compared with the relatively less substantial influence of peers. In the defence context, this applies to role-modelling behaviours which are more influential in leaders than in peers and leader support for constructive deviance which is more important than peer support. Likewise, trust in leaders has a greater impact on constructive deviance than trust in peers or in the organisation as a whole in the defence context. These conclusions are at odds with existing research conducted in less normative environments, which credits peers with more influence.

This research also makes clear the impact of leader rhetoric around support and empowerment, predominantly when it comes to inhibiting constructive deviance. The evidence from this study suggests that constructive deviance could be all but stopped by rhetoric alone. It has also established the notably negative impact of the unwieldy bureaucracy that exists within in Defence in the form of rules, policy and process. The research has shown that constructive deviance is more likely to be hampered by bureaucracy, in the highly normative context of Defence, than in other less normative environments. This shows that the factors that influence the incidence of constructive deviance can be context dependent. Whilst this research focused on constructive deviance, it has established that there are aspects to this environment that are relatively unusual and that some elements might impact on behaviours in a broader sense.

8.4 Limitations and implications for future research

There are limitations with all research. This section will highlight the main limitations for this study and offer some suggestions for future research.

A recognised shortcoming of the CIT approach (or indeed any technique which relies on subject responses) is its reliance on recollection of the interviewee. As

Bott and Tourish (2016) observe, most authors do no more than acknowledge this shortcoming. Further, the period of reflection that was given to subjects prior to the interviews reportedly aided their understanding of the factors that influenced their behaviour, allowing them to present a more nuanced and considered response.

Another issue that needs to be considered is the role of the researcher. The very nature of this research was that the interpretation of the world from the perspective of the interviewee was inherently re-interpreted by the researcher as part of the data-gathering process. Marsh and Stoker (2010, p185) describe this re-interpretation as the double hermeneutic. Bott and Tourish (2016) note that whilst this isn't the focus for interpretive research, it is important to recognise the influence of the interviewer and mitigate against the introduction of bias. Again, whilst this has methodological implications (Marsh and Stoker, p199), if these issues are acknowledged and mitigated where possible, it can allow us "to establish how people understand their world" (ibid, p200) and access a deep and rich understanding of the Defence context. These were mitigated by establishing a semi-structured interview protocol, fully transcribing the interviews and using peer-coding for a selection of data to ensure objectivity. In addition, the researcher's knowledge of the context and language allowed the interviews to flow more naturally with less requirement for interruptions and explanations.

With regard to the target population, this research focused on commissioned officers with a minimum of eight years' experience. Whilst this population was assessed as having the most to offer the research because of their likely experience of in decision making roles, if the true benefits of constructive deviance are to be fully realised, the population of less senior personnel needs to be better understood. Particularly lacking from this study is the narrative of less experienced commissioned officers and junior and senior non-commissioned officers. A similar study could be conducted to examine the applicability of these findings within a broader range of ranks, particularly those less experienced and more junior; this would offer a valuable insight as to how the motivations, enablers

and barriers for constructive deviance are perceived at the different rank levels of Defence.

This study examined constructive deviance in its broadest sense, encompassing the different types of behaviour that might be define as such. Therefore, a direct comparison with other studies that have examined a specific type of constructive deviance, often quantitively, has not been possible. As such, it is difficult to say, except through a loose comparison of strength of feeling, precisely how the highly normative environment of the military context differs to other contexts. To allow a more direct comparison with previous literature, a series of quantitative studies into specific types of constructive deviance may be of value. Of particular interest, in light of the types of constructive deviance that respondents mentioned in this study, would be explicit investigations into employee voice and pro-social rule breaking, for which there are quantitative precedents. This type of study would allow more quantifiable comparison to be established across different environments. In addition, given the impact of performance appraisal in the Defence context, a deeper investigation into how this affects empowerment could extend this literature.

The low numbers of interviews, and the ethical preclusion to make direct approaches, has meant that a comparison across different branches of the Armed Forces has not been possible. Anecdotal evidence has suggested that the sister Services are not culturally or organisationally homogenous, and therefore, the implications for each might be different. In addition, because this study set out to specifically examine the highly normative environment of the Defence context, data were only collected from individuals who worked within that environment. As such, this limits the generalisability of the study's findings to other contexts. There are other perhaps similar environments that would warrant investigation. These might include other large, hierarchical, complex and publicly funded organisations such as the church, the police or the National Health Service (NHS). The NHS offers a particular interesting parallel, as it has a similar dual entry system (doctors and nurses), to Defence (commissioned and non-commissioned ranks).

Finally, this study focused on the perceptions of the individuals who were presented with the opportunity to constructively deviate. Frequently, the chain of command was cited as a significant factor in deciding whether or not to take that opportunity, including the likely impact on the subject's performance appraisal. There is likely merit in an examination as to how constructive deviance is perceived from the perspective of those in the chain of command. This could uncover the benefits of constructive deviance in the Defence context and also establish whether in fact the chain of command does negatively perceive constructive deviance.

9 IMPACT STATEMENT

The previous chapter identified the academic contribution that this research has made. However, as United Kingdom Research and Innovation (UKRI[24]) state, impact can include economic and societal effects as well as academic. Therefore, this chapter will examine the impact that the research might potentially have on policy and practice, within the Defence context.

Impact matters. Research without impact begs the question, "what's the point?". The awarding body of this doctorate, Cranfield University, prides itself on its "unrivalled links with business, industry and governments" and its desire to turn "ideas and innovation into reality" (2018). Scoble et al (2010) note that this need for impact is "an emerging theme for publicly funded academic research"; whilst this research is not publicly funded, justification for the research is absolutely vital in order to be granted access to interviewees by the Royal Navy Scientific Advisory Committee and the Ministry of Defence Research Ethics Committee (MoDREC). Making things happen (and being able to measure it) is impact and it provides motivation and justification for any research. The requirement for research impact is emphasised by the Research Excellence Framework (REF) (2018), the body that determines allocations of governmental research funding, as it uses "impact beyond academia" as a key measure of research value.

UKRI state that the impact of research can include instrumental or conceptual impact. Instrumental impact includes "influencing the development of policy, practice or services, shaping legislation and changing behaviour" whereas conceptual impact is about development of understanding and reframing debates. UKRI also suggests that impact can take the form of capacity building through "technical and personal skill development". This chapter will therefore start with an examination of the potential beneficiaries of this research and describe the engagement with them thus far. It will then go on to describe how the research has been disseminated. The exploitation of the research will then

[24] https://www.ukri.org/councils/esrc/impact-toolkit-for-economic-and-social-sciences/defining-impact/

be discussed along with the plan for evaluating the overall impact of the research. Finally, the chapter will briefly describe the personal learning journey that the researcher has experienced.

9.1 Beneficiaries

Before the processes by which impact might be achieved can be devised, consideration needs to be given to the question: on whom could the research have impact? As such, this section will consider the users and beneficiaries of the research, followed by a review of engagement so far.

Publicly funded organisations such as the Armed Forces and all those working for the Ministry of Defence, almost by definition serve the United Kingdom as a whole. As such, anything which improves the efficiency and effectiveness of these organisations will ultimately benefit everyone in the country, from the individuals who work in the organisation up to the government and all those who pay tax into that system. However, given the specific context in which this research is conducted, the direct users of the research will be a much smaller population. This section will describe the beneficiaries and users, looking across all levels, within each of the relevant organisations.

9.1.1 Policy makers

At the highest level, policymakers within Defence could use this research. It is anticipated that this could fall into two areas of policy, both within the realm of human resource management: discipline and staff appraisal. In the discipline context, any action which goes against policy or convention, or directly breaks a rule, would be examined in the context of the individual's motivation; where the act is found to have been undertaken for organisational gains or greater benefit, this would be considered when taking administrative action against that individual. For staff appraisal, the criteria against which individuals are assessed would include recognition of the constructively deviant actions. Both these ideas will be examined in more detail in the exploitation section of this paper.

9.1.2 Trainers and educators

All Defence organisations have some form of continuous professional development (CPD), often involving multiple residential courses. The Armed Forces and Civil Service undergo Professional Military Education (PME) or leadership training courses. The deliverers of some of these interventions have been provided with short packages in the form of e-books that have been delivered to their learners. These could be disseminated more widely (discussed further in exploitation section of this paper), in order to encourage the inculcation of environments in which constructive deviance is appropriately facilitated. Alterations made to policy as covered by the preceding paragraph could also be covered on these courses.

9.1.3 Individuals, groups and organisations

Through awareness campaigns and individual training (above), individuals will recognise the ability to do things for the right reasons, rather than being because that environment dictates. Specifically, individuals who may benefit most from this research are those who have felt overly constrained by organisational norms, policies or rules or those who have ideas about better ways of working or innovative approaches to problems who have hitherto been unable to express those opinions. Individuals at all levels of the command chain can potentially benefit from an environment in which constructive deviance is part of the local lexicon. Upon realising that something is wrong or can be done better, they will better be able to describe the various conflicting motivations that will allow them to describe the situation and therefore do something about it, rather than suffer in silent or inactive frustration.

The cumulative effect of constructive deviance at an individual level will result in greater organisational effectiveness, so there is a positive organisational impact. Specifically, Dahling (2012) notes that Prosocial Rule-Breaking (a recognised form of constructive deviance) has the potential to improve the efficiency of employees, acquire and retain valued customers, and build social capital through enhanced helping directed toward co-workers – all of which will have a positive

effect on the organisation. As Morrison and Milliken (2000, p706) recognise, ‘many organisations are caught in an apparent paradox in which most employees know the truth about certain issues and problems within the organisation yet dare not speak that truth to their superiors’, a position supported by Detert and Trevino (2010); this is remarkably consistent with the idea of “Reasonable Challenge” currently advocated by the Ministry of Defence (2018).

Specifically in the contexts selected here, the research is most likely to have substantial benefits in those organisations which have hitherto been highly normative, and include individuals who have the ability to think creatively and establish better ways of working, but have been previously constrained by organisational norms and policies.

9.1.4 Leaders and managers

Ultimately, this research is intended to bring about change at an organisational level, which needs involvement and buy-in from the leaders and managers of the organisations concerned. As such, leaders of any organisations that have typically been constrained by rules and organisational norms, or by being highly normative, will benefit from this research in that that they can use the enhanced understanding to develop an environment in which constructive deviance is possible.

Clutterbuck and Hirst (2002) suggested that to be “truly effective”, leaders and managers must learn to encourage and manage constructive dissent, a type of constructive deviance. In addition, a greater understanding of the concept of constructive deviance on the part of leaders and managers will enable them to recognise and welcome constructive deviance from subordinates. This allows individuals to stop being slaves to process and policy and can increase organisational efficiency. The structure and culture of hierarchical and highly normative organisations such as the military mean that the most senior personnel are likely to have greatest formal influence, but due consideration also needs to be given to those in less senior, but influential roles, for example Senior Non-Commissioned Officers in the military.

9.2 Engagement

This research has been discussed in a variety of situations, some ad hoc and informal, some more formal, but without exception responses have indicated that there is a feeling that there is a need for a change in how things are done in the Defence context. Table 23 shows the extent of engagement so far, including a brief summary of responses.

Date	Audience	Engagement	Response
Dec 15	Defence Academy of the UK Director General	Meeting to discuss Non-Conscious Capability	Desire for the ability to insert a "switch" into personnel to turn constructive deviance on and off. Confirmed necessity for "appropriate" constructive deviance.
Jul 18	Dr Roger Hutton – Director Chilcot Implementation	Phone call to discuss impact	Recognition that the research can add value to Defence. Agreement to provide ongoing engagement, support and advice as data is collected.
Aug 18	Maj Gen Paul Nanson and Prof Lloyd Clark	Email and face-to face conversation to discuss impact	Confirmation that the research will "definitely be of interest to us at the Centre for Army Leadership"
Sep 18	Christopher Gamble - Shell	Email offering support to research	Recognition of benefit in Shell's environment; constructive deviance could be "the next behavioural step" for them.
Sep 18	Dr Henrietta Hughes – NHS National Guardian	Phone call to discuss impact	Discussion around the parallels between this research and her work on voice with the NHS context.
Dec 19	Defence Permanent Secretary and Executive Committee	Brief to discuss the impact of Active Bystander Training within Defence	Agreement from Chief of Defence People to review the research on completion

Table 23: Engagement to date

As shown, meetings and conversations have been held with a variety of individuals, whom it was thought might have an interest in this research, based either on their position or their public rhetoric about a desire for constructive deviance type behaviours. Whilst one of the individuals has left the organisation (Defence Academy DG) and another organisation has been disbanded (Chilcot

Implementation Team), other individuals have asked to be kept appraised of how the research develops and as such the findings and conclusions will be shared in the form of an executive summary.

In the initial stages of the research, the first of these meetings was held with another researcher and the Director General (DG) of the Defence Academy. In this meeting, the DG described the ideal situation of being able to turn personnel on and off to constructive deviance (with an action-man like switch in the back of their head), lending senior support for the research proposal. He felt that the concept of constructive had merit within the Defence context, but stressed the need of appropriate and contextualised use, noting that whilst there was an over-emphasis on conformity, the discipline that existed within Defence was valuable.

Dr Roger Hutton, then Director of the Chilcot Implementation Team, recognised the benefit of constructive deviance. He immediately saw the parallels with his work in setting up the Chilcot Implementation team, which developed policies around Reasonable Challenge in the Good Operation (MOD, 2014) in the wake of the Iraq Inquiry (Chilcot, 2016). He agreed that Reasonable Challenge was a form of voice and therefore, in an environment like Defence which frequently doesn't encourage such behaviour, would constitute a type of constructive deviance. This implementation team, 18 months after its inauguration, has now been disbanded.

The Centre for Army Leadership recognised immediately the likely impact of constructive deviance as having implications for leadership, something for which the research has found substantial support. Given the focus on leadership aspects, it is anticipated that they will take significant interest in the findings of the research which will be shared with them on completion. In addition, Shell's representative drew parallels with their concept of "chronic unease" as a safety mechanism, which could be related to the findings within this study. More recently, the researcher was invited to describe the research findings to the Armed Forces Muslim Association (AFMA). This was well received by the chair of the AFMA, also Director Leadership for the Army, who noted its relevance in the leadership context.

The researcher had a conversation with the NHS's National Guardian, Dr Henrietta Hughes. The NHS has already made substantial progress on developing a positive voice culture and the National Guardian recognised some of the parallels between the Defence and Health contexts, and again, Dr Hughes expressed interest accessing the findings and conclusions of the research.

In a rare opportunity to access the highest levels of the Ministry of Defence hierarchy, the Department's Permanent Secretary and his executive committee were briefed about Active Bystander training (described in the dissemination section next) and this research. This group consists of the most senior individuals within the Ministry of Defence, including military and civilian personnel. Again, recognition was given that constructive deviance was a worthy topic of investigation, and in particular the Chief of Defence People and the Head of Civilian Human Resources agreed to review the research on completion.

9.3 Dissemination

9.3.1 How you have disseminated so far/will disseminate your findings

Dissemination is the act of spreading information to an appropriate audience. As such, this section will describe how the research has been or will be disseminated to the beneficiaries previously described. The aim will be to keep the messages succinct, clear and accessible in all cases, whilst being appropriate to the likely audience of any given medium.

9.3.2 Teaching dissemination - academic

Prior to the start of this research journey, the researcher was an academic lecturer with Cranfield University at the Defence Academy of the United Kingdom. With teaching responsibilities for Organisational Behaviour and Human Resource Management, on master's level programmes, there was presented an opportunity to share the theory and discuss the realities of organisational culture with personnel from primarily military and civil service audiences. In the beginning, the teaching included the stalwarts of social psychology such as bystander apathy, conformity, compliance and obedience, but contextualised to the military

environment in order to suit these relatively distinctive audiences. As the research journey progressed, it was possible to share each step with these audiences. As such, appropriate levels of information were inserted into these lectures, shown in Table 24, starting with the concept of constructive deviance, different types of action, the benefits of those actions and some of the antecedents as found in the existing literature. As the research has progressed, the content within the delivery of these sessions has matured concomitantly, developing as far as the sharing of embryonic findings and analysis.

Date	Audience	Engagement	Response
Oct 15; Feb 16; Sep 16; Jan 17; Sep 17; Jan 18; Jan 19; Sep 19; Jan 20	Intermediate Command and Staff Course (Land) (ICSC (L))	Organisational Behaviour in Defence Lectures	Confirmation that the research is valuable and that the majority of personnel present have had the opportunity to constructively deviate, but haven't done so, thereby destructively conforming.
Sep 20; Jan 21; Sep 21		Q&A Session based on e-book	
Sep 16; Mar 17; Jun 17	ICSC (Air and Maritime)	Organisational Behaviour in Defence Lectures	
Feb19; May 19; Aug 19; Nov 19; Feb 20	ICSC (Maritime)	Organisational Behaviour in Defence Lectures	
Oct 16; May 17	Defence Leadership MSc Cohort	Organisational Behaviour in Defence Lecture	
Feb 17	Infantry Training Centre, Catterick	Fire Base Mary Ann Officers Development Day	Confirmation that the research is valuable to the British Army.
May 15; May 16; May 17; May 18; May 19	Baltic Defence College – Defence personnel from multiple European countries	Organisational Behaviour in Defence Module	Confirmation that the research is also relevant to Defence organisations in other European countries.
Early-2020 onwards	Various Defence Audiences	Moodle E-book	Positive feedback and good response in Q&A sessions. Being developed into a standalone package for easy insertion into a variety of online courses.
Sep 20	Armed Forces Muslim Association	Invitation to describe the research findings	Acknowledgement that the research is of interest, both for AFMA and from a leadership perspective
Feb 22	Royal College of Defence Studies	Invitation to deliver a workshop	Embryonic recognition that the research has value across multinational Defence cultures

Table 24: Teaching engagement

As shown in Table 24, the academic teaching serials have been delivered to Defence audiences. This has resulted in the ability of the researcher to engage with those audiences about their perceptions of destructive conformity and constructive deviance within the Defence context. Across the board, there was a perception that destructive conformity was an issue in this context; almost all delegates were able to recall an occasion on which they had acted in a destructively conformist manner.

Whilst the majority of this delivery was at UK commissioned officers or civil servants of an equivalent rank, similar feedback was received from the audience at the Army's Infantry Training Centre which consisted of all ranks. Similarly, Defence personnel from European nations provided a similar response.

The national lockdown which occurred in early 2020 as a result of the Covid-19 pandemic meant that the teaching material across the Defence Academy was moved online. This resulted in the researcher developing a Moodle-based e-book on the Defence Learning Environment[25] (DLE) which students could access remotely. Formal courses that adopted this delivery method then followed up with a video conference with the researcher for a Q&A session. The success of this flipped classroom delivery has resulted in these courses continuing to use the e-book for delivery with a face-to-face Q&A session even after Covid-19 based restrictions have been lifted.

9.3.3 Teaching dissemination – Active Bystander workshops

Perhaps the most impactful application of the research has been through the Defence Academy's Active Bystander initiative that has developed since October 2018. Whilst this is in a very specific niche, focusing on Diversity and Inclusion (D&I) issues, this research has already contributed positively and has had significant impact on solving an organisational problem.

[25] The DLE is a Moodle-based online learning platform used by the UK Ministry of Defence

Through a variety of feedback mechanisms, (course feedback, culture surveys) the Defence Academy recognised that there was an issue regarding a seemingly irreducible number of low-level D&I incidents. Whilst most of these events were not serious, it was noted that there was a persistent level of occurrence, which the Defence Academy was struggling to drive down, on one significant course. Additionally, it was recognised that many incidents were not getting resolved at the lowest possible level – one of the key principles of handling D&I issues.

As a result, an Active Bystander initiative was introduced, initially aimed at the Defence Academy student body. This was delivered through an interactive workshop that highlights psychological and organisational reasons for lack of intervention, or destructive conformity, when individuals witness poor behaviour. It also offers attendees tools and tips on how they can intervene safely, in situations when they otherwise might not have. Active Bystander initiatives are not new; they exist at many Higher Education institutions within the UK and around the world, because it is in these environments where research (Long and Hubble, 2018) has indicated there is an abnormally high risk of rape, sexual harassment and related lower-level behaviours. However, the principles of Active Bystander intervention can be and have been expanded beyond D&I related behaviours, to include any poor behaviour that is witnessed, usually in the workplace, but again, can apply equally in almost any context.

The premise of the initiative is based on the concept of overturning bystander apathy (Darley and Latane, 1968); this leads to a failure to intervene when poor behaviour is witnessed and this social effect is frequently exacerbated by organisational factors, such as the normalisation of poor behaviours like routine sexism or racism. As such, intervening in these circumstances is an act of constructive deviance – going against an organisational norm of low-level racism, for example, for the greater good of equality.

Initially aimed at one specific cohort, the inaugural Active Bystander workshop was delivered in September 2018 by the researcher and two other volunteers (one military, one academic). This workshop included the results of the literature review and the embryonic findings. It was anticipated that it might be delivered

each year to the two or three major courses that come through the Defence Academy. Immediately popular and with recognised utility it has now been delivered face to face to over 1000 members of the Defence community. Since this initial workshop, this training has been updated to reflect the maturing state of the research. The workshops have been delivered to the Defence Academy, MoD Race Network, Defence Intelligence, Counter Terrorism, the Royal College of Defence Studies and more. In addition, the workshops have been delivered to other government departments (HM Prison and Probation Service) and even a cohort of primary school children; delivery for the NHS was also discussed in late 2021. The Defence Academy's lead officer for Diversity and Inclusion, Squadron Leader Stuart Williams Royal Air Force, said of this research, which contributed to the development of the training:

> *"The research that Chris has done has enabled a deeper understanding of the environment and context within which Active Bystander training has been delivered. This understanding has allowed participants to really reflect on the "how and why" of behaviour in the military setting. Feedback received has been almost universally positive and shows that workshop participants have felt genuinely empowered by the training. The concept of destructive conformity aligns directly with some of the problems faced within Defence and constructive deviance provides a solution."*

Scoble's (2010) model of dissemination is being used to extend the reach of the workshop. On the larger courses, where workshop participation is precluded because of the volume of students, volunteers are requested form each sub-group (syndicate) of around 12 people. These individuals then become the 'advocate" for that syndicate. Each advocate is given the full Active Bystander workshop and then empowered, through the provision of materials and time in their teaching schedule, to brief the information and learning points to their syndicate.

With respect to the findings in this research, whilst it is recognised that the content of the workshops is anecdotal rather than systematically collected, the experience of the researcher is that the reasons for not acting around D&I issues

frequently reflect the responses of the interviewees within this study. People often cite fear of repercussion, sometimes social, but often referring to the potential for career fouls; they often mention that the culture is just accepting of certain behaviours and therefore they don't want to "rock the boat". However, one of the most often mentioned reasons for not intervening, is because of a lack of confidence that they have that the chain of command will offer them support in response to their action. Based on these responses, the researcher has been able to offer wider insights about constructive deviance that can help participants consider how they might act in a way that carries lower risk.

The success of the initial workshops led to interest growing across Defence. In particular, the publication of the MoD's Report on Inappropriate Behaviours (Wigston, 2019) described the Active Bystander initiative as leading practice and as such there was a dramatic increase in demand for the workshop. Demand soon outstripped the capacity of the team, so multiple delivery teams were contracted to deliver on a fulltime basis for three months, having received a train-the-trainer package from the originators including the researcher.

During this period, an online "fundamentals" package was developed with input from the researcher and was rolled out via Defence's online learning platform. At the time of writing, over 100k Defence personnel had enrolled in the training.

9.3.4 Defence dissemination to date

9.3.4.1 One JFC Day

The first formal research-specific engagement was a presentation given on 3 Oct 18, just prior to the data gathering phase of the study, during a "One JFC Day". The presentation, focused purely on the constructive deviance research, was given to an audience from across Joint Forces Command (now known as UK Strategic Command), which is the command structure that sits in parallel with the single Services, and is responsible for the delivery of Joint military effect. This was the result of serendipitous happenstance through a conversation with one of the researcher's co-workers, who was organising the event. This generated significant interest in the research and provided further support, also leading to a

request for a more formal sharing of the research with the Defence Leadership centre (DLC), described next.

9.3.4.2 Defence Leadership Centre

As a result of the One JFC Day the researcher was contracted to create some "bite-sized" pieces of work to act as think-pieces for Defence personnel. The first piece of work was intended as a "taster" for what is to come, with a brief explanation as to what benefits constructively behaviour can offer at an organisational level. As such, that first piece of work was delivered with the intention that it will be added to a library of Defence-related research which will be delivered through the newly created Centre for Defence Education Research and Analysis (CDERA). In addition, the researcher was invited to speak at a miniature conference for Defence Academy Higher Faculty staff, focusing on the leadership elements of the research.

9.3.5 Defence dissemination in future

The following channels have been identified as places appropriate for disseminating research of this nature within the Defence context:

9.3.5.1 The Wavell Room

This is a website and Twitter account that asserts to be the place to publish in order to "drive discussion or influence decision making" for both military and non-military audiences. The site submission options include "short reads and opinions" of up to 600 words as well as longer pieces that might be more rigorous and academic in style. As such, various pieces will be offered to this site that will include short precis of different elements of the research, including the systematic literature review and the initial findings. Longer pieces offered will include longer versions of the systematic review as well as more formalised and analysed findings. Finally, to spark debate and interest, the Twitter feed will be used raise awareness of the longer pieces.

9.3.5.2 The Army Leader

Given that leadership being found as a factor that influences the incidence of constructive deviance, this is a website that will take an interest in publishing this research. Whilst focusing mainly on the British Army and offering fewer options for publishing formats than the Wavell Room, it invites pieces of 500-1500 words in length and also has an active Twitter account; it invites contributions from a wide variety of sources, including research. Designed to offer think-pieces on how to improve leadership skills within the British Army, at both an individual and organisational level, this is a clear channel through which to expose this research.

9.3.5.3 The Naval Review

Claiming to be at "the heart of contemporary naval and maritime thinking", the Naval Review invites longer pieces than other military publications of 2000-4000 words and is "about promoting a conversation, expressing opinions amongst friends, educating and developing arguments that members might draw upon thereafter", which seems an appropriate place to start a discussion about Constructive Deviance.

9.3.5.4 Delivery on Defence courses

Using Scoble's (2010) model, there is an opportunity to spread the research through residential and online training courses within the researcher's workplace, which is the Defence Academy, the home of professional military education for the United Kingdom. The aforementioned e-book is in the process of being developed into a Content Specific Information and Learning package (C-SIL) on the DLE. C-SILs can be incorporated into existing and developing courses, as well as being added as a stand-alone intervention to be accessed by learners across Defence.

9.3.5.5 Defence Academy website and Research Engine

The Defence Academy has a local intranet and is the main communication method for the Defence Academy, which also offers a "Blogzone". The findings from the research will be shared here, both in terms of the positive effects that

can come from Constructive Deviance (in order to encourage those behaviours) and to share the organisational antecedents for Constructive Deviance in order to inculcate this environment. In addition, the Defence Academy Research Engine will shortly be established as part of the website which is a portal designed specifically for sharing and showcasing Defence-related research. The research will be shared here.

9.3.5.6 The Centre for Army Leadership

This study has noted the significant influence of leadership over individual's propensity for constructive deviance. The Centre for Army Leadership have expressed interest in better understanding the interplay between the two and believe that this research can add to their understanding of leadership in the Defence context. As such, this research will be shared with them for exploitation through conferences, podcasts and publications.

9.3.6 Non-Defence Dissemination

Whilst this research focuses on the highly normative context within the military setting, the findings have already been noted as having some read across to other similarly restrictive environments. For example, unbeknownst to the researcher, the teaching profession is felt by some to be hierarchical and restrictive in nature. The researcher was approached by a podcaster and invited to be interviewed for a series that looks at bringing contemporary psychological research into the classroom. An interview with the researcher was conducted and curated into a 45-minute podcast. The podcast, Psychology in the Classroom, is a year old and supported by the British Psychological Society and the Association of Teachers of Psychology. Whilst most episodes are downloaded 80-100 times in their first week the podcast on constructive deviance reached 218 downloads in that period. The podcaster, Lucinda Powell, said:

> *"It was a real pleasure to hear from Chris about his research into Constructive Deviance and the importance of leadership in allowing people to constructively deviate amongst other things. It was great to discuss the training on being an active bystander that has come out of this research and the psychological theories underpinning behaviour*

such as bystander apathy and how it might apply to things like bullying. Although the research was not done in a School context Chris discussed how he has worked in a primary school for anti-bullying week to deliver active bystander training. The podcast is aimed at secondary school teachers, helping them to apply psychological understanding to their classroom practice and Chris was able to share practical ideas about how they could do this. This shows that the research Chris has done into Constructive Deviance has utility not only in the military context, where he conducted the research, but will also have impact across other environments."

Many of the Defence-related outlets have a broad following and there are other channels that will be used to disseminate the research findings. For example, the NHS setting is a similarly hierarchical, publicly funded and complex organisation. As such, contact has been made with the National Guardian for the NHS, Dr Henrietta Hughes who focuses on initiatives to encourage individuals to speak up within the NHS. Discussions with a local NHS Trust have started with specific reference to delivery of Active Bystander workshops. The findings from the research will be curated into an executive summary and these contacts will be used in order establish avenues for the dissemination within the NHS. Likewise, the Independent Office for Police Conduct has accepted the likely value of the research and agreed to disseminate the findings. Also, contact has been made with Shell, who's Global Maritime Security Team Lead has agreed to trial any changes in a "benign environment" so that any unintended consequences can be identified before moving things into a more hostile environment.

9.4 Future exploitation

The previous section looked at dissemination of the research, which simply shares knowledge. This section will look at exploitation - the action of making use of and benefiting from the research, in terms of policy and practice. The various proposals will be initiated through the sharing of an executive summary of the research as requested by those with whom the findings have been shared as the research progressed.

9.4.1 Performance appraisal

Two of the most significant factors that influenced individuals' constructively deviant behaviour were performance appraisal and chain of command support. Universally in this study, constructive deviance was predicted to have a negative impact on the interviewees' annual appraisals, generally written by the chain of command. As such, it is proposed that this research could be exploited by making some small changes to the performance appraisal policy. These changes would be twofold in their intent. Firstly, they might offer some protection to individuals who choose to constructively deviate, in the hope that this would go some way to mitigating against this barrier. Secondly, they would encourage those writing the performance appraisal reports to be positive about constructive deviance in their subordinates.

The Officers' Joint Appraisal Report is used to appraise every military officer each year. The guidance for both the subject officer and the reporting officers is contained with Joint Service Publication (JSP) 757 (MOD, 2019). The process includes an assessment of the subject officer in terms of performance and potential, under a given set of headings. Underneath the headings, such as Leadership, Effective Intelligence etc, there are over 200 descriptors which could be used to exemplify good (or poor) behaviours. Currently, just one of these indicators resembles constructive deviance, (of approximately one hundred). This behaviour indicator positively supports constructive challenge to the status quo and offers a constraining negative which derides the provision of ideas and changes without consideration. As such, it is suggested that the policy could be adapted to include a stronger element that would allow for constructive deviance in several of the attributes. A suggested set of descriptors is shown at Table 25.

Positive indicator	Negative indicator
Recognises and responds constructively to shortcomings in current policy or processes, deviating where there is organisational benefit in doing so.	Passively follows current policy or processes without scrutiny or question; failing to deviate in spite of organisational benefits in doing so.
Recognises and responds constructively to shortcomings in direction and guidance, challenging such direction where there is organisational benefit in doing so.	Passively follows direction and guidance without challenge or question; failing to challenge in spite of organisational benefits in doing so.
Responds positively to subordinates who question and/or challenge direction, policy or processes; openly welcomes constructive contributions.	Responds negatively to subordinates who question and/or challenge direction, policy or processes; immediately dismisses constructive contributions.

Table 25: Proposed OJAR descriptors

Most officers will be familiar with these descriptors, if not for their own reports, for those subordinates on whom they are expected to write reports. Given the absence of any other descriptors that could be perceived as positive, it is suggested that the addition to the JSP of some descriptors might encourage constructively deviant action to take place, or at least provide some form of safety net for subject officers who could perceive this as "permission" to act. Similarly, if conducted in a measured and realistic way, this would strengthen the current support for leadership behaviours in managing constructively deviant behaviour.

9.4.2 Constructive deviance workshop

In the wake of the success of the Active Bystander initiative, it is proposed that there could be an appetite within Defence for similar training interventions, both face-to-face and online, that might broaden the current material well beyond ED&I issues. One of the strengths of the Active Bystander workshops is that it draws on the experiences of the individuals in the room, asking them to reflect on when they've had the opportunity to respond to poor behaviour, but perhaps haven't done so.

Given the emphasis on leadership influence that has been identified by this study, it is suggested that there needs to be two approaches that ultimately will need to become mutually supporting in nature, if constructive deviance is to be encouraged. Firstly, there is a perception that constructively deviant action may not be well-received by seniors, based on the situational, cultural and individual factors that exist within the organisation and its leaders. The result of this is that subordinates are often unwilling to take action. Therefore, leaders don't have the opportunity to respond positively or realise the benefits of such action, so they don't encourage the behaviours to take place. To break this downward spiral, the virtuous cycle of constructively deviant behaviour needs to be mutually reinforcing by leaders and by subordinates. Subordinates have to feel empowered to take action; the action needs to be received well, thereby further empowering subordinates, and so on.

In a similar vein to the Active Bystander Workshops, a constructive deviance workshop would draw on participants' experiences of when they've had the opportunity to take constructively deviant action, and what has influenced their behaviour. In addition, the workshop would consider how to respond to constructively deviant action taken by peers and subordinates, allowing participants to learn from others within the room and how to best take action. It is proposed that the workshop would include the following objectives:

- Destructive conformity
- Definitions, types and benefits of constructive deviance
- What stops us from constructively deviating
- How to constructively deviate
- For leaders: how to encourage constructive deviance

Experience of the Active Bystander workshop has indicated that they are most effective when they are attended by personnel from the same organisation – this enables them to discuss shared experience and ultimately, develop strategies and actions for improvements within their organisation. It is suggested that the same would be the case for constructive deviance more generally. By having the leaders and subordinates in the workshop together, perspectives can be shared

which will lead to the virtuous cycle of action followed by positive reinforcement from peers and leaders, followed by more action.

9.5 Evaluation of impact

The true impact of this type of research could be years in the making, with a concomitant timescale associated with the evaluation of that impact. As such, within the doctoral research timelines, the evaluation of impact is almost impossible, but there are some ways of establishing embryonic effects, which will be considered here.

If the policy changes mentioned in the previous section were adopted, this could generate records that could be analysed and interpreted as a measure of effect. For example, the promotion boards which select candidates for advancement provide reports for consumption by both the subjects of those reports and for reporting officers. These frequently refer to which attributes were considered important by the promotion board and may therefore provide an indicator of the level of emphasis given to the appropriate attributes.

Less directly, the Armed Force Continuous Attitude Survey (AFCAS) might be able to offer an indicator as to how things have changed, but current questions only relate to raising concerns (linked to voice). Whilst it will be impossible to directly link any changes here to the implementation of policy changes, there is one question that may offer some insight which asks why an individual didn't raise a complaint after bullying or harassment.

Finally, feedback will continue to be gathered from training interventions, both face-to face and online. This will include data gathering immediately on completion of the intervention, but could also gather information several months later, to ascertain the extent to which the training has taken effect.

9.6 Next steps for Defence

So, what does this research mean for Defence? Constructive deviance can and does happen within the Defence context, but there are some key influences that

could be recognised, contemplated, and acted upon to empower and proliferate this behaviour. As Mowbray (2015) indicates, there are perhaps two approaches to take forwards, firstly the organisational behaviour or social influence perspective and secondly the human resource management systems or policy-driven approach. Raub and Robert (2012) support the former, indicating that empowerment stems from leadership. Spreitzer (1995) likewise, notes that empowerment cannot be dictated by policy but must be felt by individuals. This research supports this, in its findings of the criticality of leadership influence and a supportive environment in which to constructively deviate. However, it also finds that are policy changes that could also serve to empower individuals, mainly around the performance appraisal system, which acts as such a significant barrier in this context.

Liddell Hart (1944, p115) suggests, “there are over two thousand years of experience to tell us that the only thing harder than getting a new idea into the military mind is to get an old one out”. In a context which has historically placed so much emphasis on commanding styles of leadership and an evaluative approach to performance appraisal, constructive deviance has perhaps been discouraged. This research has revealed that personnel are frequently motivated to constructively deviate in ways which can improve the environment of Defence and its operational outputs. More could be done to encourage leaders to prioritise empowerment over coercion. Policy changes could be made to empower individuals by reducing the emphasis placed on evaluative performance appraisal. Defence has long held that people are its most important asset – it is time for Defence to empower them to deliver.

REFERENCES

Abbate, C.S., Ruggieri, S. and Boca, S. (2013) 'The effect of prosocial priming in the presence of bystanders', *Journal of Social Psychology*, 153(5), pp. 619–622.

Adelman, K. (2012) 'Promoting employee voice and upward communication in healthcare: The CEO's influence', *Journal of Healthcare Management*, 57(2), pp. 133–147.

Al-Hawari, M.A., Bani-Melhem, S. and Quratulain, S. (2020) 'Abusive supervision and frontline employees' attitudinal outcomes: The multilevel effects of customer orientation', *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, 32(3), pp. 1109–1129.

Allen, N. (2009) Girl gang-raped outside California high school as onlookers laughed, *Daily Telegraph*,

Alvesson, M. (2003) 'Methodology for close up studies - Struggling with closeness and closure', *Higher Education*, 46(2), pp. 167–193.

Alvesson, M. and Sveningsson, S. (2003) 'Managers doing leadership: The extra-ordinarization of the mundane', *Human Relations*, 56(12), pp. 1435–1459.

Appelbaum, S.H., Iaconi, G.D. and Matousek, A. (2007) 'Positive and negative deviant workplace behaviors: causes, impacts, and solutions', *Corporate Governance: The international journal of business in society*, 7(5), pp. 586–598.

Argyres, N. and Mui, V.-L. (2007) 'Rules of engagement, credibility and the political economy of organizational dissent', *Strategic Organization*, 5(2), pp. 107–154.

Arkin, W. and Dobrofsky, L.R. (1978) 'Military Socialization and Masculinity', *Journal of Social Issues*, 34(1), pp. 151–168.

Armstrong, M. (2014) *Armstrong's handbook of human resource management practice*. 13th edn. London: Kogan Page

Aronson, E. (2011) *The Social Animal*. 11th edn. New York: Worth Publishers.

Aronson, J. and Aronson, E. (2011) *Readings About the Social Animal*. 11th edn. New York: Worth Publishers.

Asadullah, M.A., Fayyaz, I. and Amin, R. (2019) 'Spirituality, moral conviction, and prosocial rule-breaking in healthcares', *RAE Revista de Administracao de Empresas*, 59(1), pp. 3–15.

Asch, S.E. (1956) 'Studies of Independence and conformity: A Minority of One

Against a Unanimous Majority', *Psychological Monographs:General and Applied*, 70(9), pp. 1–70.

Ashford, S.J., Rothbard, N.P., Piderit, S.K. and Dutton, J.E. (1998) 'Out on a limb : The role of context and impression management in selling gender-equity issue', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 43(1), pp. 23–57.

Ashton, N.L. and Severy, L.J. (1976) 'Arousal and Costs in Bystander Intervention', *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 2(3) Sage Publications, pp. 268–272.

Axelrod, R. (1986) 'An Evolutionary Approach to Norms', *The American Political Science Review*, 80(4), pp. 1095–1111.

Báez-León, C., Moreno-Jiménez, B., Aguirre-Camacho, A. and Olmos, R. (2016) 'Factors influencing intention to help and helping behaviour in witnesses of bullying in nursing settings', *Nursing Inquiry*, 23(4), pp. 358–367.

Bailyn, L. (1985) 'Autonomy in the Industrial R & D', *Human Resource Management*, 24(170), pp. 129–146.

Baird, K., Tung, A. and Su, S. (2020) 'Employee empowerment, performance appraisal quality and performance', *Journal of Management Control*, 31(4), pp. 451–474.

Banyard, V.L. (2011) 'Who will help prevent sexual violence: Creating an ecological model of bystander intervention', *Psychology of Violence*, 1(3), pp. 216–229.

Banyard, V.L., Moynihan, M.M. and Crossman, M.T. (2009) 'Reducing sexual violence on campus: The role of student leaders as empowered bystanders', *Journal of College Student Development*, 50(4), pp. 446–457.

Baron, R.A., Byrne, D. and Branscombe, N.R. (2006) Social psychology (11th ed.). *Social psychology (11th ed.).*

Baron, R.S. (2005) 'So Right It's Wrong: Groupthink and the Ubiquitous Nature of Polarized Group Decision Making', in Zanna, M. (ed.) *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, pp. 219–253.

Barone, R.P., Wolgemuth, J.R. and Linder, C. (2007) 'Preventing sexual assault through engaging college men', *Journal of College Student Development*, 48(5), pp. 585–594.

Baum, J.A.C. and McGahan, A.M. (2013) 'The reorganization of legitimate violence: The contested terrain of the private military and security industry during the post-cold war era.', *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 33, pp. 3–37.

Baumeister, R.F. and Leary, M.R. (1995) 'The Need to Belong: Desire for Interpersonal Attachments as a Fundamental Human Motivation', *Psychological Bulletin*, 117(3), pp. 497–529.

Baumrind, D. (1964) 'Some thoughts on ethics of research: After reading Milgram's "Behavioral Study of Obedience."', *American Psychologist*, 19(6), pp. 421–423.

Beaman, A., Barnes, P., Klentz, B. and McQuirk, B. (1978) 'Increasing Helping Rates Through Information Dissemination: Teaching Pays', *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 4(3), pp. 406–411.

Ben-Hur, S., Kinley, N. and Jonsen, K. (2012) 'Coaching executive teams to reach better decisions', *Journal of Management Development*, 31(7), pp. 711–723.

Benjamin, L.T. and Simpson, J.A. (2009) 'The Power of the Situation: The Impact of Milgram's Obedience Studies on Personality and Social Psychology', *American Psychologist*, 64(1), pp. 12–19.

Bennett, S. and Banyard, V.L. (2016) 'Do friends really help friends? the effect of relational factors and perceived severity on bystander perception of sexual violence', *Psychology of Violence*, 6(1), pp. 64–72.

Bhaskar, K., Flower, J. and Sellers, R. (2019) 'Carillion', *Financial Failures and Scandals*, (May), pp. 81–97.

Bicchieri, C. (2006) *The Grammar of Society: The Nature and Dynamics of Social Norms*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bicchieri, C. and Chavez, A. (2010) 'Behaving as expected: Public information and fairness norms', *Journal of Behavioral Decision Making*, 23(2), pp. 161–178.

Bicchieri, C. and Xiao, E. (2009) 'Do the right thing: But only if others do so', *Journal of Behavioral Decision Making*, 22(2), pp. 191–208.

Bickman, L. (1979) 'Interpersonal Influence and the Reporting of a Crime', *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 5(1) Sage Publications, pp. 32–35.

Bickman, L. and Green, S.K. (1977) 'Situational Cues and Crime Reporting: Do Signs Make a Difference?', *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 7(1), pp. 1–18.

Blaikie, N. (2007) Approaches to Social Enquiry. 2nd edn. *Polity Press*.

Blaikie, N. (2009) Designing Social Research. 2nd edn. *Polity Press*.

Blass, T. (2009) 'From New Haven to Santa Clara: A Historical Perspective on the Milgram Obedience Experiments', *American Psychologist*, 64(1), pp. 37–45.

Blay, A.D., Gooden, E.S., Mellon, M.J. and Stevens, D.E. (2018) 'The Usefulness of Social Norm Theory in Empirical Business Ethics Research: A Review and Suggestions for Future Research', *Journal of Business Ethics*, 152(1), pp. 191–206.

Bobek, D., Hageman, A. and Kelliher, C. (2013) 'Analyzing the role of social norms in tax compliance behaviour', *Journal of Business Ethics*, 115(3) Springer Science & Business Media B.V., pp. 451–468.

Bocchiaro, P. and Zimbardo, P.G. (2010) 'Defying Unjust Authority: An Exploratory Study', *Current Psychology*, 29(2), pp. 155–170.

Bodankin, M. and Tziner, A. (2009) 'Constructive Deviance, Destructive Deviance and Personality: How Do They Interrelate?', *Amfiteatru Economic*, 11(26), pp. 549–564.

van Bommel, M., van Prooijen, J.W., Elffers, H. and Van Lange, P.A.M. (2016) 'The lonely bystander: ostracism leads to less helping in virtual bystander situations', *Social Influence*, 11(3), pp. 141–150.

van Bommel, M., van Prooijen, J.W., Elffers, H. and Van Lange, P.A.M. (2012) 'Be aware to care: Public self-awareness leads to a reversal of the bystander effect', *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 48(4), pp. 926–930.

Borges, M.A. and Penta, J.M. (1977) 'Effects of third party intercession on bystander intervention', *Journal of Social Psychology*, 103(1), pp. 27–32.

Bormann, K.C. and Rowold, J. (2016) 'Ethical leadership's potential and boundaries in organizational change: A moderated mediation model of employee silence', *German Journal of Human Resource Management*, 30(3–4), pp. 225–245.

Borry, E.L. and Henderson, A.C. (2020) 'Patients, Protocols, and Prosocial Behavior: Rule Breaking in Frontline Health Care', *American Review of Public Administration*, 50(1), pp. 45–61.

Boston, W., Varnholt, H. and Sloat, S. (2015) 'Volkswagen Blames "Chain of Mistakes" for Emissions Scandal', *The Wall Street Journal*, pp. 1–3.

Boswell, W.R. and Boudreau, J.W. (2000) 'Employee satisfaction with performance appraisals and appraisers: The role of perceived appraisal use', *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, 11(3), pp. 283–299.

Botero, I.C. (2009) 'Employee Voice Behavior', *Management Communication Quarterly*, 23(1), pp. 84–104.

Bott, G. and Tourish, D. (2016) 'The critical incident technique reappraised: Using critical incidents to illuminate organizational practices and build theory',

Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management: An International Journal, 11(4), pp. 276–300.

Bowen, F. and Blackmon, K. (2003) 'Spirals of Silence: The Dynamic Effects of Diversity on Organizational Voice', *Journal of Management Studies*, 40(6), pp. 1393–1417.

Bowes-Sperry, L. and O'Leary-Kelly, A.M. (2005) 'To act or not to act: The dilemma faced by sexual harassment observers', *Academy of Management Review*, 30(2), pp. 288–306.

Breitsohl, J., Wilcox-Jones, J.P. and Harris, I. (2015) 'Groupthink 2.0: An empirical analysis of customers' conformity-seeking in online communities', *Journal of Customer Behaviour*, 14(2), pp. 87–106.

Brenkert, G.G. (2009) 'ISCT, hypernorms, and business: A reinterpretation', *Journal of Business Ethics*, 88(SUPPL. 4), pp. 645–658.

Brennan, G., Eriksson, L., Goodin, R. and Southwood, N. (2013) *Explaining Norms*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Breslin, C.B. (2000) 'Organizational Culture and the Military', *U.S. Army War College*

Brief, A.P., Dukerich, J.M. and Doran, L.I. (1991) 'Resolving Ethical Dilemmas in Management: Experimental Investigations of Values, Accountability, and Choice', *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 21(5), pp. 380–396.

Bright, D.S., Stansbury, J., Alzola, M. and Stavros, J.M. (2011) 'Virtue ethics in positive organizational scholarship: An integrative perspective', *Canadian Journal of Administrative Sciences*, 28(3), pp. 231–243.

Brinsfield, C.T. (2013) 'Employee silence motives: Investigation of dimensionality and development of measures', *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 34(5), pp. 671–697.

de Brito, M.J. and Pereira, V. da G. (1996) 'Organizational socialization: the initiation into military culture', *Revista de Administração Pública*, 30(4), pp. 138–165.

Brody, N. and Vangelisti, A.L. (2016a) 'Bystander Intervention in Cyberbullying', *Communication Monographs*, 83(1) Taylor & Francis, pp. 94–119.

Brody, N. and Vangelisti, A.L. (2016b) 'Erratum: Bystander intervention in cyberbullying', *Communication Monographs*, 83(1), p. 162.

Brooks, S. (2018) 'How does perceived formality shape unheard challenging voices?', *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 29(5)

Routledge, pp. 995–1014.

Bryant, P.C., Davis, C.A., Hancock, J.I. and Vardaman, J.M. (2010) 'When rule makers become rule breakers: Employee level outcomes of managerial pro-social rule breaking', *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal*, 22(2), pp. 101–112.

Bryman, A. and Bell, E. (2015) *Business Research Methods*.

Buckley, L., Chapman, R.L. and Lewis, I. (2016) 'A systematic review of intervening to prevent driving while intoxicated: The problem of Driving While Intoxicated (DWI)', *Substance Use and Misuse*, 51(1), pp. 104–112.

Burger, J.M., Sanchez, J., Imberi, J.E. and Grande, L.R. (2009) 'The norm of reciprocity as an internalized social norm: Returning favors even when no one finds out', *Social Influence*, 4(1), pp. 11–17.

Burris, E.R., Detert, J.R. and Chiaburu, D.S. (2008) 'Quitting Before Leaving : The Mediating Effects of Psychological Attachment and Detachment on Voice', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 93(4), pp. 912–922.

Bushman, B.J. (1984) 'Perceived Symbols of Authority and Their Influence on Compliance', *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 14(6), pp. 501–508.

Bushman, B.J. (1988) 'The Effects of Apparel on Compliance', *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 14(3), pp. 459–467.

Butler, J. V. (2014) 'Trust, truth, status and identity: An experimental inquiry', *B.E. Journal of Theoretical Economics*, 14(1), pp. 293–338.

Callaway, M.R. and Esser, J.K. (1984) 'Groupthink: Effects of cohesiveness and problem-solving procedures on group decision making', *Social Behavior and Personality: An International Journal*, 12(2), pp. 157–164.

Callaway, M.R., Marriott, R.G. and Esser, J.K. (1985) 'Effects of Dominance on Group Decision Making. Toward a Stress-Reduction Explanation of Groupthink', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 49(4), pp. 949–952.

Casper, E., Ioumpa, K., Keysers, C. and Gazzola, V. (2020) 'Obeying orders reduces vicarious brain activation towards victims' pain', *NeuroImage*, 222

Chamberlin, M., Newton, D.W. and Lepine, J.A. (2017) 'A Meta-Analysis of Voice and Its Promotive and Prohibitive Forms: Identification of Key Associations, Distinctions, and Future Research Directions', *Personnel Psychology*, 70(1), pp. 11–71.

Chao, G.T., O'Leary-Kelly, A.M., Wolf, S., Klein, H.J. and Gardner, P.D. (1994) 'Organizational socialization: Its content and consequences.', *Journal of Applied*

Psychology, 79(5), pp. 730–743.

Chekroun, P. and Brauer, M. (2002) 'The bystander effect and social control behavior: The effect of the presence of others on people's reactions to norm violations', *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 32(6), pp. 853–867.

Chen, Z., Lawson, R.B., Gordon, L.R. and McIntosh, B. (1996) 'Groupthink: Deciding with the leader and the devil', *Psychological Record*, 46(4), pp. 581–590.

Chiang, H., Han, T. and Chuang, J. (2011) 'The relationship between high-commitment HRM and knowledge-sharing behavior and its mediators', *International Journal of Manpower*, 32(5/6), pp. 604–622.

Chilcot, J. (2016) *The report of the Iraq Inquiry*.

Choi, J.N. and Kim, M.U. (1999) 'The organizational application of groupthink and its limitations in organizations', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 84(2), pp. 297–306.

Chou, S.Y. and Chang, T. (2020) 'Feeling Capable and Worthy? Impact of Employee Silence on Self-Concept: Mediating Role of Organizational Citizenship Behaviors', *Psychological Reports,* 57(3), pp. 401-426.

Chung, Y.W. and Moon, H.K. (2011) 'The moderating effects of collectivistic orientation on psychological ownership and constructive deviant behavior', *International Journal of Business and Management*, 6(12), pp. 65–77.

Cialdini, R.B. (2007) 'Descriptive social norms as underappreciated sources of social control', *Psychometrika*, 72(2), pp. 263–268.

Cialdini, R.B. and Goldstein, N.J. (2004) 'Social influence: compliance and conformity.', *Annual review of psychology*, 55(1974), pp. 591–621.

Cismaru, M., Jensen, G. and Lavack, A.M. (2010) 'If the noise coming from next door were loud music, you'd do something about it: Using mass media campaigns encouraging bystander intervention to stop partner violence', *Journal of Advertising*, 39(4), pp. 69–82.

Clark, R.D. and Word, L.E. (1972) 'Why don't bystanders help? Because of ambiguity?', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 24(3), pp. 392–400.

Clutterbuck, D. and Hirst, S. (2002) 'Leadership communication: A status report.', *Journal of Communication Management*, 6(4), pp. 351–354.

Cockerham, W.C. and Cohen, L.E. (1980) 'Obedience to Orders: Issues of Morality and Legality in Combat among U.S. Army Paratroopers.', *Social Forces*, 58(4), pp. 1272–1288.

Cohen, A. and Ehrlich, S. (2019) ‘Exchange variables, organizational culture and their relationship with constructive deviance’, *Management Research Review*, 42(12), pp. 1423–1446.

Courtright, J.A. (1978) ‘A laboratory investigation of groupthink’, *Communication Monographs*, 45(3), pp. 229–246.

Criscuolo, P., Salter, A. and Ter Wal, A.L.J. (2014) ‘Going Underground: Bootlegging and Individual Innovative Performance’, *Organization Science*, 25(5), pp. 1287–1305.

Crosbie, T. and Kleykamp, M. (2018) ‘Fault Lines of the American Military Profession’, *Armed Forces and Society*, 44(3), pp. 521–543.

CRUZ, M.G., HENNINGSEN, D.D. and SMITH, B.A. (1999) ‘The Impact of Directive Leadership on Group Information Sampling, Decisions, and Perceptions of the Leader’, *Communication Research*, 26(3), pp. 349–369.

Curphy, G.J., Gibson, F.W., Macomber, G., Calhoun, C.J., Wilbanks, L.A. and Burger, M.J. (1998) ‘Situational factors affecting peer reporting intentions at the U.S. Air Force Academy: A scenario-based investigation’, *Military Psychology*, 10(1), pp. 27–43.

Dahle, D.Y. (2021) ‘Magic muzzles? The silencing of teachers through HRM, performance appraisal and reputation concern’, *International Journal of Public Sector Management*, 35(2), pp. 172–194.

Dahling, J.J., Chau, S.L., Mayer, D.M. and Gregory, J.B. (2012b) ‘Breaking rules for the right reasons? An investigation of pro-social rule breaking’, *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 33(1), pp. 21–42.

Dahling, J.J. and Gutworth, M.B. (2017) ‘Loyal rebels? A test of the normative conflict model of constructive deviance’, *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 38(8), pp. 1167–1182.

Dansereau, F., George, G. and Haga, W. (1975) ‘A Vertical Dyad Linkage Approach to Leadership Within Formal Organizations: A Longitudinal Investigation of the Role Making Process’, *Organizational Behavior & Human Performance*, 13, pp. 46–78.

Darley, J.M. and Batson, C.D. (1973) ‘“From Jerusalem to Jericho”: A study of situational and dispositional variables in helping behavior’, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 27(1), pp. 100–108.

DARLEY, J.M. and LATANE, B. (1968) ‘Bystander Intervention in Emergencies: Diffusion of Responsibility’, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 8(4), pp. 377–383.

Daudigeos, T. (2013) ‘In Their Profession’s Service: How Staff Professionals Exert Influence in Their Organization’, *Journal of Management Studies*, 50(5), pp. 722–749.

Dedahanov, A.T., Lee, D.H. and Rhee, J. (2016) ‘Silence as a mediator between organizational factors and stress’, *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 31(8) School of Business, Yeungnam University, Gyeongsan, Republic of Korea ; School of General Education, Yeungnam University, Gyeongsan, Republic of Korea ; University Entrepreneurship Center, Yeungnam University, Gyeongsan, Republic of Korea ; School of Busi: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, pp. 1251–1264.

Demir, M. (2011) ‘Effects of organizational justice, trust and commitment on employees’ deviant behavior’, *Anatolia*, 22(2), pp. 204–221.

Detert, J.R. and Burris, E.R. (2007) ‘Leadership behavior and employee voice: Is the door really open?’, *Academy of Management Journal*, 50(4), pp. 869–884.

Detert, J.R. and Edmondson, A.C. (2011) ‘Implicit Voice Theories: Taken-for-Granted Rules of Self-Censorship at Work’, *Academy of Management Journal*, 54(3), pp. 461–488.

Detert, J.R. and Treviño, L.K. (2010) ‘Speaking Up to Higher-Ups: How Supervisors and Skip-Level Leaders Influence Employee Voice’, *Organization Science*, 21(1), pp. 249–270.

Deutsch, M. and Gerard, H. (1955) ‘A Study of Normative and Informational Social Influences upon Individual Judgement’, *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 51, pp. 629–63.

Diekmann, A. and Przepiorka, W. (2016) ‘“Take One for the Team!” Individual Heterogeneity and the Emergence of Latent Norms in a Volunteer’s Dilemma’, *Social forces*, 94(3), p. 1309.

van Dijk, S., Berends, H., Jelinek, M., Romme, a. G.L. and Weggeman, M. (2011) ‘Micro-Institutional Affordances and Strategies of Radical Innovation’, *Organization Studies*, 32(11), pp. 1485–1513.

Donaldson, T. and Dunfee, T. (1999) *Ties that Bind: A social contracts approach to business ethics*. Harvard Business School Press.

Donaldson, T. and Dunfee, T.W. (1994) ‘Toward a Unified Conception of Business Ethics - Integrative Social Contracts Theory’, *Academy of Management Review*, 19(2), pp. 252–284.

Dorado, S. (2013) ‘Small groups as context for institutional entrepreneurship: An exploration of the emergence of commercial microfinance in Bolivia.’, *Organization Studies*, 34(4), pp. 533–557.

Douglas, M. (2000) ‘Integrative social contracts theory. Hype over hypernorms’, *Journal of business ethics*, 26, pp. 10.

Drummond-Smith, I. (2018) ‘“Yes, sir”: Leadership and blind obedience in hierarchal organisations’, *International Journal of Emergency Services*, 7(1), pp. 24–31.

Dungan, J., Waytz, A. and Young, L. (2015) ‘The psychology of whistleblowing’, *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 6, pp. 129–133.

Dunivin, K.O. (1994) ‘Military Culture - Change And Continuity’, *Armed Forces & Society*, 20(4), pp. 531–547.

Dutton, J.E. and Ashford, S.J. (1993) ‘Selling Issues to Top Management’, *The Academy of Management Review*, 18(3), pp. 397.

Dutton, J.E., Ashford, S.J., Lawrence, K.A., Street, T., Arbor, A., Street, T., Arbor, A., Street, T. and Arbor, A. (2002) ‘Red Light , Green Light : Making Sense of the Organizational Context for Issue Selling’, *Organization Science*, 13(4), pp. 355–369.

Dutton, J.E., Haye, E. and Wierba, E. (1997) ‘Reading The Wind : How Middle Managers Assess the Context for Selling Issues’, *Strategic Management Journal*, 18(5), pp. 407–425.

Dyne, L. Van, Ang, S. and Botero, I.C. (2003) ‘Conceptualizing Employee Silence and Employee Voice as Multidimensional Constructs’, *Journal of Management Studies*, 40(6), pp. 1359–1392.

Van Dyne, L., Ang, S. and Botero, I.G. (2003) ‘Conceptualizing employee silence and employee voice as multidimensional constructs’, *Journal of Management Studies*, 40(6), pp. 1359–1392.

Dyne, L. Van and Joireman, J. (2008) ‘In-Role Perceptions Buffer the Negative Impact of Low LMX on Helping and Enhance the Positive Impact of High LMX on Voice’, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 93(6), pp. 1195–1207.

Easterby-Smith, M., Thorpe, R. and Jackson, P. (2012) *Management Research*. 4th edn. London: Sage Publications.

Edmonson, A. (1999) ‘Psychological Safety and Learning Behavior in Work Teams’, *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 44(2), pp. 350–383.

Eggensperger, J.D. (2004) ‘How far is too far? Lessons for business from ultra-high-performing military teams’, *Team Performance Management: An International Journal*, 10, pp. 53–59.

Emett, S.A., Guymon, R.N., Tayler, W.B. and Young, D. (2019) ‘Controls and the

asymmetric stickiness of norms', *Accounting Horizons*, 33(4), pp. 119–143.

Enrenla Tekmen, E. (2016) 'Is Perceived Organizational Support Effective in Reducing Employee Silence Behaviour', *Journal of Organizational Behavior Research*, 1(1), pp. 53–75.

Erdem, F. (2003) 'Optimal trust and teamwork: from groupthink to teamthink', *Work Study*, 52(5), pp. 229–233.

Erez, M. and Gati, E. (2004) 'A dynamic, multi-level model of culture: From the micro level of the individual to the macro level of a global culture', *Applied Psychology*, 53(4), pp. 583–598.

Fazel-e-Hasan, S.M., Mortimer, G., Lings, I. and Drennan, J. (2019) 'Examining customer-oriented positive deviance intentions of retail employees', *International Journal of Retail and Distribution Management*, 47(8), pp. 836–854.

Fehr, E. and Schurtenberger, I. (2018) 'Normative foundations of human cooperation review-article', *Nature Human Behaviour*, 2(7), pp. 458–468.

Feldman, D.C. (1984) 'The development and enforcement of group norms', *The Academy of Management Review*, 9(1), pp. 47–53.

Fennis, B.M. and Aarts, H. (2012a) 'Revisiting the agentic shift: Weakening personal control increases susceptibility to social influence', *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 42(7), pp. 824–831.

Fennis, B.M. and Aarts, H. (2012b) 'Revisiting the agentic shift: Weakening personal control increases susceptibility to social influence', *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 42(7), pp. 824–831.

Ferris, D.L., Brown, D.J., Berry, J.W. and Lian, H. (2008) 'The Development and Validation of the Workplace Ostracism Scale', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 93(6), pp. 1348–1366.

Festinger, L., Gerard, H., Hymovitch, B., Kelley, H. and Raven, B. (1952) 'The Influence Process in the Presence of Extreme Deviates', *Human Relations*, 5(4), pp. 327–346.

Fine, M. and Teram, E. (2013) 'Overt and covert ways of responding to moral injustices in social work practice: Heroes and mild-mannered social work bipeds.', *British Journal of Social Work*, 43(7), pp. 1312–1329.

Firing, K., Karlsdottir, R. and Laberg, J.C. (2009) 'Social influence in military leadership training', *Leadership & Organization Development Journal*, 30(8), pp. 709–721.

Fischer, P., Krueger, J.I., Greitemeyer, T., Vogrincic, C., Kastenmüller, A., Frey,

D., Heene, M., Wicher, M. and Kainbacher, M. (2011) ‘The bystander-effect: A meta-analytic review on bystander intervention in dangerous and non-dangerous emergencies’, *Psychological Bulletin*, 137(4), pp. 517–537.

Fitch, C. And Saunders, G. (1976) ‘Blowing the Whistle: The Limits of Obedience To the Organization', *Business and Society*, 17(1), pp 5-15.

Flanagan, J.C. (1954) ‘Psychological bulletin. The critical incident technique’, *Psychological bulletin*, 51(4), pp. 257–72.

Fleming, C.J. (2020) ‘Prosocial rule breaking at the street level: the roles of leaders, peers, and bureaucracy’, *Public Management Review*, 22(8), pp. 1191–1216.

Flippen, A.R. (1999) ‘Understanding groupthink from a self-regulatory perspective’, *Small Group Research*, 30(2), pp. 139–165.

Flowers, M.L. (1977) ‘A laboratory test of some implications of Janis’s groupthink hypothesis’, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 35(12), pp. 888–896.

Fodor, E.M. and Smith, T. (1982) ‘The power motive as an influence on group decision making’, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 42(1), pp. 178–185.

Fort, T.L. (2000) ‘A Review of Donaldson and Dunfee’s Ties That Bind: A Social Contracts Approach to Business Ethics’, *Journal of Business Ethics*, 28(4), pp. 383–387.

Fox, L. (2011) *Statement on the report into the death of Mr Baha Mousa in Iraq in 2003 - Oral statements to Parliament - GOV.UK*. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/2011-09-08-statement-on-the-report-into-the-death-of-mr-baha-mousa-in-iraq-in-2003 (Accessed: 1 May 2016).

Francis, R. (2013) *Report of the Mid Staffordshire NHS Foundation Trust Public Inquiry*.

Frazier, M.L. and Bowler, W.M. (2015) ‘Voice Climate, Supervisor Undermining, and Work Outcomes: A Group-Level Examination’, *Journal of Management*, 41(3), pp. 841–863.

Fuller, S.R. and Aldag, R.J. (1998) ‘Organizational Tonypandy: Lessons from a quarter century of the groupthink phenomenon’, *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 73(2–3), pp. 163–184.

Funder, D.C. and Ozer, D.J. (1983) ‘Behavior as a function of the situation’, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 44(1), pp. 107–112.

Fusch, P.I. and Ness, L.R. (2015) ‘The Qualitative Report Are We There Yet?

Data Saturation in Qualitative Research Are We There Yet? Data Saturation in Qualitative Research', *The Qualitative Report*, 20(9), pp. 1408–1416.

Gaertner, S.L. and Dovidio, J.F. (1977) 'The subtlety of White racism, arousal, and helping behavior', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 35(10) American Psychological Association, pp. 691–707.

Gage, R.H.S.W. (2011) *The Report of the Baha Mousa Inquiry Chairman, Volume 1.* London.

Gagne, L. (2007) 'Non-rational compliance with social norms: sincere and hypocritical', *Social Science Information*, 46(3), pp. 445–469.

Gailbreath, R.D., Wagner, S.L., Moffett, R.G. and Hein, M.B. (1997) 'Homogeneity in behavioral preference among U.S. army leaders', *Group Dynamics*, 1(3), pp. 222–230.

Galperin, B.L. (2012) 'Exploring the Nomological Network of Workplace Deviance: Developing and Validating a Measure of Constructive Deviance', *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 42(12), pp. 2988–3025.

Galperin, B.L. and Burke, R.J. (2006) 'Uncovering the relationship between workaholism and workplace destructive and constructive deviance: an exploratory study', *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 17(2), pp. 331–347.

Gao, L., Janssen, O. and Shi, K. (2011) 'Leader trust and employee voice : The moderating role of empowering leader behaviors', *The Leadership Quarterly*, 22(4), pp. 787–798.

Gardener, T. and Moffat, J. (2008) 'Changing behaviours in defence acquisition: A game theory approach', *Journal of the Operational Research Society*, 59(2), pp. 225–230.

Garrett, A. and Hassan, N. (2019) 'Understanding the silence of sexual harassment victims through the #Whyididntreport movement', *Proceedings of the 2019 IEEE/ACM International Conference on Advances in Social Networks Analysis and Mining, ASONAM 2019*, pp. 649–652.

Garud, R., Hardy, C. and Maguire, S. (2007) 'Institutional Entrepreneurship as Embedded Agency: An Introduction to the Special Issue', *Organization Studies*, 28(7), pp. 957–969.

Gary, J.C. (2013) 'Exploring the Concept and Use of Positive Deviance in Nursing', *AJN, American Journal of Nursing*, 113(8), pp. 26–34.

Gee, D. (2017) *The First Ambush? Effects of Army Training and Employment*. London.

Geekie, C. (2019) *Chelsea Football Club – Review of Non-Recent Child Sexual Abuse*.

George, J.M. (2007) 'Dual Tuning in a Supportive Context: Joint Contributions of Positive Mood, Negative Mood, and Supervisory Behaviors To Employee Creativity', *Academy of Management Journal*, 50(3), pp. 605–622.

Gibbins, K. and Walker, I. (1996) 'Social roles, social norms, and self-presentation in the quiz effect of Ross, Amabile, and Steinmetz', *Journal of Social Psychology*, 136(5), pp. 625–634.

Gibson, S. (2013) 'Milgram's obedience experiments: A rhetorical analysis', *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 52(2), pp. 290–309.

Gilbert, D.U. and Behnam, M. (2009) 'Advancing integrative social contracts theory: A Habermasian perspective', *Journal of Business Ethics*, 89(2), pp. 215–234.

Gkorezis, P., Panagiotou, M. and Theodorou, M. (2016) 'Workplace ostracism and employee silence in nursing: the mediating role of organizational identification', *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 72(10), pp. 2381–2388.

Good, L. and Cooper, R. (2014) 'Voicing their complaints? The silence of students working in retail and hospitality and sexual harassment from customers', *Labour & Industry: a journal of the social and economic relations of work*, 24(4), pp. 302–316.

Graen, G.B., Uhl-bien, M. and Uhl-bien, M. (1995) 'Relationship-Based Approach to Leadership : Development of Leader-Member Exchange (LMX) Theory of Leadership over 25 Years : Applying a Multi-Level Multi-Domain Perspective', *Leadership Quarterly*, 6(2), pp. 219–247.

Graham, J.W. (1986) 'Principled organizational dissent: A theoretical essay', *Research in organizational behavior*, 8, pp. 1–52.

Gray, D. and Watt, P. (2013) '*Giving victims a voice: Joint report into sexual allegations made against Jimmy Savile*', pp. 1–38.

Greenwood, R. and Suddaby, R. (2006) 'Institutional entrepreneurship in mature fields: The big five accounting firms', *Academy of Management Journal*, 49(1), pp. 27–48.

Griggs, R.A. (2017) 'Milgram's Obedience Study: A Contentious Classic Reinterpreted', *Teaching of Psychology*, 44(1), pp. 32–37.

Gross, R. (2010) *Psychology: The Science of Mind and Behaviour*. 6th edn. London: Hodder Education.

Guéguen, N. (2014) ‘Commitment and the responsive bystander: A field evaluation with a less problematic request’, *Psychological Reports*, 115(2), pp. 607–611.

Guéguen, N., Dupré, M., Georget, P. and Sénémeaud, C. (2015) ‘Commitment, crime, and the responsive bystander: effect of the commitment form and conformism’, *Psychology, Crime and Law*, 21(1), pp. 1–8.

Guéguen, N., Meineri, S., Ruiz, C. and Pascual, A. (2016) ‘Promising reciprocity: When proposing a favor for a request increases compliance even if the favor is not accepted.’, *Journal of Social Psychology*, 156(5), pp. 498–512.

Guenter, H., Schreurs, B., van Emmerik, I.H. and Sun, S. (2017) ‘What Does it Take to Break the Silence in Teams: Authentic Leadership and/or Proactive Followership?’, *Applied Psychology*, 66(1), pp. 49–77.

Hällgren, M., Rouleau, L. and de Rond, M. (2018) ‘A Matter of Life or Death: How Extreme Context Research Matters for Management and Organization Studies’, *Academy of Management Annals*, 12(1), pp. 111–153.

Handelsman, M.M. (2017) ‘A Teachable Ethics Scandal’, *Teaching of Psychology*, 44(3), pp. 278–284.

Harmanci Seren, A.K., Topcu, İ., Eskin Bacaksiz, F., Unaldi Baydin, N., Tokgoz Ekici, E. and Yildirim, A. (2018) ‘Organisational silence among nurses and physicians in public hospitals’, *Journal of Clinical Nursing*, 27(7–8), pp. 1440–1451.

Hartman, L., Wilson, F. and Arnold, D. (2005) ‘Positive Ethical Deviance Inspired by Moral Imagination: The Entrepreneur as Deviant’, *Zeitschrift für Wirtschafts- und Unternehmensethik*, 6(3), pp. 343–358.

Haskins, M.E. and Freeman, R.E. (2015) ‘What managers should never want to hear: silence’, *Management Decision*, 53(6), pp. 1300–1311.

Haslam, S.A. and Reicher, S.D. (2012) ‘Contesting the “Nature” Of Conformity: What Milgram and Zimbardo’s Studies Really Show’, *PLoS Biology*, 10(11), pp. 1–4.

Haslam, S.A., Reicher, S.D. and Birney, M.E. (2014) ‘Nothing by mere authority: Evidence that in an experimental analogue of the milgram paradigm participants are motivated not by orders but by appeals to science’, *Journal of Social Issues*, 70(3), pp. 473–488.

Hechter, M. (2008) ‘The rise and fall of normative control’, *Accounting, Organizations and Society*, 33(6), pp. 663–676.

Heckert, A. and Heckert, D.M. (2002) ‘a New Typology of Deviance: Integrating

Normative and Reactivist Definitions of Deviance', *Deviant Behavior*, 23(5), pp. 449–479.

Hendy, J. and Tucker, D.A. (2020) 'Public Sector Organizational Failure: A Study of Collective Denial in the UK National Health Service', *Journal of Business Ethics*

Hennelly, S.E., Hussain, S., Hale, T., Cadle, M., Brooke, J. and Davies, E. (2019) 'University student attitudes to prosocial bystander behaviours', *Health Education*, 119(5/6), pp. 408–424.

Hertz, R. (1996) 'Guarding against women? Responses of military men and their wives to gender integration', *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 25(2), pp. 251–284.

Hetzel-Riggin, M.D. (2018) 'An Exploratory Evaluation of Bystander Intervention Training for Resident Assistants', *Violence and Gender*, 5(2), pp. 119–124.

Hill, A. (2015) 'Military innovation and military culture (Culture and the US Army)', *Parameters*, 45(1), p. 85.

Hodges, B.H. and Geyer, A.L. (2006) 'A nonconformist account of the Asch experiments: Values, pragmatics, and moral dilemmas.', *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 10(1), pp. 2–19.

Hogg, M.A. and Hains, S.C. (1998) 'Friendship and group identification: A new look at the role of cohesiveness in groupthink', *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 28(3), pp. 323–341.

Hogg, M.A. and Vaughan, G. (2014) *Social Psychology*. 7th edn. Pearson.

Holland, K.J., Rabelo, V.C. and Cortina, L. (2016) 'See Something, Do Something: Predicting Sexual Assault Bystander Intentions in the U.S. Military', *American Journal of Community Psychology*, pp. 3–15.

Hollinger, R.C. and Clark, J.P. (1982) 'Formal and Informal Social Controls of Employee Deviance', *The Sociological Quarterly*, 23(3), pp. 333–343.

Horne, C. (2008) 'Norm Enforcement in Heterogeneous Groups: Sanctioning By Majorities and Isolated Minorities', *Rationality and Society*, 20(2), pp. 147–172.

House, R., Rousseau, D.M. and Thomas-Hunt, M. (1995) 'The meso paradigm: A framework for the integration of micro and macro organizational behavior', *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 17(January 1995), pp. 71–114.

Howard, J. (2006) 'The Role of Culture in Shaping Perceptions of Discrimination among Active Duty and Reserve Forces in the US Military.', *Employee Responsibilities & Rights Journal*, 18(3), pp. 171–187.

Huang, L. and Huang, W. (2016) ‘Interactional justice and employee silence: The roles of procedural justice and affect’, *Social Behavior and Personality*, 44(5), pp. 837–852.

Huczynski, A.A. and Buchanan, D. (2013) *Organizational Behaviour*. 8th edn. Harlow: Pearson.

Hughes, R. (2018) *Obituary: Suman Virk, the mother who forgave her daughter’s killer.*, *BBC News* Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-44562746 (Accessed: 26 March 2022).

Hussain, I., Shu, R., Tangirala, S. and Ekkirala, S. (2019) ‘The voice bystander effect: How information redundancy inhibits employee voice’, *Academy of Management Journal*, 62(3), pp. 828–849.

Hutchens, A. (2011) ‘Playing games of governance: How and why Fair Trade pioneers evade corporate capture’, *Regulation & Governance*, 5(2), pp. 221–240.

Hutchison, P.J. (2013a) ‘Leadership as an Ideograph: A Rhetorical Analysis of Military Leadership Training Material.’, *Journal of Leadership Studies*, 7(3), pp. 24–37.

Hutchison, P.J. (2013b) ‘Leadership as an ideograph: A rhetorical analysis of military leadership training material’, *Journal of Leadership Studies*, 7(3), pp. 24–37.

Irwin, K. (2003) Saints and Sinners: 'Elite Tattoo Collectors and Tattooists as Positive and Negative Deviants', *Sociological Spectrum,* 23:1, pp. 27-57

Jaeger, C.M. and Schultz, P.W. (2017) ‘Coupling social norms and commitments: Testing the underdetected nature of social influence’, *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 51, pp. 199–208.

Jaeger, E.L. (2020) ‘Not the Desired Outcome: Groupthink Undermines the Work of a Literacy Council’, *Small Group Research*, 51(4), pp. 517–541.

Jahanzeb, S. and Fatima, T. (2018) ‘How Workplace Ostracism Influences Interpersonal Deviance: The Mediating Role of Defensive Silence and Emotional Exhaustion’, *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 33(6), pp. 779–791.

Jahanzeb, S., Fatima, T. and Malik, M.A.R. (2018) ‘Supervisor ostracism and defensive silence: a differential needs approach’, *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, 27(4), pp. 430–440.

James, G. (2020) *Report of the Independent Inquiry into the Issues raised by Paterson*.

Janis, I.L. (1982) *Groupthink: Psychological Studies of Policy Decisions and*

Fiascoes. 2nd edn. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Janis, I.L. (1973) 'Groupthink and Group Dynamics: a Social Psychological Analysis of Defective Policy Decisions', *Policy Studies Journal*, 2(1), pp. 19–25.

Jay, A., Evans, M., Frank, I. and Sharpling, D. (2019) *The Roman Catholic Church (EBC) Case Study: Ealing Abbey and St Benedict's School Investigation Report*.

Jetten, J. and Hornsey, M.J. (2014) 'Deviance and Dissent in Groups', *Annual Review of Psychology*, 65(1), pp. 461–485.

John, L.M. and Shafi, M. (2020) 'Impact of organizational structure and social support on pro-social rule breaking: A frontline perspective', *Cogent Business and Management*, 7(1)

Johnson, W.B. and Smith, D.G. (2017) 'Too Many Men Are Silent Bystanders to Sexual Harassment.', *Harvard Business Review Digital Articles*, pp. 2–5.

Jones, P.E. and Roelofsma, P.H.M.P. (2000) 'The potential for social contextual and group biases in team decision-making: Biases, conditions and psychological mechanisms', *Ergonomics*, 43(8), pp. 1129–1152.

Joseph, N. and Alex, N. (1972) 'The Uniform: A Sociological Perspective', *American Journal of Sociology*, 4, pp. 719–730.

JSP 757: Tri-Service Appraisal Reporting Instructions Part 1: Directive (2019)

Jung, H.S. and Yoon, H.H. (2019) 'The effects of social undermining on employee voice and silence and on organizational deviant behaviors in the hotel industry', *Journal of Service Theory and Practice*, 29(2), pp. 213–231.

Jungdahl, A.M. and Macdonald, J.M. (2015) 'Innovation Inhibitors in War: Overcoming Obstacles in the Pursuit of Military Effectiveness', *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 38(4), pp. 467–499.

Kahari, W.I., Mildred, K. and Micheal, N. (2017) 'The contribution of work characteristics and risk propensity in explaining pro-social rule breaking among teachers in Wakiso district, Uganda', *SA Journal of Industrial Psychology*, 43(1), pp. 1–11.

Kelley, H.H. and Shapiro, M.M. (1954) 'an Experiment on Conformity To Group Norms Where Conformity Is Detrimental To Group Achievement.', *American Sociological Review*, 19(6), pp. 667–677.

Kelman, H.C. (1958) 'Compliance, identification, and internalization three processes of attitude change', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2(1), pp. 51–60.

Kennedy, I., Howard, R., Jarman, B. and Maclean, M. (2001) *The Report of the Public Inquiry into children's heart surgery at the Bristol Royal Infirmary 1984-1995*.

Keshet, Y. (2013) 'Dual embedded agency: Physicians implement integrative medicine in health-care organizations', *Health: An Interdisciplinary Journal for the Social Study of Health, Illness and Medicine*, 17(6), pp. 605–621.

Khalid, J. and Ahmed, J. (2016) 'Perceived organizational politics and employee silence: supervisor trust as a moderator', *Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy*, 21(2) London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, pp. 174–195.

Khatri, N. (2003) 'Consequences of Power Distance', *The Journal of Business Perspective*, 13(1), pp. 1–9.

Kilham, W. and Mann, L. (1974) 'Level of destructive obedience as a function of transmitter and executant roles in the Milgram obedience paradigm', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 29(5), pp. 696–702.

Kim, M.J. and Choi, J.N. (2018) 'Group identity and positive deviance in work groups', *Journal of Social Psychology*, 158(6), pp. 730–743.

Kim, M.Y., Kang, S., Kim, Y.M. and You, M. (2014) 'Nurses' Willingness to Report Near Misses: A Multilevel Analysis of Contributing Factors', *Social Behavior and Personality: an international journal*, 42(7), pp. 1133–1146.

Kim, T. and Holzer, M. (2016) 'Public Employees and Performance Appraisal: A Study of Antecedents to Employees' Perception of the Process', *Review of Public Personnel Administration*, 36(1), pp. 31–56.

Kirke, C. (2009) 'Group Cohesion, Culture, and Practice', *Armed Forces & Society*, 35(4), pp. 745–753.

Kirke, C. (2010) 'Orders is orders ... aren't they? Rule bending and rule breaking in the British Army', *Ethnography*, 11(3), pp. 359–380.

Kjellberg, F. (1965) 'Some Cultural Aspects of the Military Profession', *Archive of European Sociology*, VI, pp. 283–293.

Knoll, M., Wegge, J., Unterrainer, C., Silva, S. and Jønsson, T. (2016) 'Is our knowledge of voice and silence in organizations growing? Building bridges and (re)discovering opportunities', *German Journal of Human Resource Management: Zeitschrift für Personalforschung*, 30(3–4), pp. 161–194.

Knudsen, M. (2008) *Library Lion*. Walker.

Kotzian, P. (2011) 'Cosi fan tutte: Information, Beliefs, and Compliance with Norms', *Zeitschrift Fur Soziologie*, 40(4), pp. 158–173.

Kroon, M.B.R., Hart, P. and van Kreveld, D. (1991) 'Managing Group Decision Making Processes: Individual Versus Collective Accountability and Groupthink', *International Journal of Conflict Management*, 2(2), pp. 91–115.

Kura, K.M., Shamsudin, F.M. and Chauhan, A. (2016) 'Organisational trust as a mediator between perceived organisational support and constructive deviance', *International Journal of Business and Society*, 17(1), pp. 1–18.

Lahno, B. (2009) 'Norms as reasons for action', *Archiv für Rechts- und Sozialphilosophie*, 95(4), pp. 563–584.

Lam, L.W. and Xu, A.J. (2019a) 'Power Imbalance and Employee Silence: The Role of Abusive Leadership, Power Distance Orientation, and Perceived Organisational Politics: International Review of Applied Psychology', *Applied Psychology*, 68(3), pp. 513–546.

Lam, L.W. and Xu, A.J. (2019b) 'Power Imbalance and Employee Silence: The Role of Abusive Leadership, Power Distance Orientation, and Perceived Organisational Politics', *Applied Psychology*, 68(3), pp. 513–546.

Landau, J. (2009) 'To Speak or Not to Speak : Predictors of Voice Propensity', *Journal of Organizational Culture, Communications and Conflict*, 13(1), pp. 35–55.

Larson, J.R., Foster-Fishman, P.G. and Franz, T.M. (1998) 'Leadership Style and the Discussion of Shared and Unshared Information in Decision-Making Groups', *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 24(5), pp. 482–495.

Latane, B. and Darley, J. (1968) 'Group inhibition of bystander intervention in emergencies', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 10(3), pp. 215–221.

Latané, B. and Nida, S. (1981) 'Ten years of research on group size and helping', *Psychological Bulletin*, 89(2), pp. 308–324.

Leibbrandt, A. and López-Pérez, R. (2014) 'Different carrots and different sticks: do we reward and punish differently than we approve and disapprove?', *Theory and decision*, 76(1), pp. 95–118.

Leo, C. and Russell-Bennett, R. (2012) 'Investigating Customer-Oriented Deviance (COD) from a frontline employee's perspective.', *Journal of Marketing Management*, 28(7–8), pp. 865–886.

LePine, J. and Van Dyne, L. (1998) 'Predicting Voice Behavior in Work Groups Predicting Voice Behavior in Work Groups', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 83(6), pp. 853–868.

LePine, J.A. and Van Dyne, L. (2001) 'Voice and Cooperative Behavior as Contrasting Forms of Contextual Performance : Evidence of Differential

Relationships With Big Five Personality Characteristics and Cognitive Ability', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 86(2), pp. 326–336.

Levine, M., Philpot, R. and Kovalenko, A.G. (2020) 'Rethinking the Bystander Effect in Violence Reduction Training Programs', *Social Issues and Policy Review*, 14(1), pp. 273–296.

LI, R., TIAN, X. and LIU, S. (2015) 'Does Benevolent Leadership Increase Employee Pro-Social Rule Breaking?', *Acta Psychologica Sinica*, 47(5), p. 637.

Liang, J., Farh, C.I.C. and Farh, J.L. (2012) 'Psychological antecedents of promotive and prohibitive Voice: A two-wave examination', *Academy of Management Journal*, 55(1), pp. 71–92.

Liao, H.U.I., Liu, D. and Loi, R. (2010) 'Looking At Both Sides Of The Social Exchange Coin : A Social Cognitive Perspective On The Joint Effects Of Relationship Quality And Differentiation On Creativity', *Academy of Management Journal*, 53(5), pp. 1090–1109.

Liddell Hart, B.H. (1944) *Thoughts on War*. London: Faber and Faber.

Lin, B., Mainemelis, C. and Kark, R. (2016) 'Leaders' responses to creative deviance: Differential effects on subsequent creative deviance and creative performance', *Leadership Quarterly*, 27(4), pp. 537–556.

Liu, D. and Chen, X. (2011) 'From Autonomy to Creativity : A Multilevel Investigation of the Mediating Role of Harmonious Passion', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 96(2), pp. 294–309.

Liu, W., Zhu, R. and Yang, Y. (2010) 'I warn you because I like you : Voice behavior , employee identi fi cations , and transformational leadership', *The Leadership Quarterly*, 21(1), pp. 189–202.

Long, R. and Hubble, S. (2018) 'Sexual harassment in education', *House of Commons Library*, 08117, pp. 1–21.

López-Pérez, R. and Vorsatz, M. (2010a) 'On approval and disapproval: Theory and experiments', *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 31(4), pp. 527–541.

López-Pérez, R. and Vorsatz, M. (2010b) 'On approval and disapproval: Theory and experiments', *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 31(4), pp. 527–541.

Luby, C.D. (2012) 'Promoting Military Cultural Awareness in an Off-post Community of Behavioral Health and Social Support Service Providers', *Advances in Social Work*, 13(1), pp. 67–82.

MacCurtain, S., Murphy, C., O'Sullivan, M., MacMahon, J. and Turner, T. (2018) 'To stand back or step in? Exploring the responses of employees who observe

workplace bullying', *Nursing Inquiry*, 25(1).

MacMahon, J., O'Sullivan, M., Murphy, C., Ryan, L. and MacCurtain, S. (2018) 'Speaking up or staying silent in bullying situations: the significance of management control', *Industrial Relations Journal*, 49(5–6), pp. 473–491.

Madjar, N., Greenberg, E. and Chen, Z. (2011) 'Factors for Radical Creativity, Incremental Creativity, and Routine, Noncreative Performance', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 96(4)

Mainemelis, C. (2010) 'Stealing fire: Creative deviance in the evolution of new ideas', *Academy of Management Review*, 35(4), pp. 558–578.

Mair, J., Mayer, J. and Lutz, E. (2015) 'Navigating Institutional Plurality: Organizational Governance in Hybrid Organizations', *Organization Studies*, 36(6), pp. 713–739.

Manapragada, A. and Bruk-Lee, V. (2016) 'Staying silent about safety issues: Conceptualizing and measuring safety silence motives', *Accident Analysis and Prevention*, pp. 144–156.

Mannion, R. and Thompson, C. (2014) 'Systematic biases in group decision-making: Implications for patient safety', *International Journal for Quality in Health Care*, 26(6), pp. 606–612.

Mansouri, N. (2016) 'A Case Study of Volkswagen Unethical Practice in Diesel Emission Test', *International Journal of Science and Engineering Applications*, 5(4), pp. 211–216.

Marra, A.R., Sampaio Camargo, T.Z., Magnus, T.P., Blaya, R.P., dos Santos, G.B., Guastelli, L.R., Rodrigues, R.D., Prado, M., Victor, E. da S., Bogossian, H., Martins Monte, J.C., dos Santos, O.F., Oyama, C.K. and Edmond, M.B. (2014) 'The use of real-time feedback via wireless technology to improve hand hygiene compliance', *American Journal Of Infection Control*, 42(6), pp. 608–611.

Marsh, D. and Stoker, G. (2010) *Theory and Methods in Political Science*.

Martin, G., Currie, G., Weaver, S., Finn, R. and McDonald, R. (2017) 'Institutional Complexity and Individual Responses: Delineating the Boundaries of Partial Autonomy.', *Organization Studies (01708406)*, 38(1), pp. 103–127.

Martins, L.C.X. and Lopes, C.S. (2012) 'Military hierarchy, job stress and mental health in peacetime', *Occupational Medicine*, 62(3), pp. 182–187.

McAvoy, J., Nagle, T. and Sammon, D. (2013) 'A novel approach to challenging consensus in evaluations: The Agitation Workshop', *Electronic Journal of Information Systems Evaluation (EJISE)*, 16(1), pp. 45–55.

McCauley, C. (1989) ‘The Nature of Social Influence in Groupthink: Compliance and Internalization’, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 57(2), pp. 250–260.

McLean Parks, J., Li Ma and Gallagher, D.G. (2010) ‘Elasticity in the “rules” of the game: Exploring organizational expedience’, *Human Relations*, 63(5), pp. 701–730.

Mellahi, K., Budwhar, P. and Baibing, L. (2010) ‘A study of the relationship between exit , voice , loyalty and neglect and commitment in India Theoretical framework : Different forms and foci of commitment and EVLN’, *Human Relations*, 63(3), pp. 349–369.

Memon, K.R. and Ghani, B. (2021) ‘The relationship between performance appraisal system and employees’ voice behavior through the mediation-moderation mechanism’, *South Asian Journal of Business Studies*

Mertens, W., Recker, J., Kohlborn, T. and Kummer, T.-F. (2016a) ‘A Framework for the Study of Positive Deviance in Organizations’, *Deviant Behavior*, 37(11) Routledge, pp. 1288–1307.

Mertens, W., Recker, J., Kummer, T.F., Kohlborn, T. and Viaene, S. (2016b) ‘Constructive deviance as a driver for performance in retail’, *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services*, 30(May), pp. 193–203.

Meyer, W.J.I.I.I. (2012) ‘Gender identity disorder: An emerging problem for pediatricians.’, *Pediatrics*, 129(3), pp. 571–573.

Miceli, M.P. and Near, J.P. (1988) ‘Individual and Situational Correlates of Whistle-Blowing.’, *Personnel Psychology*, 41(2) Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 267–281.

Miceli, M.P., Near, J.P., Dworkin, T.M., Morrison, E.W. and Morrison, E.W. (2009) ‘Whistle-blowing in organizations’, *Administrative science quarterly*, 54(2), p. 344.

Milgram, S. (1965) ‘Some Conditions of Obedience and Disobedience to Authority’, *Human Relations*, 18(1), pp. 57–76.

Miller, A.G. (2009) ‘Reflections on “Replicating Milgram” (Burger, 2009).’, *American Psychologist*, 64(1), pp. 20–27.

Miller, D.T. and Morrison, K.R. (2009) ‘Expressing deviant opinions: Believing you are in the majority helps.’, *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 45(4), pp. 740–747.

Milliken, F.J. and Morrison, E.W. (2003) ‘Shades of Silence: Emerging Themes and Future Directions for Research on Silence in Organizations’, *Journal of Management Studies*, 40(6), pp. 1563–1568.

Ministry of Defence (2018a) *The Good Operation*.

Ministry of Defence (2018b) '*JSP 757: Tri-Service Appraisal Reporting Instructions Part 1 : Directive*', 1

Monzani, L., Braun, S. and van Dick, R. (2016) 'It takes two to tango: The interactive effect of authentic leadership and organizational identification on employee silence intentions', *German Journal of Human Resource Management*, 30(3–4), pp. 246–266.

Monzani, L., Knoll, M., Giessner, S., van Dick, R. and Peiró, J.M. (2019) 'Between a Rock and Hard Place: Combined Effects of Authentic Leadership, Organizational Identification, and Team Prototypicality on Managerial Prohibitive Voice', *The Spanish Journal of Psychology*, 22, p. E2.

Moon, H., Mayer, D.M. and Takeuchi, R. (2008) 'Me or We ? The Role of Personality and Justice as Other-Centered Antecedents to Innovative Citizenship Behaviors Within Organizations', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 93(1), pp. 84–94.

Moore, C. and Gino, F. (2013) 'Ethically adrift: How others pull our moral compass from true North, and how we can fix it', *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 33, pp. 53–77.

Moorhead, G., Neck, C.P. and West, M.S. (1998) 'The tendency toward defective decision making within self-managing teams: The relevance of groupthink for the 21st century', *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 73(2–3), pp. 327–351.

Morris, A. and Cushman, F. (2018) 'A Common Framework for Theories of Norm Compliance', *Social Philosophy and Policy*, 35(1), pp. 101–127.

Morrison, E.W. (2006) 'Doing the Job Well: An Investigation of Pro-Social Rule Breaking', *Journal of Management,* 32(1), pp. 5-28.

Morrison, E.W. and Milliken, F.J. (2000) 'Organizational silence: A barrier to change and development in a pluralistic world', *Academy of Management Review*, 25(4), pp. 706–725.

Morrison, E.W. and Milliken, F.J. (2003) 'Speaking Up, Remaining Silent: The Dynamics of Voice and Silence in Organizations', *Journal of Management Studies*, 40(6), pp. 1353–1358.

Morrison, E.W., See, K.E. and Pan, C. (2015) 'An Approach-Inhibition Model of Employee Silence: The Joint Effects of Personal Sense of Power and Target Openness', *Personnel Psychology*, 68(3), pp. 547–580.

Morrison, E.W., Wheeler-Smith, S.L. and Kamdar, D. (2011) 'Speaking Up in

Groups: A Cross-Level Study of Group Voice Climate and Voice', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 96(1), pp. 183–191.

Morrison, G.M. and Lin Lawell, C.Y.C. (2016) 'Driving in force: The influence of workplace peers on commuting decisions on U.S. military bases', *Journal of*, pp. 22–40.

Morrow, K.J., Gustavson, A.M. and Jones, J. (2016) 'Speaking up behaviours (safety voices) of healthcare workers: A metasynthesis of qualitative research studies', *International Journal of Nursing Studies*, 64, pp. 42–51.

Mullen, B., Anthony, T., Salas, eduardo and Driskell, J.E. (1994) 'Group cohesiveness and quality of decision making: An Integration of Tests of the Groupthink Hypothesis', *Small Group Research*, 25(2), pp. 189–204.

Myers, D.G. and Lamm, H. (1976) 'The group polarization phenomenon', *Psychological Bulletin*, 83(4), pp. 602–627.

Narang, L. and Singh, L. (2012) 'Role of Perceived Organizational Support in the Relationship between HR Practices and Organizational Trust', *Global Business Review*, 13(2), pp. 239–249.

Narayanan, K. and Murphy, S.E. (2017) 'Conceptual Framework on Workplace Deviance Behaviour: A Review', *Journal of Human Values*, 23(3), pp. 218–233.

National Audit Office (2018) '*Investigation into the governments handling of the collapse of Carillion Summary*', (June 2018), pp. 7.

Navarick, D.J. (2012) 'Historical psychology and the milgram paradigm: Tests of an experimentally derived model of defiance using accounts of massacres by Nazi reserve police battalion 101', *Psychological Record*, 62(1), pp. 133–154.

Near, J.P., Ryan, K.C. and Miceli, M.P. (1995) 'Results of a human resource management "experiment": Whistle-blowing in the federal bureaucracy, 1980-1992', *Academy of Management Journal*, 55, p. 369.

Nechanska, E., Hughes, E. and Dundon, T. (2020) 'Towards an integration of employee voice and silence', *Human Resource Management Review*, 30(1), 100674.

Neck, C.P. and Moorhead, G. (1995) 'Groupthink Remodeled: The Importance of Leadership, Time Pressure, and Methodical Decision-Making Procedures', *Human Relations*, 48(5), pp. 537–557.

O'Connor, K. and Monin, B. (2016) 'When principled deviance becomes moral threat: Testing alternative mechanisms for the rejection of moral rebels', *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 19(5), pp. 676–693.

O'Toole, J. and Bennis, W. (2009) 'What's Needed Next: A Culture of Candor', *Harvard Business Review*, 87(6), pp. 54-61.

Orak, U. and Walker, M.H. (2021) 'Military Service: A Pathway to Conformity or a School for Deviance?', *Crime and Delinquency*, 67(6–7), pp. 1046–1069.

Ostroff, C., Kinicki, A.J. and Muhammad, R.S. (2012) *Organizational Culture and Climate.* In Weiner, I.B., Schmitt, N.W. & Highhouse, S., Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol 12, Industrial and Organizational Psychology, pp. 643-676, Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons.

Otto, J., Ward, N., Swinford, S. and Linkenbach, J. (2014) 'Engaging worksite bystanders to reduce risky driving', *Transportation Research Part F: Traffic Psychology and Behaviour*, 26(PB), pp. 370–378.

Packer, D.J. (2008) 'On Being Both With Us and Against Us: A Normative Conflict Model of Dissent in Social Groups.', *Personality & Social Psychology Review*, 12(1), pp. 50–72.

Pan, W., Sun, L., Sun, L. yun, Li, C. and Leung, A.S.M. (2018) 'Abusive supervision and job-oriented constructive deviance in the hotel industry: Test of a nonlinear mediation and moderated curvilinear model', *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, 30(5), pp. 2249–2267.

Panagopoulos, C. and Harrison, B. (2016) 'Consensus Cues, Issue Salience and Policy Preferences: An Experimental Investigation', *North American Journal of Psychology*, 18(2), pp. 405–417.

Pantin, H.M. and Carver, C.S. (1982a) 'Induced Competence and the Bystander Effect', *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 12(2), pp. 100–111.

Pantin, H.M. and Carver, C.S. (1982b) 'Induced Competence and the Bystander Effect', *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 12(2), pp. 100–111.

Paparone, C.R., Anderson, R.A. and McDaniel Jr., R.R. (2008) 'Where military professionalism meets complexity science', *Armed Forces & Society*, 34(3), pp. 433–449.

Park, H. and Blenkinsopp, J. (2009) 'Whistleblowing as planned behavior – a survey of South Korean police officers.', *Journal of Business Ethics*, 85(4), pp. 545–556.

Park, W. -W (1990) 'A Review of research on Groupthink', *Journal of Behavioral Decision Making*, 3(4), pp. 229–245.

Parkes, C. and Davis, A.J. (2013) 'Ethics and social responsibility – do HR professionals have the "courage to challenge" or are they set to be permanent "bystanders?"', *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*,

24(12), pp. 2411–2434.

Pascale, R. (1985) ‘The Paradox of “Corporate Culture”: Reconciling Ourselves to Socialization.’, *California Management Review*, 27(2), pp. 26–41.

Pascale, R., Sternin, J. and Sternin, M. (2010) *The Power of Positive Deviance: How Unlikely Innovators Solve the World’s Toughest Problems*. Harvard Business School Press.

Passini, S. and Morselli, D. (2009) ‘Authority relationships between obedience and disobedience’, *New Ideas in Psychology*, 27(1), pp. 96–106.

Perrin, S. and Spencer, C. (1981) ‘Independence or conformity in the Asch experiment as a reflection of cultural and situational factors’, *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 20(3), pp. 205–209.

Philippe, D. and Durand, R. (2011) ‘The impact of norm-conforming behaviors on firm reputation’, *Strategic Management Journal*, 32(9), pp. 969–993.

Piliavin, I., Rodin, J. and Piliavin, J.A. (1969) ‘Good Samaritanism: An underground phenomenon?’, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 13(4), pp. 289–299.

Pirie, W.J. (2016) ‘Key determinants of organisational silence for non-standard workers’, *Management Decision*, 54(6), pp. 1522–1538.

Platow, M.J., Haslam, S.A., Reicher, S. and Steffens, N. (2015) *There is no leadership if no-one follows: Why leadership is necessarily a group process*., SGCP Annual Conference.

Post, J.M. and Panis, L.K. (2011) ‘Crimes of obedience: “Groupthink” at Abu Ghraib’, *International Journal of Group Psychotherapy*, 61(1), pp. 49–66.

Postmes, T., Spears, R. and Cihangir, S. (2001) ‘Quality of decision making and group norms’, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 80(6), pp. 918–930.

Premeaux, S.F. and Bedeian, A.G. (2003) ‘Breaking the Silence : The Moderating Effects of Self-Monitoring in Predicting Speaking Up in the Workplace *’, *Journal of Management Studies*, 40(6), pp. 1537–1562.

Przepiorka, W. and Diekmann, A. (2018) ‘Heterogeneous groups overcome the diffusion of responsibility problem in social norm enforcement’, *PLoS ONE*, 13(11).

Rai, A. and Agarwal, U.A. (2018) ‘Workplace bullying and employee silence: A moderated mediation model of psychological contract violation and workplace friendship’, *Personnel Review*, 47(1), pp. 226–256.

Rastogi, N. (2010) ‘Role of social disorder-related environmental cues as signals in modulating social learning, norm non-compliance and collective decisions in human societies’, *Current Science*, 99(8), pp. 1046–1050.

Raub, S. and Robert, C. (2012) ‘Empowerment, Organizational Commitment, and Voice Behavior in the Hospitality Industry: Evidence from a Multinational Sample’, *Cornell Hospitality Quarterly*, 54(2), pp. 136–148.

Reger, M.A., Etherage, J.R., Reger, G.M. and Gahm, G.A. (2008) ‘Civilian psychologists in an army culture: The ethical challenge of cultural competence’, *Military Psychology*, 20(1), pp. 21–35.

Reicher, S.D., Haslam, S.A. and Miller, A.G. (2014) ‘What makes a person a perpetrator? The intellectual, moral, and methodological arguments for revisiting Milgram’s research on the influence of authority’, *Journal of Social Issues*, 70(3), pp. 393–408.

Reicher, S.D., Haslam, S.A. and Smith, J.R. (2012) ‘Working Toward the Experimenter: Reconceptualizing Obedience Within the Milgram Paradigm as Identification-Based Followership’, *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 7(4), pp. 315–324.

Rhee, J., Dedahanov, A. and Lee, D. (2014) ‘Relationships Among Power Distance, Collectivism, Punishment, and Acquiescent, Defensive, or Prosocial Silence’, *Social Behavior and Personality: an international journal*, 42(5), pp. 705–720.

Roberts, G. (1998) ‘Perspectives on Enduring and Emerging Issues in Performance Appraisal’, *Public Personnel Management1*, 27(3), pp. 301–305.

van Rooij, B. and Fine, A. (2018) ‘Toxic Corporate Culture: Assessing Organizational Processes of Deviancy’, *Administrative Sciences*, 8(3), pp 23.

Rowe, M. (2018) ‘Fostering Constructive Action by Peers and Bystanders in Organizations and Communities’, *Negotiation Journal*, 34(2), pp. 137–163.

Rudy-Hiller, F. (2020a) ‘Reasonable expectations, moral responsibility, and empirical data’, *Philosophical Studies*, 177(10), pp. 2945–2968.

Rudy-Hiller, F. (2020b) ‘Reasonable expectations, moral responsibility, and empirical data’, *Philosophical Studies*, 177(10), pp. 2945–2968.

Russell, N. (2014) ‘Stanley Milgram’s obedience to authority “relationship” condition: Some methodological and theoretical implications’, *Social Sciences*, 3(2), pp. 194–214.

Rutkowski, G.K., Gruder, C.L. and Romer, D. (1983) ‘Group cohesiveness, social norms, and bystander intervention’, *Journal of Personality and Social*

Psychology, 44(3), pp. 545–552.

Rybnikova, I. (2016) 'Employee voice and silence in temporary agency work', *German Journal of Human Resource Management*, 30(3–4), pp. 287–309.

Salas, E., Grossman, R., Hughes, A.M. and Coultas, C.W. (2015) 'Measuring team cohesion: Observations from the science', *Human Factors*, 57(3), pp. 365–374.

Saunders, D.M., Sheppard, B.H., Knight, V. and Roth, J. (1992) 'Employee Voice to Supervisors', *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal*, 5(3), pp. 241–259.

Schafer, M. and Crichlow, S. (1996) 'Antecedents of groupthink: A quantitative study', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 40(3), pp. 415–435.

Schilpzand, P., Hekman, D.R. and Mitchell, T.R. (2015) 'An Inductively Generated Typology and Process Model of Workplace Courage.', *Organization Science*, 26(1), pp. 52–77.

Schlosser, F. and Zolin, R. (2012) 'Hearing voice and silence during stressful economic times', *Employee Relations*, 34(5), pp. 555–573.

Schwappach, D.L. and Gehring, K. (2014) 'Trade-offs between voice and silence: a qualitative exploration of oncology staff's decisions to speak up about safety concerns', *BMC Health Services Research*, 14(1), p. 303.

Schwartz, H. and Davis, S. (1981) 'Matching Corporate Culture and Buisness Strategy', *Organizational Dynamics, Summer,* pp. 30–48.

Scoble, R., Dickson, K., Hanney, S. and Rodgers, G.J. (2010) 'Institutional strategies for capturing socio-economic impact of academic research', *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management*, 32(5), pp. 499–510.

Seibert, S.E., Wang, G. and Courtright, S.H. (2011) 'Antecedents and Consequences of Psychological and Team Empowerment in Organizations: A Meta-Analytic Review', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 96(5), pp. 981–1003.

Sharma, N. and Vinod Singh, K. (2018) 'Psychological empowerment and employee engagement: Testing the mediating effects of constructive deviance in indian it sector', *International Journal of Human Capital and Information Technology Professionals*, 9(4), pp. 44–55.

Shin, Y., Kim, M., Choi, J.N. and Lee, S.H. (2016) 'Does Team Culture Matter? Roles of Team Culture and Collective Regulatory Focus in Team Task and Creative Performance', *Group and Organization Management*, 41(2), pp. 232–265.

Shoenberger, N., Heckert, A. and Heckert, D. (2015) 'Labeling, Social Learning, and Positive Deviance: A Look at High Achieving Students', *Deviant Behavior*, 36(6), pp. 474–491.

Sims, R.L. (2002) 'Ethical rule breaking by employees: A test of social bonding theory', *Journal of Business Ethics*, 40(2), pp. 101–109.

Smith, J. (2016) *An Independent Review into The BBC's Culture and Practices During the Jimmy Savile and Stuart Hall Years*.

Sobo, E.J. and Sadler, B.L. (2002) 'Improving organizational communication and cohesion in a health care setting through employee-leadership exchange', *Human Organization*, 61(3), pp. 277–287.

Sowden, S., Koletsi, S., Lymberopoulos, E., Militaru, E., Catmur, C. and Bird, G. (2018) 'Quantifying compliance and acceptance through public and private social conformity', *Consciousness and Cognition*, 65(August), pp. 359–367.

Spreitzer, G.M. and Sonenshein, S. (2004) 'Toward the Construct Definition of Positive Deviance', *American Behavioral Scientist*, 47(6), pp. 828–847.

Squires, J.E., Linklater, S., Grimshaw, J.M., Graham, I.D., Sullivan, K., Bruce, N., Gartke, K., Karovitch, A., Roth, V., Stockton, K., Trickett, J., Worthington, J. and Suh, K.N. (2014) 'Understanding Practice: Factors That Influence Physician Hand Hygiene Compliance', *Infection Control and Hospital Epidemiology*, 35(12), pp. 1511–1520.

Stansbury, J.M. and Victor, B. (2009) 'Whistle-blowing among young employees: A life-course perspective.', *Journal of Business Ethics*, 85(3), pp. 281–299.

Stasser, G., Vaughan, S.I. and Stewart, D.D. (2000) 'Pooling unshared information: The benefits of knowing how access to information is distributed among group members', *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 82(1), pp. 102–116.

Staw, B.M. and Boettger, R.D. (1990) 'Task Revision: a Neglected Form of Work Performance.', *Academy of Management Journal*, 33(3), pp. 534–559.

Stobbeleir, K.E.M.D.E. and Ashford, S.J. (2011) 'Self-Regulation of Creativity at Work: The Role of Feedback-Seeking Behavior in Creative Performance', *Academy of Management Journal*, 54(4), pp. 811–831.

Suddaby, R. (2010) 'Editor's comments: Construct clarity in theories of management and organization', *Academy of Management Review*, 35(3), pp. 346–357.

Suedfeld, P., Bochner, S. and Wnek, D. (1972) 'Helper-Sufferer Similarity and a Specific Request for Help: Bystander Intervention During a Peace

Demonstration', *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 2(1), pp. 17–23.

Sunstein, C. (2002) *Conformity and Dissent*. Chicago, Public Law and Legal Theory.

Swann, W.B. and Jetten, J. (2017) 'Restoring Agency to the Human Actor', *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 12(3), pp. 382–399.

Symon, G. and Cassell, C. (2012) *Qualitative Organizational Research*. London: Sage Publications.

Takhsha, M., Barahimi, N., Adelpanah, A. and Salehzadeh, R. (2020) 'The effect of workplace ostracism on knowledge sharing: the mediating role of organization-based self-esteem and organizational silence', *Journal of Workplace Learning*, 32(6), pp. 417–435.

Tangirala, S. and Ramanujam, R. (2008) 'Employee silence on critical work issues: The cross level effects of procedural justice climate', *Personnel Psychology*, 61(1), pp. 37–68.

Taras, D.G. (1991) 'Breaking the Silence: Differentiating Crises of Agreement', *Public Administration Quarterly*, 14(4), pp. 401–418.

Task, L.J., Bond, R. and Smith, P.B. (1996) 'Culture and Conformity : A Meta-Analysis of Studies Using Asch ' s', *Psychological Bulletin*, 119(1), pp. 111–137.

Taylor, E.Z. and Curtis, M.B. (2010) 'An examination of the layers of workplace influences in ethical judgments: Whistleblowing likelihood and perseverance in public accounting.', *Journal of Business Ethics*, 93(1), pp. 21–37.

Tenzer, H. and Yang, P. (2019) 'Personality, Values, or Attitudes? Individual-Level Antecedents to Creative Deviance', *International Journal of Innovation Management*, 23(2), pp. 2050020.

Tepper, B.J. (2000) 'Consequences of Abusive Supervision', *Academy of Management Journal*, 43(2), pp. 178–190.

Tesar, J. (2020) 'How Do Social Norms and Expectations About Others Influence Individual Behavior?: A Quantum Model of Self/Other-Perspective Interaction in Strategic Decision-Making', *Foundations of Science*, 25(1), pp. 135–150.

Tetlock, P.E., Peterson, R.S. and Berry, J.M. (1993) 'Flattering and Unflattering Personality Portraits of Integratively Simple and Complex Managers.', *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, 64(3), pp. 500–511.

Thomas, E.F., McGarty, C., Spears, R., Livingstone, A.G., Platow, M.J., Lala, G. and Mavor, K. (2020a) '"That's not funny!" Standing up against disparaging humor', *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 86(September 2019), pp.

103901.

Thomas, O.D. (2020) ‘Security in the balance: How Britain tried to keep its Iraq War secrets’, *Security Dialogue*, 51(1), pp. 77–95.

Tilker, H.A. (1970) ‘Socially responsible behavior as a function of observer responsibility and victim feedback’, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 14(2), pp. 95–100.

Toelch, U., Pooresmaeili, A. and Dolan, R.J. (2018) ‘Neural substrates of norm compliance in perceptual decisions’, *Scientific Reports*, 8(3315).

Tredinnick, L. and McMahon, S. (2019) ‘College coaches’ influence on student-athlete engagement in sexual violence prevention: promoting readiness to help and awareness of campus resources’, *Sport in Society*, pp. 1–17.

Troyer, L. and Youngreen, R. (2009) ‘Conflict and creativity in groups’, *Journal of Social Issues*, 65(2), pp. 409–427.

Tu, C.K. and Luo, B. (2020) ‘Paternalistic leadership and pro-social rule breaking: The moderating roles of psychological empowerment and leader-member exchange’, *Human Systems Management*, 39(1), pp. 27–36.

Tucker, S., Turner, N., Hershcovis, M.S. and Stride, C.B. (2008) ‘Perceived Organizational Support for Safety and Employee Safety Voice : The Mediating Role of Coworker Support for Safety’, *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 13(4), pp. 319–330.

Tulubas, T. and Celep, C. (2014) ‘Causes of Faculty Members’ Silence’, *HU Journal of Education*, 29(1), pp. 280–297.

Turner, J.C., Wetherell, M.S. and Hogg, M.A. (1989) ‘Referent informational influence and group polarization’, *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 28(2), pp. 135–147.

Turner, M.E. and Pratkanis, A.R. (1998) ‘A social identity maintenance model of groupthink’, *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 73(2–3), pp. 210–235.

Turse, N. (2013) *Kill Anything that Moves*. New York: Picador.

Tziner, A., Bar-Hen, P., Fein, E.C., Sharoni, G. and Nord, T. (2010) ‘Constructive Deviance, Leader-Member Exchange, and Confidence in Appraisal: How Do They Interrelate, if at All?’, *Revista de Psicologia del Trabajo y de Las Organizaciones*, 26(2), pp. 95–100.

Vadera, A.K., Pratt, M.G. and Mishra, P. (2013) ‘Constructive deviance in organizations: Integrating and moving forward.’, *Journal of Management*, 39(5),

pp. 1221–1276.

Vafeas, M. and Hughes, T. (2016) ‘An examination of the dimensions and antecedents of institutionalized creativity’, *Industrial Marketing Management*, 55, pp. 59–69.

Vakola, M. and Bouradas, D. (2005) ‘Antecedents and consequences of organisational silence: An empirical investigation’, *Employee Relations*, 27(5), pp. 441–458.

Venkataramani, V. and Tangirala, S. (2010) ‘When and Why Do Central Employees Speak Up ? An Examination of Mediating and Moderating Variables’, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 95(3), pp. 582–591.

Waheed, A., Abbas, Q. and Malik, O.F. (2018) ‘“Perceptions of performance appraisal quality” and employee innovative behavior: Do psychological empowerment and “perceptions of HRM system strength” matter?’, *Behavioral Sciences*, 8(12)

Wallace, J., Hunt, J. and Richards, C. (1999) ‘The relationship between organisational culture, organisational climate and managerial values’, *International Journal of Public Sector Management*, 12(7), pp. 548–564.

Walls, J.L. and Hoffman, A.J. (2013) ‘Exceptional boards: Environmental experience and positive deviance from institutional norms’, *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 34(2), pp. 253–271.

Walsh, I.J. and Bartunek, J.M. (2011) ‘Cheating the fates: Organizational foundings in the wake of demise’, *Academy of Management Journal*, 54(5), pp. 1017–1044.

Walumbwa, F.O. and Schaubroeck, J. (2009) ‘Leader Personality Traits and Employee Voice Behavior : Mediating Roles of Ethical Leadership and Work Group Psychological Safety’, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 94(5), pp. 1275–1286.

Wang, H.Q., Zhang, G.L., Ding, Z.H. and Cheng, Z.H. (2018) ‘How supervisor narcissism contributes to employee silence: Roles of negative anticipations and leader–member exchange’, *Social Behavior and Personality*, 46(4), pp. 653–666.

Wang, Y. De and Hsieh, H.H. (2013) ‘Organizational ethical climate, perceived organizational support, and employee silence: A cross-level investigation’, *Human Relations*, 66(6), pp. 783–802.

Warren, D.E. (2003) ‘Constructive and Destructive Deviance in Organizations.’, *Academy of Management Review*, 28(4), pp. 622–632.

Waytz, A., Dungan, J. and Young, L. (2013) ‘The whistleblower’s dilemma and

the fairness–loyalty tradeoff.', *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 49(6), pp. 1027–1033.

Weik, E. (2011) 'Institutional entrepreneurship and agency.', *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 41(4), pp. 466–481.

Whitehouse, H. and Lanman, J.A. (2014) 'The ties that bind us: Ritual, fusion, and identification', *Current Anthropology*, 55(6), pp. 674–695.

Wigston, M. (2019) *Report on Inappropriate Behaviours*. MOD

Van Wijk, C.H. and Finchilescu, G. (2008) 'Symbols of organisational culture: Describing and prescribing gender integration of navy ships', *Journal of Gender Studies*, 17(3), pp. 237–249.

Wiltermuth, S. (2012) 'Synchrony and destructive obedience', *Social Influence*, 7(2), pp. 78–89.

Withey, M.J. and Cooper, W.H. (1989) 'Predicting Exit , Voice , Loyalty , and Neglect', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 34, pp. 521–539.

Wolf, B. and Zuckerman, P. (2012) 'Deviant heroes: Nonconformists as agents of justice and social change.', *Deviant Behavior*, 33(8), pp. 639–654.

Wong, C.A., Spence Laschinger, H.K. and Cummings, G.G. (2010) 'Authentic leadership and nurses' voice behaviour and perceptions of care quality', *Journal of Nursing Management*, 18(8), pp. 889–900.

Worline, M.C. and Quinn, R.W. (2003) 'Courageous principled action', *Positive Organizational Scholarship: Foundations of a New Discipline*, pp. 149–169.

Wu, M., Peng, Z. and Estay, C. (2018) 'How role stress mediates the relationship between destructive leadership and employee silence: The moderating role of job complexity', *Journal of Pacific Rim Psychology*, 12.

Wu, W., Qu, Y., Zhang, Y., Hao, S., Tang, F., Zhao, N. and Si, H. (2019) 'Needs frustration makes me silent: Workplace ostracism and newcomers' voice behavior', *Journal of Management & Organization*, 25(5), pp. 635–652.

Xu, A.J., Loi, R. and Lam, L.W. (2015) 'The bad boss takes it all: How abusive supervision and leader-member exchange interact to influence employee silence', *Leadership Quarterly*, 26(5), pp. 763–774.

Yildiz, B., Alpkan, L., Ates, H. and Sezen, B. (2015) 'Determinants of Constructive Deviance: The Mediator Role of Psychological Ownership', *International Business Research*, 8(4), pp. 107–121.

Zhu, J., Xu, S., Ouyang, K., Herst, D. and Farndale, E. (2018) 'Ethical leadership

and employee pro-social rule-breaking behavior in China', *Asian Business and Management*, 17(1), pp. 59–81.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Specific behaviours as constructive deviance

Behaviour(s)	Definitions	Significant departure from norms?	Intent for greater social worth	Element of risk	Constructive deviance	References
Organisational Citizenship Behaviours	"individual behaviour that is discretionary, not directly or explicitly recognized by the formal reward system, and that in the aggregate promotes the effective functioning of the organisation" (Mertens et al, 2016b, p1292) "Behaviour outside the requirements demanded of a person at a specific firm, but that will encourage efficient running of the organisation". (Appelbaum, 2007, p560)	Context	Yes	No	No	Appelbaum et al (2007); Spreitzer and Sonenshein (2004); Mertens et al (2016b); Vadera et al (2013).
Corporate social responsibility	"business practices that benefit society and potentially the organisation". Spreitzer and Sonenshein (2004)	Context	Yes	Context	No	Appelbaum et al (2007); Spreitzer and Sonenshein (2004)
Principled Organisational Dissent	"the effort by individuals in the workplace to protest and/or change the organisational status quo because of their conscientious objection to current policy or practice" (Graham, 1986, p2)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Graham (1986); Vadera et al (2013); Warren (2003); Morrison and Milliken (2003)
Positive ethical deviance	"when a work group or company, or another social level, deviates from the baseline in a way that improves a company's respect for basic human rights, and corresponding worker rights" Hartman et al (2005)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Hartman et al (2005)

Behaviour(s)	Definitions	Significant departure from norms?	Intent for greater social worth	Element of risk	Constructive deviance	References
Employee voice	“Discretionary communication of ideas, suggestions, concerns, or opinions about work-related issues with the intent to improve organisational or unit functioning” (Morrison, 2011)	Context	Yes	Yes	Yes	Galperin (2012); Vadera et al (2013); Mertens et al (2016b); Warren (2003); Detert and Burris (2007); Morrison and Milliken (2003); Morrison et al (2011); Van Dyne et al (2003); Morrison (2011)
Whistle-blowing	“employees’ reporting of illegal, immoral, or illegitimate activities to parties who may be able to take action” (Near & Miceli, 1985)	Yes	Context	Yes	Context	Appelbaum et al (2007); Spreitzer and Sonenshein (2004); Vadera et al (2013); Mertens et al (2016b); Warren (2003); Morrison and Milliken (2003); Near & Miceli (1985); Miceli & Near (1988)
Issue selling	“ individuals' behaviours that are directed toward affecting others' attention to and understanding of issues” (Dutton & Ashford, 1993: 398)	Context	Yes	Yes	Yes	Dutton and Ashford (1993); Vadera et al (2013)
Creativity/innovation	‘‘the successful implementation of creative ideas within an organisation’’ (Amabile et al, 1996 in Spreitzer and Sonenshein, 2004).	Context	Context	Context	Context	Appelbaum et al (2007); Spreitzer and Sonenshein (2004); Waheed et al (2018)
Corporate entrepreneur	“individuals who begin new projects or ventures within the organisation as ‘corporate entrepreneurs’ or ‘intrapreneurs’. These employees deviate from the	Context	Yes	Context	Context	Galperin and Burke (2006); Parks et al (2010)

Behaviour(s)	Definitions	Significant departure from norms?	Intent for greater social worth	Element of risk	Constructive deviance	References
	norm and contribute to the well-being of the organisation, a form of constructive deviance"					
Creative Performance	"generation of novel and useful ideas or solutions to organisational problems" (Amabile, 1996)	Context	Yes	Context	Context	Vadera et al (2013); Mertens et al (2016b); Parks et al (2010)
Task Revision	"Action taken to correct a faulty procedure, an inaccurate job description, or a role expectation that is dysfunctional for an organisation" (Staw and Boettger, 1990)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Staw and Boettger (1990)
Role Innovation	"the introduction of new behaviours into a role" (West, 1987)	Context	Yes	Context	Context	Galperin (2012); Galperin and Burke (2006)
Extra-role Behaviours	"behaviour which benefits the organisation and/or is intended to benefit the organisation, which is discretionary and which goes beyond existing role expectations" (Van Dyne et al., 1995, p218) in Vadera et al (2013)	Context	Yes	Context	No	Vadera et al (2013); Mertens et al (2016b)
Pro Social Rule Breaking (PSRB)	"a form of positive deviance, but distinguished by the fact that it goes against a formal rule or policy rather than just being 'different from the norm' or 'exceptional,'" "intentional violation of a formal organisational policy, regulation, or prohibition with the primary intention of promoting the welfare of the organisation or one of its stakeholders" (Morrison, 2006)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Bryant (2010); Galperin (2012); Morrison (2006); Graham (1986); Vadera et al (2013)

Behaviour(s)	Definitions	Significant departure from norms?	Intent for greater social worth	Element of risk	Constructive deviance	References
Customer-Oriented Deviance	“extra-role behaviours of frontline employees that these employees perceive to depart from rules or prescribed norms of the organisation in the best interests of customers”	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Leo and Russell-Bennett (2012)
Creative deviance	“the violation of managerial orders to stop pursuing a new idea”. (Mainemelis, 2010)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Mainemelis (2010); Galperin (2012); Galperin and Burke (2006)
Bootlegging	“an R&D activity in which motivated individuals secretly engage in bottom-up, nonprogrammed innovation efforts not officially authorized by management but which are for the benefit of the company”. (Criscuolo and Ter Wal, 2014)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Criscuolo and Ter Wal (2014); Warren (2003); Galperin (2012)

Appendix B: Summary of methodological approaches taken by previous research

	Empirical		Conceptual/Lit Review
	Quantitative	Qualitative	
Individual Differences	Borry and Henderson (2020) Chen et al (2019) Cohen and Ehrlich (2019) Criscuolo and Ter Wal (2014) Detert and Burris (2007) Galperin (2012) Galperin and Burke (2006) (Control) Kura et al (2016) (Control) Leo and Russell-Bennett (2014) Lin et al (2016) (Control) Morrison et al (2011) (Control) Staw and Boettger (1990) Walls and Hoffman (2013)	Criscuolo and Ter Wal (2014) Herman-Kinney and Kinney (2013) Schilpzand et al (2015)	Bhadade et al (2018) Bowen and Blackman (2003) Dungan et al (2015) Dutton and Ashford (1993) Vadera et al (2013) Vardaman (2014)
Organisational Factors	Asadullah et al (2017) Borry and Henderson (2020) Chen et al (2019) Cohen and Ehrlich (2019) Criscuolo and Ter Wal (2014) Dahling et al (2012) Dahling and Gutworth (2017) Fazel-E-Hasan et al (2019) Fleming (2019) Galperin (2012) Galperin and Burke (2006) Garg and Saxena (2020) Kahari et al (2017) Kim and Choi (2018)	Detert and Trevino (2010) Hartman et al (2005) Irwin (2003) Leo and Russell-Bennett (2012) Mertens et al (2016a) Milliken et al (2003) Morrison (2006) Schilpzand et al (2015) Shoenberger et al (2015)	Appelbaum (2007) Argyres and Mui (2007) Arnold and Hartman (2005) Bhadade et al (2018) Bryant et al (2010) Dungan et al (2015) Dutton and Ashford (1993) Heckert and Heckert (2004) Karnoe (1997) Mainemalis (2010) Martinov-Bennie (2007) Mazutis (2014) Mertens et al (2016b) Milliken and Morrison (2003) Morrison and Milliken (2000)

	Kong and Kim (2017) Kura et al (2016) Leo and Russell-Bennett (2014) Lin et al (2016) Malik and Lenka (2019) Mertens et al (2016a) Miceli and Near (1988) Morrison (2006) Morrison et al (2011) O'Connor and Monin (2016) Pan et al (2018) Parkes and Davis (2013) Sharma and Singh (2018) Staw and Boettger (1990) Tenzer et al (2019) Tziner et al (2010) Walls and Hoffman (2013) Zhu et al (2018)		Morrison and Milliken (2003) Narayanan and Murphy (2017) Spreitzer and Sonenshein (2004) Vadera et al (2013) Van Dyne (2003) Vardaman (2014) Warren (2003) Wolf and Zuckerman (2012)

Appendix C: Summary of population examined by previous empirical studies of organisational factors (*qualitative approach)

Study	Subjects
Asadullah et al (2017)	Healthcare professionals
Borry and Henderson (2020)	Healthcare professionals
Chen et al (2019)	Employed PT students
Cohen and Ehrlich (2019)	Public sector – Israeli municipality
Criscuolo and Ter Wal (2014)	Research and development
Dahling et al (2012)	Various private sector and then University students
Dahling and Gutworth (2017)	University students then outsourcing employees
Detert and Trevino (2010)*	Research and development
Fazel-E-Hasan et al (2019)	Retail and services sector
Fleming (2019)	Social workers
Galperin (2012)	University students
Galperin and Burke (2006)	Private sector – various
Garg and Saxena (2020)	Oil and gas management
Hartman et al (2005)*	Private sector – various
Irwin (2003)*	Tattooists
John and Shafi (2020)	Financial FLEs
Kahari et al (2017)	School teachers
Kim and Choi (2018)	Technology firms
Kong and Kim (2017)	Financial FLEs
Kura et al (2016)	Public sector – Nigerian government
Leo and Russell-Bennett (2014)*	Retail and hospitality
Lin et al (2016)	Advertising
Malik and Lenka (2019)	IT employees
Mertens et al (2016a)*	Retail
Miceli and Near (1988)	Public sector – US federal government
Milliken et al (2003)*	Private sector – various
Morrison (2006)*	Business school alumni – various
Morrison et al (2011)	Engineering company
O'Connor and Monin (2016)	University students
Pan et al (2018)	Hospitality sector
Parkes and Davis (2013)	HR Professionals
Schilpzand et al (2015)*	Public and private – various; inc. military
Sharma and Singh (2018)	IT employees
Shoenberger et al (2015)*	University students
Staw and Boettger (1990)	University students
Tenzer et al (2019)	Engineering and electronics
Tu and Luo (2020)	Employees via social media
Tziner et al (2010)	Public sector - Australia
Walls and Hoffman (2013)	Private sector – various
Zhu et al (2018)	Employees various

Appendix D: Information for research subjects

Thank you for agreeing to take part in my research into Constructive Deviance. This email is intended to provide you with a bit of information that will give you a couple of things to think about in preparation for your interview. It should only take a few minutes!

The research is looking at Constructive Deviance. Deviance from rules, processes, organisational norms or peer expectations is usually viewed negatively. However, there are times when breaking the rules or going against organisational norms or peer expectations can be done with the intention of creating an outcome which is more socially worthy than would otherwise have been the case. This is what is meant by Constructive Deviance. The purpose of the research is to examine how and why people constructively deviate.

When we meet, I want to discuss with you at least two occasions on which you had the opportunity to constructively deviate: one occasion when you have the opportunity but didn't take it, and one occasion when you had the opportunity and did take it. Therefore:

- Have a think about some occasions when you knew that the rules, peer expectations or organisational norms were wrong, or when following them may have resulted in a less than ideal outcome. Or, it might be that you can think of a time when the accepted or normal way of doing things just wasn't right and you felt that something needed to change or could be done differently.
- Ideally, think about at least two occasions (similar in nature if possible) – one when you did follow the rules, norms or expectations even though you thought there might be a better way, and one occasion when you went against them, and did something different to expectations, but for the greater good. It doesn't matter what the actual outcome was – it's your intentions that I'd like to discuss.
- We'll then discuss these occasions when we meet.

Also, please find attached some extra documents. These are just for information – I'll bring hard copies of the necessary bits when we meet. They are:

- Consent Form – I'll have a hard copy for signature when we meet
- Participant Information Sheet – this is just to provide information and background to the research
- MoD Compensation Scheme Information – this could be of use to you should you suffer illness and/or personal injury as a direct result of participating in research conducted on behalf of the MoD – I'm pretty sure you won't need this, but is part of the ethical procedures!

I hope that makes sense – if you have any questions feel free to give me a call (xxxxx xxxxxx) or drop me a line before we meet and we can discuss further.

Thanks again for agreeing to take part! Coffee's on me!

Chris

Chris Taylor
Doctoral Researcher (Constructive Deviance)
School of Management, Cranfield University
E: c.s.taylor@cranfield.ac.uk

Appendix E: Interview protocol

Phase	Example Questions	Purpose
Phase 1: Introduce	Permission to digitally record Self-introduction Purpose of research Agreement to take part/confidentiality Tell me about your role How long have you been here?	Introductions, scene-setting and rapport-building, including role-based "warm-up" questions
Phase 2a: Identify	Can you tell me about a time when the accepted/endorsed/regulated way of doing things seemed wrong or could be improved, when you chose to do something different to the "normal" way? What was/were the situation/background/ circumstances of this time? Where did the guidance come from to take that action? Why were these actions being taken? What was wrong with that process/action/guidance/constraint/norm?	Identifying an opportunity in the interviewee's recent experience in which they exhibited constructively deviant behaviour (or one that is known to them)
Phase 2b: Confirm Constructive Deviance	What would have normally happened? What were the norms of the group? What would other people have done? What action did you take? How did you deviate from the norms, rules, established procedures etc? What did you intend to make better as a result of taking those actions? Who were you hoping would benefit from your actions? What were the risks to you associated with taking action? From who/where did/could any sanctions have come?	Confirm that actions taken meet the criteria for Constructive Deviance
Phase 2c: Explore	Why did you take these actions? What encouraged you to take action? Why would other people have not done this? What was everyone else doing? Why were they doing this? What encouraged you to take action? What could have been different about the situation that would have made it harder for you take alternative action? Was there something specific that caused you to react or not react in that way?	Explore the factors and motivations that enabled the Constructive Deviance behaviour

	Are there any other incidents in which you have Constructively Deviated? **Return to Phase 2a**	
Phase 3a: Identify	Can you tell me about a time when the accepted/endorsed/regulated way of doing things seemed wrong or could be improved, and you continued to act in the "normal" way? What was/were the situation/background/ circumstances of this time? Where did the guidance come from to take that action? Why were these actions being taken? What was wrong with that process/action/guidance/constraint/norm?	Identifying an opportunity in the interviewee's recent experience in which they didn't exhibit constructively deviant behaviour (or one that is known to them)
Phase 3b: Confirm potential Constructive Deviance	What would have normally happened? What were the norms of the group? What would other people have done? What action could you have taken? How could you have deviated from the norms, rules, established procedures etc? What could have been made better if you'd taken those actions? Who could have benefited from your actions? What would have been the risk to you, if you'd taken action? From who/where could any sanctions have come?	Confirm that actions taken could have met the criteria for Constructive Deviance
Phase 3c: Explore	Why did you not take these actions? What discouraged you from taking action? Why did other people not do this? What was everyone else doing? Why were they doing this? What could have been different about the situation that would have made it easier for you take action? Was there something specific that caused you to react or not react in that way? Are there any other incidents in which you could have, but didn't constructively deviate? **Return to Phase 3a**	Explore the factors and motivations that inhibited the Constructive Deviance behaviour
Phase 4: Compare	You said that the differences between the incident in which you constructively deviate and the one in which did, were X, Y and Z. Which of those factors were most important? Why were those factors so important?	

	What were the other key differences between the incidents, which made you constructively deviate in one and not in the other? What would encourage/discourage you to take constructively deviant action in the future?	
Phase 5: Close	Demographic data Contact details Thanks for participation and interview close	For comparisons between different demographics

Appendix F: Peer Coding Instructions

Introduction

This set of instructions is designed to be sufficient for the peer-coding of two interviews for the above research in order to offer some reliability and rigour to the coding process.

The nodes are based on the **literature review and definitions of constructive deviance** for the "checking" elements and on **emergent themes** for the enablers, barriers and comparison nodes (the main findings). Transcripts and nodes have been set up in the attached NVivo file, to allow the peer-coder to analyse the transcripts against these themes.

Interview Structure

The interviews are broadly split into 3 sections (not numbered in the scripts, but are clear from the text), as follows:

- Section 1: Opportunity for Constructive Deviance taken by the participant
- Section 2: Opportunity for Constructive Deviance not taken by the interviewee
- Section 3: A comparison of the first two sections, to ascertain the differentiators

Checking Questions

In each of sections 1 and 2, there are a series of "checking questions", which are designed to ensure that the interviewee is describing an incident in which the opportunity for constructive deviance was there – whether or not that opportunity was taken. This section isn't analysed per se, but is just there to ensure understanding on both sides of the interview. Explanations for the relevant codes can be found at Annex A.

Enablers and Barriers

In each of sections 1 and 2, after the checking questions, there are a series of questions to identify the enablers and barriers for taking constructive deviance, with example questions shown in Table 26.

	Enabler	Barrier
Section 1: Opportunity taken	Why did you take these actions? What encouraged you to take action?	What could have been different about the situation that would have made it harder for you take action?
Section 2: Opportunity not taken	What could have been different about the situation that would have made it easier for you take action?	Why did you not take these actions? What discouraged you from taking action?

Table 26: Interview questions used to identify barriers and enablers to constructive deviance

The emergent responses have been coded by the original researcher and the codes with explanation and definitions are shown at Annexes B - E, noting that there is significant repetition, but are included in each section for ease of access by the peer-coder.

Compare

In section 3, the interviewees were asked to explain the main differentiating factors between the situations in which they did and didn't take the opportunity to constructively deviate. The emergent themes are shown with explanations and definitions at Annex F. These findings are based on questions such as, "what were the differences between the incidents, which made you constructively deviate in one and not in the other?".

Summary

The peer-coder is requested to code the two interview transcripts within the NVivo file, into the relevant nodes, noting that not there will be some "empty" nodes, as many of the themes will have emerged from other interviews.

When this peer-coding is complete, the results will be compared to the researcher's original coding. Any differences will be discussed, and where

necessary, definitions will be amended, and transcripts will be reanalysed as required.

Annex A: Coding definitions for Checking Questions

Checking Questions	
Node/code: Interview Questions	Definition of code/node or example response
Source of norm - formal or informal: Where did the guidance come from to take that action?	This could be policy, organisational norms or specific direction from someone senior
Action Taken: What action did you take?	This is to confirm that the interviewee did something other than that which would normally happen – something deviant
Benefit: What did you intend to make better as a result of taking those actions? Who were you hoping would benefit from your actions?	The action should be intended for some greater good, not just for the individual's benefit. Actual outcome is not important - it is **intention** that counts
Risk: What were the risks to you associated with taking action?	There should normally be some sort of risk to the individual - social, disciplinary, formal or informal, but this is sometimes implied only

Annex B: Coding definitions for Opportunity Taken - Enablers

Opportunity Taken - Enablers: Why did you take these actions? What encouraged you to take action?	
Node/code	Definition of code/node or example response
01 Knowledge, expertise or understanding of situation	Anything that indicates how the interviewee felt about their level of understanding, experience in that role or comparative expertise
02 Empowerment, discretion or mission command	Anything in which they refer to feeling like they were given independence, discretion or latitude to take action, or in which they felt that the environment was one in which they were empowered, either formally or informally, to take action. Includes any mention of mission command
03 Policy, process or direction supporting action	Any policy, process or direction from a senior person that has encouraged or discouraged constructively deviant action
04 Perceived CoC support for action	Any comments that indicated that the interviewees were influenced, positively or negatively, by their perceived level of support from their leadership and management chain for constructively deviant action
05 Previous personal experience	Anything which refers to the interviewee's previous experience of being constructively deviant and the response that it produced
06 Leader role-modelling	Any mention of the interviewee's previous experience in which they've seen their leadership or management behave in a constructively deviant manner

07 Perceived peer support for action	Anything about their perception of level of support from their peers, for constructively deviant action
08 Promotion or appraisal reports	Any mention of promotion, career prospects, appraisal, annual report, OJAR
09 Interpersonal relationship or trust	Any mention of the extent to which they knew a person or trusted those around them
10 Fresh eyes	This is about coming into the organisation recently and therefore seeing aspects in a new light
11 Perceived likelihood of successful outcome	This is about the perceived likelihood of the action achieving the desired response

Annex C: Coding definitions for Opportunity Taken - Barriers

Opportunity Taken - Barriers: What could have been different about the situation that would have made it harder for you take action?	
Node/code	Definition of code/node or example response
01 Empowerment, discretion or mission command	Anything in which they refer to feeling like they were given independence, discretion or latitude to take action, or in which they felt that the environment was one in which they were empowered, either formally or informally, to take action. Includes any mention of mission command
02 Discipline risk	Any reference to being disciplined, formally or informally, as a result of taking action
03 Knowledge, expertise or understanding of situation	Anything that indicates how the interviewee felt about their level of understanding, experience in that role or comparative expertise
04 Promotion or appraisal reports	Any mention of promotion, career prospects, appraisal, annual report, OJAR
05 Perceived CoC support for action	Any comments that indicated that the interviewees were influenced, positively or negatively, by their perceived level of support from their leadership and management chain for constructively deviant action
06 Policy, process or direction supporting action	Any policy, process or direction from a senior person that has encouraged or discouraged constructively deviant action
07 Reputation	Any comments that refer to reputation, standing in others' eyes or a interviewee's "good name"
08 Perceived likelihood of successful outcome	This is about the perceived likelihood of the action achieving the desired response

Annex D: Coding definitions for Opportunity Not Taken - Enablers

Opportunity Not Taken - Enablers: What could have been different about the situation that would have made it easier for you take action?	
Node/code	Definition of code/node or example response
01 Empowerment, discretion or mission command	Anything in which they refer to feeling like they were given independence, discretion or latitude to take action, or in which they felt that the environment was one in which they were empowered, either formally or informally, to take action. Includes any mention of mission command
02 Perceived CoC support for action	Any comments that indicated that the interviewees were influenced, positively or negatively, by their perceived level of support from their leadership and management chain for constructively deviant action
03 Fresh eyes	This is about coming into the organisation recently and therefore seeing aspects in a new light
04 Perceived peer support for action	Anything about their perception of level of support from their peers, for constructively deviant action
05 Promotion or appraisal reports	Any mention of promotion, career prospects, appraisal, annual report, OJAR
06 Reward	Anything that refers to reward, formal or informal, for taking constructively deviant action
07 Perceived likelihood of successful outcome	This is about the perceived likelihood of the action achieving the desired response
08 Policy, process or direction supporting action	Any policy, process or direction from a senior person that has encouraged or discouraged constructively deviant action
09 Access or opportunity	Any mention of having access to resources or the opportunity to constructively deviate, time-wise or geographically
10 Knowledge, expertise or understanding of situation	Anything that indicates how the interviewee felt about their level of understanding, experience in that role or comparative expertise
11 Interpersonal relationship or trust	Any mention of the extent to which they knew a person or trusted those around them

Annex E: Coding definitions for Opportunity Not Taken - Barriers

Opportunity Not Taken - Barriers: What discouraged you from taking action?	
Node/code	Definition of code/node or example response

01 Perceived CoC support for action	Any comments that indicated that the interviewees were influenced, positively or negatively, by their perceived level of support from their leadership and management chain for constructively deviant action
02 Perceived peer support for action	Anything about their perception of level of support from their peers, for constructively deviant action
03 Empowerment, discretion or mission command	Anything in which they refer to feeling like they were given independence, discretion or latitude to take action, or in which they felt that the environment was one in which they were empowered, either formally or informally, to take action. Includes any mention of mission command
04 Interpersonal relationship or trust	Any mention of the extent to which they knew a person or trusted those around them
05 Bureaucracy	Any mention of bureaucratic process or policy, which acted as an enabler or barrier to taking constructively deviant action
06 Previous personal experience	Anything which refers to the interviewee's previous experience of being constructively deviant and the response that it produced
07 Perceived likelihood of successful outcome	This is about the perceived likelihood of the action achieving the desired response
08 Promotion or appraisal reports	Any mention of promotion, career prospects, appraisal, annual report, OJAR
09 Knowledge, experience or understanding of situation	Anything that indicates how the interviewee felt about their level of understanding, experience in that role or comparative expertise
10 Discipline issues	Any reference to being disciplined, formally or informally, as a result of taking action
11 Reputation	Any comments that refer to reputation, standing in others' eyes or a interviewee's "good name"
12 Access or opportunity	Any mention of having access to resources or the opportunity to constructively deviate, time-wise or geographically

Annex F: Coding definitions for comparison section

Compare: What were the other key differences between the incidents, which made you constructively deviate in one and not in the other?	
Node/code	Definition of code/node or example response

01 Empowerment, discretion or mission command	Anything in which they refer to feeling like they were given independence, discretion or latitude to take action, or in which they felt that the environment was one in which they were empowered, either formally or informally, to take action. Includes any mention of mission command
02 Expertise knowledge or understanding	Anything that indicates how the interviewee felt about their level of understanding, experience in that role or comparative expertise
03 Responsibility	Anything which refers to the perception of having responsibility for the situation or for taking action
04 Previous personal experience	Anything which refers to the interviewee's previous experience of being constructively deviant and the response that it produced
05 Perceived CoC support for action	Any comments that indicated that the interviewees were influenced, positively or negatively, by their perceived level of support from their leadership and management chain for constructively deviant action
06 Perceived peer support for action	Anything about their perception of level of support from their peers, for constructively deviant action
07 Structure or hierarchy	Any mention of the organisational structure or hierarchical layers that make a difference to willingness to constructively deviate
08 Promotion or appraisal reports	Any mention of promotion, career prospects, appraisal, annual report, OJAR
09 Perceived likelihood of successful outcome	This is about the perceived likelihood of the action achieving the desired response
10 Interpersonal relationship or trust	Any mention of the extent to which they knew a person or trusted those around them
11 Bureaucracy	Any mention of bureaucratic process or policy, which acted as an enabler or barrier to taking constructively deviant action
12 Reputation	Any comments that refer to reputation, standing in others' eyes or a interviewee's "good name"
13 Access or opportunity	Any mention of having access to resources or the opportunity to constructively deviate, time-wise or geographically

Appendix G: Peer-coding discrepancies

Line	Code	Original	Peer	Decision	Change to original	Data Change	Discussion
Interviewee 2 Opportunity Taken - Enablers							
1	04 Perceived CoC support for action	1		1	N	N	Explanation of terminology of "first and second reporting officer", referring to CoC
2	05 Previous personal experience	1		1	N	N	Sections of text highlighted, missed by peer coder
3	06 Leader role-modelling	1			Y	N	Text discussed and agreed coding belonged under previous personal experience (already coded) - other coding under this node checked
4	07 Perceived peer support for action		1		N	N	Agreed that the peer reaction came after the interviewee took action and therefore, peer support couldn't be assumed
5	08 Promotion or appraisal reports		1		N	N	Discussed and agreed that promotion referred to as an aspiration in general, not connected to the action taken
Interviewee 2 Opportunity Taken - Barriers							
6	05 Perceived CoC support for action	1		1	N	N	Sections of text highlighted, explanation of phrase "one-star"
7	07 Reputation		1		N	N	Discussed and agreed text wasn't referring to reputation
Interviewee 2 Opportunity Not Taken - Enablers							

Line	Code	Original	Peer	Decision	Change to original	Data Change	Discussion
8	02 Perceived CoC support for action	1		1	N	N	Sections of text highlighted, missed by peer coder
Interviewee 2 Opportunity Not Taken - Barriers							
9	02 Perceived peer support for action	1			Y	Y	Recognised that perception of peer support couldn't be assumed from the text
10	03 Empowerment, discretion or mission command	1		1	N	N	Sections of text highlighted, missed by peer coder
11	05 Bureaucracy	1			Y	Y	Theme merged with "policy and process" theme
12	06 Previous personal experience	1		1	N	N	Sections of text highlighted, missed by peer coder
13	08 Promotion or appraisal reports	1		1	N	N	Disagreement over whether text referred to influence over whether or not action was taken
14	10 Discipline issues		1		N	N	Discussion that "being knocked back" didn't refer to discipline, but being not listened to or ignored
Interviewee 2 Differentiating factors							
15	01 Empowerment, discretion or mission command		1	1	Y	Y	Agreed that comments on environment could include empowerment
16	04 Previous personal experience	1		1	N	N	Sections of text highlighted, missed by peer coder
17	05 Perceived CoC support for action	1		1	N	N	Explanation that "the hierarchy" in this context refers to CoC - see line 19
18	06 Perceived peer support for action	1		1	N	N	Agreed to disagree on meaning behind the transcript text

Line	Code	Original	Peer	Decision	Change to original	Data Change	Discussion
19	07 Structure or hierarchy		1		N	N	Explanation that "the hierarchy" in this context refers to CoC. Recoded under CoC theme - see line 17
20	08 Promotion or appraisal reports		1	1	Y	Y	Section of text including "hierarchical advancement" highlighted, missed by original coder
Interviewee 21 Opportunity Taken - Enablers							
21	06 Leader role-modelling	1		1	N	N	Sections of text highlighted, explanation of phrase "1RO" as first reporting officer
22	11 Perceived likelihood of successful outcome		1		N	N	Unable to agree if the phrase "risk assessment" included perceived likelihood of success
Interviewee 21 Opportunity Taken - Barriers							
23	05 Perceived CoC support for action	1			Y	Y	Coded in error in this section - recoded to "compare" section - other codes checked
Interviewee 21 Opportunity Not Taken - Enablers							
24	02 Perceived CoC support for action		1	1	Y	Y	Discussed and agreed perception of "them" being the CoC
25	04 Perceived peer support for action		1		N	N	Agreed that "frustration with the situation" didn't necessarily translate to peer support for action
Interviewee 21 Opportunity Not Taken - Barriers							
26	03 Empowerment, discretion or mission command	1		1	N	N	Sections of text highlighted and agreement that "operating authority" includes empowerment

Line	Code	Original	Peer	Decision	Change to original	Data Change	Discussion
27	07 Perceived likelihood of successful outcome	1		1	N	N	Section of text including highlighted, agreed that text referring to "being stopped anyway" referred to likelihood of success
Interviewee 21 Differentiating factors							
28	01 Empowerment, discretion or mission command		1		N	N	Disagreement over whether "severity of deviance" referred to discretion

Appendix H: Annex E and Table E-1 to JSP 536: Ministry of Defence Policy for Research Involving Human Participants

Does My Research Protocol Need to be Submitted to MODREC?

Not all human research needs ethics review. For example, there would be no need for ethics approval of an anonymous questionnaire seeking opinion about canteen food. In the case of testing a new rifle, there would probably be no need for ethics approval unless the research involved studying the effect of the rifle on the individual, for example to assess the effect of the noise on hearing. On the other hand, assessment of a new protective suit in a hot environment would need ethics approval because of the risk of the participants becoming dangerously overheated. Research involving life support equipment whose failure could cause death also requires ethics approval.

In all cases the guidance given in JSP 536: Policy for Research Involving Human Participants must be followed. If you think that your protocol does not need ethics scrutiny it may be helpful to answer the following questions. If any of your answers fall into column A in the table below, it is likely that ethics approval of your protocol is required from MODREC. Further advice can be obtained from MODREC via the MODREC Secretariat.

This checklist of questions is aimed at helping you decide if ethics scrutiny is needed. It cannot be totally comprehensive, so even if all your answers are in Column B, if you are in any doubt as to whether ethics approval is necessary please contact MODREC via the MODREC Secretariat for advice.

It is the responsibility of you and your MOD Line Manager to ensure that no research requiring ethics approval is started before MODREC approval has been obtained, this includes the commencement of the recruitment of volunteers.

Investigator's Decision Aid for Ethics Review Requirement	A	B
1. Are the risks to the research participants in any way greater than those to which they are exposed in the course of their normal peacetime duties?	YES	NO
2. Is there any psychological intrusion, for example personality questionnaires, psychometric tests, or recording of sensitive personal information?	YES	NO

3. Is there any physical intrusion, for example body fluid sampling or medical examination?	YES	NO
4. Will the psychological endurance of the research participants be tested beyond the limits inherent in their normal peacetime duties?	YES	NO
5. Will the physical endurance of the research participants be tested beyond the limits inherent in their normal peacetime duties?	YES	NO
6. Will any physiological monitoring be used, for example of body temperature, heart rate, ECG, breathing rates etc, spirometry?	YES	NO
7. Will any drugs or other substances be administered?	YES	NO
8. If applicable, have all the unmanned tests and safety assessments been completed satisfactorily, to appropriate standards and throughout the ranges of environmental and physiological conditions in which human exposures are planned?	NO	YES
9. Will the research participants be paid extra for taking part in the study?	YES	NO
10. Will the research participants be drawn from a group which stands to benefit from the new equipment or technique?	NO	YES
11. If applicable, are Standard Operating Procedures available for the equipment or system?	NO	YES
12. Can the information collected be linked to individual participants?	YES	NO