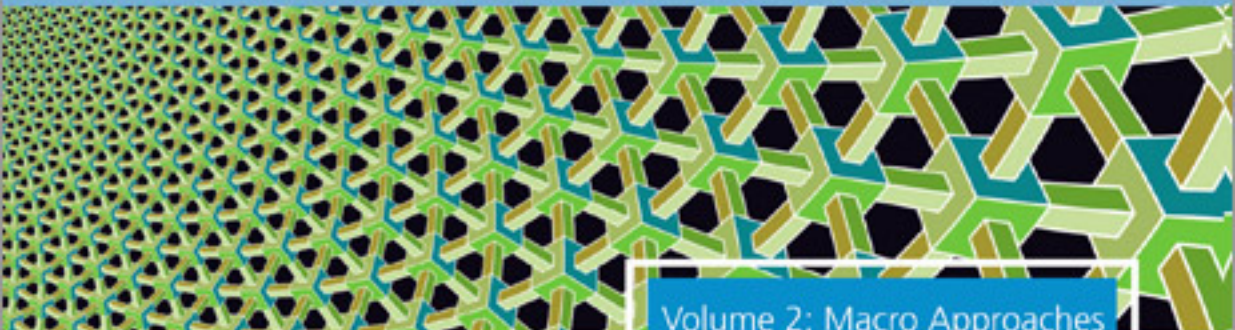


The SAGE Handbook of Organizational Behavior



Volume 2: Macro Approaches

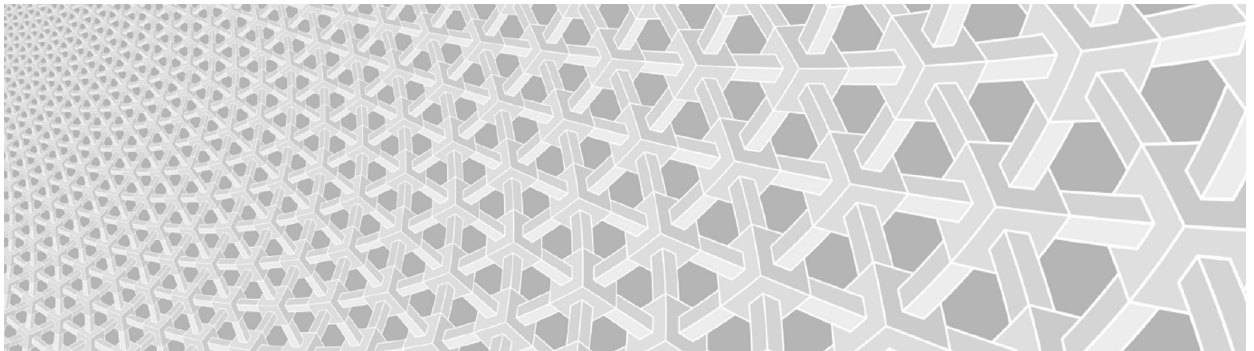
Edited by
Stewart R Clegg and
Cary L Cooper



The SAGE
Handbook of

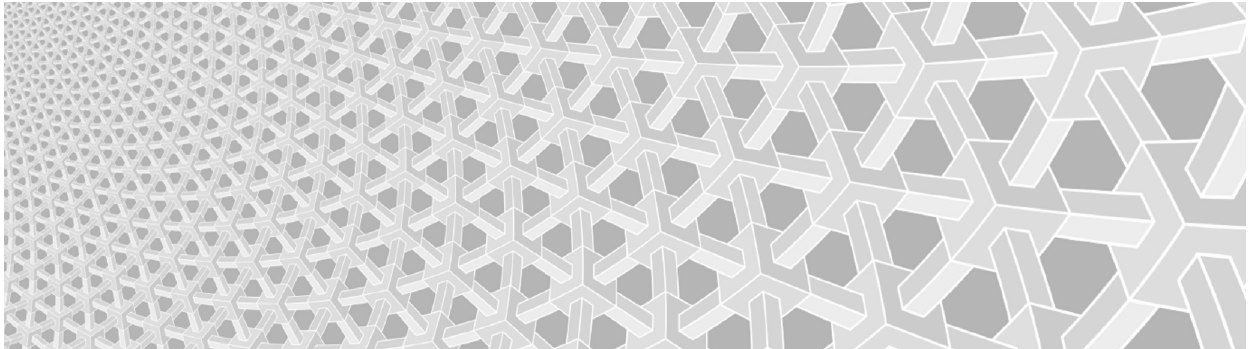
Organizational Behavior

Volume II



The SAGE
Handbook of
**Organizational
Behavior**

Volume II
Macro Approaches



Edited by
Stewart R. Clegg
and Cary L. Cooper



Los Angeles • London • New Delhi • Singapore • Washington DC

Introduction © Stewart R. Clegg and Cary L. Cooper 2009

© SAGE Publications 2009

First published 2009

Apart from any fair dealing for the purposes of research or private study, or criticism or review, as permitted under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, this publication may be reproduced, stored or transmitted in any form, or by any means, only with the prior permission in writing of the publishers, or in the case of reprographic reproduction, in accordance with the terms of licences issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency. Enquiries concerning reproduction outside those terms should be sent to the publishers.

SAGE Publications Ltd
1 Oliver's Yard
55 City Road
London EC1Y 1SP

SAGE Publications Inc.
2455 Teller Road
Thousand Oaks, California 91320

SAGE Publications India Pvt Ltd
B 1/I 1 Mohan Cooperative Industrial Area
Mathura Road, Post Bag 7
New Delhi 110 044

SAGE Publications Asia-Pacific Pte Ltd
33 Pekin Street #02-01
Far East Square
Singapore 048763

Library of Congress Control Number: 2008922918

British Library Cataloguing in Publication data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-1-4129-3427-5

Typeset by CEPHA Imaging Pvt. Ltd., Bangalore, India
Printed in Great Britain by The Cromwell Press, Trowbridge, Wiltshire
Printed on paper from sustainable resources

Contents

About the Editors	viii
About the Contributors	ix
INTRODUCTION: Why a Handbook of Macro-organizational Behavior? <i>Stewart Clegg</i>	1
PART ONE FRAMING THE FIELD: INTRODUCING SOME BIG QUESTIONS	39
1 What Do OB Tools and Practices Do? <i>André Spicer</i>	41
2 What Does Knowledge Work Do? <i>Tim Ray</i>	53
3 Organizing Freedom and Constraint Within the ‘Neo-Liberal’ Regime of Choice <i>Alan Scott and Richard Weiskopf</i>	68
4 Managerialism and its Discontents <i>Martin Parker</i>	85
5 Positive Organizational Scholarship: What Does It Achieve? <i>Arran Caza and Kim S. Cameron</i>	99
PART TWO MACRO-ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAVIOUR AND IMMANENT PROCESSES	117
6 Organizational Learning: The Dynamic Flow of Macro and Micro Forces <i>Elena P. Antonacopoulou</i>	119
7 Shaping Organizational Commitment <i>Robert A. Roe, Omar Solinger and Woody Van Olffen</i>	130
8 Power in Organizational Behaviour <i>Raymond Daniel Gordon</i>	150
9 On the (be)Coming and Going of Organizational Change: Prospect and Retrospect in Sensemaking <i>Ian Colville</i>	162

10	Organizational Identity <i>Andrew D. Brown</i>	175
11	Organizational Conflict <i>Stephen Ackroyd</i>	192
12	Organizational Careers <i>Kerr Inkson and Yehuda Baruch</i>	209
13	Top Management Teams and Team Working <i>Sarah MacCurtain and Michael A. West</i>	224
14	Succession Management: Building Talent Across Organizational Generations <i>Jay A. Conger</i>	242
15	Rethinking Leadership and Followership <i>David Collinson</i>	251
PART THREE MACRO-ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAVIOUR AND KEY PRACTICES		265
16	The Labour Process, Surveillance, and the Person in the Sight of the Organization <i>Graham Sewell</i>	267
17	Implementing Employment Equity in Gendered Organizations for Gendered Lives <i>Judith K. Pringle, Alison M. Konrad and Anne-Marie Greene</i>	287
18	Managing Multi-culturally in Organizations in a Diverse Society <i>Gill Kirton</i>	309
19	The Organization of Human Resource Strategies: Narratives and Power in Understanding Labour Management in a Context of Change <i>Miguel Martínez Lucio</i>	323
20	Organizational Moral Responsibility <i>Carl Rhodes and Alison Pullen</i>	340
21	Deconstructing Sustainability: Organizations in Society <i>Suzanne Benn</i>	356
22	Managing Organizational Expression <i>Majken Schultz and Mary Jo Hatch</i>	374
23	Management Fashion and Organizational Behaviour <i>René ten Bos and Stefan Heusinkveld</i>	391

PART FOUR	ORGANIZING ON A MACRO SCALE	407
24	Organizational Change Management <i>David C. Wilson</i>	409
25	‘We Have Always Been Oligarchs’: Business Elite in Polyarchy <i>David Courpasson</i>	424
26	Organizational Design <i>Gerard Fairtlough and Rosemary Beckham</i>	442
27	Projects for Life: Building Narrative Capital for Positive Organizational Change <i>Arne Carlsen and Tyrone Pitsis</i>	456
28	Corporate Governance <i>Rob Watson</i>	478
29	Globalization and Organizational Behavior <i>Stewart Clegg and Chris Carter</i>	496
	Index	509

About the Editors

Stewart R. Clegg is Professor at the University of Technology, Sydney and Research Director of the Centre for Management and Organization Studies; a Visiting Professor of Organizational Change Management, Maastricht University Faculty of Business; a Visiting Professor to the EM-Lyon Doctoral Program, and Visiting Professor and International Fellow in Discourse and Management Theory, Centre of Comparative Social Studies, Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, and also at Copenhagen Business School. He is a prolific publisher in leading academic journals in management and organization theory, who has published a large number of papers and chapters and is the author and editor of over 40 monographs, textbooks, encyclopedia, and handbooks. He is a Fellow of the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia and a Distinguished Fellow of the Australian and New Zealand Academy of Management. He is also an International Fellow of the Advanced Institute of Management Research. To his surprise he has been researched as one of the top 200 business guru's in the world (*What's the Big Idea? Creating and Capitalizing on the Best New Management Thinking* by Thomas H. Davenport, Lawrence Prusak and H. James Wilson, 2003). His current empirical research is on project work and on business coaching.

Cary L. Cooper is Professor of Organizational Psychology and Health, and Pro Vice Chancellor at Lancaster University. He is the author/editor of over 100 books (on occupational stress, women at work and industrial and organizational psychology), has written over 400 scholarly articles for academic journals, and is a frequent contributor to national newspapers, TV and radio. He is currently Founding Editor of the *Journal of Organizational Behavior* and Co-Editor of the medical journal *Stress & Health*. He is a Fellow of the British Psychological Society, The Royal Society of Arts, The Royal Society of Medicine, The Royal Society of Health, British Academy of Management and an Academician of the Academy for the Social Sciences. Professor Cooper is past President of the British Academy of Management, is a Companion of the Chartered Management Institute and one of the first UK-based Fellows of the (American) Academy of Management (having also won the 1998 Distinguished Service Award for his contribution to management science from the Academy of Management). In 2001, Cary was awarded a CBE in the Queen's Birthday Honours List for his contribution to occupational safety and health. He holds Honorary Doctorates from Aston University (DSc), Heriot-Watt University (DLitt), Middlesex University (Doc. Univ) and Wolverhampton University (DBA); an Honorary Fellowship of the Faculty of Occupational Medicine, in 2006 was awarded an Honorary Fellowship of the Royal College of Physicians (Hon FRCP), and in 2007 a Life Time Achievement Award from the Division of Occupational Psychology of the British Psychological Society.

About the Contributors

Stephen Ackroyd is Professor of Organizational Analysis at Lancaster University Management School. The main themes of his research work concern the effects of the mediation of social and economic power by organizations and occupations. His early research was into organizational misbehaviour, which was completed whilst he was a consultant in the British engineering industry. After spending much time subsequently researching the professions and public sector organizations, his current work is concerned with the activities and strategies of the largest British companies still involved in manufacturing, and the current transformation of British capitalism. His recent books include: *Realist Perspectives on Management and Organisation* (2000) and *Critical Realist Applications in Organisation and Management Studies* (2004) (both written and edited with S. Fleetwood), *The Organisation of Business* (2002), *The New Managerialism and the Public Service Professions* (2005 with Ian Kirkpatrick). Recently, he has co-edited and co-authored with R. Batt and others *The Oxford Handbook of Work and Organisations* (2006) and with D. Muzio and J.-F. Chanlat *Redirections in the Study of Expert Labour* (2007).

Elena Antonacopoulou is Professor of Organizational Behaviour at the University of Liverpool Management School and founder of GNOSIS, a research initiative advancing Practice Relevant Scholarship. Her principal research interests include change and learning practices in organizations and the development of new methodologies for studying social complexity. She is currently undertaking a series of research projects in Organizational Learning, Social Practice and Dynamic Capabilities working collaboratively with leading researchers internationally and with practitioners and policy-makers in co-creating knowledge for action. She writes on all the above areas and her work is published in international journals such as *Organization Studies*, *Journal of Management Studies*, *Academy of Management Review*. She is currently Subject Editor for Organizational Learning and Knowledge for the *Emergence: Complexity and Organizational Journal* and has recently completed a five-year term as joint Editor-in-chief of the international journal *Management Learning*. She serves on the editorial board of *Organization Science*, *Academy of Management Learning and Education Journal* and *Society, Business and Organization Journal*, *Irish Journal of Management*. She has recently completed a four-year prestigious Senior Research Fellowship as part of the Advanced Institute of Management Research. She has served on the EGOS Board for two terms (6 years) and has been elected to several positions at Board and Executive levels at the Academy of Management (USA) where she has now been appointed to lead the Practice Theme Committee.

Yehuda Baruch is a Professor of Management at Norwich Business School, UEA Norwich UK and formerly a Visiting Professor at the University of Texas at Arlington, USA and a Visiting Research Fellow at London Business School. He holds a BSc in Electronic Engineering (Ben Gurion, Israel), MSc and DSc in Management and Behavioral Sciences (The Technion, Israel). After being a project manager in the high technology industry he embraced a career in academia.

He teaches graduate and undergraduate courses in the areas of organizational behaviour and human resource management. His research interests are Global and Strategic HRM, Careers, and Technology Impact on Management. He has published over 80 refereed papers in a number of journals, including *Human Resource Management*, *Organizational Dynamics*, *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *Human Relations*, and *Organization Studies*. The author of *Managing Career: Theory and Practice* and co-editor of *Winning Reviews: A Guide for Evaluating Scholarly Writing* and *Opening the Black Box of Editorship*, as well as over 20 book chapters. Professor Baruch is the Editor of *Group & Organization Management*, former editor of *Career Development International* and served as the Chair for the Careers Division of the Academy of Management.

Rosemary Beckham co-founded Triarchy Press with Gerard Fairtlough, a press that exists to promote high-level new thinking about organization and organizations. Rosie believes that trust, openness and critique are the key to organizational success. She is interested in the dynamic process of people working together to get things done, especially without a dominant hierarchy. This necessarily includes: an exploration of the distinction between ‘managing’ (the processes used to get things done) and ‘hierarchy’ (control over people); an understanding of the role of learning in knowledge; and an understanding of the role of shared culture and communication in innovation and change. Rosie studied business management at the South Bank University and after an early career in HR development, moved into sales and marketing, since when she has worked for several start-up companies where her creativity, flexibility and generalist skills have been most useful. Rosie also has a first-class degree from the University of Exeter and is a fluent French speaker.

Suzanne Benn is a Professor at Macquarie University, Sydney. She has a background in the sciences and social sciences and currently researches and teaches in the area of sustainability and corporate social responsibility. Her recent publications include *Organisational Change for Corporate Sustainability* (Second edition, Routledge, 2007 with Dexter Dunphy and Andrew Griffiths) and *Corporate Governance and Sustainability* (Routledge, 2007 edited with Dexter Dunphy). Suzanne is currently working on *Key Concepts of CSR* (for Sage) and *Leadership for Global Sustainability* (for Edward Elgar).

René ten Bos is Professor of Philosophy and Organizational Theory at Radboud University, The Netherlands. He has published on strategy, ethics, poststructuralism, management fashion, and many other topics. His work has appeared in journals such as *Organization*, *Organization Studies*, *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, *Social Epistemology*, *Culture & Organization*, *Theory*, *Culture & Society*, *Business Ethics: A European Review*, and *Journal of Management Studies*. He is the (co-)author of *Fashion in Utopia in Management Thinking* (2000) and *For Business Ethics* (2006) and co-editor of *Philosophy and Organization* (2007). He has also published 12 books and numerous articles in his native language. ten Bos is member of the editorial board of *Organization* and associate editor of *Culture & Organization*. His current research interests are in animals and in water.

Andrew D. Brown took his MA at Christ Church, Oxford, and his MSc and PhD degrees at the University of Sheffield. He held faculty positions at Manchester Business School, the University of Nottingham and the University of Cambridge, before taking up a Chair in Organization Studies at the University of Bath. He sits on the editorial boards of *Human Relations* and *Journal of Management Studies* and is a Senior Editor of *Organization Studies*. His principal research interests are centred on issues of discourse and identity. He has published work in a range of

scholarly journals, including *Academy of Management Review*, *Journal of Management Studies*, *Human Relations* and *Organization Studies*.

Kim S. Cameron is Professor of Management and Organizations at the Michigan University Ross School of Business. He has researched organizational downsizing, organizational effectiveness, corporate quality culture and the development of leadership excellence, which have been published in more than 100 articles and 10 books: *Coffin Nails and Corporate Strategies* (Prentice Hall), *Developing Management Skills* (Prentice Hall), *Diagnosing and Changing Organizational Culture* (Jossey Bass), *Organizational Decline* (Ballinger), *Organizational Effectiveness* (Academic Press), *Paradox and Transformation* (Ballinger), *Positive Organizational Scholarship* (Berrett-Koehler), *Leading with Values* (Cambridge University Press), *Competing Values Leadership* (Edward Elgar), and *Making the Impossible Possible* (Berrett Koehler). His current research focuses on virtuousness in and of organizations – such as forgiveness, gratitude, kindness, and compassion – and their relationship to performance. He is one of the co-founders of the Center for Positive Organizational Scholarship at the University of Michigan, whose work was recognized as one of the 20 highest impact ideas of 2004 by the *Harvard Business Review*.

Arne Carlsen is a Senior Scientist at SINTEF Technology and Management in Norway and affiliated with the Center for Research on Radical Organizational Change at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology. Much of his research has been linked to practical development processes in and with professional service organizations. Articles from his PhD on organizational becoming and enactment of drama have recently appeared in *Organization Science* and *Journal of Positive Psychology*. Arne has contributed to many books and was the editor (with Roger Klev and Georg Von Krogh) of *Living Knowledge: The Dynamics of Professional Service Work* (2004).

Chris Carter's is Professor of Management at the University of St Andrews in Scotland, where he is also Co-Director of Research in the Management School. His principal research themes revolve around trying to understand managerialism, the changing nature of professions in society, and the sociology of strategy. Chris was born and raised in Cornwall, his first degree was in Accounting and Finance (Bournemouth University) before taking a Masters and PhD in Organization Theory (Aston Business School).

Arran Caza is an Assistant Professor of Business Administration at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and a Fellow of the New Zealand Leadership Institute. His research focuses on leadership and management discretion. He has published in *Journal of Management Inquiry*, *Journal of Business Ethics*, *American Behavioral Scientist* and *Academy of Management Review*.

David Collinson is Professor of Leadership and Organization at Lancaster University Management School, UK. He is currently seconded as the National Research Director to the Centre for Excellence in Leadership. Previously at the Universities of Warwick, Manchester, St. Andrews and South Florida, David is the founding co-editor of the journal *Leadership* published by Sage (www.sagepub.co.uk/resources/leadership.htm), and founding co-organizer of the International Conference in Leadership Research. He has published five books including *Managing the Shopfloor* (1992), *Managing to Discriminate* (1990) and *Men as Managers, Managers as Men*, and over 100 journal articles, book chapters and research reports that develop a critical approach to organization, management and leadership studies. His work on power, identity, management, gender, masculinity, safety, resistance and humour has been

widely cited. David's current research focuses on the development of critical approaches to leadership and followership. Recent publications include: *Dialectics of Leadership, Re-thinking Followership, Questions of Leadership Distance, Identities and Insecurities, Critical Studies on Men, Masculinities and Management, Humour and Leadership, and Conformist, Resistant and Disguised Selves*.

Ian Colville is Senior Lecturer in Organizational Change at the School of Management, University of Bath. He has a first class degree in psychology from Cardiff University, and an MPhil and PhD in management from Bath University. He is director of *The Change Management Forum* at the University of Bath which aims to provide a place where thinking practitioners and academics interested in doing practice meet to exchange perspectives and 'make sense of change and leadership', which also lies at the heart of his research. He has published with Karl Weick and Bob Waterman in the journal *Organization*. Previous publications appeared in such places as *Public Administration, Organization, Long Range Planning, and Accounting Organization & Society*. He is on the editorial board of *Organization Studies*.

Jay Conger holds the Henry Kravis Research Chair Professorship of Leadership at Claremont McKenna College in Claremont, California. Author of over 90 articles and book chapters and 13 books, he researches leadership, organizational change, boards of directors, and the training and development of leaders and managers. His articles have appeared in the *Harvard Business Review, Organizational Dynamics, Business & Strategy, the Leadership Quarterly, the Academy of Management Review* and the *Journal of Organizational Behavior*. His most recent books include *The Practice of Leadership* (2006), *Growing Your Company's Leaders* (2003), *Shared Leadership* (2002), *Corporate Boards: New Strategies for Adding Value at the Top* (2001), *The Leader's Change Handbook* (1999), *Building Leaders* (1999), *Winning 'Em Over: A New Model for Management in the Age of Persuasion* (1998). He has taught at the Harvard Business School, INSEAD (France), the London Business School, McGill University, and the University of Southern California. He received his BA from Dartmouth College, his MBA from the University of Virginia, and his DBA from the Harvard Business School.

David Courpasson is Professor of Sociology at EM LYON Business School, France. He is also a Visiting Professor at Lancaster University, the Management School. The main themes of his research work concern the effects of organizational and political dynamics on power structures and regimes, and new forms of resistance in the workplace. His recent books include *Power and Organizations* (Sage, 2006, with Stewart Clegg and Nelson Phillips), and *Soft Constraint: Liberal Organizations and Domination* (CBS Press/Liber, 2006). He is also editor in chief of *Organization Studies* and sits on the editorial board of *Organization Science*.

Gerard Fairtlough[†] trained as a biochemist, graduating from Cambridge University in 1953. He worked in the Royal Dutch/Shell group for 25 years, the last five as CEO of Shell Chemicals UK. In 1980 he founded the leading biopharmaceuticals company Celltech and was its CEO until 1990. He was involved in the start-up of several high-technology businesses as a non-executive director or 'business angel'. In 2005 he founded Triarchy Press, a publishing house that specializes in short, rigorous books on organizational design and adaptation. He was an adviser to various government and academic institutions, including Specialist Adviser to the House of Commons Select Committee on Science and Technology, a member of the Science and

[†]Deceased.

Engineering Research Council and Chair of the Advisory Panel, Science Policy Research Unit at Sussex University. His publications include *Creative Compartments: A Design for Future Organization* (London: Adamantine Press, 1994), *The Power of the Tale: Using Narratives for Organisational Success* (with Julie Allan and Barbara Heinzen, Chichester: Wiley 2001), *New York Changed My Life: A Memoir of the 1960s* (2004), and *The Three Ways of Getting Things Done: Hierarchy, Heterarchy & Responsible Autonomy in Organizations* (Triarchy Press, 2005).

Raymond Gordon is the Head of the School of Business and the Associate Dean of Research for the Faculty of Business, Technology and Sustainable Development at Bond University. His research interests include power in organizations, leadership, ethics and social control systems. He is an ethnographer and employs discourse analysis, narrative and story telling methods. He has published extensively in internationally recognized academic journals such as the *Leadership Quarterly*, *Organization Studies*, the *Journal of Public Administration* and the *Organization Management Journal*. He authored the book entitled *Power, Knowledge and Domination*, which was published in 2007 by Liber/Copenhagen Business School Press as part of its Advances in Organizations Studies series.

Anne-Marie Greene is Reader in Industrial Relations at the University of Warwick Business School and Research Scholar of the ESRC's Advanced Institute of Management (AIM). She is a member of the editorial boards of *Gender, Work and Organization* and *Equal Opportunities International*. Her research interests include the theory and practice of diversity and equality; equality and diversity issues within trade unions; and e-collectivism, particularly the use of ICTs by trade unions. She has published widely on these subjects in leading journals including *Work, Employment and Society*; *European Journal of Industrial Relations*; *Gender, Work and Organization*; *Industrial Relations Journal*; *International Journal of Human Resource Management*; and *Economic and Industrial Democracy*. She is co-author of *The Dynamics of Managing Diversity: A Critical Approach* (Elsevier, 2005) and author of *Voices from the Shopfloor: Dramas of the Employment Relationship* (Ashgate, 2001).

Mary Jo Hatch is Professor Emerita, McIntire School of Commerce, University of Virginia (USA) and Adjunct and Visiting Professor at the Copenhagen Business School (Denmark). Her research interests include organizational culture, identity and corporate branding; and aesthetic approaches to organizing, leadership and epistemological and methodological issues in organization theory. You will find her work on these topics in *Academy of Management Review*, *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *European Journal of Marketing*, *Harvard Business Review*, *Human Relations*, *Journal of Brand Management*, *Organization*, *Organization Science* and *Organization Studies*. Her most recent books are *The Three Faces of Leadership: Manager, Artist, Priest* (with Monika Kostera and Andrzej Koźmiński, 2005); *Organization Theory: Modern, Symbolic and Postmodern Perspectives*, Second edition (with Ann Cunliffe, Oxford University Press 2006) and *Taking Brand Initiative: How Companies Can Align Strategy, Culture and Identity Through Corporate Branding* (with Majken Schultz, Jossey-Boss 2008). Mary Jo is a former European Editor of *JMI* and sits on the editorial boards of *Academy of Management Review*, *Human Relations*, *Corporate Reputation Review*, *Organization Studies* and *Scandinavian Journal of Management*.

Stefan Heusinkveld is an Assistant Professor at the Nijmegen School of Management, Radboud University, Nijmegen, The Netherlands. In 2004 he obtained his PhD from the Radboud University, Nijmegen with a dissertation on transience and persistence in management thinking.

After his PhD he visited Durham University, and the Stockholm School of Economics. His current research concentrates on management consultants and the evolution of management ideas in the managerial discourse and organizational praxis.

Kerr Inkson is semi-retired. He is Adjunct Professor of Management at the University of Waikato, New Zealand, and Honorary Professor at the University of Auckland. He has a Masters degree in Occupational Psychology from the University of London and a PhD from the University of Otago. He has previously held chairs in New Zealand at the University of Auckland, the University of Otago, and at Massey University. An expert in general management, organizational behaviour and career development, Kerr has published over 60 refereed journal articles, over 30 book chapters, and 12 books. In 1997 he won the Award for Best International Paper at the Academy of Management. His latest books are *Cultural Intelligence* (co-authored with David C. Thomas, Berrett-Koehler, 2004), *Understanding Careers: The Metaphors of Working Lives*, (Sage Publications, 2007), and *Working on the Edge: A Portrait of Business in Dunedin* (co-edited with Victoria Browning and Jodyanne Kirkwood, Otago University Press, 2007). He is a Fellow of the New Zealand Psychological Society and the New Zealand Institute of Management, a Distinguished Member of the Australian and New Zealand Academy of Management, and a former Chair of the Careers Division, Academy of Management.

Gill Kirton is Reader in Employment Relations at the Centre for Research in Equality and Diversity, School of Business and Management, Queen Mary, University of London. Her research interests lie in the area of equality and diversity in employment and organizations. Her recent work includes studies of gendered careers, strategies and practices within trade unions; stakeholder involvement in organizational diversity management. Gill's work is published in a number of leading journals including, *Work, Employment and Society*, *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, *Industrial Relations Journal*, *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *Gender, Work and Organization*. In addition, she is the author of three books: *The Dynamics of Managing Diversity: A Critical Approach* (2005, Elsevier, with Anne-Marie Greene); *Women, Employment and Organizations* (2006, Routledge, with Judith Glover Routledge); *The Making of Women Trade Unionists* (2006, Ashgate). Gill is a member of the editorial boards of *Gender, Work and Organization* and *Equal Opportunities International*.

Alison M. Konrad joined the Richard Ivey School of Business, University of Western Ontario in 2003 as a Professor of Organizational Behavior and holder of the Corus Entertainment Chair in Women in Management. Professor Konrad was Chair of the Academy of Management's Gender and Diversity in Organizations Division in 1996–97 and received the Division's Sage Scholarship Award for contributions to the field of gender and diversity in organizations in 1998. She was President of the Eastern Academy of Management in 1997–98 and was named a Fellow of that organization in 2004. She is past Editor of *Group and Organization Management*, a ranked journal in the fields of management and applied psychology. She is a past Associate Editor of the journal, *Gender, Work and Organization* and a past editorial board member for the *Academy of Management Review*. She has published over 50 articles and chapters on topics relating to workplace diversity in outlets such as the *Academy of Management Journal*, *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *Gender, Work and Organization*, *Group and Organization Management*, *Human Relations*, *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *Psychological Bulletin*, *Sex Roles*, and the *Strategic Management Journal*. Professor Konrad's current work focuses on gender and diversity in organizations, with a special focus on organizational diversity and inclusiveness initiatives and the diversity of social networks.

Miguel Martínez Lucio is a Professor at Manchester Business School, University of Manchester. He was also a Professor at Bradford University. His research is concerned with the changing patterns of rights and regulation within employment relations and human resource management. Much of this work has a comparative and international perspective. He has also led and participated in a range of research projects regarding the impact of deregulation, privatization and marketization in terms of work, employment and management in the public sector and privatized industries across various countries (financed by the ESRC and the Leverhulme Trust). He has also studied the development of European Works Councils and transnational labour networks in their response to globalization and marketization (Anglo-German Foundation, DFG Germany). The political dimension has been developed in terms of research on the changing nature of collectivism at work, trade union renewal/modernization, and the changing composition of collective voice mechanisms in terms of race and ethnicity. The central concern of much of this work is the position and role of regulation and institutions in the context of globalization, increasing managerialism, and socio-economic uncertainty.

Sarah MacCurtain is Co-Director of the Health Services Performance Research Group. She received her PhD from Aston Business School. She teaches Organizational Behaviour at the University of Limerick. Continuing research interests include top management team effectiveness, trust and organizational performance, employee stress and wellbeing in the health services, organizational climate and innovation. She has co-authored publications inclusive of books, monographs, book chapters, journal articles and conference papers. Her books and monographs include *High Performance Work Systems: The Economic Evidence* (2005, National Centre for Partnership and Performance); *Principles of Organisational Behaviour, An Irish Text* (2004); *Managing Knowledge Based Organizations: Top Management Teams and Innovation* (2002); *Effective Top Management Teams: An International Perspective* (2001). Her articles have been published in journals such as *Management Revue*, *Personnel Review*, *International Journal of Human Resource Management* and *Irish Journal of Management*.

Woody Van Olffen is an Associate Professor of Organization Theory at the Strategy and Business Environment Department of RSM Erasmus University in Rotterdam, The Netherlands. He likes to think of himself as a generalist. Topics he has published about include team composition, team dynamics and turnover, manager's personality and organizational commitment. His current academic interests are in professionalism, professional development and the dynamics of professional industries, in particular inter-organizational migration. He also works as a personal coach, especially to academics.

Martin Parker is Professor of Organization and Culture at the University of Leicester School of Management. His current interests are in cultural representations of organization, so he is writing about pirates, spaceships and skyscrapers. Relevant books for this chapter are *Against Management* (Polity, 2002), and *The Dictionary of Alternatives* (with Fournier and Reedy, Zed Books, 2007).

Tyrone Pitsis is Senior Lecturer at the University of Technology, Sydney. He teaches organizational behaviour and leadership in the Executive MBA programme at UTS. He has co-authored or authored papers in leading academic journals (such as *Organization Science*, *Organization Studies*, *International Journal of Project Management*, *Management Learning* etc), books and book chapters, and international conferences where he has also been recipient of best paper awards. Tyrone's academic interests are in leadership in project-based organizations, pragmatic phenomenology and positive psychology. He is co-director of the Centre for Management and Organizations at UTS. His most recent book is Clegg, Kornberger

and Pitsis (2008) *Managing and Organizations: An Introduction to Theory and Practice*. London: Sage.

Judith K. Pringle is Professor of Organization Studies at Auckland University of Technology. Her research has focused on women's experiences in organizations, gendered organizational identities, workplace diversity, intersections of social identities (gender/ethnicity/sexuality/age) and reframing career theory. She is a co-investigator of a recently funded large project aimed at theorizing careers within the film industry that take into account aspects of gender, age and ethnicity. Judith is co-editor of the Sage *Handbook of Workplace Diversity* (2006) and has published numerous book chapters, and in scholarly journals such as *British Journal of Management*, *Journal of World Business*, *International Journal of HRM*, *British Journal of Management*, *Women in Management Review*, *Career Development International* and *Asia Pacific Journal of HR*.

Alison Pullen is an Associate Professor of Organization Studies at the University of Technology, Sydney's School of Management having formerly held posts at the Universities of York, Durham, Essex and Leicester in the UK. Her work can be read in major international journals and edited collections. Alison is author of *Managing Identity* (Palgrave, 2006) and co-editor of *Organization and Identity* (Routledge, 2005), *Thinking Organization* (Routledge, 2005), and *Exploring Identity: Concepts and Methods* (Palgrave, 2007). She is currently co-editing a collection called *Bits of Organization* (Liber, 2008) which presents some of the most avant-garde work in the field of organization studies. Some of Alison's current research projects involve exploring the relationship between women's bodies, space and performativity; the gendered nature of change, and corporeality and ethics.

Tim Ray works on knowledge and innovation at the UK's Open University Business School. Before joining the Open University in 1999, he spent seven years working in Japan for Japanese organizations. His earlier experience includes positions at the University of Manchester and Manchester Metropolitan University.

Carl Rhodes is Professor of Organization Studies in the School of Management at the University of Technology Sydney (UTS). He researches and writes on issues related to ethics in organizations, knowledge and identity in organizations, and popular culture and organizations. His most recent books are *Critical Representations of Work and Organization in Popular Culture* (Routledge, 2008 – co-authored with Robert Westwood), *Humour, Work and Organization* (Routledge, 2007, co-edited with Robert Westwood) and *Management Ethics – Contemporary Contexts* (Routledge, 2006, co-edited with Stewart Clegg). His work can also be found in journals such as *Organization*, *Organization Studies*, *The Leadership Quarterly*, and *Qualitative Inquiry*. Carl is currently editing a volume entitled *Bits of Organization* (Liber, 2008) with Alison Pullen.

Robert Roe is Professor of Organisational Theory and Organisational Behaviour at the University of Maastricht, The Netherlands. He has been Professor of Work & Organisational Psychology at the Dutch universities of Delft, Tilburg and Nijmegen, director of the Work and Organization Research Center in Tilburg and of the Netherlands Aeromedical Institute, and organizational consultant. He was also founding president of the European Association of Work & Organisational Psychology (1991). His publications cover books, book chapters and journal articles on human resources management, organizational behaviour, work performance, and research methodology. In his current work the emphasis is on temporal facets of behavioural and organizational phenomena.

Majken Schultz is Professor of Management at Copenhagen Business School. She is also partner at the The Reputation Institute. Her research interests are located at the interface between culture, identity and image, corporate branding and reputation management. She has published more than 50 articles in international journals, among others in *Harvard Business Review*, *California Management Review*, *Academy of Management Review*, *Academy of Management Journal*, *Human Relations*, *Organization Studies*, *Journal of Marketing Communication*, *Journal of Management Inquiry*, *European Journal of Marketing*. Among her books (together with Mary Jo Hatch) are *The Expressive Organization* and *Organizational Identity: A reader* with Oxford University Press. Her most recent book also with Hatch is *Taking Brand Initiative: How Companies Can Align Their Strategy, Culture and Identity Through Corporate Branding* with Jossey Bass. She serves on several company boards, including Danske Bank and COWI. She is very active in the public debate on issues related to identity and corporate branding and is a regular columnist in the leading business newspaper *Boersen*.

Alan Scott is Professor of Sociology at the University of Innsbruck, Austria and convenor of the School of Political Science and Sociology's Contemporary Europe: Governance and Civil Society research programme. His research and teaching interests cover political and organizational sociology, and social theory. Recent publications include a co-translation of Georg Simmel's *Rembrandt* (Routledge, 2005) and, as co-editor, a collection on universities and regional development, *Bright Satanic Mills* (Ashgate, 2007).

Graham Sewell is Professor of Organization Studies and Human Resource Management in the Department of Management and Marketing, University of Melbourne, Australia. Prior to this appointment, Graham was professor and chair in organizational behaviour at the Tanaka Business School, Imperial College London. From August 2004–July 2005 he was the Spanish Ministry of Science and Education visiting professor at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona. He has also held visiting appointments at the University of South Florida, the University of California Santa Cruz, and the University of California Berkeley. He gained his PhD in urban planning from Cardiff University in 1994. Graham has been researching the effects of workplace surveillance since the late 1980s and has published extensively on this topic in journals such as the *Academy of Management Review*, the *Administrative Science Quarterly*, and *Sociology*. His article with James R. Barker, 'Neither good, nor bad, but dangerous: Workplace surveillance as an ethical paradox', was recently reprinted in *The Surveillance Studies Reader* (McGraw-Hill/OUP, 2007).

Omar Solinger started as a PhD candidate in October, 2004, on 'The dynamics of commitment' at Maastricht University, The Netherlands. His conceptual work on the organizational commitment phenomenon is published in the *Journal of Applied Psychology* (2008). Besides 'organizational commitment', topics of his interest are longitudinal research methodology and change (i.e., dynamics, transitions, learning, growth, sense-making, and change management). He wrote his master's thesis for Royal Dutch Airlines on 'HRM and outsourcing: Making sense of change'. A summary of his theoretical work on psychological processes during outsourcing was published by the Human Talent Trophy Foundation. He studied Work and Organizational Psychology at the Radboud University, Nijmegen. In his private life he is an active pianist (performer, teacher, and composer), dancer (salsa) and socializer.

André Spicer is an Associate Professor of Organization Studies at Warwick Business School. He holds a PhD from the University of Melbourne, Australia. His work focuses on political dynamics of organizations. He has conducted research in numerous settings including social movements, public broadcasters, ports and libraries. His work has appeared in journals such as *Organization Studies*, *Organization*, *Human Relations*, and *Journal of Management Studies*.

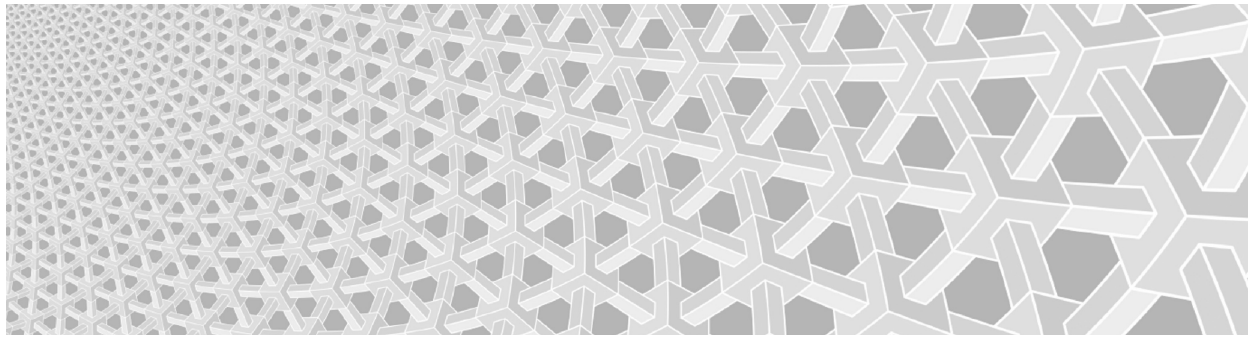
Recently he published a monograph with Cambridge University Press entitled *Contesting the Corporation* (with Peter Fleming).

Robert Watson is a Professor at The University of Durham Business School. His research interests include corporate governance, executive pay, organizational design, SME performance, regulation, and entrepreneurship. In addition to publishing many articles in management, finance and accounting journals on these topics, he has also co-authored three research monographs and has obtained research funding from a wide variety of sources, including the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), Department of Employment, Leverhulme Trust, National Westminster Bank plc, and several of the major accountancy firms. Currently he is undertaking ESRC-funded research into Remuneration Committee decision.

Richard Weiskopf is an Associate Professor at the School of Management at the University of Innsbruck (Austria). His research focuses on the problematization of organizational and managerial practices. He is particularly interested in poststructuralist philosophies and their potential for critical analysis and rethinking of organizations and organizing. He is editor of *Menschenregierungskünste. Anwendungen poststrukturalistischer Analyse auf Management und Organisation* (Wiesbaden, Westdeutscher Verlag). A co-written book (with G. Krell) on strategies of organizing passion appeared in 2006 (*Die Anordnung der Leidenschaften*, Wien: Passagen). Currently he is working on an empirical and theoretical project on ethical and aesthetic practices of organizing work in the so called 'Creative Industries'.

Michael West is Executive Dean of Aston Business School. He graduated from the University of Wales in 1973 and received his PhD in 1977. He has authored, edited or co-edited 16 books and has published over 150 articles for scientific and practitioner publications, as well as chapters in scholarly books. He is a Fellow of the British Psychological Society, the American Psychological Association (APA), the APA Society for Industrial/Organizational Psychology, the Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, the International Association of Applied Psychologists, the British Academy of Management and a Chartered Fellow of the Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development. His areas of research interest are team and organizational innovation and effectiveness, particularly in relation to the organization of health services. He lectures widely both nationally and internationally about the results of his research and his ideas for developing effective and innovative organizations.

David C. Wilson is Professor of Strategy and Organization in the University of Warwick where he is also Deputy Dean of the Business School. He is the author of eight books and over 70 journal articles. He was Chairman of the British Academy of Management (1994–1997) where he served for over 10 years as an Executive member. He is a Fellow of the Academy, elected in 1994. He is listed in *Who's Who in Social Science*, a list of leading international scholars in their field, published by Edward Elgar (2000). He was Chairman of the scholarly society, the European Group for Organisation Studies (EGOS) from 2002 to 2006. He has had a long association with the journal *Organization Studies*, beginning as Editorial Assistant (1981–1996), becoming Co-Editor (1992–1996), Deputy Editor (1996–1999) and finally Editor-in-Chief (1999–2003). He is currently Chair of the Editorial Advisory Board for *Organization Studies*. He has been a member of EGOS for over 20 years and has served on the Board for the last six years.



Introduction: Why a Handbook of Macro-organizational Behavior?

Stewart Clegg

INTRODUCTION

Most research in organizational behavior is micro in focus, betraying the deep embeddedness of the discourse in psychology, the study of individuals. Thus, the distinctive feature of micro-organizational behavior is that it is the study of the behavior of individuals and groups in the organization, as seen from a psychological perspective. If there are similar disciplinary auspices for macro-organizational behavior they relate to sociology, strategy and economics.

Is macro-organizational behavior the same thing as organization studies, organization theory or organization analysis? Well, if it is not the same thing it is very similar: there are strong family resemblances; they are cousins, at least. Perhaps the major difference is that macro-organizational behavior has a focus on the person and group, even where the effects that are inscribed in them are quite macro whereas one is as likely to find that

the phenomena of interest in the close cousins may well be the population of organizations, the organization's form, or the effects of macro-systemic and macro-societal forces on organization level phenomena (Clegg *et al.*, 2006).

The present collection is a first; although other resources exist in the general area of macro-organization behavior, that claim to be 'handbooks', notably Viber's (2004) *Theories of Macro-organizational Behavior: A Handbook of Ideas and Explanations*, one should note that Viber's (2004) text is not a Handbook in the way that the present text is. Viber's 'handbook' is a sole-authored textbook that addresses many different 'perspectives' on the field, ranging from a large number of 'functional economic theories of the firm', 'functionalist organization theories', 'interpretive and social constructivist perspectives', through to 'humanist and structuralist perspectives', 35 different perspectives in total. It is all rather exhausting

and, for the student, perhaps a little confusing, as the question must arise, which perspective should I be using now, and why?

The present Handbook is nothing like the Viber text; instead, we decided what we thought were the major *issues* in rather than *perspectives* on organizational behavior as seen with a macro-lens. Then, we asked people drawn from the front ranks of research-based scholars whom we knew to have done exemplary work in these fields to write for us. Where we were not sure whom to invite we sought advice from our illustrious Editorial Board. Each author or authorial team received detailed feedback on the draft chapters that they had produced and then we thought about the structuring of the volume.

Readers might think that one would have worked out the precise structure of a volume such as this in advance; my experience, and that of Cary, which is pretty expansive, is that this is rarely the case. Strategy does not determine structure; nor does the structure get chosen in advance and determine the strategy. The process is more emergent, more organic, and more grounded in the material actually produced. Thus, we had elicited a number of contributions that addressed some substantial, central, key questions; these clearly played a framing role in the volume as a whole. The contributors were chosen because of their expertise in the area that they had been asked to contribute to and were not subject to any prescribed framing by the editors in terms of either approach or methods. Having chosen outstanding contributors we felt confident that we could get exemplary contributions.

FRAMING THE FIELD: INTRODUCING SOME BIG ISSUES

The question ‘what do organization behavior tools actually do?’ is at first glance innocuous, a mere seeking for information about why people might develop and use such tools. However, as André Spicer suggests, such a question can be deeply problematic. Posing it can be deeply divisive of the community of OB scholars. Issues of relevance, style, and

audience, not to mention ethics and practice, immediately jostle for attention when what OB does is considered.

For Spicer, there are a number of dimensions to the question. First, there is the status of theory: OB claims to be a theoretical discipline – what ideas of theory does it work with? Second, given that OB does develop theories, what does it matter? What is the impact of the theories produced by researchers on what managers do in practice? Third, given that these theories might frame much of what goes on in organizational life, how is this knowledge used? Addressing the last of these questions takes us into consideration of matters of prediction, understanding, and critique of, as well as innovation in, organizational behavior.

Theory in organizational behavior is established, in dominant versions, as being abstract in its representations; ideally, these representations connect conceptual ideas causally; they do so by means of argumentation that connects different theoretical elements whether logically or, by means of data, with empirical tendencies in the real world. All of this must be seen in terms of context: the limiting condition for theoretical applicability.

The auspices of the aforementioned conception of theory are quite clear: they derive, essentially, from a modern, scientifically framed view of the universe of knowledge. For the majority of practitioners of OB this would be the appropriate context within which to view their disciplinary work; they do science when they do OB. The science may be a little different from pure physics, in that it is less definitely deterministic in its specification of relations and somewhat more probabilistic, but it indubitably bears a family resemblance to the other sciences. Essentially, it tests out propositions that are derived either deductively from empirical clues or inductively from conceptual frameworks.

There are other views of theory that Spicer also discusses, in which the theorist does not take for granted either the way that conceptual relations appear to correspond to the empirical

world or the necessary correctness of the conceptual scaffolding in use. Instead, the theorist is profoundly suspicious of the sense data that provides their information about this world, in part because any understanding of the social world is already mediated by some kind of theory. We do not observe 'raw' sense data but data that has already been made sense of through the interpretive lenses that we find natural to use. In this view, theory is a way of approaching the world based on constant questioning of immediate sense data and its interpretation. Theory breeds suspicion of what we think we apprehend, empirically. It constantly invites new ways of seeing.

Considered either as propositional or suspicious science, what is the point of theory? Well, it helps us manage the worlds through which we move. Take the example of organizations conceived as routines, for instance. Routines emerge around recurrent activities, such as hiring staff. These activities then become the focus of many different organizational behavior approaches that address the consequence and corollaries of different ways of doing this activity. Over time, these routines become understood through the wisdom embedded in these organization behavior approaches as something to which various theories of selection apply. As members of many different organizations in many different places come to understand the process of selection through these theories – often taught in higher education – and apply these theories in practice then they become a constitutive part of common sense used in practice. Subsequently, common sense provides an implicitly theoretical template for the conduct of everyday life. Thus, one important effect of OB theories is the creation of tacit-and-taken-for-granted knowledge. Smart people, realizing this, act to create discontinuous markets in common sense by developing consultancy and intellectual products that periodically remodel its assumptions, creating fashions in ideas.

To the extent that a market in management ideas is captured by particular theories these theories can become, if widely adopted in

practice, what Spicer refers to as ideologies – strict and appealing normative schemes for making sense of the world of sense data. He uses the idea of leadership as one example and, as another, the very ubiquity of 'management' in the contemporary world where there is hardly any situation, practice or process to which the tag 'management' cannot be applied. Of course, any sophisticated market has many claims to small differentia among products so that not all products compete directly with each other. Canny investors in ideas will seek out those ideas that seem to have the highest status in the market; thus, one factor driving the adoption of management practices will be the cultural capital that attaches to them, how high a cultural value they seem to have. So another thing that organization behavior ideas do is to shape conformity in the design and conduct of behavior; not necessarily because of functional efficiencies attached to the use of specific theories but because they become, for a time, highly valued.

Organization behavior tools that become widely used, such as particular selection instruments, personality tests, or behavioral profiling, become technologies of management. It is not so much that managers use the tools but the tools use managers, they operate through managers, to produce categorically coherent knowledge about work and organization. The knowledge that these theories encode becomes a constitutive part of almost everyone's ways of making sense and performing their work. Theories become performative tools.

What kind of performance particular theories can produce depends on the type of theory that they are, categorically. Conventionally, following the work of the German sociologist Habermas, the categorical work that theory performs has been classified as one or other of explaining causal relations, understanding and interpreting, and critiquing the world. It is the former activity – the explanation of causal relations – that most often preoccupies academic practitioners of theory. The reason is simple: academics circulate their ideas in a milieu in which prediction has an especial

cachet – that of the modern university – in which the sciences enjoy poll position. Of course, most of the objects that most modern science attends to do not have theories about their own behavior, as do people. Moreover, in organization behavior the picture is even more complicated – it is not just that theorizing occurs about what people do but it also occurs through the terms with which people speak about what they do. At every point, theory is embedded in everyday language and understandings; it is, in part, the everyday assumptions about the world that already reflect pre-existing theories that shape how the theorist will understand phenomena of and from that world. As Spicer suggests, this can have perverse effects: ‘we develop a one-dimensional and rather unsupple understanding of the social world. At times we can end up in a situation where our law-like generalizations act as mechanisms that reproduce existing patterns of domination and subjection. This means our theories can act as a break on social change and enforce a single dominant version of how things should be’.

It is this first way of approaching theory that is most popular in academic circles. The reason is obvious: academics make stellar careers through publishing their ideas in the most reputable journals; the most reputable journals, by and large, adopt a natural science view of the world, even when dealing with social rather than natural reality. There is a premium attached to explaining things in causal terms. The more abstracted these terms are from the terms of everyday life that they draw on the more refined the theory. However, no matter the extent to which theory is refined it can never escape its necessary embeddedness in the common sense understandings of everyday life if it contains empirical points of reference – because these empirical points are always tied up in and made sensible by these understandings.

Focusing on understanding gives rise to the second way of thinking about theory in which the purpose is to seek to interpret how it is that the world is understood in

particular ways. The task of an organizational behavior theory in this perspective is to try and communicate how other people interpret and understand the social world by recovering the assumptions, meaning and frames of reference that they find conventional to use. Thus, such an approach to theory is less concerned with providing tools for use and application in everyday life so much as in understanding how the tools in use and application in everyday life shape mundane organizational life and its understandings. The approach is inherently conservative in terms of what exists because it seeks to uncover the meanings that inhere in particular situations and chart their effects. It is not trying to suggest new ways of understanding phenomena but merely to chart, in all their complexity and subtlety, the effects of ideas in use. It is an approach to theorizing that is much favored by anthropologists because it sheds light on strange and different ways of being in the world; applied by organizational behaviorists it seeks to make the everyday life of the organization ‘strange’ by bracketing the assumptions shared by theory with ordinary ways of thinking and reflecting. From the perspective of those whose knowledge is being bracketed the exercise can seem a little pointless; even though they may not be able to say in so many words what they know they know, they know it, and its reiteration by theorists may seem curiously unedifying and unilluminating – especially as it comes back to them tricked out with words and phrases that belong more to the theorists’ world than their own. Moreover, if all understandings belong to a specific context it is hard to accumulate knowledge if all knowledge has its character determined by the ways in which it is used in specific contexts.

The third way that Habermas thinks theory can be used is as a tool for critique, as a calling into question of existing social relations and ways of organizing. From this perspective the organizational behaviorist neither produces predictive theory of what already exists nor attempts to excavate a deep understanding of how what already exists is possible.

Instead, they seek to deconstruct, destabilize and disinter those self-evident ‘truths’ that people ordinarily hold dear. The reason that this is attempted is because critical theorists, as adherents of this perspective are known, believe that knowledge is best advanced by continually asking questions in order to create some kind of radical or emancipatory social change. They seek not only to understand the world but to change it. In doing so, as Spicer wryly notes, they can become rather egotistical, sure in the certainty of their own critique simultaneously as they seek to expose the uncertainties of everyone else’s understandings.

The three positions discussed exhaust Habermas’ ways of thinking about the relation of theories to the world; however, there is one other approach that Spicer commends, which involves theoretical work as a process of creative innovation, one that involves creating new concepts that allow us to think about organizations in a different way. The aim is to tell us something that we did not already know, to show us something that enables us see the world in different terms, ways of seeing which create new possibilities for organizing and living. There are risks associated with this view of what organization behavior theories might do and these risks are those that attach to any unbridled innovation programme: much which will be created might be interesting but curious; attractive in itself but useless when applied in the existing contexts of understanding.

Whichever of these approaches to theory are used by organization behaviorists there will be consequences. Some theorists seek to limit these by either corraling their theories within specific paradigms – or models – of research, thus concentrating merely on the internal coherence of their approach, or by adopting an activist orientation towards their favored theory, building alliances and an intellectual movement around it as they seek to extend its influence. Beyond either paradigms or politics, suggests Spicer, there may be a more modulated practical stance. When we apply and use theory we are doing something in the world. What we should

consider when we observe something in the world is what its effects are likely to be. Taking this approach involves asking why I am doing this something with this theory, for what purpose; it entails considering who will benefit, and what might be the best way of ensuring these benefits. In answering these questions the theorists may well find that no one of the previously outlined perspectives is entirely adequate; instead the theorists will need to move between different positions, experimenting with ideas here, seeking predictable effects there, and seeking to understand deeply elsewhere, perhaps throwing some critical elements into the mix elsewhere in order to see what conversations are sparked. Indeed, from this perspective good research should be like good conversation, it should not merely affirm but also inform, occasionally unsettle, and sometimes take off in entirely unpredictable and innovative directions.

Organizational behavior spawns innovation. New fields emerge to be charted, debated, critiqued, and reformed. We shall meet many such fields in this Handbook. However, in recent years few have been as influential as the idea of ‘knowledge work’. The idea that there was something distinctive called ‘knowledge work’ was first enunciated by Peter Drucker, as Tim Ray suggests at the outset of asking what it is that knowledge work does. He uses an amusing story to make the point that, if knowledge work largely involves thinking, someone may be doing knowledge work even as they cannot be seen to be doing so. No one ever knows what is going on in the head of the other except in those terms with which the other tells it.

If knowledge work is hard to see it is also hard to define. Ray suggests we should focus less on the abstract noun of knowledge and more on the active verb processes of knowing. That there is such a thing as abstract knowledge is largely due to the prestige with which modern science has become regarded in recent centuries. It is science that produces abstract knowledge.

Science is one of those words that can be attached to almost any practice: sports science, domestic science, computer

science, management science. However, as Ray suggests, calling something a science does not necessarily make it a science much as other sciences are already constituted to be. To make this point clear he cites a British philosopher, Simon Blackburn, for whom the idea of a management science seems as preposterous as Feng Shui or Flying Saucers. (Such views are very entertaining and go down very well in elite circles, such as the University of Cambridge, which employs Professor Blackburn to do his knowledge work.) As Ray suggests:

During the second half of the 1990s, Anglophone management science became bewitched by a curious departure from its realist roots, as oriental oracular mystique shaped the rise of new nostrums. According to Japanese academics, Ikujiro Nonaka and Hirotaka Takeuchi, what the Hungarian-born scientist and Michael Polanyi (1891–1976) called tacit knowledge, which is in the heads of persons and entirely subjective, could be converted into universally comprehensible explicit knowledge objects that can be managed (see Tsoukas, 2003; Ray, 2008a).

Ray excoriates the views advanced by these eminent Japanese professors. He does so because he believes that they let a relativist cat out of the conceptual knowledge bag. He suggests that the tacit-explicit knowledge-conversion process that forms the basis for Knowledge Management (KM) is promulgated not on the foundations that Polanyi laid down, but goes right against the grain of his argument. Tacit knowledge is tacit precisely because one cannot provide an explicit account of it.

Traditionally, economics has dealt with three commodity sources of value: land, labor and capital. To these in recent times, probably after Drucker, and certainly after Nonaka and Takeuchi, has been added knowledge – on the basis of the alchemical tacit-explicit knowledge-conversion process. As Ray suggests, when what a person knows as knowledge is coded as information it is possible to treat their personal knowledge as a scarce commodity that could be priced according to the laws of supply and demand. Yet, if one sells another their land, labor

or capital one alienates oneself from that which is sold – literally – one severs the tie between one's possession of the thing and one's disposition to do with it whatever one will. One passes control of its disposition into the hands of the other: landowner, or investment manager of a bank, for instance. Information is different. If one sells some information that one knows to some other party one still knows it and has the ability to dispose of it after the sale. If you sell information, you still have the thing that you sold. And today, as Ray argues, most knowledge that is sold as information is produced organizationally by a multiplicity of knowers rather than by a solitary thinker. Increasingly, such knowledge became identified in the 1990s as 'mode 2' knowledge – not pure scientific knowledge embedded in a relatively closed disciplinary context but knowledge that is transdisciplinary, relying on informal cooperation among practitioners and users from a variety of backgrounds. Such mode 2 knowledge seemed precisely to be the type of knowledge that Nonaka and Takeuchi felt could flow from tacit-explicit knowledge-conversion processes. Commodified personal knowledge can emerge from ineffable personal knowledge and be shared with the personal knowing of others to create explicit knowledge.

Ray believes that, to the extent that this process of conversion does occur, it occurs in Japanese companies because of some very specific contextual features. Such organizations can take the long-term loyalty of knowledge workers for granted because of deeply embedded institutional expectations about the role of 'company as family' workplace organizations in Japanese society. Employees will 'give up' what they know because they know the company is committed to them and their future is linked to the organization's success. Cooperation among colleagues is natural and easy where insiders form a cohort that sees things in an aligned way, without the necessity for extensive managerial coordination. The normal practices of power and discipline in Japanese organizations made possible what Nonaka

and Takeuchi took for granted. Elsewhere, however, in different institutional contexts, one could not rely on the ease of knowledge disposal and sharing, and in these other cases the project of KM's construction would be sown on far less fertile soil.

Only under certain organizational conditions of power relations, which Japanese organizations approximate, will subjects feel eager to share what they know. Knowledge resides in the heads of persons and no knowing subject can construct what they know other than through their experience. Knowledge is actively constructed by the cognizing subject; it does not consist of the 'discovery' of an ontological reality, so much as reside in a subject's cognitive capacity to organize their experiential world. Hence, science, much as any other knowledge-oriented endeavor, is not premised on an ever more perfect approximation of an unchanging reality – both because reality is always changing – think of global warming – and because whatever we learn new changes what we already knew. Scientific knowledge is produced where the constraints under which a phenomenon is observed have been carefully specified; where an explanation of something that is interesting or surprising about the phenomenon under review is noted; where, on this basis, one can make future predictions about the nature of the phenomenon in question, and create standing conditions that should lead to the observation of the predicted phenomenon. Of course, as Spicer suggests in the previous chapter, there are other conceptions of theory that bear less family resemblance to this conception of scientific knowledge that should not be dismissed out of hand because they do not create predictions. Rather than treat knowledge as a part of an object world, it might be more helpful to address the processes by which people learn how to 'do things' in concert with others, where concertation is based on what they know, and specific standing conditions that enable them to share what they know with others. From this perspective KM looks to be a lot less objectivistic and to be a lot more concerned with the construction of conditions

under which knowing can and will be shared. From this perspective, much of KM misses the mark: the focus should be less on what is produced as objective knowledge and much more on the processes whereby knowing becomes – or does not – become shared knowledge.

KM gained its enormous popularity in the West at a time when neo-economic liberalism was very much in the ascendancy. The finest economic historian of the emergence of the liberal market economy from the bonds of feudalism remains Karl Polanyi, who was, incidentally, Michael Polanyi's elder brother. As Scott and Weiskopf elaborate, central to the elder Polanyi's account was the notion of a 'double movement': that as a market emerged in genuine commodities it also emerged in commodities that were fictitious. The fiction most deeply held and widely entertained was that of labor as a commodity on the labor market. In fact, labor only became a commodity through the destruction of a dense institutional fabric of feudal bondage. The market did not so much emerge spontaneously but was created by distinct legislation and regulation, such as the various Poor Laws of nineteenth century Britain, which fixed the status of wage earner as a desirable category at the same time that they stigmatized the categories of destitution (see Clegg *et al.*, 2006: 43–4). Thus the economic subject as a person in a market for labor was one of the first constructions that market society objectified. That the construction took such thorough root, suggest Scott and Weiskopf, is in part because the conditions of its existence represented a tangible freedom denied to those who labored under feudal bondage. More recently, they suggest, the promise of release and freedom from the bondage of bureaucracy that came, with the growth of the market economy, to characterize the mature state of organized capitalism, has increasingly been promulgated. The chief promulgator is the enormously influential Tom Peters (2003), whose project seems to be one of re-enchanting economic activity by fusing the passions and the interests, and in the process overthrowing the barriers that have

traditionally marked off civil from market society, public from private life, and the employee role from the many roles that the self might play. It seeks to demarcate the organizational role as primary; to reconstitute this role as entrepreneurial, and to infuse it with passion.

These conditions of existence are both novel and specific. Their novelty develops from the 1980s onwards, with the political programmes of Thatcherism and Reaganism, and the intellectual work of characters such as Tom Peters. Their specificity is given, in the first instance, by the economically liberal Anglo-economies of the UK, US, New Zealand and Australia. In this new order, as Scott and Weiskopf suggest, passion is not an option; it is demanded by the new forms of post-bureaucratic organization that Peters endorses. Those who cannot commit utterly to the passions unleashed are not welcome. While the bureaucratic subject was dominated by the rules of the bureau the new post-bureaucratic subject's organizational behavior will be dominated by no one but their self. However, the freedom is somewhat illusory because only those subjects who willingly constitute themselves as freely entrepreneurial, as subjects able to conduct their own conduct as (self-) responsible entrepreneurs, who are, in a word, *enterprising*, can be allowed to be free. The freedom allowed is, in fact, an obligation. We have to manage ourselves and our career as a series of projects in which we can only blame ourselves for any failure or disappointments. Where all life takes place in a market – from schools, through dating, to job-seeking, employment, insurance, and including all general life-chances, the market and marketization becomes a governing principle that structures life itself. Foucault's (1979) neologism of 'governmentality' (a combination of government and rationality, which becomes fused in the mentality of the subject) comprises the complex of notions, calculations and strategies through which diverse authorities act upon the lives and conduct of others by constituting these subjects as their own arbiters of the degrees of freedom

and unfreedom that they will tolerate in their day-to-day life. Life becomes a project in which the chief investor is the person whose life supports the many projects in which they engage. At all points in these projects, the expertise of the behaviorist is applicable: the autonomous subject is governed at work by organizational behavioral technologies that allow them to reflect on possibilities and opportunities in terms of the discursive categories provided by behavioral experts just as much as they are governed in sport by or dating by coaches or life-style trainers.

Organizationally, choice frees organizational oligarchies from responsibility for the success or failure of projects in which subaltern teams, set in competition with and against each other within the internal market, are made free to make their own strategic decisions but are made also to bear a correspondingly greater responsibility for their own fate. The oligarchs can simply set the efficiency benchmarks that freedom must aspire to by simultaneously lowering costs and raising the level of activity. The post-bureaucratic organization becomes a network of nodal points connecting different projects and project teams in which audit and activity-based cost accounting are the central steering mechanism. For Scott and Weiskopf the exemplar industry for their location are the new creative industries.

The new creative industries represent the shock troops of the new organizational behavior: their workers are both highly qualified and underemployed, often on short-term contracts and project-based work. Above all, flexibility in all things is demanded and self-organization and self-management are seen as the mechanisms that will deliver this flexibility, as projects are bid for, worked on, and negotiated and shared with others who are similarly highly organizationally mobile, flexible in their work times and habits, working always on temporary assignments with high levels of self-responsibility, unclear boundaries and insecure incomes. And on top of everything, the subject is expected, in their organizational behavior, to embrace these new conditions with passion, to invest

emotional commitment into their projects, to revitalize the organizational life worlds that they traverse with charismatic conviction and enthusiasm. The recent enthusiasms of empowerment, spirituality and teams take on a very different appearance viewed through the lens of this chapter.

What links Ray's, Scott and Weiskopf's and the following chapter on managerialism by Martin Parker is a similar concern with the much-vaunted end of bureaucracy and the emergence of a post-bureaucratic space, peopled by autonomous creative knowledge workers. Bureaucracy conceived on a rational-legal basis was a revolutionary project, attacking aristocratic privilege and instilling liberal norms everywhere it touched. Left critics railed against the illiberality of its liberalism at the apex of power – where the military-industrial complex meant that technocrats could move freely from one sphere of influence to another. As we have seen in Scott and Weiskopf's discussion of Tom Peters, bureaucracy has come under attack as too slow and too hierarchical. Running through all these critiques and those of the new 'new left' – the ecologists, feminists, and contemporary syndicalists – is a strong anti-managerialism, where managerialism is defined as a fusion of bureaucracy and a belief in the power of reason as the vehicle for delivering more scientifically efficient solutions to whatever problems presented themselves. Saint-Simon is its earliest figure but in contemporary times, the criticism of managerialism proceeds on at least four fronts, which broadly cover complaints rooted in nostalgia, modernization, everyday cultural experience, and anti-authoritarianism.

Nostalgia isn't what it is cracked up to be when viewed historically because it often appears as an infinite regress as each generation displays nostalgia for the world that they believe they have lost. Thus, themes that appear distinctly modern when read in the twenty-first century can be seen to be but echoes of concerns that have rattled the iron cages of bureaucracy and industrialism almost from their inception. Such critiques

are often those of élites who feel themselves by-passed by the rationalization they abhor. More contemporary critiques come from the radical utopians, the modernizers, whom Scott and Weiskopf associated with Tom Peters. For Parker, the criticisms are associated with consultants who sell ideas about culture, re-engineering, spirit, networks and transformational leadership. When associated with reform of state organizations and the public sector the criticisms are not as full-bloodedly marketizing but offer instead various simulacra for markets. The sphere in which most people will be familiar with criticisms of managerialism is cultural, as it is regularly exhibited in shows such as *The Simpsons* and *Futurama*, and strip-cartoons such as *Dilbert*. These are critiques that resonate with the sympathies of those who toil under authority figures who, on the whole, they have little respect for. However, as with the nostalgic, the critiques just keep on coming – at least since the days of mid-nineteenth century critics such as Dickens, through early twentieth century critics such as Kafka. They were differentially developed in different markets: in the US community and common virtue were opposed as wholesome alternatives to big business whilst in Europe opposition to bureaucratic rationalization more often than not was expressed through workers councils, and a general commitment to socialism. From Dickens' Gradgrind to *The Office's* David Brent, suggests Parker, managers are figures of unease, objects of derision, and ill-regard. The best-developed critique of managerialism derive from anarchist tendencies, suggests Parker, and stretch back at least to the cooperative ideas of the early nineteenth century, and have spread into not only anarchist but also workerist, feminist, and environmentalist criticisms of organization and management. On the whole, these are criticisms from the margins of modernity, from various groups who feel unrepresented or marginalized by modernity. What is remarkable, suggests Parker, is that there are deep traditions from each of these tendencies that are highly critical of managerialism as the dominant expression of organizational

behavior yet which are rarely articulated within the field of organizational behavior itself, other than in the somewhat closed and unreflective project of a Critical Management Studies that largely fails to connect with what most organizational behaviorists do. There is a history; it is worth retrieving, and it has much to teach us about the general and pervasive sense of the dark side of organizational behavior.

If Parker dwells on the dark side, the final chapter in Part One of the Handbook by Arran Caza and Kim Cameron seeks to develop positive lessons for organizational behavior. The authors are advocates of Positive Organizational Scholarship (POS). While these authors do not search the historical depths noted by Martin Parker they characterize traditional organization behavior in terms of a hypothetical world of greed, manipulation, and distrust to which they seek, positively, to oppose appreciation, collaboration, and meaningfulness. As they explain it, 'positive' is meant to signal an affirmative attitude to life-enhancing rather than negative experiences, 'organizational' is meant to stress the emphasis on organized contexts, as opposed to purely individual phenomena, while 'scholarship' indexes the importance of research and theory. What is positive, they suggest, are elevating processes, excellence, human strength, resilience, vitality, and meaningfulness. Intellectually, POS draws on positive psychology, community psychology, positive organizational behavior, prosocial organizational behavior, organization development, and corporate social performance. While these are all reasonably well-developed fields, there is, of course, always the matter of interpretation – one person's excellence can be another person's nightmare, as the three previous chapters have been at pains to elaborate.

The major assumption that is made by POS is that people desire positive, happy experiences and that the desire to improve the human condition is universal and the capacity to do so is latent in most systems. Perhaps it could only be in a nation whose constitution establishes a right to human

happiness that such a sanguine view could flourish. It is certainly a long way from the gloomy view of human neuroses that Freud developed at the start of modern psychology; or from a Hobbesian view of human nature and social order as nasty, poor, brutish and short, or from the anti-foundational biases of much contemporary and post-modern thinking, in philosophers such as Richard Rorty. Behind the affirmative assumptions is a commitment to a heliotropic principle which sees living systems as seeking that which is life-giving and avoiding that which is life-depleting. Various studies – from psychology and from linguistics – are cited to support the existence of the heliotropic principle in social life, as well as noting its existence in the biological sciences. The chapter then explains its categorical principles and, using these, proceeds to discuss 21 recent empirical papers that elaborate the POS agenda. These are discussed in terms of six themes – Individual Virtue and Social Concern, Leadership, Organizational Virtue, Positive Relationships and Performance, Psychological Capital and Absence of Negativity – that can be found in the research literature. Taken together, they provide a significant set of signposts for those who want to develop more positive theories and studies.

Caza and Cameron do not simply elaborate the usefulness of POS in research terms, however; they also look at its applications in practice, including case studies that document especially positive organizational performance, specific tools and techniques for generating positive effects, and instructional programmes centred on POS knowledge. With all this positiveness in evidence it would be encouraging if the posited eudemonic nature of individuals and their organizations did lead to positive behavior, create positive dynamics, and produce positive results, but, this is not the case. The empirical evidence suggests more complex relationships where positive emotions can produce negative behaviors, negative emotions can produce positive behaviors and positive behaviors may produce negative results. These findings,

once again, suggest that what is positive must be considered more complex than the heliotropic orientation suggested. If human conflict, travail and misery can produce positive outcomes does this mean that we should encourage such phenomena because, in the long run, they can facilitate positive outcomes? Some solutions to the definition of positive are suggested: being positive is better than a median point in a normal distribution or being positive could be defined in contextual terms. The latter would seem to be fraught with the difficulties identified earlier by Spicer: how does one aggregate a general theory from the specificities of local contexts? Moreover, there is a more general issue of cultural specificity – thus far the majority of studies come from developed Western societies, although there are some few exceptions. In these exceptions there appear to be counter-factual tendencies to those observed in the US, suggesting that, not surprisingly, what is positive is culturally contingent. Nonetheless, with all the careful caveats that Caza and Cameron articulate, it is evident from the extensive literature reviewed that POS has already made a significant impact on the field and should continue to do so.

MACRO ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAVIOR AND IMMANENT PROCESSES

The most fundamental human capacity is the capability of learning, one which is, of course, shared with other primates, but in a far less developed way. By extension, organization behavior has increasingly talked of the capacity of organizations to learn. When organizations learn they change, it is assumed but Antonacopoulou argues that this is too simple: organizations that learn might learn in such a way that the social, emotional and political forces at play lead not to change and transformation but to a degree of stability. Learning reinforces the status quo through a focus on what is known rather than a drive towards the unknown. One reason why

learning is so often equated with effective change is that learning and changing has so often been conceptualized in terms of stable patterns of routines and practices. Hence, if one changes the independent variable, learning, then one knows that it has been effective by the changes displayed in the dependent variables of routines and practices. The latter changes stand as ciphers for the effectiveness of the former interventions.

A part of the issue with restricted approaches to learning is that they often betray their disciplinary auspices in one or other of the social sciences; Antonacopoulou calls for a more trans-disciplinary approach, learning from approaches to complexity theory and process approaches to becoming, which she terms trialectical, focusing on the unfolding of phenomena in time and space. From complexity theory three key principles are employed: *inter-connectivity*, *diversity* and *self-organization*, to which she adds a fourth element neglected by both complexity and learning debates – *politics*. Greater inter-connectivity, diversity and self-organization are all conducive to more complex learning, but all learning takes place in a political world that might equally hinder or facilitate certain privileged and less-privileged forms of learning.

Learning is a practice – in a double sense: it is both something done and something honed through practice. Conceptualizing learning as practice enables us to focus on the co-existence of multiple adjoining and interlocking practices as they co-evolve. Unlike institutional theory that tends to see learning as dominated by the end of that which is institutionally valued, the approach that Antonacopoulou develops sees learning as a much more open, less reductive practice – one that is captured in the notion of practising. While practice and practicing refer to the institutionalization of activities and routines, practise and practising focus on the holistic and emergent nature of practice. There are, she suggests, significant epistemological and ontological implications of the shift in focus that she recommends. Epistemologically the focus moves to the

gerund, to practices of learning and working in different contexts, paying attention to dynamic relations between individual agency, social structures and systems surrounding complex tasks. Ontologically, the focus shifts to the study of process, to research into how practice is practised or rehearsed in performance. Although influenced by the initial US literature on learning, from major figures such as Schon and Argyris, Antonacopoulou's chapter also draws heavily on more European sources.

That there are quite distinct emphases between the two sides of the Atlantic is further reinforced in the chapter by Robert Roe, Omar Solinger and Woody Van Olffen. This chapter offers a critical discussion of the background, meaning and operational significance of the concept of organizational commitment in organizational research. The notion of organizational commitment had its roots in the contract-based labor relations that are prevalent in North America, and gained popularity as a conceptual counterweight to the deteriorating labor relations that resulted from the 1980s wave of industrial restructuring. To a large degree, commitment expresses a concern about unwanted employee turnover. Since most studies have been cross-sectional, little is known about the way in which commitment emerges and how it develops over time. A temporal perspective would provide a better understanding of what commitment actually is and how it affects the way in which people in organizations behave. While much of the literature addresses the 'best' level of commitment the authors show that the idea of 'the more the better' is untenable. They discuss the question of 'what can be done to shape commitment', a question that they see as a managerial paradox. The more commitment is under pressure because of threat of job loss or poor employment conditions, the less managers can do to prevent it from falling – let alone raise it. In as far as commitment can be shaped it is at the start of the employment relationship.

The need for commitment parallels the exercise of power; the more power has to be exercised in order to restore control

the less strong the power relations that precipitated the need for its exercise. In such situations, the exercise of power is a sign of relational weakness. Similarly, while commitment is often seen as diametrically opposed to power, the structural and relational situation is very similar. The greater the need for commitment to be present, the less likely it is to be evident. If commitment is the central currency of soft domination and power (Courpasson, 2006), efforts to increase it signal a currency deficit just as much as do attempts to reassert domination through the exercise of power. Neither soft power gloved in commitment, nor its harder exercise without the protective covering, can be exercised without advertising, precisely, the deficit of that which is desired: a settled order. Maintaining commitment seems to be a matter of keeping promises and striking a balance between organizational and employee interests, and interests, as we shall see, have been seen to be central to power.

Power is precisely the topic of the next chapter by Raymond Gordon. The chapter begins by making a distinction between two distinct streams of literature: one with an idealist orientation, the other with an orientation that is pragmatist. Standard organizational behavioral approaches to power are, Gordon suggests, idealist, as are critical theory approaches, because both operate with a normative model of what power relations should be like. The lineages of these approaches derive from Weber and Marx respectively and a major point of passage was the debate generated in American political science about the nature of community power, which developed from the late 1950s. Many of the definitions and ideas about power generated therein, which were remarkably behaviorist and mechanical in their conception, were to influence notable organization contributions. By contrast, the pragmatists owe a debt to Nietzsche and Machiavelli, and the main point of passage in their debates has been the work of Foucault. On the whole, while this work has been enormously influential in some of the most significant contributions to the organizational

literature, it has hardly defined the normal science of power – that has been much closer to the behavioral models developed within what Lukes (1974; 2005) termed the one-dimensional view of power, conceived as an A getting a B to do something that they would not otherwise do. Additionally, in the organizations literature, there is usually a tacit acceptance that power is something that is exercised illegitimately; power is counterposed to authority – which is the name for power when exercised by management. Hence, power is something that is done by less legitimate and marginal actors, who are seen to generate conflict in organizations – usually because of a lack of commitment to the normative order of the organization.

The Community Power Debate gave rise to what became known as the second face of power; the kind of power that occurs without conflict, without an explicit clash of polarities. From these perspectives derives the idea that all organizations have a certain mobilization of bias inherent to them; that some issues never materialize and remain regarded as non-issues because the balance of power relations is against making them issues. That some issues are not raised as problematic and thus do not generate conflict does not mean that they do not exist; they do exist, but in the under-life of the organization, rather than being on the formal agendas and in policy directions.

A decade after the political scientists Morton Bartaz and Peter Bachrach first articulated the second face of power, an Oxford don, named Steven Lukes, a major-league social theorist, published a slim little book on power. In this text he introduced the idea that there was a third dimension to power: power could be exercised through the management of meaning in such a way that people – members of organizations, for instance – were unable to formulate an independent account of where their interests lay. They could think about and see the world only through subaltern concepts that already positioned them as subjected, and subjects of, a power that had no need to exercise itself crudely through one-dimensional manoeuvres. In fact, he saw

power as operating much more insidiously through the way in which the categories of consciousness were already pervaded by the taken-for-granted world views and categories of the powerful – a conception that he related to the idea of hegemony as promulgated by the noted Italian political theorist, Antonio Gramsci (1971).

What makes the aforementioned streams idealist is that each of the accounts proffered has a normative view of what power is and should be. For the one-dimensional theorists the ideal is clearly a world of plural power relations; for the two-dimensional theorists the ideal is clearly a world in which those things that are issues for those who feel the yoke of power relations are not regarded as so hot to handle that they languish as unspoken and unarticulated but barely repressed non-issues. Theorists of ethnicity, gender, and of intersectional issues that fuse with these, have, not surprisingly, been attracted to this perspective.

Contributors to the ‘pragmatist stream’ are not concerned with telling people how power ‘ought’ to be in organizations, rather they are concerned with studying ‘how’ power comes to be exercised in the way that it is, says Gordon. Here the impulse is resolutely empirical and descriptive, and is often regarded as dangerously amoral because of the emphasis on the workings of power irrespective of the niceties of its actual deployment. The description, Machiavellian, named after the founding father of this stream, is often applied to such analysis as if it were a term of opprobrium. Rather, for theorists of this persuasion, it should be considered a compliment, a way of capturing a determined anthropological desire to follow the actors and the action wherever it takes one. Moreover, there is a strong resistance to subscribing to the idealism of other accounts in which certain positions, practices, authorities are *a priori* positioned as legitimate and others as illegitimate. Such matters are a question of empirics, not principle: not surprisingly then, Nietzsche is also a major influence on this stream, often through the influence of Foucault. With few exceptions, much of the

work influenced by this stream has hardly been a significant influence on the OB field; of the major post-Foucauldian figures that Gordon addresses, Haugaard and Flyvbjerg have largely influenced cognate fields such as political theory and planning, while only Clegg is a recognized contributor to the organization's literature.

Gordon's sympathies are clearly with the more pragmatist orientation rather than the more idealist, despite the good work that has been done under its auspices. The pragmatist accounts stress the interpenetration of power with knowledge as socially constructed and thus culturally significant and context dependent, used as resources in strategic local games of politics. For these theorists, ultimately, all politics is local.

At the core of Gordon's conception of pragmatic politics is the centrality of the ways that people make sense. Surprisingly, politics has not been central to the development of the sensemaking perspective on organizations. Nor does it feature in Colville's insightful chapter on organizational change and sensemaking. That this is the case is hardly surprising because the progenitor of sensemaking as a perspective, Karl Weick, has also had very little to say about how the politics of power/knowledge are tied up with those of sensemaking. There is a connection to be made here and a gap to be filled.

The main focus of Colville's chapter is on how organizational change episodes can be illuminated by a sensemaking perspective. The status of sensemaking as a perspective is contested, in part because of the enormous signature that attaches to Karl Weick's writings, a signature that a number of commentators have noted as poetic. The writing – for those familiar with Weick – stands out from the run of the mill organizational behavior literature because he is one of the few people working in the area whose clear and deep care about the prose that he writes results in writing that, much as another maverick, Jim March, stands out for its authentic voice and quality – what Van Maanen refers to as presence – but, as Colville says, for sensemaking to have a future after Weick others will have to step

up to the mark. Weick's writing is in part a response to the 'double dialectic' identified by Davis: briefly, what specialists find interesting is often unfathomable to laypersons; what laypersons find interesting is often a bore for specialists. Translated into management terms there is every chance that management theory and management practice will fail to connect. The competitive advantage of sensemaking theory, according to Colville, is that it stands a better chance of resolving the dilemma of the double dialectic because it takes as its point of departure the everyday world of practice. In this respect, it demonstrates its origins in Schutz's (1967) phenomenology and Garfinkel's (1967) ethnomethodology, both of which start from the premise that the proper object of a social science should be the ways in which the social world is a profound achievement of practical action and practical rationality, and show its affinity with the work of Erving Goffman (1959) as an investigation of the practical strategies of everyday life.

Weick abhors nouns and prefers verbs. Hence, it is not surprising to find Colville rejecting the study of organizational change in favor of organizational changing. Uniquely, amongst our authors thus far, Colville demonstrates the utility of the sensemaking perspective as he has developed it by addressing an empirical case – a short story about banking – a story with, as befits a Weickian tale, much presence and a great many twists. We won't spoil it by abridging it here.

As Colville makes sense of the banking story he notes that sensemaking can act *both* as a resource *and* a topic. That is, sensemaking theory as a resource can be applied to the ways in which people make sense as a topic. If the topic in hand is of immediate relevance to managers then the chances of solving the dilemma of the double dialectic also increase. Provocatively, Colville uses this probability to make a nuanced plea for more 'claptrap' in theory – by which he means writing that wins applause from its audience. Clearly, he says, the way to do this is to engage with what the audience want and enjoy rather than treating them as benighted, indifferent, intellectually untutored spectators. Elitism in the arts rarely

sustains an audience outwith public subsidy; Colville seems to be suggesting something similar about the élitism of the sciences, in this case organizational behavior. If the audience is the élite that read the specialist journals then don't be surprised if those who are the ostensive consumers of the knowledge produced, the lumpen intellectuals one finds in practice, turn off rather than tune in. In other words, Weick rocks because he connects all ways.

Ian Colville works at the University of Bath as does Andrew Brown the author of the next chapter. Was it chance or some other mechanism that assigned them adjacency as a pair? The reader may care to speculate. Certainly, it allowed a nice transition for the writer of this prose. Colville's focus on sense-making is not too far removed from Brown's attention to identity: before we make sense of the world, for many people, it is first necessary to make sense of their self – or should we say selves? The management of multiple identities and identifications is *the* key issue for modern organizations, suggests Brown, emerging from the broad social sciences and humanities interest in identity issues as well as a focus on the cultures of organizations. Further, there is the postmodern fascination for fragmentation, discontinuity and difference, which encourages scholars to see any and all conceptions of identity as sites of struggle, conflict and ambiguity.

Organizationally, identity is most often regarded as an internalized cognitive structure that defines what an organization stands for, and what it wants to become. It is this view that one finds in what has probably been the most influential of the organizational contributions to the literature on identity: Albert and Whetten's (1985) statement of organization identity as representing a distinctive, continuous essence of an organization. As Brown elaborates there are good foundations for such a view in predecessor work, especially in sociology and social psychology.

Contemporary work on identity is differentiated, in ideal type terms, as 'functionalist', 'interpretive', 'psychodynamic' and 'post-modern'. Functionalist accounts of identity

see it in terms of clear branding, often tagged as corporate identity, with objective properties, something essential about it. Interpretive perspectives look at the ways that members and stakeholders of organizations interpret it – the sense they share and the sense that they do not share, with different sorts of actors seeing the organization, interpretively, in different ways. Psychodynamic perspectives build on the work of Freud in seeing conceptions of identity as a bulwark against the vagaries of a world that is indifferent or hostile; organizational identity is a 'defensive solution' to psychological threats to members which may or may not be articulated at the level of consciousness. Organizations are means for regulating collective self-esteem through individual, group, and organizational defensive mechanisms that seek to ameliorate anxieties. Where psychodynamics work at their best organizations are able to learn, develop and to adapt through critical self-reflexivity, sophisticated dialogues, and a willingness to explore sources of anxiety. Postmodern conceptions of identity see it as provisional, discursively and textually produced and represented, sometimes almost mythically, in so far as it is represented in any stable articulation. At its core it is a narrative without end, or at least for as long as the organization endures and people in and around it tell others about it, through whatever media.

The chapter concludes with some directions for future research oriented around five key questions, which at present are more arenas for debate than questions to which agreed answers will likely be found. Is organizational identity a construct, a question or a metaphor? Do organizations have one or multiple identities? Do these identities endure or are they mutable? What's the relation between organizational identity and cognate terms such as 'reputation' and 'image'? How does organizational identity relate to processes of identification? The discussion of these issues is sufficient to launch any number of future research projects, most of which would seem more likely to explore the concept as 'essentially contested' rather than as one

or other of the ways in which the four ideal types posit it as being, and to realize that any questions of identity are necessarily suffused with power.

Although we have been careful to argue that power relations in organizations need not necessarily be accompanied by conflict, in many cases they will be, if only because, in situations of neither hegemonic domination by one party over others or gross inequalities of access to relational resources, the most likely form of action by parties that perceive themselves as weaker is to attack and create conflict that disrupts normalcy: think of classical industrial relations scenarios in which unions strike – the balance of power relations will always reside with those who own and control means of production, administration, and distribution, yet they may be vulnerable to disruptions of normalcy, and so the strike weapon becomes a tool of power. Of course, conversely, employers can use the lockout as a form of counter-attack when they perceive that the balance of industrial relations power has shifted against the terms of trade that they want to normalize on the labor market.

Stephen Ackroyd discusses some of the major approaches to organizational conflict. The basic proposition with which he works is that the development of numerous organizations significantly increases the number and variety of relationships in which people are tangled up; the more lives become tangled together the more difficult it is to sustain clear lines of cleavage and allegiance. Thus, modern social life rests on a complicated gradation of indifferences, aversions and antipathies. However, to the extent that conflicts do occur, organizations are amongst the most significant sites for its expression because they act to channel conflict.

The basic organizing principles of the chapter are quite clear and simple: to divide discussion of organizational conflict into intra- and inter-organizational instances, and then to interrogate these instances through some classical resources of social theory. In terms of intra-organizational conflict the key

dimensions are the degree of intensity and duration of conflict, which, in a 2×2 table, serve to categorize much of the substantive particularity of the field. A great many of the conflicts so categorised arise from the structuring of antagonisms characteristic of a market economy, with a labor market, that typifies private capitalism. However, as Ackroyd notes, a great deal of the work on conflict displays its functionalist presuppositions. The similarities with the standard OB literature on power that Gordon reviews are remarkably close. Conflict is regarded as a bad thing, a case of organizational misbehavior, or a sign of deviance. These assumptions were built into the earliest management theories from F. W. Taylor onwards.

In the post-World War II era a number of anthropologically influenced studies of workplaces discovered that employees and employers were often acting rationally by their own lights but that these were specific – and often conflicting – rationalities. Such conflicting rationalities need not merely be the effect of vertical stratification between employees and employers but can occur horizontally, between different types of employees as well as horizontally between different units of capital (see Clegg, 1981 for a systematic elaboration of these points). Any of the conflicts that occur in organizations may be decisive; organizations are not fixed entities but continuously renegotiated entities in which conflicts – and their decisions and non-decisions – figure heavily in the negotiation of the order.

Looking at the employer/employee axis, alternate rationalities may be constructed around what are taken to be (often diverging) interests, the negotiation of whose meaning is often expressed in terms of the amount of effort employees are prepared to expend: what the British industrial sociologist Baldamus (1961) called the 'effort bargain'. Where the assumptions of one parties' rationality are violated then organizational conflict ensues over issues such as the duration and intensity of work effort, the use of tools and technologies, the assignment of tasks, teams and colleagues, recognition of status, membership of key

committees, boards, etc. Such conflict varies on a continuum for spontaneous and informal resistance to more formal and organized resistance.

Much of the focus, historically, in studies of conflict has focused on the labor process. However, organizational conflict is not something confined merely to divergent interests over the pace, duration, organization, and remuneration of employment relations. It can also occur at much more senior level in organizations, as a cursory acquaintance with the financial press, animated by accounts of boardroom struggles, take-over attempts, managerial coups, and stakeholder revolts indicates. Categories of member such as shareholders, senior managers, and directors are by no means homogenous in their interests or placid in their behaviors, nor do the interests and behaviors of the different categories necessarily align with each other. Substantial business school discourses, such as principal-agency theory and transaction costs economics have developed around these routine antagonisms.

Additionally, there is a rich and fertile field of inter-organizational research topics ripe for cultivation. Changes in populations of organizations, as charted through population ecology perspectives, and organizational fields, seen in terms of institutional theory, can also reflect struggles that find expression in inter-organizational conflicts that are often encoded as competing strategies, whose effects may range anywhere from being mild and ephemeral to acute and temporally long term. These occur not only in terms of conventional competitive strategies or the periodic creative destruction that bunches around clusters of innovations that punctuate long waves in economic development, but can also relate to other, non-competitor organizations, such as regulatory authorities, the state, the judiciary and criminal justice system, where strategy entails suspected malfeasance. One case that Ackroyd discusses that meets all these criteria is the extensive period of transformation of US industry in the 1980s that was created by new organizations of financial capital.

Historically, of course, the major organizational conflicts have been between collective workers and specific units of capital embedded in specific organizations confronted with particular trade unions that fought these organizations over specific issues of remuneration, organization, acknowledgement, entitlement and so on. The incidence of such conflicts has varied comparatively and historically anywhere from riotous assembly, through insurrection, to full-blown revolutionary struggle but has most often been normalized in terms of trade union activities, notably the withdrawal of labor through the mechanism of the strike and associated picketing. Just as with conflict about the nature of capitalism itself, in terms of the legality of new forms of financial organization, these conflicts have often been moderated by regulatory authorities, the state, the judiciary and criminal justice system, as the state has changed the parameters of what are construed as legal methods of mobilization. In this perspective, the strike is but one of the repertoires of collective action available to disgruntled employees, and one which only developed its acuity in the latter part of the nineteenth century. In the latter part of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, it is a device that, judging by comparative statistics from bodies such as the International Labor Organization (ILO), may well have peaked in the strike waves of the 1970s, although some authorities argue that such a commonly held view may be in part a statistical artefact (Gall, 1999).

If Marx was the first theorists to systematically address the nature of organizational conflict in a theory of history it is fair to say that the times have not been kind either to the theory that he advanced or those ideas that many subsequent political proponents argued that he advanced. Conflicts do not necessarily lead to contradictions and contradictions need not be cataclysmic for system reproduction where they occur; as Simmel (1902) suggested, conflict is both constitutive of organizational and social systems and a major source of their reproduction as such. Conflicts can persist, endure, be

channelled, change shape, become more or less latent, and often not be resolved at all. Even though traditional forms of industrial conflict may have declined in recent times this should not be regarded, normatively, as some regression to a more ideal mean: conflict is normal, endemic and constitutive of organizations albeit that its structuration varies comparatively and historically. Despite the emphasis given to employee satisfaction and effective organizations there is no reason to assume that an organization bereft of conflict is either possible or desirable.

Once upon a time organizational careers were what many employees aspired to, seeking employment with organizations that seemed blue-chip, whether private or public, which offered many opportunities for promotion, training, and development. The notion of a career is a construct that only makes sense in societies organized around status-achievement rather than status-ascription principles. Where statuses are ascribed, the notion of a career is, by definition, highly unlikely, as the determinations of caste, status and other sources of social ascription, such as gender or tribe, are determinant in shaping one's life-chances. Even in early modern society in Western Europe for most people the notion of career, if held at all, was tied up in a parallel system of task and status structure administered through guilds as custodians of traditional knowledge. Few organizational careers existed outside of the Church, Navy, and Army, except with the major trading companies, such as the Dutch East India Company, and these were often systematically skewed towards those with wealth and privilege.

In more contemporary times the idea that one has a career has become a major constituent part of the way that one organizes and accounts for one's life. The classical definition of a career is of a series of progressions through the offices of an organization or organizations. The development of powerful internal labor markets and organizational careers, particularly for staff in technical, professional and managerial roles, became part of a powerful recipe for organizational

success in the post-war era as Inkson and Baruch note in their chapter on organizational careers. Even as late as the 1980s, the normalcy of large organizations with stable and progressive organizational careers was a staple of thinking about management and organizations, and even in these more flexible times, oligarchs require some means of reproducing themselves as the strategic élites of organizations, and thus need some form of organizational career management system that organizations for managing organizational succession.

The authors introduce the *Career Active System Triad* (the CAST), as a multi-level conceptual framework developed to help understand the human side of career management. The CAST comprises values, approaches, and behaviors as three levels of analysis. Values are the basis from which the others emerge. Management approaches are meant to transform and translate values into third-level behaviors shaping action and practice. Inkson and Baruch regard the key managerial question as how to fit the person to the organization and how to provide organizational support for the fit. Ideally, values shape individual aspirations and strategy and percolate into individual attitudes and organizational policies. The process of alignment is always dynamic and ongoing; responding to the external environment of structured labor markets shaping demand and supply of particular types of occupations as well as internal organizational politics dynamics. Typically, top management teams will strive to make the alignment strategic. Career management strategies will be subordinated to organizational strategies in this view.

Sociologically, organizational careers can be seen as largely structurally determined by class, education, race, and gender, while educationalists, psychologists and career counsellors see occupational careers as the result of personal choices, rational decision making, and personal maturation. Both sociological and psychological perspectives focus on the individual whose career is seen as more or less the repository of social forces or social choices

rather than as something organizationally managed. The latter perspective is developed in perspectives on Organizational Career Management (OCM).

Organizational Career Management (OCM) strategies involve activities relevant to career development, such as selection, training, employee development, appraisal and compensation practices, as well as the design of formal career paths, career planning and development exercises, mentoring and career counselling. Such strategies may entail significant investment of organizational personnel's time and resources and should be calibrated according to the available disposition of these rather than ideal strategy. Not all careers will be organizational in a conventional sense of personal advancement and status; careers may be organized in terms of professions, developing specialist skills, or entrepreneurial, oriented towards value creation rather than personal or professional development.

From an integrationist perspective that strives to combine sociological, psychological and organizational perspectives on careers four significant issues for future research are identified. The first of these is a tension between a focus on structure and a focus on action, which is a sign of the lack of resolution between more sociological and psychological approaches. The second question addresses the tension between stasis and adaptation in careers: are careers relatively stable or do they change over time? The third question addresses whether or not careers can only be studied in their particularity or whether or not there are generalizations that can be made universally. As the authors note, there is little or no consensus on this issue in the field. Attempts at generalization seem to generate many exceptions. Finally, the authors suggest that the question of knowledge in relation to careers needs to be posed: where does career knowledge reside? In individuals or in institutions related to their careers?

There will be organizational careers to manage the more that these careers are determined by structure rather than action; are stable rather than adaptive; are not structured

according to idiosyncratic behavior and change, and are based on institutional rather than individual knowledge. The assumptions of vocational areas such as Human Resource Management are based on these precepts. The individual's career is considered to be at the disposal of the organization's planning, performance evaluation, employee development, and succession planning to extract maximum value from each unit of labor under management's control. Organizational careers are of particular value, because they maximize opportunities to develop human assets to company advantage.

These conditions have been in decline over the past 25 years in the developed world, as organizations have grown leaner and meaner, specialized on core competencies and outsourced other areas of activity, such that is appropriate to speak of the decline of organizational careers. Consequently, new models of career have developed as something that the individual manages as a project in external labor markets, between rather than within organizations. Careers become increasingly boundaryless, traversing organizations, laced through specific projects. People invest their careers in organizations and organizations invest in their careers; however, some investments may turn out, on either side, to have been duds. In the dynamics of labor markets in which one will participate for 40 or more years it is always going to be difficult to make successful investments.

Changing circumstances mean that the concept of the organizational career may mean a commitment that lasts organizations a lifetime as a precious resource, or it may be something that they partake of fleetingly, as the individual manages a portfolio of career-related projects. The challenge for future organizations will be to find forms of engagement and relationships that adequately reflect the range of employees' career objectives and strategies.

Successful management careers take one to the top; increasingly the heights of organizations are explored through the burgeoning literature on top management teams (TMT). Sarah MacCurtain and Michael West guide

us through the TMT literature of the past 20 years or so. The literature suggests that TMT dynamics can enhance creativity and decision making but do not always do so; hence, it is important to identify the factors that enhance or impede effective top team working and performance.

Although the terminology of the TMT is relatively new, the idea clearly has auspices in Cyert and March's (1963) notion of the dominant coalition – the powerful people who span the boundary between the organization and the external environment and make decisions that have a significant impact on the organization's future. Who these individuals might be is not agreed upon. Some researchers suggest job titles hold the key; others focus on board membership, while still others propose that it is the decision-making circles to which they belong that are important. Whomsoever they are designated as being, one thing is for sure: TMTs comprise senior players in power games in and around organizations, people who have high levels of education, well-developed expertise, who are able to command significant organizational and professional resources, and who are paid to have firm views on many things. Moreover, if the organizations in question follow the lead of research, and compose these teams on the basis of functional, if not social diversity, then these teams are likely to be more creative and innovative. Not surprisingly, in Ackroyd's terms, TMTs are likely repositories of organizational conflict. A dilemma faces top management teams: task conflict is necessary in order to discuss problems in an open and critical manner but it is vital that such conflict does not trigger affective conflict that may potentially destroy the team's commitment to implementing the decision.

Conflict will be specially prevalent when an oligarchic elite has clung on to the seats of power so long that there is a considerable age difference in the successor cohort: research on age diversity suggests that dysfunctional conflict, lack of consensus and ineffective communication will occur when the development of a shared language between

individuals that results from similar background and experiences is lacking. Obviously, from this perspective, elite reproduction is a matter to be constantly attending to rather than something to be left until the patriarchs have almost quit the scene. Difference in age is associated with difference in world views.

Too much diversity may be as dangerous as too much homogeneity: the relationship between tenure heterogeneity and outcomes is curvilinear, the literature suggests. Diversity has different effects on different aspects of team performance: high diversity has negative effects on social integration but is positive for cognitive outcomes, such as producing a more polyphonic culture. However, it is likely to be polyphony within bounded rationality: despite demographic diversity there is likely to be similarity in world views and beliefs, certain behaviors, values and experiences expressed through such as loyalty, commitment, dedication, and success, which all serve to facilitate membership of the top team. These are the types of phenomena that students of power usually discuss in terms of hegemony, and some sociologists refer to as anticipatory socialization – a propensity to assume elite views if one presumes to aspire to the elite. Shared views are insufficient in themselves: the processes that make them especially effective will be contingently specific to the situation at hand, MacCurtain and West argue. A certain amount of debate is necessary but there needs to be a degree of consensus in order to achieve decision. Consensus involves both shared understanding and shared commitment, yet if there is too much consensus, creativity and innovation may suffer.

Top teams have to be reflexive, have to be able to learn from their reflection of what they do and have done, in order to inform what they will do. What is necessary is an entwined process of reflection (retrospective reflection), planning (prospective reflection) and doing (immersion in action). There must be delicate balancing of power relations within the TMT. Leaders should not dominate but they must lead through conscientiousness, and emotional stability. Dysfunctional

leaders, such as the narcissist, the paranoid, and the controlling, encourage irrational and unconscious processes more than rational consideration of the issues at hand; indeed, as MacCurtain and West observe, there is considerable empirical evidence suggesting that the top management team in general, as well as the leader, influence organizational climate as a direct behavioral manifestation of organizational culture. Central to the climate in the organization is the management of emotions at work. Demographics have a significant relation with TMT characteristics that have an impact on a firm's global strategy: TMTs with lower average age, higher average tenure, higher average education, higher average international experience, and higher tenure heterogeneity lead to a climate in which organizations become more internationally diversified.

Top management teams have complex psychodynamics. Often we glimpse these in snatches of insight into political leaders' lives provided by diaries, memoirs, and leaks. Often these relationships are driven by intense emotions: Alan Clarke's (1993) diaries of the Thatcher years provide a good case in point, signifying a diminishingly consistent or homogenous affective reaction within the Tory TMT – the Cabinet – towards the end of Mrs Thatcher's ascendancy as Prime Minister. There is a sense in which the hubris of TMTs that have been successful for some time can lead them to overstep the limits of what they can achieve and in doing so sow the seeds of their own decline and fall.

One of the crucial issues in TMTs, as we have seen, is their composition in terms of the balance between oligarchical reproduction and renewal. If the issue has been important in the past it can only become even more critical in the immediate future, because, as Conger argues in his chapter on succession management, as a result of the imminent demographic retirement of the baby boomer generation, most organizations will have to replace a considerable number of TMT members at the same time, to the extent that their teams have been fairly homogenous in age terms. Moreover, as the boomers retire and

Gen X and Y move into TMT positions, they bring with them quite different attitudes and dispositions from those formed in the 1940s and 1950s. Witness to the massive downsizing initiatives of large corporations in the late 1980s and 1990s, cynical about the world that the boomers enjoyed and whose rules they then changed for the next generation (fees for universities rather than state support, for instance), younger generations have little commitment to traditional notions of organizational commitment, having a strong sense that they have to manage their careers because they cannot rely on external authorities – whether state or private sector – to do it for them. The Internet and the easy availability of comparative information and opportunities make it easier for the web-savvy generation to be managers of their own careers.

In the past, says Conger, succession management's primary purpose was to identify replacements for senior executives who would eventually depart the organization. Often dead men's shoes or retirees seats were filled in a mechanical lock-step progression up the list of seniority. The possibility that career succession might be used to develop or retain talent remained largely unrealized. By the late 1980s things began to change a little, suggests Conger. Succession management came to be deployed as a mechanism for identifying and cultivating leadership talent across the different organizational generations. The shift in focus was from replacing those exiting to developing all those who entered. In doing so, the focus became much more transparently developmental; members are aware they are on potential career tracks in competition with others and senior managers realize that developing those who report to them is an important part of their leadership portfolio.

Highly effective succession management systems provide a continuous stream of talent capable of meeting the changing circumstances with which organizations must cope. In doing so they serve to keep members challenged and motivated and thus retain them within the organization, rather than

seeing them flit to greener pastures and greater opportunities elsewhere. Such systems should be easy to use by executives and line managers and easy for members to access and understand, as well as being evidently developmental of opportunities tailored to particular individuals. Moreover, they are dynamic systems, constantly being revised in the light of experience and changing situations. Nonetheless, the contours of a best practice model are elaborated by Conger in terms of a number of characteristics that the chapter goes on to elaborate:

- Alignment of the succession strategy to the organization's overarching strategy
- Senior level sponsorship and HR 'process' ownership
- Identification and effective deployment of key linchpin positions
- Rigorous talent identification processes
- Strong developmental linkages that accompany talent identification
- Multiple stakeholders assessments with developmental feedback
- Rigorous tracking and feedback metrics.

The TMT must be focused on talent recruitment, training, development, retention and succession in this mode and must feel comfortable addressing both high flyers and low achievers. The former should be rewarded with opportunities and assignments that stretch and develop their capabilities while low achievers must be led to greater heights, rather than being tolerated, with the effect of lowering performance and the attractiveness of the organization to high achievers. If that means speaking truth to power – and to weakness – so be it.

Much of the remit of the good advice and sound research results that have been covered in the chapters to present can only be delivered by highly effective leadership and, as Collinson addresses in his contribution, leadership requires followership. Although leadership is one of the topics most widely discussed and researched in macro-organizational behavior, the conditions of its existence and generation have been

remarkably homogenous because the vast bulk of research has been done using US assumptions and models, with a tacit model of society that corresponds to the US, suggests Collinson, even when these models are applied elsewhere. Thus, highly individualist models of leadership have flourished as the norm – even when there are large parts of the globe where their cultural fit cannot easily be assumed. One consequence of these dominant US models has been an underplaying of issues of power. To illuminate a power perspective on leadership and followership, Collinson draws on critical, post-structuralist and feminist insights.

Leadership studies are usually informed by a desire to describe in some way what makes an effective leader, a question to which the literature provides no clear answer. It all depends on the type of leadership theory one elects to follow! There are several approaches that have flourished in the mainstream of leadership research that Collinson reviews. He concludes that, irrespective of which of these approaches one chooses, followers are often taken for granted and the dynamics of power that relate leaders and followers underspecified. Moreover, leaders are often romanticized and lionized as if they were solitary and extraordinary individuals. More realistically, the relations between leaders and followers should be considered in terms of dialectics of control characterized by interdependencies and power asymmetries. Power relations between leaders and followers are likely to be interdependent, asymmetrical, and contested. Reciprocal resistance of either to the actions of the other is to be expected as a normal feature of organizational life; its pervasiveness depends on contextual factors that leadership can shape: followers value leaders who exercise control and take responsibility and do so in clear, fair and transparent ways while, when leaders exercise control in unfair, dictatorial, coercive, nepotistic, narcissistic and/or self-interested ways, resistance is much more likely; when views have not been considered, leaders are seen as 'out of touch' and there are discrepancies between leaders' policies and practices.

In such situations, which Collinson's research suggests are quite common, members who feel relatively marginalized or excluded will tend to withdraw psychologically from the organization, operating subtly but cynically through small acts of resistance and subversion that are hardly starkly confrontational and thus difficult for leaders to detect, and will project their dissent and dissatisfaction outside into the broader community. Vicious circles can be enacted as leaders find their leadership failing and tighten their surveillance and control of subordinates in order to try and deliver better results, which merely exacerbates the behavior that they seek to rectify by demonstrating more of the same behavior that is occasioning the withdrawal responses.

Conventional approaches to leadership are not good at addressing the more covert, subtle dialectics relating leaders to followers, which is why Collinson draws on feminist post-structuralist analyses that seem better able to address these dynamics, which are often a constitutive part of gender relations. The gender aspects of leadership – as a mostly masculine activity – also need to be addressed as Collinson demonstrates. What are often taken for granted as gender neutral attributes of leadership are, in fact, highly masculine gender-specific characteristics. Organizations and their leadership are riddled through with the biases of masculinity, as Collinson argues. The traditional dualism of leader and follower in many respects resembles and draws from the patriarchal dualism of superordinate males and subordinate females.

MACRO ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAVIOR AND KEY PRACTICES

The 'Labor Process' as a familiar term in industrial sociology and related disciplines, would be well known in European and Australasian organization theory, but is not really a mainstream term in organizational behavior. The origins of the term are usually attributed to Marx's (1976) *Capital*, where he analyses what he terms the labor process.

For Marx, what was important about the work done in organizations – the labor process – was that it was done under conditions of control by Capitalists in order to reproduce Capital – which he discussed in terms such as 'surplus value'. Basically, he argued that unless the labor employed was exploited – that is, created more value for the capital that employed it than it was rewarded with in terms of wages – the labor process would not be productive and the organization would be inefficient. Efficient capital exploited the labor process. In his chapter Graham Sewell recognizes that this view might be somewhat limited as a useful basis for contemporary discussion, given the assumptions of 'naked' and 'rampant' exploitation that Marx saw in Victorian English factories. Nonetheless, the value of labor process analysis has been the ability to link what happens inside organizations at the point of intersection of organization control and production with the changing macro-economic and societal circumstances in which these encounters occur, as Sewell recognizes.

The core of employee relations and labor process theory is the notion of a contract between a fictional entity – the organization in question – and a real individual, monitored and implemented by other real individuals, often and usually in the organization's employ. The employment relationship is normally constituted by a written contract that places certain expectations on employers and employees in terms of their conduct towards each other. Such explicit contract and implicit reciprocity as it contains is a relatively recent historical phenomenon, when set aside the many great achievements of antiquity founded on coerced, involuntary and slave labor. It was an emergent nexus of relations among a changing balance of feudal power, as free men and women began to emerge, changing conceptions of property and of the rights of man, tied up with the transition from feudalism to capitalism, the Reformation, and the development of civil society that signalled a shift towards a widespread contractual basis for employment relations. The expenditure of effort, the reward of that effort, and the

creation of value through employment of organized labor became increasingly related in formal organizations. As these changes took place the traditional patterns of work relations, holidays and holy days broke down and working life intensified, a fact noted by many early commentators, as well as Marx. Marx's innovation was to note that the labor nominally employed – measured in time – and that actually deployed, would usually differ and the difference was an object of struggle between the labor employed and the employee. Laborers sought to minimize the amount of time and effort expended in work, often for very long hours indeed, in order to preserve what energies they could – for the little of life that occurred outside work. Bear in mind that working class people started work as children and that the length of the working day was typically twice as long as we would think normal today, with the work taking place often in conditions that were dark, dangerous, extremely physically demanding and with little labor-saving technology. Thus, the individual employee had an interest in minimizing their individual labor effort while the individual employer had an interest in maximizing it. The scene was set for what Marx believed would be the central struggle in society – between individual employees who came to realize the commonality of their collective situation as mere labor power, against the employers who were well aware of their common interest, one based on their ownership of the means of production, in using this labor power as much as they were able. Thus, in the labor process approach, the effective organization of the labor power employed, in order to produce useful value for employers, will be the central problem for employers and analysts alike, regardless of the social conditions under which the contractual exchange takes place. As Sewell remarks, provided we can still observe a separation of mental supervisory and managerial from manual labor that is supervised and managed then Marx's fundamental observations apropos the subordination of labor to capital through management's monopoly of the conception of work are still as valid

today as they were in 1867 when he first published them.

Sewell argues that the labor process approach is still useful today for understanding subordination and work intensification but it requires a shift from an exclusive focus on the separation of conception and execution in labor and a focus on instances where employees exercise a formally acknowledged degree of discretion, not only over *what* work is done but also *how* it is done. By doing this, he argues, labor process theory can be related to contemporary social theory that places surveillance, superordinate or lateral vision of the person at the heart of its conceptualization of social order and cohesion. In particular, it connects the theory of the employee in organizations with the central focus on some of the influential work of Michel Foucault (1977) on discipline, surveillance, and control, a literature that Sewell explores with reference to an interesting historical context and cast of characters.

In contemporary terms, the task that Sewell sees as central for labor process analysis is to be able to provide a plausible account of contemporary – rather than nineteenth century – forms of the organization of work. Above all, he argues, this means an appreciation of the role that enhanced autonomy at work through team membership, delegation and empowerment, for example, can play in ensuring, seemingly paradoxically, that there is a greater intensification of work and exploitation, and the creation of increased levels of surplus and thus profits, from the labor deployed. From this tack there are many points of affinity with some of the contemporary and past classics of organization theory and behavior, with the work of Alvin Gouldner providing key contributions. The implementation of totalizing systems of control is seen as a frequent corollary of many forms of organization. Whether these are pursued through the physical sequestration of an individual in time and space, through bureaucratic means, or through electronic surveillance, is immaterial. From this perspective, a great deal of organizational behavior, in as much as it consists of relations

between subordinates and superordinates (and sometimes fellow team workers) should be recast as a discourse of coercion focused on two main roles: the activities of managers who wish to guarantee the constant visibility of employees in order to maximize their effort and the activities of employees who wish to avoid this scrutiny in order to minimize their subordination to managers. Thus, managers become seen as agents of oppression and, in this respect, the discourse of coercion concentrates on how surveillance allows the more powerful to dominate the less powerful. Sewell characterizes the work that flows from this perspective as a 'radical' research programme. By contrast, there is a 'liberal' research programme that is closely related. Here, the person is problematized as an individual who has the potential to indulge in self-interested behavior left to their own devices. Thus, organizational surveillance (usually in the guise of individual performance monitoring) is deemed to be legitimate so long as it protects the organization and fellow employee interests as judged by the watchful eyes of impartial managers, where all members recognize that organizational surveillance is reasonable and where they trust in the impartiality of those responsible for its operation. However, as Sewell suggests in his conclusion, the dream (or nightmare) of total control will always be unachievable. People's ingenuity in resistance and the unanticipated opportunities offered by all technological advancement will see to that. The failure of present surveillance projects merely becomes the sufficient and necessary cause for the pursuit of further ones. As the indeterminacy of labor has moved to incorporate a cognitive as well as corporeal element in contemporary work, the labor process can be characterized as a problem of the 'indeterminacy of knowledge' where surveillance is implicated in a process of expropriating cognitive faculties including imagination, ingenuity, problem-solving skills, and other forms of embodied knowledge. These can be exercised in ways that managers applaud – but they can also be used in projects that they would not approve of if they knew of them, projects

that may be deeply corrosive of existing authority relations and discipline. As Sewell concludes, the analyst – whether consultant or researcher – is irremediably caught up in the ethics of workplace surveillance as questions of whose control and whose autonomy, whose privacy and whose rights, will always intrude into any analysis of actual organization practice.

There are some immediate echoes between Sewell's chapter and that which follows it. Notably, Judith Pringle, Alison Konrad, and Anne-Marie Greene argue that organizational behavior requires a 'new structuralism' that looks at how society shapes organizations, more in line with what has typically been normal practice in European rather than North American work. More multi-level approaches are required that combine what is usually thought of as the micro, macro and meso. One would expect this to be especially the case from a perspective that focuses on practical aspects of organizational behavior and lived experience – as their focus on gender does. One's experience of gender does not come bundled up in levels of analysis but is experienced as all of a piece in various situated actions and practices, especially where, as they remark, gender equality in the workplace remains a distant goal and where the division of unpaid household labor continues to be unequally skewed against women, and women are routinely the subjects of representational practices that are sexually exploitative. In this environment – which they see as characteristic of contemporary times – it is unlikely that women's equality will be well served by organizational behavior.

Women still occupy a small minority of elite organizational positions, they establish, even in those societies where symbolically important positions have been or are occupied by women. Norway is in the vanguard, with nearly 30% of top management positions being filled by women; the figures rapidly decline as one considers the southern European countries. Elsewhere, of course, outside the OECD nations, in the Middle East, Africa and Asia, the numbers would be even lower.

In the household sphere research consistently establishes that women take responsibility for two-thirds or more of caretaking and household labor in almost every country researched. For many women in contemporary industrialized societies full-time or part-time employment is combined with demanding family responsibilities and employers are finding that they need to provide work-life flexibility benefits to retain female workers, which are associated with positive outcomes for women's careers, where the organization has a supportive work-family culture. This is rarely the case for those who make it to the top, whether men or women, although most of the men will have a wife supplying that two thirds of domestic work which women do.

Women do not fit the stereotypes of successful business leaders as dominant, aggressive, achievement-oriented, autonomous, exhibitionist, and with high levels of endurance: these are represented not as female but male characteristics. Gender stereotypes prescribe as well as describe, and in doing so affect how people are judged by others as gendered entities. Leadership is still viewed cross-culturally as more consistent with masculinity than with femininity; organization is taken for granted as it is and the assumption is often that it is individual women who have to change if they desire to advance in their careers, rather than the organizations that employ them. The default position of many organizations is that masculinity is normal. Amongst other reasons more widely distributed in societal practice, such as representational norms, this is one explanation of why women are often treated as objectified sexual objects, defined by their bodies and dress rather than their professionalism or accomplishments. To the extent that organizations themselves endorse or practise such representational norms they are hardly being sincere in any professed commitment that they might make to the equality of opportunity on a gendered basis, even where they offer work-life flexibility, women's networks, and sexual harassment training programmes as positive organizational programmes.

There are various ways of gauging the progress of organizational programmes to counter discrimination and the extent of negatively gendered practices. For instance, one can look at the overall demographics of female participation rates, where, just about everywhere, patriarchy trumps equality of demographic representation; of course, when intersectional concerns of ethnicity and sexual identity are factored in the situation is even more skewed. These vary with historical context although, even in those contexts where women's issues have been raised they have often been somewhat neglected in the ways that they intersect with other non-gendered bases of identity. Often the formal rituals of nations assure everyone of equality in terms of legislation although almost everywhere the practice may lag behind the legislation; one should not be surprised for if there were no gap there would be no need for legislation. While legislation can shape labor market conditions it is most likely to do so where practice is less problematic, in public sector and corporate organizations, rather than in the very large number of small and medium enterprises which often escape the legislative framework.

Of course, organizational behavior as a discourse has a role to play in the gendering of organizations. Equal opportunity and diversity practitioners are often employed to implement policies that redress gender inequities – does the continuance of these mean that such people are ineffective? Not really, the authors suggest: these practitioners often operate with limited resources and difficult role conflicts that make positive outcomes harder to achieve. Moreover, as they elaborate, such practitioners operate in an area of conceptual confusion about what constitutes 'equality' and 'diversity', which can have a potential impact on the efficacy of policies.

What is referred to in the literature as the 'business case' strategy has provided the keystone for policy making and regulation in most countries in the equity area in recent times. Taking this approach, each organization is expected to move to a less gendered

set of practices because it enables them to make best use of their human resources. The strategy is opposed to those top-down legislative approaches that mandate practices. Proponents of the business case argue that as it is in the interests of organizations to make the best use of their talents it is only rational to allow them to do so as they know best how to do so. Legal compulsion forces a one-best way on a wide variety of different, contingent contexts. Of course, there is a degree of circular logic to this: if organizations did what the business case strategy suggests, the problem that legislation strives to address would hardly exist.

Within many organizations Equal Opportunity offices have been constructed largely as institutional responses to a legislative demand. One consequence is that they are often institutionally isolated from the wider concerns of the business and there is often little organizational commitment amongst managerial and other ranks for the policies and practices that they espouse. Where a social or joint regulatory approach that provides a significant role for representatives of lower-level, non-managerial employees, and in particular for trade unions, is used, then it tends to build more commitment and espousal.

Gender equity is just one aspect of diversity in organizations, as Pringle and her colleagues are at pains to articulate. Diversity has been identified as an area of organizational behavior that typically offers prescriptive techniques and tools for managing 'difference'. Of course, in the early days of research this 'difference' was constituted in terms of being other than a national, as well as someone white, male and middle class. As Gill Kirton establishes in her chapter on 'Managing multi-culturally in organizations in a diverse society' the diversity literature is now far richer and is influenced by a variety of (sometimes overlapping) theoretical perspectives, including post-colonial theory, feminism, postmodernism, critical approaches, and social identity theory. Increased academic interest in diversity reflects the rapid growth in organizational policies seeking

to 'manage' diversity. Such management is seen as a corollary of employing people from increasingly hybrid and multicultural societies, requiring that systematic attention is paid to recruiting and retaining employees from diverse demographic backgrounds, and not merely recruiting people who look like those who are already *in situ*. The practice of diversity management arose initially in the United States where the legacy of slavery and the multiplicity of immigrations meant that there were very obvious and ostensive differences between potential applicants for positions as well as legislative programmes designed to ensure that organizations did not systematically discriminate. In such a context many of the more progressive organizations decided it was not enough just not to be caught being discriminatory but that they should take positive steps to see that they were actively managing both multiculturally, as a form of practice, and multiculturalism, as a phenomenon. As in the previous chapter, we see that there is a common business case for doing this which has to do with utilizing *all* the talents – not just those that fit the look of the present management team.

Diversity is a highly problematic term, suggests Kirton. In part this is because it emerged from the specificities of American experience and has been globally exported – often to contexts that have very different peoples and histories. Diversity can be understood in various ways: it can be used as a descriptor of employee differences (workforce diversity); it can be used as an organizational policy approach explicitly focused on utilizing and valuing employee differences – usually referred to as diversity management or managing diversity; it can be seen as a conceptual construct, or even as a discourse or set of discursive practises. Seeing it in each of these different ways has specific consequences for organizational behavior as Kirton elaborates and deconstructs.

One of the reasons why there is often a gap between the rhetoric and reality of diversity management is that most organizations propose generic business case arguments, often based on some espousal of multiculturalism

as a generically good thing. However, in some organizations, differences might be seen as a potential problem hindering, rather than assisting, effective service delivery. Think of the religious edicts of some faiths, such as Islam, where there are strict rules about gendered dress and who can do what with whom in normal social interaction. A concern with diversity can extend from managing differences in the workforce or responding appropriately to differences in a customer or client base. In the Islamic example, for instance, there would often be a customer case for non-difference rather than difference in a public sector field such as health care that might sit ill with broader commitments to equity. As Kirton explains the field of managing diversity can be highly problematic for managers. Some groups and individuals, from a variety of motives, may well be opposed to diversity in specific organizations. Others, who have been denied power and opportunities in organizations, may seize the opportunity to use the rhetoric of diversity to pursue sectional rather than business goals, in a Trojan horse strategy. Managers who assume that they will be doing the right thing by promoting diversity may well ferment troubles that they had barely imagined.

Being 'for diversity' is no guarantee of more equal opportunity. The rhetoric of diversity can also be used to argue that, as everyone is different and has different needs, aspirations etc., different outcomes are to be expected and do not need to be addressed. The celebration of diversity can be used to deny the existence of injustice, inequalities, discrimination and exploitation or become so inclusive as to become meaningless, both as a concept and as a policy approach. It can also undercut other approaches to equity such as those based on gender. Diversity management is not the simple managerial recipe that it initially appears to be.

Issues of equity and diversity often fall under the sway of human resource management (HRM) practices. What role does human resource management play in the organizational structures and strategies of organizations? Miguel Martínez Lucio

identifies what he terms five projects of HRM in recent times, each of which enables one to answer this question in a slightly different way. First, there was the attempt to relocate HRM and 'push it down the line' in a context of decentralized organizations. Second, HRM was to be a link between internal and external providers and sub-units in network organizations. Third, the focus on ethics and corporate social responsibility positioned HRM departments at the core of organizational value systems. Fourth, training and human resource development remained core HRM issues. Finally, HRM has had a key role in achieving the effectiveness and quality of 'high performance' organizational outputs.

HRM as a label effectively re-badged many personnel managers and industrial relations specialists from the 1980s onwards, not always happily, in academic departments in which the industrial relations specialist often saw themselves as more pro-worker than the personnel specialists who were sometimes seen as more likely to be pro-management. As HRM developed it often split into binaries: the Harvard versus the Michigan School, hard versus soft HRM, and so on. Overlain on this was a search for universalistic 'best practices', a search that many colleagues who were committed to contingency theory might have thought strangely universalistic and inappropriate. Contingently, evident differences of emphasis between European and US approaches began to coalesce. European approaches were more attuned to political contexts and realities and less intra-organizational in focus than those that were identified as US-centric. HRM became rhetorically intensive with the rhetoric often connecting new HRM paradigms to performance, strategy, and core business. The rhetoric often exceeded the limits of practice. HRM increasingly took on the contours of a professional and professionalizing project which sought to re-position its practitioners, with only limited success, in the top management team. Competing interests, changing environmental factors, particularly in the political/industrial relations

arena, and changing professional strategies saw HRM attempt to legitimate the role of people management in the core of business, much as finance or accounting. The neo-liberal climate that has prevailed in most Western nations from the 1980s onwards saw this struggle expressed in terms of HRM's promise to offer more flexible employment solutions, individually tailored, to replace the collectivism of an earlier age. HRM allied itself implicitly with the 'new right' against the 'old left'.

The alignment was usually expressed as a shift towards a more strategic emphasis for HRM, often captured as Strategic Human Resource Management (SHRM), representing the de-bureaucratization of people management. However, the 1980s also began to see a greater emphasis on the local, the immediate and the tangible in terms of how workers and local managers engaged with the challenge of change; consultancies began to deal with this more directly; for example, this was especially the case in terms of teamworking, and the idea that every manager had to become something of a people manager – not just leave it to a distant personnel department – but become do-it-yourself HRM managers. The strength of the shift to de-centralization somewhat undercut the SHRM project.

What began to emerge within the narratives of HRM was an alternative view of the organization based on changing organizational boundaries, greater subcontracting, and increased interest in the relations between organizational units. The emergence of *networking* or the *network firm* became a more mature version of the decentralization thesis. However, HRM's role is not clear: is it the solution to problems with the immediate employment issues of each unit within a network or a link in and within corporate alliances and network structures – a cultural facilitator? Is its future to provide coherence to the external boundaries of the firm and its flexible strategists? Or, should it also become flexible, networked and outsourced as HRM becomes the mechanism by which the network firm can be coordinated and the relationships across the network managed,

finding its most extreme expression in the fact that it may itself be subject to the logic of networking and new organizational forms and be subcontracted or even largely digitalized into systems that personnel are supposed to self-manage?

In the 1990s as work–life balance issues were added to equity issues and diversity management, HRM departments could become internal moral auditors and sanction, or warn, wayward departments who were not doing the 'right thing'. They could help departments navigate the ethical minefields of current management practice, legislation, political correctness and changing values. New issues offered plenty of opportunity for new training and learning – both individually and organizationally – opportunities that HRM might colonize so as to attach themselves to fashionable signifiers such as knowledge work, knowledge workers and the knowledge economy.

The knowledge that counts most in business is how to improve the bottom line. Increasingly, the challenge for HRM is to identify and correlate work practices with performance. For many HRM scholars this direction represents a possible way into the harder and more glamorous world of accounting and financial legitimacy, as a part of the professionalizing project. However, it is evident that the re-branding of HRM is still less than wholly convincing or successful.

What is the moral responsibility of managers in contemporary organizations? At one extreme, there are views that see responsibility as a relation primarily between managers and shareholders – the principal responsibility of the managers is to be a good steward of assets and to increase their return for those who own them. In recent years there has been a significant broadening of the discourse of responsibility as it applies to organizations; from these perspectives the shareholder value argument is a somewhat restricted view, as the development of broader stakeholder models suggests. Indeed, a new field of macro-organizational behavior, that of 'corporate social responsibility' (CSR) has developed to address the relations between

organizations, their management and a range of stakeholders.

The widespread publicity given to a number of major corporate scandals in recent times has done much to place the issue of responsibility on the business school agenda. Of course, it is fairly clear that responsibility can be attributed in legal proceedings. Doing wrong is a clear instance of being less than morally responsible, even when it serves organizational self-interest. Reference to moral responsibility in business is largely concerned with the relation between self and other interests. Being responsible to the interests of others as one might be to the interests of ones self is, in Christian tradition, the basis of certain conceptions of morality, but, as Carl Rhodes and Alison Pullen argue, it has long been a central consideration of moral philosophy that can be traced back to Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics* (2004).

Rhodes and Pullen chart the notion of moral responsibility as it has evolved in modern business discourse from Adam Smith's day to its contemporary incarnation in Milton Friedman's (1970) famous dictum that 'the social responsibility of business is to increase profits'. As they note, Friedman's views were developed in opposition to the questioning of this narrow purpose by those who assumed that business might have social responsibilities, and that it was not an oxymoron to speak of 'corporate social responsibilities'. Indeed, as the authors chart, there are plenty of accounts that argue that if business looks after its corporate social responsibilities it will also be good for the bottom line, although other accounts note the importance of being socially responsible as a desirable end in itself rather than seeing it as a means to the ultimate ends of business being defined as being profitable. As such a desirable end, the idea of social responsibility can be attached to what are assumed to be various 'interests', such as 'community', 'ecology', and so on. As they note, in terms of a moralizing turn away from the pursuit of shareholder value, it is not uncommon for the ethical position taken in stakeholder theory and CSR to be self-righteous, simplistic and lacking in

deliberation. It is also, as they go on to argue, often based on an ethic of calculation, a 'calculus of advantage' that sees good strategy in being responsible.

What might be an alternative to a calculative ethics? Rhodes and Pullen find inspiration in the recent ethical theory developed by the sociologist, Zygmunt Bauman. Here the notion of responsibility can be located in terms of the relations between the business organization and the 'social' as a more or less generalized other. Following Bauman, consideration of the others to whom an organization might be responsible is achieved differently depending on the relative proximity with which those others are conceived. Some such as employees and local communities may be relatively close at hand; others such as suppliers or customers may be quite distant. Building on Lévinas' (1969) ethics, how the organization assumes responsibility will be evident in the way in which it deals with these others both close and far as both particular and unknowable. At best, the authors suggest, responsibility requires a relation that does not violate the particularity of the other by subsuming them under category headings but as treating them as authentic selves and others. The categories of stakeholder are an organization construct, serving organization self-interest, an attempt to manage any potentially authentic selves by denying their authenticity through categorization devices. As they say, 'to consider others as stakeholders can easily become a glib excuse for *not* dealing with others as real and particular people – an easy way out of the very question of responsibility'. It becomes a way of evading the moral mazes of everyday organizational life. Using Derridean terms they suggest that responsibility requires undecidability, which can never be pre-empted by organizational rules, rationalities and codes of ethics. It entails managers *being responsible beings* and that entails constant attention. The upshot is that managers need to be their own moral philosophers – a fairly daunting process, perhaps. The freedom of the manager to act and make decisions is, they suggest, the very condition of responsibility. It is a kind of

phronesis, or practical wisdom (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

The issues of responsibility are, perhaps, no more evident than when considered in the context of what has come to be called 'sustainability'. As Suzanne Benn writes, discourses of sustainability developed as attempts to resolve increasingly evident tensions between the goals of economic growth, the desire for social equity and the limits to natural resources. Development is, broadly, defined as sustainable when it meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs; it means in even simpler terms, taking nothing away from nature and adding nothing that impairs or blights that nature. Judged thus, the whole project of industrialization has been a grievously unsustainable trajectory that scholars and practitioners have only recently sought to arrest and redirect. The redirection has been promulgated in terms of three principles: intergenerational equity, intragenerational equity, and the precautionary principle. As Benn observes, however, beyond these broad brush strokes the discourse is essentially contested, with little agreement on its key tenets, texts, or topics. Nonetheless, she establishes a case for organizational decision makers to exercise their ethical responsibilities in terms of balancing relationships between humans and the rest of the biosphere, present and future generations, and the developing and developed worlds. In organizational behavior to the present, these relations have been conceptualized in terms of two dominant schemas within the overall discourse: the win-win and the moral imperative. Win-win discourses stress the good business case for being sustainable: minimizing waste, cutting costs, and being a good organizational citizen. The moral imperative case is based on various formulations of the manager as a *social* being: it is normative, drawing on business ethics principles to advocate sustainability as ethical practice morally transformational leaders should engage in. The tone is one of ecological evangelism, sure in the certainty of the correctness of its own beliefs, and often

associated with various consultancy models and practices that can help organizational behavior 'go green'. Benn explores the growth of these discourses and their ramifications on organizational behavior.

More recently, in making the links between sustainable development and organizational behavior Benn notes that there will have to be a profound cognitive and cultural change in individual attitudes and beliefs if the agenda is to be developed in both theory and practice. One positive sign might be the emergence of the 'Bottom of the Pyramid' market – the 4 billion people living on less than \$2 per day who organizations are increasingly being urged to target with affordable goods and services, who can be reached by engaging with civil society organizations and local governments to stimulate local innovations and entrepreneurship. Promising as this might seem, however, Benn argues that we need an organizational behavior discourse that draws on the field of environmental sociology, especially that strand within it known as reflexive ecological modernization. For ecological modernists, a form of hyper-industrialization, premised on technological innovation, needs to be developed under different conditions of leadership, notably a commitment to the precautionary principle.

Reflexive ecological modernization sees sustainability issues arising as unintended risks produced by the success of rationality, such as global warming, competition and conflict over increasingly scarce natural resources such as water, toxic environments, and weapons of terrorism. The reflexive component refers to the need constantly to question and interrogate existing modes of rationality, in order to implement increasingly precautionary and sustainable forms of development. Often the questioning will be led by non-conventional stakeholders, such as green activists, NGOs, and other civil society organizations that impose themselves as stakeholders on previously less reflective organizational behavior.

The key issue for organizational behavior is the development of its discourse as

sufficiently critically self-aware, learning-oriented, and open to broadly based conversations, while giving regard to precaution, ensuring concern with the international dimensions of development, and giving consideration to the multiple and interdisciplinary possibilities for environmental and social solutions to negative impacts of development. Organizational behavior has nothing to lose but its blinkers as a handmaiden only of organizational orthodoxy according to these perspectives. It has to open itself to new stakeholders, issues and develop authentic concerns that are quite distinct from the traditional pursuits of leadership or OD. The study of the social production and use of statistics could facilitate our understanding of how managers, leaders, employees, make sense of risks facing them, their organization, society and the planet. Thus, rather than merely helping interpret existing tools for calculation or developing new tools for performance appraisal considered in terms of traditional role requirements, the new macro-organizational behavior should be changing the priorities and changing the tools.

Three priorities are essential. Corporate leaders have to accept the precautionary principle. Organizations need to become less centralized and more networked into grass-roots movements, understandings and politics. Business and industry need to work within the context of a more active civil society, in which government organizations support less resourced actors with knowledge and other tools and facilities in order to ensure a more inclusive political community. Fittingly, the chapter concludes with a discussion of a case in point: the Chinese city of Dongtan, an attempt to build a community based on ecologically reflexive modernization principles.

The previous three chapters clearly point to the centrality of how organizations express who they are and what they stand for to all of their internal and external stakeholders, which is the topic of the chapters by Majken Schultz and Mary Jo Hatch. There are, they suggest, many reasons why organizations are devoting increasing energy

and resources to expressive organizational practices: competitive pressures to differentiate the business offering; stakeholder pressures from new actors in their environment, such as those that Benn has described, and changing norms about the meanings that should surround the cash and customer nexus. The expression of the organization is an important arena in which organization control is tested; the occasions for expression are often quite local and uncoupled from central management control; they are often contested, sometimes by highly resourceful and provocative organizations and other actors who 'target' specific corporate or other organizational expressions.

The field of organizational expression is challenging for the organization behavior specialist also. No one academic discipline 'owns' it: researching how the managing of organizational expression is done entails a multidisciplinary and multifunctional approach. It means looking at what organizations do not merely in the terms of any one specialism but in terms that capture the members' usage and sense of what they are doing. In this context, organization theory approaches such as institutional theory, can be useful: what are the forms of mimesis shaping organizational expression? But they are limiting – because the whole point of organizational expression is to situate the organization as distinct, different, apart from the crowd. Additionally, organizational expression should not just tell generalized others what the organization is, what it means; it should also be expressive of the identity that those significant others who are employees or customers are encouraged to develop.

Expressiveness depends on context as well as the uses made and meanings given to them by their audiences. These shift fast and subtly and study of the semiotics of symbolic meaning must be a core task in researching organizational expression. How members and users of organizations embed their understanding of culture, identity and difference is of the utmost significance. What are the significant rites, rituals and rhetoric that do this work? Thus, organization

culture studies have a key role to play in research into organizational expression, as do studies of corporate identity, branding, and communication. A cross-disciplinary framework is required that builds on these approaches and incorporates other elements as necessary. For instance, the study of organizational communication, audiences and message reception will be important.

In practical terms this means that organizational expression will be an activity in which cross-functional boundaries must be spanned, local professional politics will flourish, and disciplinary identities will be blurred in practice. Management needs to pay attention to the macro-cultural context within which meaning are constituted, circulate, and change as well as the identity conflicts that are important to their key audiences. Doing this will often mean sacrificing a few sacred tenets held by some of the disciplines, such as marketing. Additionally, it will mean acknowledging that some of the most important shapers of organizational expression may not be at all amenable to managerial design and control – think of the impact of the McLibel campaign on McDonalds, for instance. It is all too easy for organizational expressions, dominated by consumerism, to be transformed by culture-jammers from once meaningful expressions originating in the organization's culture into empty speech cluttering the marketplace, subject to derision. Fiat's campaign for the Fiat 127 comes to mind: the catchline went something like: 'If this car was a woman, it would get its bottom pinched'. The graffiti artist who corrupted one poster with the riposte 'If this woman was a car, she'd run you down', gained a permanent place in advertising folklore, and spawned a huge industry of feminist culture-jamming. In the future managers will have to learn to manage organizational expressiveness with all its semiotic complexity, subtlety and political nuances. Stakeholders will often push and twist messages where they were not intended to go and managers need to be reflexive about these possibilities, and understand local cultures, styles and tastes, as well as the

nature of the local politics of gender, of class, of ethnicity, that might appropriate their expressions. (Think of US rappers and Cristal champagne or UK 'chavs' and Burberry.)

René ten Bos and Stefan Heusinkveld contribute the last chapter in this part of the book, on 'management fashion and organizational behaviour'. They open with a fascinating history of self-help manuals, spiritual tracts, and their increasingly bizarre 'new age' descendants, all oriented to fashioning employees and entrepreneurs that fit the changing times. One focus was on self-helping working men and another on their organizational adaptability. In the first, a focus on religion was evident; in the second set, organizational aspects as well as the emotional posture of the employee were engaged. Emotion was regarded with ambivalence, as potentially useful, if managed properly, and threatening if not. Both sets of discourses become interrelated into contemporary management fashion. As the authors observe, notions such as self-help, spirituality, emotion, harmony, and many more are still prevalent in the work of consultants, gurus, and others who have the wish to appeal to contemporary managerial taste.

Three distinct 'lines' may be identified in this contemporary advice industry shaping management fashions. First, those rationalist accounts that use a conception of science which is general, timeless, abstract, objective, and axiomatic. Second, the more politically engaged argument that popular management ideas should be condemned for their manipulative and inhumane tendencies. As the authors note, the 'humanistic-political approach' shares a desire to debunk the managerial 'hypes' and 'fads' with the rational approach but from a political rather than rationalist perspective. A third approach accepts that fashion in general is an unmistakable part of current developments in our society and that what is important is to study how fashion stylists, such as management gurus, express themselves. These ideas are then developed and worked out in the chapter.

For the future, they argue that overly normative approaches of management fashion

will not dominate future research. Some key areas for further research are identified. These include the role of knowledge entrepreneurs, such as consultants and gurus; the necessity of studying the social-cultural context of fashion, especially, in a liquid modernity, in which the authority of science in legislating everyday truths seems to have declined from its rationalist heyday. Hence, it is not so much to the production of science that we should look for the recipe knowledge that circulates in the marketplace but more commercial circuits of production. Additionally, there should be continuing attention paid to the consumption of management fashions: *how* and *why* does *what* get to be widely consumed or not by *whom*? What are the dynamics of 'cool'? Moreover, what are the ethical implications of all this consumption?

ORGANIZING ON A MACRO-SCALE

Organizational behavior might have begun in psychology with a primarily individual focus but it soon moved on to more collective phenomena, such as organization change, which David Wilson explores in his contribution to the volume. In this chapter Wilson traces the theoretical and empirical development of research into change as a discrete phenomenon of organized society. It shows how management theory colonized change theories and, at first, assumed that change could be planned and implemented via managerial agency. The chapter then develops a series of perspectives in which managerial agency is questioned and in which change and organization are viewed as inextricably interlinked processes.

Exploring the antecedents for change involves a wide range of disciplines including philosophy, psychology, economics and sociology as well as disciplines explicitly attached to researching organizing and organization. Within each of these disciplinary areas there will be rival accounts of change phenomena. Between disciplines there is a great deal of incommensurability – but this also characterizes within disciplinary discourses,

such as microeconomics, macroeconomics and international economics.

An adequate account of change has to include reference to the importance of context (primarily an assessment of where change takes place such as the type of organization or society – is it highly developed or less developed, for instance); content (meaning what the change is about, such as the adoption of a new technology – does it have system transforming implications or does it slot in to what is already extant) and process (describing the characteristics of the change journey from first idea to implementation – is the journey straightforward, highly problematic, involve many others or few, are there many recursive loops or few, and so on), argues Wilson. Temporality is also important: change can be slower or faster; evolutionary or revolutionary; its scope may be highly focused or diffuse, specific or general, long term or immediate. Despite the importance of these features, increasingly identified in the research literature, there are still many apparent tendencies to talk about change as if it were linear, rational, and easily manageable – especially in the organizational behavior literature.

Amongst macro-organizational behavior approaches to change, that known as Organizational Development (OD) is one of the best known. OD approaches involve senior managers creating a vision, developing commitment and motivation for its accomplishment, by capturing and developing political and behavioral support from various stakeholders within and outside the organization.

Wilson suggests we should consider whether change is envisaged as a planned or *emergent* process and the extent to which the course of change might be seen as *voluntarist* or *determined*. Planned change describes a sequence of steps or stages which prescribe what managers should do. Emergent perspectives view change as a process which is almost never planned, but is one which emerges from a host of organizational and individual activities. Four distinct perspectives can be mapped on to these broad-brush accounts: life-cycle theories; teleological

theories; dialectic theories, and evolutionary theories.

For the future, the agenda of change research should focus on change across levels of analysis and emphasize the interplay of organization, group and individual levels. The organizations studied should be extended from large commercial enterprises to small and medium firms, public sector and not-for-profit organizations. New hybrid forms of networks are emerging that demand analysis likely to uncover quite different mechanisms at work compared with classical bureaucracy. Of course, as the previous analysis of management fashions established, there will be no shortage of nostrums, solutions and recipes available in the market for managing change and sometimes the analysis of change and these prescriptions for change will become entangled.

Change and its direction is seen as serious work in organizations, best done by those serious people who populate the top management teams – the *élites*, in other words. In his contribution titled ‘We have always been oligarchs’, David Courpasson considers the actual power of leaders. To understand how certain actors have the power to change things significantly we need to grasp how structural forces constrain *élites* and how, nonetheless, individuals can still shape phenomena in more or less determinate ways by mobilizing diverse actors. In considering the role of *élites* in the past debate has often veered between accounts of oligarchic bureaucracies; Courpasson wants to introduce a more ‘hybrid’ context that he terms *polyarchy*. The chapter addresses the sort of leaders that are being shaped that fit these polyarchies.

The existence of organization as more or less similar to an archetype of polyarchy or bureaucracy is a matter of organizational design, which Gerard Fairtlough and Rosemary Beckham address in their chapter on ‘organizational design’. (Sadly, Gerard died whilst this volume was being finalized.) As in so much else of consequence in the field the origins of a concern with organizational design were established by Max Weber. Weber was concerned principally with the

bureaucratic type; today the design of new organizations and the redesign of existing ones is a widespread practice within business, government and civil society. Whatever the design, these authors contend, the main reason why organization design can be contentious or emotional is its connection with power and status – usually organized in a hierarchical way – as in a bureaucracy.

There are, according to Fairtlough (2005), two fundamental alternatives to hierarchy. The first is heterarchy, which involves multiple sources of rule rather than the single rule of hierarchy. An organizational example is the relationship between the partners in a traditional law firm, where all partners are of roughly equal status, sharing decision making, risks and rewards. The second alternative is responsible autonomy, under which an individual or a group has autonomy to decide what to do, but is accountable for the outcome of the decision, as in privately owned businesses that operate autonomously, providing they satisfy their creditors, and basic scientific research, in which principal investigators are free to choose their line of enquiry, providing it leads to results judged valuable by peer review. The chapter elaborates the corollaries and consequences of these ‘three ways of getting things done’ and relates them to a broader set of theories from the field as well as providing examples drawn from practice.

Increasingly, organizational behavior is likely to take place in projects. Projects are a form of organizing in which individuals are temporarily but interdependently linked to achieve a specific outcome or set of outcomes. These outcomes can include the production of ideas or products, solutions to problems, provision of a service, or the construction of public or private infrastructure; they may be innovation projects, where the outcomes are very exploratory or they may be explicitly mission-based – such as putting a man on the moon.

Carlsen and Pitsis argue that projects, even ones that fail to come in on time and budget – which is the vast majority of mega-projects – can, nonetheless, be ideal