

Engineers' perceptions to new managerialism: implications on work processes: a case of Zimbabwe, Harare

F MAUNGANIDZE *

Department of Human Resources Management,
School of Management, IT and Governance, University of KwaZulu-Natal
maunganidzef@gmail.com * corresponding author

SD RUGGUNAN

Department of Human Resources Management,
School of Management, IT and Governance, University of KwaZulu-Natal
ruggunans@ukzn.ac.za

Abstract

The study has been necessitated by a dearth in empirical research on professions and professional work in the Global South, particularly the engineering profession. The study aimed at investigating the perceptions of engineers to new managerialism and the impact of these perceptions on work processes. The classical work of Abbott of 1988 on professions guided this study.

The study adopted a qualitative interpretivist approach. In-depth interviews were conducted with seven civil and structural engineers; two of which were key informants from an academic institution and a professional body respectively. The engineers were drawn from the private and public sectors. Findings reveal that although new managerialism is a reality in the engineering profession, it is negatively perceived by engineers who engage in different forms of passive resistance. This adversely impacts on the work processes of engineers. Academic institutions and the engineering professional body have been found to be active in socialised resistance as well as in-grouping by engineers

The study recommends the value of considering a mutually reinforcing relationship between expert managers and engineers with each group realising and respecting the expertise of the other.

Key phrases

engineering profession; expert managers; new managerialism; perceptions; work processes

1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to explore the perceptions of engineers to the phenomenon of new managerialism as well as the implications of these perceptions on work processes in the engineering field in Zimbabwe. As noted by Bonnin and Ruggunan (2013:3), research on professions and professional work is dominated by empirical work drawn from the Northern perspective, particularly Europe and the United States of America (Carter, Spence & Muzio 2015:1198; Koivumäki 2013:492; Ramirez, Stringfellow & Maclean 2015:1341; Spicer 2016:29; Timmons, Coffey & Vezyridis 2014:214.)

The case presented in this study provides an empirical perspective from the Global South, and has much to offer empirically internationally.

The article is guided by three arguments. The first is that organisations are under constant pressure to ensure efficiency, external accountability and high performance. For employees this means an intensification of the scale and pace of work. Second, the construction of the expert manager as a means of facilitating this high performance workplace has become normative. This then leads to our third argument which is that a tension exists between the expert manager and the expert professional (engineers in this case).

Professionals such as engineers claim that their professional autonomy is being eroded whilst proponents of managerial expertise would argue that expert managers are needed to rationalise the workplace by extracting greater value from professionals (Abel 2003:186; Muzio & Ackroyd 2005:623). These are well rehearsed debates in the sociology of professions literature from the global North but there is little empirical evidence of these cleavages from a Zimbabwean context. It is to this end that this article hopes to contribute.

2. THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS

The study's theoretical framework is premised on the classical work of Abbott (1988:150), who focused on the dynamics through which occupations define their own jurisdiction or the right to have control over the provision of specific activities and services. Abbott (1988:150) draws attention to one of the most critical determinants of jurisdictions, which is inter-professional competition. The classical work of Abbott (1988:150) provides a complex and

rich analysis of the nature of relationships among professional occupations as well as the forces that are in place to shape these relationships with the passage of time.

Abbott (1988:152) acknowledged that (de)professionalisation is in actual fact a multi-directional process, whereby some aspects of a profession may become routinised and cast off, yet others may become elaborated and defined as the mantle of the profession. In line with the argument by Abbott (1988:150), one can therefore acknowledge that engineering professionals could be engaging in inter-professional competition with other professions, particularly expert managers in this case and some characteristics of the engineering professions are being compromised in the process.

Abbot's work is enjoying a resurgence in the sociology of work and professions as profound changes in professional labour markets and milieus have occurred post the 2008 global financial crisis. It provides an alternate way of understanding and extending labour process theory for example, which is traditionally the main theoretical lens through which industrial sociology has analysed transformations of work (Evetts 2011:410).

2.1 New managerialism

'New managerialism' in a sociology of professions perspective refers to practices in the private sector where a powerful management body is imposed and it overrides professional knowledge and skills possessed by professionals. The intention is to keep discipline under tight control as well as making sure organisational goals and values override all other factors that may act to the contrary. New managerialism is argued to be driven by the need to ensure efficiency, external accountability and monitoring as well as an emphasis on high standards of performance (Cope, Jones & Hendricks 2016:118; Deem 2001:11; Lynch & Grummell 2016:12).

Historically and traditionally, professionals such as engineers were largely able to remain outside the control and influence of management and the corporate style of management practices. Professionals depended on the political power of their respective professional associations. This made their work lives immune from intrusion from managers and managerialism (Krause 1996:33), thus they enjoyed high levels of autonomy. Lynch *et al.* (2016:11) refers to new managerialism as a form of organisational neo liberalism.

Managerialism originated from the quest for the separation of ownership and control in the private sector. The concept was then translated into the public sector following the introduction of the New Public Management reforms in different countries (Vargas-Hernández 2016:26). New managerialism is associated with the removal of the locus of power from the knowledgeable professional to policy-makers, managers and auditors who in most cases do not have professional knowledge in the respective fields. It is argued that professionals, just as any other employees, are in need of management, surveillance and control (Alvesson & Spicer 2016:33; Davies 2003:6). The argument of professionals being exposed to management, surveillance and control automatically destabilises the status quo, which has been in existence for decades concerning the autonomy of professionals.

2.2 Professionals and organisations

Muzio & Kirkpatrick (2011:390) argued that the study of professions has become increasingly relevant given that most professionals now work within organisations and for organisations. Organisations operate within a specific socio-economic as well as technological environment. Such larger forces dictate how organisations should operate which will, in turn, have a bearing on how professionals should operate.

Organisations withhold the autonomy of the professionals yet, on the other hand, these professionals want to exercise professional autonomy and discretion. When demands of the professionals and those of the organisation employing them align, there is likely to be a new dimension of professionalism. It is important to note that the loss of autonomy on the part of engineers (second argument) is closely related to how these engineers may react (third argument).

Organisations, in their quest to maximise profits, tend to expose professionals to external sources of power and managerial authority, compromising the values and criteria of their professions in order to satisfy the interests of the employer (Andri & Kyriakidou 2016; Evetts 2006:140). This clearly shows the power of organisations in (re-)shaping professions in their quest to pursue personal interest and priorities.

Organisations are able to create corporate versions of professionalism and professional conduct (Evetts 2006:140; Muzio, Kirkpatrick & Kipping 2011:810; Suddaby & Greenwood

2005:41). These scholars identified such interference as organisational encroachment, arguing that such a scenario has resulted in corporate forms of professionalism whereby it is determined by organisations. Professionalism has been gradually shifting from being defined by professions themselves to being defined by organisations. Noordegraaf (2011:474) noted that in most cases, occupational standards and professional principles are at odds with organisational and managerial control principles.

Given the chance, managers can weaken professions (Harrison & Pollitt 1994:89; Hoggett 1996:178; Hood 1991:5; Noordegraaf 2011:471). In their quest to pursue the interests of the organisations, managers are said to be adversaries of professions and likewise, professionals are seen as victims of organisational control (Noordegraaf 2011:473). The conflict between the two groups can also be argued in line with the relations between organisations and occupations (Cooper & Robson 2006:418; Muzio & Kirkpatrick 2011:398; Noordegraaf & Schinkel 2010:7). Noordegraaf (2011:474) proposed the development of organised professionalism where professional practice embodies organisational logics; thus a somewhat compromising position between the two "warring" parties.

Evetts (2006:141) noted that organisational budgets have become leaner and customers become more demanding, as service work becomes more regulated and as achievements target are measured and specified. This has led to the need for professionals to change in the same direction by adopting new ways, not only of thinking, but of practising as well, thus introducing the new form of professionalism.

Noordegraaf (2011:470) elaborates on this argument by suggesting that the growing pressure in the management of expert work is forcing professional associations to re-make professions so that their behaviours are in line with the requirements and dictates of organisations. Noordegraaf (2011:472) emphasised the role of professional bodies in remodelling educational programmes in order to equip their members with skills relating to organisational issues such as efficiency, planning and leadership.

2.3 Power dynamics in organisations

Contemporary organisational studies remain interested in the ways in which organisations structure the work of their professional workforce, the extent to which professionals'

autonomy is constrained by organisational structures, as well as workers' behavioural and attitudinal responses. Researchers are keen to work on the nature of employers' efforts to exert control over workers and the extent to which workers accept or resist that control (Gorman & Sandefur 2011:276).

Abel (2003:186) as well as Muzio and Ackroyd (2005:622) argue that if managers insist on managing professionals, that action is bound to provoke resistance. It has been established that there is an inherent conflict between professions and bureaucracy: in this case, bureaucracy represents organisational goals and values and how these are achieved (Bourgeault, Hirschhorn & Saunsauien 2011:77; Evetts 2010:138; Kirkpartrick & Muzio 2011:396.) There is then the introduction of new power dynamics and relations between engineers and expert managers. These power relations are bound to impact on work processes in one way or the other, especially if they are not well handled.

However, it is of importance to note that Nygaard (2012:13) determined that there is no conflict between professionals and expert managers. According to this argument, it then implies that new managerialism has not negatively affected the power relations between engineers and expert managers.

The power relations create various tensions in organisations as professionals require different managerial approaches (Abel 2003:186; Muzio & Ackroyd 2005:619).

In addition, expectations from both the employers (managers) and employees (engineers) should also change in relation to the changes in work. When the changing nature of work is clearly communicated, expectations are equally altered, thus a clear psychological contract emerges which enables each party concerned to be clear regarding what is expected from them by the other party. When such issues are not clear, conflict is inevitable. Conflict will then have an impact on productivity and morale in the organisation.

Noordegraaf (2011:469) argued that although professionals belong to occupational fields, they now increasingly belong to organisations as many of them work within organisations. According to Noordegraaf (2011:467), occupational and organisational principles usually conflict and since professionals increasingly ply their trade in organisations, they are usually confronted with a situation where they have to operate according to the dictates of the organisation or risk expulsion.

3. METHODS

This study adopted a qualitative research methodology approach, particularly, an interpretivist paradigm. The aim was to generate rich insights that could inform knowledge of the phenomenon under investigation as well as future research.

Data were collected from in-depth interviews. Purposive and snowballing sampling techniques were used for a sample of seven participants. Of the seven participants, two participants were key informants, one participant is employed at an academic institution (university) and one is employed at a professional body that represents the interest of engineers, the Zimbabwe Institute of Engineers (ZIE). Five of the participants were engineers working for organisations in Harare, Zimbabwe. Engineers were drawn both from the public and private sectors. All the engineers reported to have been either civil or structural engineers.

Data was collected using two different semi structured interview guides. The first interview guide was used for key informants drawn from the academic institution and the professional body, the Zimbabwe Institute of Engineers.

The second interview guide was used for engineers employed in organisations. Each interview took an average time of 30 minutes. Stephens (2007:77) notes that interviews generally take an hour or more, but argued that in some cases, an interview may take less than an hour.

Data was analysed using Nvivo QSR version 11 software specifically designed to analyse qualitative data. Data was arranged into different emerging themes using Clarke and Braun's (2006) guide for thematic analysis. Table 1 summarises the sample data.

TABLE 1: Biographical data of participants

Participant	Gender	Type of organisation	Engineering field	Category of respondent
P1	Male	Private	Civil	Main respondent
P2	Female	Public	Structural	Main respondent
P3	Male	Public	Civil	Main respondent

Participant	Gender	Type of organisation	Engineering field	Category of respondent
P4	Male	Public	Civil	Main respondent
P5	Male	Private	Civil	Main respondent
P6	Male	Professional body	Structural	Key informant
P7	Male	Academic institution	Civil	Key informant

Source: Survey results

4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Theme 1: Managers as drivers of efficiency?

It has emerged from the data that general managers view themselves as drivers of organisational efficiencies. Under this theme emerged some sub-themes as highlighted in Figure 1.

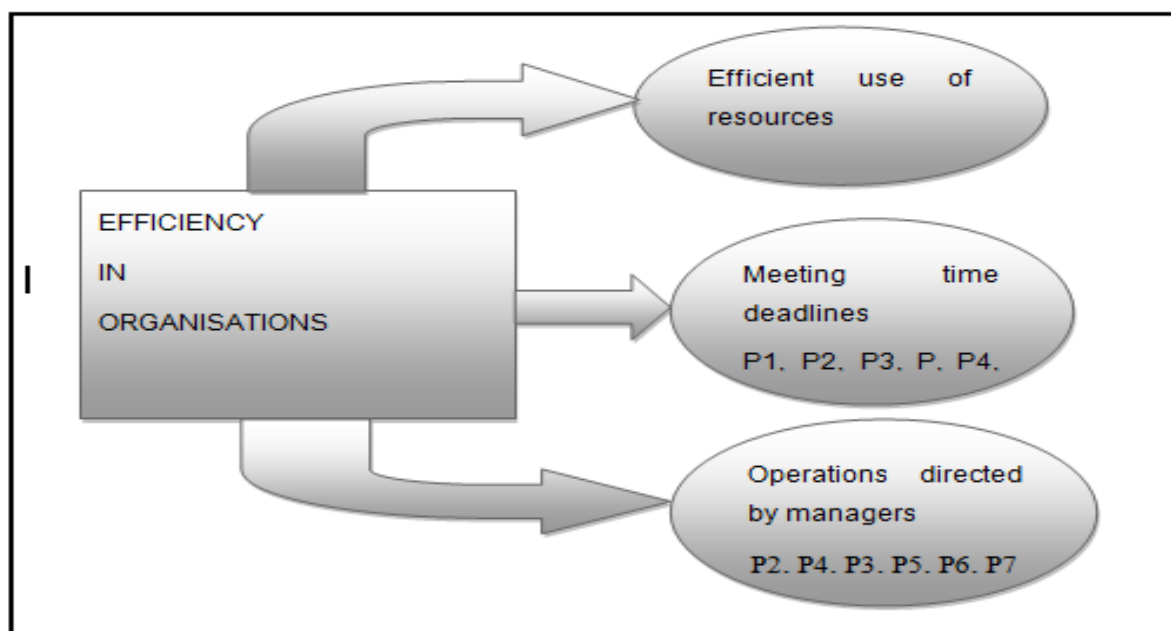


FIGURE 1: Organisational efficiency sub-themes

Source: Interview results

Participants revealed that they worked under strict conditions with strict time frames and supervisors, who in most cases, were not engineers or did not have any technical background. Where these managers were engineers, they were driven by the need to serve the organisations and did not pay attention to the values of engineering.

We are forced to meet targets, some of which are not realistic at all. Unfortunately, our bosses are not engineers and they do not understand the engineering language. In most cases, we end up compromising on quality instead of arguing with them. p2

We are forced to work under pressure. It seems the motto is now produce, produce and produce. p4

As noted by Deem (2001:11), new managerialism is driven by the need to ensure efficiency, external accountability, as well as monitoring. Davies (2003:4) and Alvesson and Spicer (2016:31) noted that professionals, just like any other employee, are subject to management surveillance and control.

... the treatment we get from our managers is the same they give to non-professional members of this organisation, the likes of messengers and office orderlies. ...we are now in the same basket in as far as management is concerned. p5

Employees, including professional engineers in the contemporary world are mandated to go along with such corporate demands. This implies that the autonomy that used to be enjoyed by engineers is increasingly being compromised as these corporate priorities are being pursued at the expense of the professionals' autonomy.

4.2 Engineers' perceptions and reactions to new managerialism and its implications

Findings have indicated that although new managerialism has been adopted into the profession, engineers are yet to appreciate it. Participants admitted that they are at times managed by managers who have specialised in finance and business management. They argued that these get the managerial positions ahead of engineers.

Why should I be managed by an MBA graduate when I am doing engineering work? How can he supervise me when he can't understand the language at all? p2

It is very rampant actually, where such a disastrous situation exists, where you get engineers taking orders from accountants, financial managers, human resources managers and the like....So in engineering, like I say, it is rampant, engineers are frustrated. p4

Participants also expressed dissatisfaction at reporting to a manager who is not an engineer or who is not of a technical background. This clearly shows a high level of professional closure based on abstract knowledge on the part of engineers. Engineers have created an in-group comprising themselves as well as an out-group comprising any other member of an organisation who is not an engineer. In line with this argument, both key informants clearly highlighted the development whereby organisational efficiency and bureaucracy is given priority at the expense of the core values of the engineering professions such as safety and durability.

Similar sentiments are shared by Davies (2003:3) and Alvesson and Spicer (2016:32) who have it that organisations are called upon to be as efficient as possible in their operations. A key informant from the academic institution notes;

Civil engineering is all about safety of the ultimate end user of the product as well as durability of the structure. Cutting down on cost is very secondary when it comes to engineering. Why should we cut down cost at the same time compromising the safety of people and compromising on the durability of the structure? ... sadly this is what is happening in the engineering field. p7

This is a clear sign that even academic institutions are yet to fully accept new managerialism and could be grooming engineers to resist it through what Noordegraaf (2011:473) called the hidden curriculum. Abel (2003:186); Muzio and Ackroyd (2005:622) note that if management imposes itself on professionals, they are likely to resist.

Academics could also be reluctant to alter their curriculum to incorporate aspects of new managerialism. This confirms the position by Noordegraaf (2011:470) that academic institutions and professionals have a tendency of working together. In relation to the argument by Noordegraaf (2011:470), during formal training at an academic institution, academics may decide to deviate from the curriculums or adapt them in certain ways. Noordegraaf (2011:471) described these deviations as 'hidden curriculums' and they facilitate the reproduction of the structural and cultural underpinnings of a particular

profession. The in-group is not comfortable accepting the infiltration of the out-group members into their professional territory.

Molander and Grimen (2010:113) argued that abolishing autonomy from professionals is equivalent to stripping them of their ability to work. Engineers have been socialised to be self-governed and new managerialism has made them subservient to expert managers. This could be having negative effects on their work as the exercise of autonomy has become restrictive.

In an interview with a key informant from the Zimbabwe Institute of Engineers, it was established that even the senior members of the body are less comfortable exposing their work to be managed by expert managers, especially those who are not engineers by profession.

As the professional body, it is our mandate to protect not only engineers, but the engineering process as well. How can we manage and pursue the interests of our professions if managers do not give that room which we used to enjoy? An engineer should use their own discretion, by so doing, we can make significant inroads in our profession. What we see today is not the best arrangement and is counterproductive. p6

As seen above, even at the professional body level, engineers perceive new managerialism negatively. The process of socialised resistance seems to be active within the engineering in-group. The senior members of the profession are still holding onto their previously held arrangement where they used to enjoy independence over their work and are passing on the same values to the upcoming generations of engineers through academic institutions and their professional body regardless of the changing trends.

Findings concerning the reluctance by the Zimbabwe Institute of Engineers to embrace the new managerialism completely concur with the assertion by Noodergraaf (2011:472) who denoted professional associations as social organising agents and are important in forming connections or disconnects between organisations and professionals.

In this instance, the Zimbabwe Institute of Engineers as a professional association is creating fissures between organisations and professionals as there is not much encouragement from the body for corporate engineers to embrace new managerialism.

The position taken by the engineering profession against incorporating contemporary developments in organisations also tallies with the arguments by Kirkpatrick, Ackroyd and Walker (2005:107) who have it that professional education and socialisation are some of the conditions that act against productive working in organisations. Engineers could have been socialised by their professional body as well as through training in academic institutions. There could be high values of professional pride within the engineering profession to the extent that they are less prepared to report to expert managers who are driven by the need to pursue organisational objectives.

Another argument that leads to engineers negatively perceiving new managerialism is that of competition among professionals which seems to be a major issue with engineers. Participants have indicated that the competition is about controlling the resources of the organisation. It has emerged from the findings that engineers are disgruntled when reporting to expert managers as they argue that they are not in a position to bargain for the resources that they need in their operations as managers are trained to be mean with resources, especially, financial resources.

Yes, the scenario in this country actually is that the emphasis is usually placed on people who run the finances and the tendency is they tend to get the top jobs. This Ministry when I joined, it was headed by an engineer but when it was amalgamated into Local Government, Public Works and National Housing, it is headed by an administrator. So it is a true reflection of what is going on in the industry. The top jobs are usually held by accountants and administrators. So most of us, technical guys are having to report to non-technical people. p5

Professional competition within organisations, in this case, between engineers and expert managers has resulted into conflicts with engineers claiming to be victims, hence the negative perception towards new managerialism.

It has also emerged from the findings that conflict between engineers and expert managers revolve around the aspect of different priorities due to alleged professional background differences. Engineers have argued that they are trained to ensure that when they are involved in a project, the product should last, at the same time valuing the safety of the end users. They have not been trained to focus much on the costs of the project.

On the other hand, management experts are argued to focus mainly on minimising costs. Professional language was also another difference that emanated from the study between engineers and professional managers. It is evident from the findings that the engineers seem to emphasise differences in technical language as a reason why their profession should not succumb to expert managers. Arguments for the negative perceptions of new managerialism by engineers are summarised in table 2.

TABLE 2: Reasons for negative perception of new managerialism

Reason for negative perceptions	Engineers	Expert managers
Language differences	Technical in nature	Business/management in nature
Differences in priorities	Safety and durability	Financial savings and a focus on costs
Professional competition	Engineers assume a subordinate role to expert managers	Expert managers control such resources as finance
Social stratification resulting from socialisation	Engineers argue their professional status should be prioritized	Expert managers are in most cases at the helm of organizations
Professional rivalry	In-group	Out-group

Source: Interview results

The reaction by engineers confirms the arguments by Evetts (2011:410) who states that new managerialism has exerted much pressure on the autonomous operations of professionals, forcing them to cede some level of their professional authority and power to expert managers.

The findings also support the position maintained by Nygaard (2012:15) who has indicated that professional autonomy is limited in organisations. This goes hand in hand with the assertion by Noordegraaf (2011:470); Abel (2003:186) and Muzio and Ackroyd (2005:620) who indicated that occupational standards are in most cases at odds with organisational standards.

The perceptions of new managerialism by the engineering professionals also depend on the type of business employing that particular professional. The study has revealed two forms of organisations in as far as engineering personnel is concerned, those who ply their trade in the home base¹ and those in the foreign base². In this article, engineers plying their trade in an engineering organisation are said to be operating in a home base, while those plying in a non-engineering organisation are said to be operating in a foreign base. Findings have revealed that new managerialism may allow engineers operating in the foreign base to experience less supervision, thereby permitting possibilities of incomplete or shoddy work because the expert managers may not be in a position to supervise the engineer adequately.

If one wants to supervise me, they must be in a position to understand the profession, if they don't, then I am better off, I will just do the minimal possible, especially in such an environment where there is no meaningful remuneration. p4

One may therefore argue that being based at a foreign organisation (i.e. an organization primarily of another profession) may lead to a lowering of ethical work standards. It has been observed from the findings that foreign bases promote malpractice and chances of shoddy work increases.

It is however evident from the study that engineers are not, by virtue of their training, well positioned to take up leadership roles in organisations, unless an additional business or management-related qualification is acquired.

Our students of course are not taught finance, management of business and management sciences in-depth, but only an appreciation of these areas. However, we teach them about project management ... p7

Such a position could be one of the reasons why engineers may need to be managed by expert managers. Reeve (2010:6) confirmed this argument when he noted that engineers do not stand up to address tough questions or engage in debates that determine direction. Leadership entails determining direction as well as influencing people about values, mission, vision and strategy, yet engineers are less engaged in leadership.

¹ An organisation or department that specialises in engineering work and employs engineers

² An organisation or department that does not specialises in engineering work but employs an engineer.

One may therefore argue that if engineers cannot lead, then they must be prepared to be led by some other people, preferably personnel from business management. It has emerged from the findings that engineers have since realised this limitation and are taking up postgraduate studies such as Masters in Business Administration (MBAs) as well as Strategic Management. This could be an effort to strategically position themselves for managerial positions which are difficult to attain if one does not have a management qualification. This could be an attempt by engineers to avoid and restrict new managerialism.

5. CONCLUSION

The need for organisational efficiency, accountability as well as an increase in productivity has led to new managerialism in the engineering profession. Expert managers, who specialised in the management of corporate entities, are driven by the need for organizational efficiency, hence they end up supervising engineers in their quest to meet the demands of the organisations. This is often at the expense of professional autonomy.

It has also emerged from the study that engineers in Zimbabwe who are exposed to new managerialism are not comfortable with such an arrangement and engage in passive resistance. Due to poor economic performance and high unemployment rate, employees including professionals cannot afford to leave their place of employment. Even though they perceive new managerialism negatively, the study has revealed that all they can do is to engage in passive forms of resistance.

Engineers may take advantage of the ignorance of expert managers to do shoddy and poorly concluded projects and work. This is usually rampant in organisations that are not in the engineering field but employing an engineer. The engineering professional body and the academic institutions have been found to be some of the main forces behind engineers' resistance.

Engineers in Zimbabwe have historically enjoyed a high professional status. They are also groomed to make sure as professionals, they remain autonomous in their operations, meaning resisting any threat to their professional autonomy. In this study, this has been termed socialised resistance whereby pieces of knowledge and beliefs systems are passed on from one generation of professionals to the next. Passive resistance can also be linked to

the hidden curriculum as explained in the previous sections. Figure 2 depicts the role of academic institutions and professional bodies in socialised resistance.

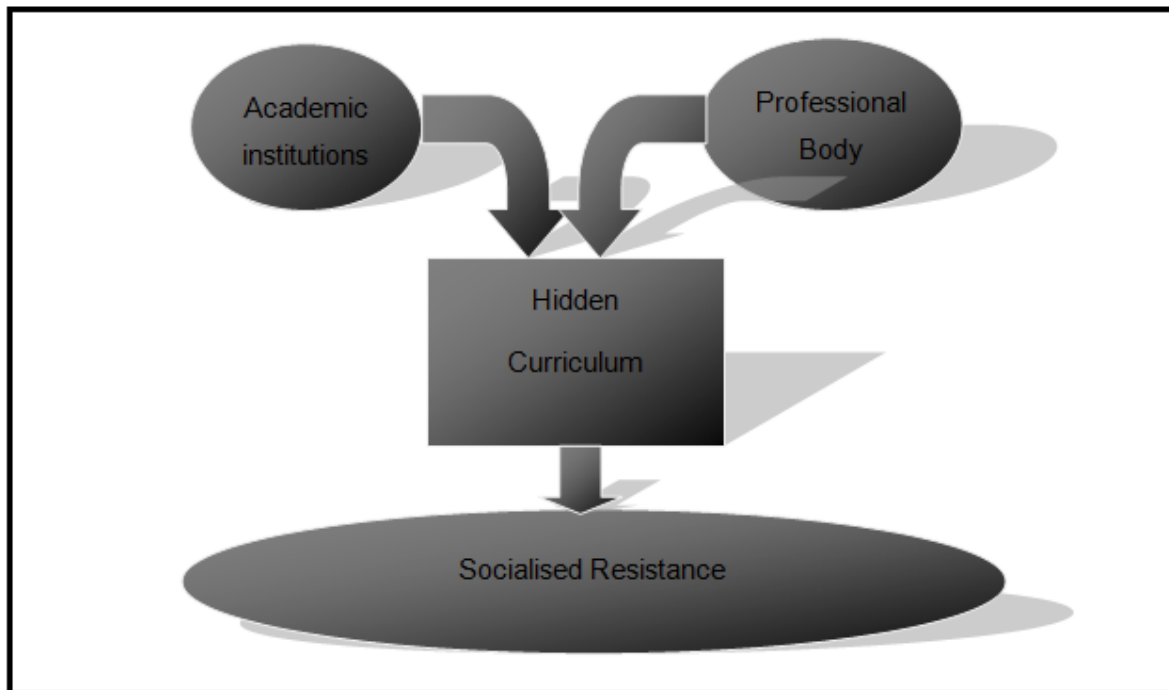


FIGURE 2: Socialised resistance

Source: Interview results

The perceived fight to control organisations between expert managers and engineers has led to professional aggression. There is inter-professional competition between these two professionals. Engineers are less prepared to cede their autonomy to managers as they have professional pride to protect. It has been established that the competition is on controlling organisational resources, particularly financial resources.

Engineers engage in professional aggression as they do not want to lose their autonomy to professional managers. Competition and conflicts between different professionals in organisations which are perceived by the engineering personnel have been argued to result in professional in-groups. Engineers consider themselves as an in-group and any other profession as an out-group. Differences in technical language as well as socialised

resistance have been cited as some of the reasons for the in-group formation resulting in the resistance to new managerialism.

Theoretically, the study has advanced knowledge and literature in human resource management and sociology of work on new managerialism and how it is being interpreted by professionals such as engineers as well as the implications of these interpretations on work organisation in Zimbabwe.

Emerging theoretical arguments in professional work are examined in relation to the work of Abbott (1988:4), Evetts (2011:409), Muzio and Kirkpatrick (2011:389), Noordegraaf (2011:470) and Bonnin & Ruggunan 2013:3, among other scholars. It is important at this juncture to note that as highlighted by Kuhlman (2003), and cited in Bonnin and Ruggunan 2013:3, more work on professions and professional work should be carried out in the global South for a complete sociology of professions as the majority of these studies have been carried out in the global North.

An important theoretical contribution relates to the contributions by organisations in the changing nature of professional work. In line with previous studies (Muzio & Kirkpatrick 2011:391), organisations are instrumental in shaping occupational professionalism. Organisations impose their demands on professionals, in this case, engineers, to behave in a particular manner in line with their respective culture. This trend has also been witnessed in the Zimbabwean context.

However, from a theoretical perspective, the prevailing economic conditions in Zimbabwe have brought a new dimension to how organisations are contributing to the perceptions of new managerialism and its impact on work processes. Owing to poor economic performance, Zimbabwe has seen an over-supplied market of engineering professionals. The existing organisations are failing to absorb all the professionals, thus tilting the industrial relations power in favour of the employer. In addition, some technicians have been over the years been groomed to do engineering work, making it more difficult for engineers to directly show their dissatisfaction to new managerialism as they can easily be replaced in Zimbabwe.

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