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Introduction
A critical approach to management and organization

LIZ FULOP AND STEPHEN LINSTEAD
(WITH GARANCE MARÉCHAL)

Management seems to be a topic that fascinates the managed and the non-managed, as well as managers themselves. Airport bookshops continue to bulge with popular management bestsellers, which attests both to the level of popular interest in the subject and perhaps to the level of anxiety that managers feel about how they go about their task, the impressions they create while doing it, what they need to do and who they need to be in order to succeed. This anxiety is no mere delusional paranoia because there are no real quick fixes or infallible secrets to managerial success, and the demands placed on managers are complex and often contradictory. For example, in the late 1990s while the middle levels of management were shrinking, in what Gibson Burrell (1997) has called ‘corporate liposuction’ – the consequence of downsizing and outsourcing – surviving managers were constantly asked to work both smarter and harder and to ensure that those who worked for them did the same with no guarantees of job security (Linstead and Thomas 2002; Thomas and Linstead 2002; Balogun and Johnson 2004; Pullen 2006). Globalization continues to force many ‘branch offices’ to close or move elsewhere; mergers and rationalizations are resurgent; shareholder value dominates corporate decisions despite the post-Enron demands for capitalism to appear to be ethical and environmentally aware; stock markets continue to dictate that businesses operate in very short time frames; and e-commerce has changed radically how businesses connect to each other and customers. On the other hand, lifestyle changes have increased the demands for flexibility, choice and lifelong learning opportunities at work for many employees. Such employees are frequently being asked to take some managerial responsibility for their work through what is sometimes called ‘empowerment’, while the rewards for those at the very top of the managerial tree have been increasing dramatically. A decade ago management scholar and guru Warren Bennis (cited in Hodgetts 1996: 75), quoted average salaries of chief executive officers (CEOs) as being 187 times greater than their employees – a trend he described as obscene. Current figures however have worsened – the University of Pennsylvania’s Wharton Business School (the oldest in the world) cites studies by Business Week and other publications showing that compensation for big company CEOs was more than 400 times the pay for average workers in 2006, up from a 42–1 in 1980. Had the minimum wage – the sort of wage that many fast-food workers are paid today – gone up at the same rate, it would have been more than $22 an hour instead of its actual level of $5.15 (Knowledge@Wharton website http://knowledge.wharton.upenn.edu/article.cfm?articleid=1727).
Whether it is obscene or not, the trend continues, with huge payouts being made to CEOs of corporate failures and fraudsters. The trend is also replicated in the UK – while employees’ pay remained relatively static and other directors’ pay rose moderately, CEO pay leapt dramatically between 1992 and 2002 (see Ezzamel and Watson 1998, 2002; data on CEO pay on Datastream). No wonder managers wait anxiously for their flights and thumb the pages of the next panacea with some agitation. The heroes of Enron, celebrated by academic-guru Gary Hamel, no longer provide great role models, having been revealed as the villains of a spectacularly corrupt corporate regime. The resurgence of macho-management on global popular TV is of little help. In the UK, the foul-mouthed methodologies of TV chef Gordon Ramsay (in programmes such as Hell’s Kitchen) have drawn criticism from trade unions whose members have claimed that their somewhat less gifted managers mimic his rumbustious behaviour. The withering critiques of contestants made by ‘Mr. Nasty’ Simon Cowell on Pop Idol and The X-Factor have made it de rigueur for similar shows to have at least one atavistic assessor, which has been identified as part of the general ushering in of a more caustic style of supervision in everyday life. Both the managers and the contestants on The Apprentice – where all but one contestant ultimately gets to hear the verdict ‘You’re fired!’ – have been identified as part of this New Management Aggression (NMA). Team spirit is a notable casualty of managers whose key skill is playing one employee or colleague off against another.

While the favoured few might become very wealthy, most managers work long and hard under the shadow of retrenchment or the next performance review, while consultants and top management argue for the dissipation of management functions throughout the organization in flatter, dispersed or even virtual organizations, which offer fewer opportunities for advancement while posing greater challenges for motivating others to perform. Given this scenario, we might well ask the question: ‘Who would want to be a manager?’ Or more to the point, ‘Who would want to manage for someone else?’

Another reason for the anxiety might also be the fact that modern management tends to be obsessed with newness, seizing on the latest technique or the next big thing with relish, and often in the process behaving as though it has no history, or that its historical context is irrelevant. We are obsessed with success because so many organizations fail every day but we are bad at learning from history because we only absorb a very simplified and distorted version of it. We would rather have the easy but fallacious comfort of kitsch than learn realistically from our mistakes or those of others. So one thing this book does not do is take the ‘faddish’ approach that offers a new salvation in the latest tools or techniques, or even the latest mantra for managing (see Collins 2000 for an extended critique that still holds). We don’t think that there are a few basic principles down to which management can be distilled. We do, however, think that those who practise management can do it better by taking a critical approach to their own practice and the contexts in which they practise. We also believe that they can learn valuable lessons that they can take into other situations from the learning process. The key skill that is needed to practise management is to learn how to undertake critical inquiry, to learn how to learn, and to be able to do this not just from books, but also from practice and inspire this in others. It is the objective of this book, therefore, while placing emphasis on the contribution that good critical scholarship can make to the understanding and practice of management, not to neglect the importance of applying knowledge, and even good old common sense, to managerial problems. But what we do need is the ability to tell the difference between them, and to know when each is necessary and appropriate.
For us, being critical does not mean standing outside management and exposing its flaws and weaknesses – although we take seriously the criticisms of those who do. It entails an active and passionate commitment to improving the abilities of those practising management to manage better. This involves both sustained investigation at the practical level and equally sustained critical activity at the level of theory and analysis; it also entails a requirement for both managers and academics to be self-critical. A critical capacity then is not something that is outside and opposed to management per se (even though it may find itself opposed to specific forms of managerial capitalism) – on the contrary, it is the very condition for management to be able to learn, adapt and influence the rapidly changing world conditions of this new century.

We acknowledge that there are different ways of presenting a critical approach to management from what is proposed here. However, one of the aims of this book is to be relevant to those who have to practise management and help them to navigate the rich panoply of ideas, theories, approaches and models that they may find useful. Many of the models and approaches we examine are those that management practitioners are likely to come across in the management and organizational behaviour (OB) literature, including the fads, fashions and bestsellers. Our aim is to deal with whatever forms of knowledge managers may need to engage with and use and present these through a critical lens that helps them in managing both in and beyond the workplace. Our focus then is on management as a set of practices that can be performed by a variety of people and is not confined to a particular group of people called ‘managers’. Indeed one of the key twenty-first century challenges might well be to consider the possibility of the ‘end of management’ in many organizations and the rise of new practices that are ‘beyond’ management. Perhaps some intimation of this was heralded by the rise (and fall of many) of the dot.coms and the Internet revolution in the late 1990s. The first bubble may have burst, but the Internet has changed our world.

We are also aware that management is no longer simply an organizational activity, but even for those organizations not involved in international activities, it is nevertheless a global issue. This is because globalization does not just occur at the level of the brand, product or service; or at the level of material resourcing, human resourcing or financing; or even in terms of markets and spheres of operation. It is a complex process which is cultural, social, economic, political and informational – and through it we come to recognize that even our theories as well as our practices are culturally shaped and relative. Even so, globalization is so widely touted as the justification for all manner of changes – in public administration as well as private enterprise – that much of the globalization discourse, as presented in both the popular and some of the academic media, has the status of mythology. In this book, we take seriously the facts of global enterprise, organization and management, but are critical of their fictions.

The long rise of management

Even today, a good deal of management writing seeks to establish the universality of management principles. Where it does not, it often attempts empirically to establish best practice in the current set of circumstances. The search for the ‘one best way’ to manage now at least admits of some contingent alternatives adjusted to context. But
in the mid-twentieth century some approaches to management sought to plunder history for evidence of management’s universal constants that were impervious to its own historical setting and conditions. Ancient texts were discovered dating from as early as 4000 BC and sources as diverse as Egypt, Mesopotamia, China, India and Greece that supposedly indicated not only the existence of large organizations in government (especially colonial administration and public works), the military, navy and religion but noted concerns with managerial practices (Starbuck 2003). These included superior–subordinate relations; functional division of labour; scalar chain and status hierarchies; coordination; trust; leadership and followership; planning, organizing and controlling; specialization; the search for universal principles; management as an art; management as science; and unity of command amongst them (Mooney 1947; George 1968; Cummings 2002; Starbuck 2003). Stephen Cummings (2002: 105–6) in particular argues that there are significant problems with the way that historical evidence has been interpreted and the history of management has been habitually decoded through the filter of contemporary concerns. Aristotle, for example, has been credited with an influential concern with ‘efficiency’ – except that the Greeks had no such concept in their language until Chester Barnard (1936) mistranslated the great philosopher.

The Greeks, however, did have a word for work – *ergon*, the root of contemporary ergonomics – but archaeological traces of work predate them considerably. Evidence of human tool-use dates from 2500 BC, but humans are not the only species to use tools or collaborate purposefully through a division of labour in doing so. The use of tools seems also to predate the understanding of work as a concept, as a class of activity separate from other types of human activity. The earliest evidence of coordinated work involving specialization and division of labour, with skilled and less skilled workers working together (thus implying training – the earliest form of ‘sitting by Nelly’) and the distinct spatial location of a work area away from domestic or social areas, is a meat-processing facility at Boxgrove in Sussex, UK, dating from some 500,000 years ago (Donkin 2001: 5–6). Settlement and agriculture brought stable social patterns of activity and the ‘daily grind’ has a provenance of around 50,000 years. There was subsequent evidence of harmonious coexistence and mature trade between groups across considerable distances, and quarrying and mining were perhaps the earliest industries to become specialized and organized. By 2000 BC there were at least some organizations with hierarchies of authority and associated rules, rights and duties. The pyramids of Giza, the ziggurat at Ur and the stone circle at Stonehenge had all been constructed, showing evidence of skill, design, coordination, specialization and division of labour on a large scale. Between 2000 BC and 1800 BC Assyrian Ana-e became perhaps history’s first recorded female business executive, managing the weaving business of her husband while he was engaged in cross-border trade missions (Witzel 2001; see also Chapter 2 in this text). Around 1100 BC China, Egypt and Mycenae all provide evidence of functional specialization and work procedures, impersonal roles and promotion based on technical competence (Starbuck 2003: 147–9).

Military organization and associated colonial administration, including record keeping for tax and revenue purposes, were advanced at this time and led to important civil innovations such as roadworks projects. One of the possible origins of the term ‘manager’ in feudal administration was in the role of the medieval official who had to collect payments from various enterprises on the Lord’s land. The etymological root of the term is in the Latin *manus* (hand). The payments had to be collected by hand; they were handed over reluctantly; and in order not to be cheated the official had to know every aspect of a range of activities – to be ‘hands on’. Indeed the military, navy and
court provided models of organization both before and after feudalism, with Weber in particular noting their influence on modern industrial bureaucratic structures and practices. The Venetian Arsenal had a floating production line utilizing standardized parts and 2000 workers as early as 1400 (Starbuck 2003: 149) and the Royal Navy broke down the job of assembling field guns into component activities which were timed and undertaken by competing teams from the eighteenth century on.

But it was the Bible that provided the West with its model of work as a burden imposed by God on man as a punishment, and religious organization that provided alternatives to military models through the institution of the monastery (Lefebvre 1997). Monasteries provided for the full range of their inmates’ needs, spiritual, mental and corporeal, and did this through a rigorous regime of worship, study and physical labour. This included conscientious and effective management of the monasteries’ estates. The requirements of a monastery following St Benedict’s Rule were so extensive that the day was strictly demarcated for specific tasks that could start as early as 1 or 2 a.m. They were disciplined and well administrated centres of organized labour as they often employed large numbers of local peasants as well as inmates. As centres of learning they generated, stored and disseminated knowledge as part of their activities and played an important social role. Indeed, such was their influence that Henry VIII saw their potential to subvert the English Reformation, and had them destroyed. Elsewhere in Europe they survived alongside pagan beliefs and practices throughout the Dark Ages.

The monasteries survived and indeed benefited from the twelfth-century mechanization of the cloth industry with the development of the water-powered fulling mill. Fulling was a process of cloth finishing and was mechanized using a similar driving mechanism to that used in water mills for grinding flour, which gave the name ‘mill’ to any form of mechanized industry (Donkin 2001:38). Weavers began to relocate and cluster around the mills, many of which were on land owned by monasteries, in a move out of the towns to where the river waters ran more swiftly (a fine example on the River Wear in the UK is now part of the University of Durham). Monasteries, and the Church more generally, grew wealthy, complacent and in some cases corrupt on their increased income. Trust and community suffered and the Reformation was one indirect consequence of this.

The medieval peasantry, serfs or villeins were not slaves, but neither were they free. The boundaries between slavery and freedom were always variable, and as Finley (1960: 68, cited in Donkin 2001: 22) notes, in Ancient Greece ‘the efficient, skilled and reliable slave could look forward to managerial status’. While there is ample evidence in both popular and literary culture of the time to suggest that a hard life was borne with a good deal of creativity and humour, one survived in whatever way one could and rules and laws were there to be circumvented if possible. Poaching in many areas was a way of life, even though the penalties were severe, including death and later transportation. The modern term ‘villain’ is a derivative of villein. The role of the Church was significant in maintaining social order more broadly, and the Protestant Reformation provided an important refocusing of priorities that recentred work in daily life. In England, it was the Parliamentary or Puritan Revolution that most shaped subsequent attitudes on both sides of the Atlantic. Quakers, an extremely non-conformist and often persecuted Puritan sect, were not able, because of their beliefs, to work in the fashion trades, the clergy, the legal profession, the military or politics. As they became more pacifist they also ruled out the ordnance industry, but they were heavily active in metalworking, chemicals and the newer industries generally. They introduced collective practices, collaborative working, mutual finance, care for their workers, and huge innovations in the industries into which they threw their energies.
They also developed non-city banking (Lloyds, Barclays) and the chocolate/confectionery industry (Cadbury, Rowntree, Fry, Huntley & Palmers). Many of them, like William Penn, granted colonial land seized from the Dutch, followed the Pilgrim Fathers. Attracted by the promise of freedom of conscience, Pennsylvania became the fastest growing state and its capital Philadelphia the largest city in North America. Their influence on the colonial work ethic was enormous. Work was their way to heaven – even though not everyone could get there, as this verse from a popular hymn by John Keble (1792–1866) indicates:

The trivial round, the common task  
Would furnish all I ought to ask  
Room to deny ourselves, a road  
To bring us daily nearer God

The gentle humility of the Puritan ethic was lost in some of its other manifestations across Protestantism. The following lines are usually excluded from the popular hymn ‘All Things Bright and Beautiful’ but further express the importance of the Church in conveying the State’s message of knowing one’s place. Since the French Revolution there had been a concern that the peasantry might become too socially and politically ambitious, and the acceleration of the practice of enclosures followed since the early eighteenth century, which facilitated the use of large machines and forced semi-independent smallholders working common land to become employees, was recommended as a means of ensuring continued quiescence and stability (Donkin 2001: 84). The stanza first appeared in Hymns for Little Children by (Mrs) Cecil Frances Humphreys Alexander, in 1848. In the year that revolutions raged across Europe it was particularly important for the young to learn to accept their lot:

The rich man in his castle  
The poor man at his gate  
God made them high or lowly  
And ordered their estate.

But the sense of place and order had changed since the Renaissance. In the absence of a mass market to create the conditions for large organizations to thrive, the nature of work was often that of a number of jobs to be done, often seasonally, usually short term even where there was specialization. Much work was literally ‘jobbing’. But in 1709, when Abraham Darby developed a method of smelting that was to usher in the Industrial Revolution, he created a popular market for an effective cheap cooking pot – which meant that families could afford more than one, and that diets could change. As orders grew, Darby was able to offer continuity of employment, which was one of his objectives, and the modern understanding of the ‘job’ was born. Other industries, as technologies developed, prices fell and markets grew, followed suit.

The hunger for workers in the rapidly expanding industries was intense, and whole families including children were often involved in the same workplace. Families could be offered lodging, land, education and a milking cow to attract them to less populated areas such as Derbyshire. Indeed, so many young people that would today be classified as children, under the age of 18, were employed that factories developed disciplinary regimes that controlled behaviour in the smallest detail, often having tragic consequences when workers were locked into buildings that were fire hazards and could not escape. The Factories Act of 1833 was an attempt to redress the situation. Working in mills and mines formed an alternative to slavery, as industrialists were well aware that efficiency is best achieved by willing rather than unwilling workers, but not all employers were enlightened and many families struggled to
survive, working below the poverty line as Henry Mayhew (1861) noted in *London Labour and the London Poor*. The mines expanded to take in the dispossessed from the countryside, the eager poor from the cities and those who struggled in the city factories, but conditions were harsh. In 1842 public concern prompted a Royal Commission to look into the employment of children in the mines (see Exhibit 0.2 for actual testimony on which Exhibit 0.1 is based).

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels were not impressed by the talents of the managers they saw and dismissed ideas of the role being demanding (Starbuck 2003: 154–5). However, given that managers were aspirant bourgeoisie they constituted traitors to their class, workers who acted as agents of capital, in the interests of capital, and against their own real interests and those of their class. They frequently functioned as apologists for capital, and here Thomas Wilson, who ran three collieries in the Silkstone Banks area of Barnsley demonstrates in his testimony to Ashley’s Commission on the Mines (see Exhibit 0.2 for detail) the sort of hypocrisy that so energized Marx:

The employment of females of any age in and about the mines is most objectionable, and I should rejoice to see it put an end to; but in the present feeling of the colliers, no individual would succeed in stopping it in a neighbourhood where it prevailed, because the men would immediately go to those pits where their daughters would be employed. The only way effectually to put an end to this and other evils in the present colliery system is to elevate the minds of the men; and the only means to attain this is to combine sound moral and religious training and industrial habits with a system of intellectual culture much more perfect than can at present be obtained by them.

**Exhibit 0.1**

*The testimony of Patience Kershaw (1)*

It's kind of you to ask me sir
To tell you how I spend my day
Down in a coal black tunnel sir
I hurry coves to earn my pay
The coves they're full of coal kind sir
And I push them with my hands and head
It isn't ladylike but sir
You've got to earn your daily bread

I push them with my hands and head
And so my hair gets worn away
And you see this balding patch I've got
It shames me sir and I just can't say
For a lady's hands are lily-white
But mine they're full of cuts and segs
And since I'm pushing all the time
I've great big muscles on my legs

But I try to be respectable
But sir the shame God save my soul
For I work with naked sweating men
Who curse and swear and hew the coal
And the sight the smell the sound kind sir
Not even God could sense my shame
I say my prayers but what's the use
For tomorrow will be just the same

And all the lads they laugh at me
And sir my mirror tells me why
Pale and dirty can't look nice
And it doesn't matter how I try
Great big muscles on my legs
And a balding patch upon my head
A lady sir oh no not me
I should have been a boy instead

But thank you for your deep concern
For I love your kind and your gentle heart
But this is eighteen forty-two
And you and I are miles apart
And a hundred years or more will pass
Before we're walking side by side
But please accept my grateful thanks
God bless you sir at least you tried

SOURCE: © Frank Higgins 1969

EXHIBIT 0.2

The testimony of Patience Kershaw (2)

Patience's actual testimony contained the following information showing how the family was tied into the occupation:

'My father has been dead about a year; my mother is living and has ten children, five lads and five lasses; the oldest is about 30, the youngest is four; three lasses go to the mill; all the lads are colliers, two getters and three hurriers; one lives at home and does nothing; mother does nought but look after home.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Wages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>William (Kershaw)</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Getter</td>
<td>£ 0 16 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas (married)</td>
<td>c.30</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>£ – – –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Hurrier</td>
<td>£ 0 8 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bethel</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>£ 0 5 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solomon</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>£ 0 3 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patience</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>£ 0 8 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarah</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Weaver</td>
<td>£ 0 9 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hannah</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>£ 0 9 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sybil (married)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>£ – – –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caroline (at home)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>£ – – –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alice (at home, sick)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>£ – – –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>£ 2 19 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All my sisters have been hurriers, but three went to the mill, Alice went because her legs swelled from hurrying in cold water when she was hot. I never went to day-school; I go to Sunday school, but I cannot read or write; I go to pit at 5 o'clock in the morning; I get my breakfast of porridge and milk first; I take my dinner with me, a cake, and eat it as I go; I do not stop or rest any time for the purpose; I get nothing else until I get home, and then have potatoes and meat, not every day meat. I hurry in the clothes I have now got on,
trousers and ragged jacket; the bald place upon my head is made by thrusting the corves; my legs have never swelled, but sisters’ did when they went to mill; I hurry the corves a mile and more under ground and back; they weigh 300 cwt [hundredweight]; I hurry 11 a-day; I wear a belt and chain at the workings to get the corves out; the getters that I work for are naked except their caps; they pull off all their clothes; I see them at work when I go up; sometimes they beat me, if I am not quick enough, with their hands; they strike me upon my back; the boys take liberties with me sometimes, they pull me about; I am the only girl in the pit; there are about 20 boys and 15 men; all the men are naked; I would rather work in mill than in coal-pit.’

This girl is an ignorant, filthy, ragged, and deplorable-looking object, and such an one as the uncivilized natives of the prairies would be shocked to look upon.

SOURCE: Parliamentary Papers, 1842, vols. XV–XVII, Appendix I, pp. 252, 258, 439, 461; Appendix II, pp. 107, 122, 205. The reports of the investigation into the conditions of labour in the mines made by Lord Ashley’s Royal Commission on the Employment of Children in the Mines are now all available. The Mines Act (1842) prohibited the employment in the mines of all women and of boys under thirteen.

Although this kind of apologia was not reproduced by all managers and many had deep social concerns that they put into practice, often some workplace innovations had both an oppressing and a liberating potential for the workers. ‘Clocking on’, for example, meant that the time a worker was paid for was fixed and that they had to be disciplined in their attendance; but it also meant that the owners could not move the time forwards or backwards, lie about the time, or operate with a separate rule of ‘time paid’ that varied according to the speed of the river in water-powered mills, which had been common practice. Robert Owen (1771–1858) began his working life as a 10-year-old apprentice to a Lincolnshire dressmaker, worked as a shop assistant, acquired some experience in a company manufacturing textile machinery (Crompton’s ‘mule’) and by 20 had become a mill manager. He improved quality while managing a workforce of 500 in Manchester and exchanged ideas with local social thinkers, scientists, artists and philosophers, eventually going into partnership with a group of local businessmen. He was an active member of the Manchester Board of Health and sought to improve the condition of workers not only at his own mill. He married and moved to Scotland to take over his father-in-law’s mill, where he began to put into practice his social ideals – but not before he had removed existing management, installed his own manager from Manchester, and imposed strict controls on costs, quality, timekeeping and bad behaviour. He monitored performance in terms of input and output but also in terms of moral conduct, using a coloured wooden block above each worker’s station. The colour turned to the front indicated the worker’s conduct on the previous day, with white being ‘super excellence’, yellow ‘moderate goodness’, blue a ‘neutral state of morals’ and black ‘excessive naughtiness’. We might be reminded not so much of the electric lights monitoring performance on the Toyota production line, but of the ‘listening in’ of supervisors on call-centre calls, monitoring friendliness, attitude and helpfulness as well as efficiency. Owen’s monitor prefigured much modern concern with culture, and provided a symbolic orientation for peer pressure. Owen was very critical of established religion, so this was a secular innovation. He introduced progressive employment policies and reduced the length of the working day, constructed houses and set up a school for the workforce following his own pedagogy. His views were that managers had spent a great deal of time making sure that their machinery was well cared for and efficient, so why should they not devote equal attentions to humans, who were far more wonderful and vital machines (Donkin 2001: 96–8).
Around the same time, Andrew Ure (1835, cited in Starbuck 2003: 149–50) argued that a factory had three systems: a mechanical system to integrate production processes, a commercial system to sustain the firm through financial management and marketing, and a moral system to motivate and satisfy the needs of workers. Owen was able to manage the first two effectively and prioritize the third, but the fledgling field of management often became bogged down in either the first or the second. With the legal and commercial innovation of the joint stock company in the mid-nineteenth century allowing organizations to raise the much needed capital to grow more quickly (Hobsbawm 1975, cited in Clegg et al. 2005: 10–14; Bakan 2004) managers became increasingly financially obsessed. With the growth of the railroads in the US, partly as a result of the creation of suitable financial tools to support their development, the development of the applied science of engineering began to serve as a model for the broader practice of management, to culminate in the twentieth-century dominance of the scientific management of F.W. Taylor (Shenhav 1999; 2003). The ‘moral’ system often finished a poor third – and in many organizations still does.

However, in the twentieth century, it could be argued that a fourth system appeared that has now come to dominate the twenty-first-century organization: the knowledge system, which is embedded in the knowledge society and the knowledge economy and increasingly manages knowledge work.

Knowledge work and the knowledge economy

The contemporary understanding of the concepts of the knowledge society, the knowledge economy and knowledge work emerged from Daniel Bell’s (1974) work on the post-industrial society. Bell observed or anticipated social and economic transformations which would result from changes in US society (see Exhibit 0.3).

EXHIBIT 0.3
Bell’s three features of post-industrial society

- The transition of the economic system: from a goods-producing economy based on manufacturing to a service economy
- The centrality of information: theoretical (embrained) knowledge and technology for innovation
- Changes in the character of work: from a game against nature and fabricated nature, to a game between persons (Bell 1974)

The post-industrial society is a knowledge society in two senses:
1. theoretical (or embrained) knowledge is pre-eminent and
2. the knowledge field produces a large proportion of gross national product (GNP) and a larger share of employment (Bell 1974: 212, cited in Duff 1998).

The transformation from a manufacturing to a service economy and the primacy of information and knowledge flows are accompanied by changes in social stratification and power. Manufacturing, which valued manual skills, is displaced by expert labour, with technical skills and higher education becoming the mode of access to power.

Peter Drucker (1959) was first to use the term ‘knowledge work’ and he later echoed Bell with his concept of post-capitalist society (Drucker 1993). The shift towards post-capitalist society (or knowledge society) is characterized by informa-
tion/knowledge becoming the central commodity exchanged and new classes of professional workers, intellectuals or knowledge workers, rising to economic dominance. Drucker's post-capitalist society is based on important changes in the nature of work and economic activity. Expanding Bell's previous 'propositions', Drucker (1993) indeed posits that productivity will be dependent on the development and use of new knowledge applied to human work or to knowledge itself. This departs from a Marxist analysis of capitalism, which considers value in terms of the capital and labour content of a material product, and what it can be used or exchanged for. ‘Knowledge workers’, such as software developers and advertising agencies, add value in a more abstract and immaterial way, using symbolic skills and producing abstract types of knowledge (embrained knowledge) involving numbers, language and images (Hardt and Negri 2000). Drucker’s post-capitalist thesis gives particular focus to three specific types of knowledge:

1. **encoded** knowledge and its relation to technology,
2. symbolic skills and **embrained** knowledge and
3. **encultured** knowledge as new modes of organization and management are necessary.

For a summary of the implications of Drucker (1993) and the contributions of Reich (1991) and Sveiby (1987) in terms of knowledge work, see Blackler (1995).

As Powell and Snellman (2004) note, organizational knowledge creation and post-industrialist/post-capitalist theory form the backbone of two of the three streams of research that shape the concept of the knowledge economy. For Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995) organizational knowledge creation theory and the knowledge management literature have attempted to understand and/or explain why some organizations are better than others at learning, knowledge production and knowledge transfer. Such processes (called *capabilities* in the knowledge-based perspective) have been studied in relation to continuous innovation and sustaining competitive advantage. This ‘first’ line of work has been ‘applied’ (to examine ‘whether knowledge is codified or tacit, and what kinds of social arrangements enhance or impede knowledge generation’) or has contributed to broader discussions towards the definition of a knowledge-based theory of the firm (Powell and Snellman 2004: 200, also see Chapter 1).

Post-industrialist and post-capitalist theory account for a second line of argument, which debates ‘the centrality of theoretical knowledge as a source of innovation’ and the relative contribution of ‘knowledge-intensive’ activities to economic growth and growth in productivity as compared to labour-intensive activities, which formed the core of the industrial economy (Powell and Snellman 2004: 200). Most discussions of knowledge-intensive industries and knowledge-intensive firms (KIFs) in the managerial literature emerged as a result of Bell’s post-industrialist and Drucker’s post-capitalist arguments that the knowledge economy (or society) operates in a fundamentally different way from the past.

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**EXHIBIT 0.4**

**Knowledge-intensive firms**

Knowledge-intensive firms are broadly defined as organizations that ‘offer to the market the use of fairly sophisticated knowledge and knowledge-based products. The products may be plans, prototypes, blueprints, or mass-produced products where the research and development (R&D) cost outweighs manufacturing expenditures. The core of activities in these companies is based on the intellectual skills of a very large proportion of the labour force deployed in development and also in the sale of products and in service work. A large section of the employees typically have an academic education and relevant experience. The significance of education is not self-evident. There are other routes to jobs in KIFs than a university degree, but there is a strong tendency for
this type of organization to employ a large number of graduates. Formal education is seen as very useful at facilitating theoretical and analytical abilities essential to such organizations. Education may also be seen as something of an indicator of competence and as legitimizing expert status and high fees. Symbolic work – using ideas and concepts – is crucial, while the transformation of material objects or the carrying out of tangible services is typically not very significant. Theory-guided cognitive activity is important – or at least makes a difference – in more situations and for more people in a KIF than in other organizations’.


Knowledge-intensive firms are typically found in advertising, high-tech, engineering and technical consultancy, bio-, pharmaceutical and medical technologies, technical consultancy, management consultancy, legal services, investment banking and accountancy. Mats Alvesson (2004) accordingly distinguishes between broad groups of professional service firms and R&D firms. While they have differences in management and structure, their common features are set out in Exhibit 0.5.

**EXHIBIT 0.5**

Activities and organizational features of KIFs

- The centrality of knowledge work: intellectual and symbolic skills (also called abstract, theoretical or embrained knowledge)
- A tendency to adopt flat hierarchies, self-organization and a fluid structure of authority: this includes ‘ad hoc’ organizational forms like project-based organizations or Mintzberg’s concept of adhocracy (Alvesson 1993; Blackler 1995)
- The high level of uncertainty, intangibility and ambiguity of KIFs’ economic activity, mostly based on the analysis of complex and/or ambiguous problems calling for ‘subjective and uncertain judgement and quality assessment’ (Starbuck 1992; Alvesson 1993); most of the development processes are ‘invisible’
- Creative, innovative but ‘efficient’ problem-solving skills resulting from the combination of highly specialized individual knowledge or expertise and collective ‘problem-awareness in team work’, requiring ‘extensive communication and collective coordination’
- Sophisticated and/or client-centred solutions and services: professional service firms tend to display a strong ‘client-centred’ organization of activities, in order to offer ‘situationally fine-tuned’ solutions
- An asymmetry of power between expert labour from KIFs and their clients


Research on KIFs has explored the role and value of expert labour, the discursive character of management consulting, cultural and organizational paradoxes in KIFs and asymmetries of power between clients and professionals (in the context of the client–consultant relationship). The heavy reliance of KIFs on individual expertise to offer innovative solutions to new problems has been noted, together with its problematic consequences in terms of loyalty and corporate identity or power (Blackler 1995; Reed 1996; Alvesson 2000). This partly explains the efforts of such companies to set up knowledge management systems and artefacts to try to encapsulate, store and retain some of this expert knowledge. But knowledge intensiveness is difficult to assess due to the ambiguity of knowledge work, the evaluation of its outputs and of the nature of knowledge itself (Robertson and Swan 2003). In spite of its ambiguity, the idea of knowledge-intensity is nevertheless retained for the heuristic value of the
concept as a 'vague and meaningful category' (Kärreman 2007: 756). As Alvesson (2004) notes, discourses, talk, conversations and stories are crucial activities in the production of meaning in management consulting work. The use of metaphors in rhetorics of persuasion also contributes to image management and the legitimation of expertise. Czarniawska and Mazza (2003) explore knowledge work (and contract work, more generally) in terms of ‘liminality’. Management consultancy is thus conceptualized as a ‘theatre of images, activated during the time of consultancy’, with projects contributing to ‘new repertoires of representations’ through the exchange of a collection of images presented to clients as spectators. When successfully adopted thanks to appropriate rituals, such images can be used by clients ‘as a blueprint for forming a new or different work organization’ (op. cit.: 284).

Changes in the nature of work, novel forms of work organization and the specific characteristics of expert labour have also been appraised by a third body of critical socioeconomic research. This critique challenges:

1. the use of ‘post-industrialism’ as a portmanteau concept to justify the emergence of a knowledge economy, and
2. the displacement of practical ‘know-how’ (manual and business skills) by theoretical and commodifiable knowledge and expert labour, as a result of their relative economic importance (Blackler et al. 1993; Grugulis et al. 2004).

Here, Bell’s thesis fails to account for ‘the workings of capitalism, the advent of advanced communication technologies and the complexity of numerous social and cultural changes’ (Blackler et al. 1993: 854). For instance, Paul Thompson, Chris Warhurst and George Callaghan (2001) downplay the relative importance of knowledge work in total employment, challenge the planned decrease in low-skill service work (like call centres) in ‘knowledge economies’ and emphasize the primacy of contextual, social and tacit skills in such interactive service work contexts.

Recent debates on the consequences of changes towards more flexible ways of organizing work in post-Fordist times include considerations of autonomy and control and ‘whether this transformation represents a move to more intensive forms of control or more autonomous and discretionary work’ (Powell and Snellman 2004: 209). Critics of idealized views of new workplace flexible practices such as quality circles, job rotation, teamwork and broader job definitions used to improve productivity, quality and competitiveness in technologically changing markets have emphasized unintended consequences in terms of power and control. The trend to empowerment, flattened hierarchies and increased responsibility is seen as another management ruse to exploit and control labour. High-performance work systems, rather than being organizational changes driven by new technology and efficiency needs, are management fads that are more rhetoric than reality (Powell and Snellman 2004: 210). Similarly, Graham Sewell (2005) and Thompson and Ackroyd’s (2005) discussions of managerial control in knowledge-work occupations question the rhetoric of autonomy, empowerment, commitment and loyalty usually associated with knowledge work. The persistence of ‘control relations in the management of expert labour’ and their discursive construction in knowledge-work contexts, resulting from the indeterminacy of knowledge, are explored (Sewell 2005: 694; Thompson and Ackroyd 2005: 705).

If Thompson and Ackroyd (2005: 707) tend to explain the corporate obsession with knowledge management by changing conditions of competitiveness, technology and innovation, and the resulting instability of contemporary work organizations, Roy Stager Jacques (1996) considers that preoccupations with knowledge management are not new. He dates them back to the early 1900s and the factory system of production. In
the industrial era, management needed to capitalize on knowledge management through formalization (rules, procedures and so on), professional training and development, and the design of machines and jobs. Michel Foucault talked of the emergence of these features in society generally as ‘discipline’ – a combination of knowledge and power. In the post-industrial era (or intellectual capitalism), the challenge is to capitalize on learning, both at the individual and organizational levels, which is reflected in the epistemology of possession approach – but this is not straightforward.

Adding to discussions of ‘the generic tension between control and creativity’ (Thompson and Ackroyd 2005) in a Marxist turn towards a ‘knowledge theory of value’, Jacques contends that knowledge is easily commodified but learning is dynamic, creative and destabilizing. What is elusive is the ability to learn – which consists not in the ability to manage knowledge, but the ability to change it. ‘Learning workers’ have value not because of what they know, but because of the combination of discretion and skill that permit them to change what they know (Jacques 1996: 181).

**EXHIBIT 0.6**

A Foucauldian view of the knowledge worker: from compliance to initiative

‘We live in a social universe in which the formation, circulation, and utilization of knowledge presents a fundamental problem. If the accumulation of capital has been an essential feature of our society, the accumulation of this knowledge has not been any less so. Now, the exercise, production and accumulation of this knowledge cannot be dissociated from the mechanisms of power; complex relations exist which must be analyzed’ (Foucault 1981/1991: 165).

‘Perhaps, instead of imagining the knowledge worker to be newly emergent as a post-industrial worker, we should imagine him/her as a worker who has been there all along and who is now in the spotlight due to the confluence of certain socio-economic accidents – new technologies, redefined market boundaries, global redistribution of classes of work … which place this worker at critical confluences of power …’

‘Perhaps what is changing today is not the importance of the worker knowledge, but the kind of knowledge that is important. For three generations, systems have been refined to produce worker knowledge leading to compliance with decisions made by a specialized sub-group of employees (‘management’). Increasingly, post-industrial organizations are seeking systems producing worker knowledge leading to initiative. This is not simply a different goal; it is one that conflicts with every element of disciplinary work practices.’ (Jacques 1996: 143)

Even routine or manual work can be seen to require ‘knowledgeability’. This entails creativity and requires changes in workplace governance from traditional forms of hierarchical accountability and looser, project-based forms with higher autonomy, both to leverage the creativity of expert labour through communities of practice and to face competitive challenges (Thompson and Ackroyd 2005; Reed 1996). Jacques does not agree that ‘the creation, development, retention and transfer of knowledge can be described as a learning process’ (Easterby-Smith and Prieto 2007: 5), and insists on the strategic nature of the distinction between knowledge and learning – managers are not experts or knowledge workers, but learning workers. We will explore how this happens in the next chapter.

History then has created managers in a number of guises, and individuals have taken the opportunity to develop management as a practice, and as a field of study, in very different ways. Managers have been shepherds and moral guardians of God’s chosen few or policemen of the non-elect; they have been civilian subalterns and Thomas Carlyle’s ‘captains of industry’; they have been socioeconomic engineers and
enlightened social entrepreneurs. They have had the stained hands of cruel and greedy despots and slave owners. They have been regarded as class traitors and rhetoricians for the bourgeoisie, mere hired hands for controlling hired hands. They have been heralded as the vanguard of the new society and the new democracy and dismissed as expendable ‘fat’. They have been castigated as over-educated technicists or under-educated political obstructionists. They have been lauded as leaders and innovators and pilloried as micro-administrators, manufacturers of trust or generators of suspicion, replete with knowledge but impoverished of wisdom. In this book, we try to make sense of some of the history that we bring up to date, while always being mindful that there remain many problems that history simply has not solved, and many it has not yet encountered. In the rest of this introduction, we outline the critical approach that the book takes to doing this, and offer a model of management as relational to help to fit the detail into the bigger picture.

The approach of this book

This book takes a very different view of organization theory and management from that found in many mainstream texts. Each of the chapters addresses a core topic that is generic to what might be seen as traditional areas of organization and management, but it is framed in terms of the challenges of relational management. The content of the chapters is designed to reflect the current state of critical scholarly activity in the field, which of course reflects the state of the practice of management in this new century. The chapters build on existing knowledge in various fields, highlighting some enduring theories and approaches, but then pushing the boundaries of management beyond these ideas. So you will find chapters on teams, managing change, conflict, control, leadership, culture, power, motivation, strategy, structure, decision making and sustainability, which, as we said, are familiar topics in most managerial and organizational behaviour texts. A difference in our focus is how we use traditional approaches in many of these areas as the basis for examining these topics. We then go on to reframe them in the light of a critical appraisal of the current emphasis, in both academic and popular literature, surrounding each topic. Our approach differs most noticeably, however, when we come to consider knowledge and learning, gender, ethics and networking. These topics are no longer marginal notes on the practice of management, but are at the heart of what those who practise management have to address every day, from their own personal development, through their relations with colleagues, and even to the point where organizational boundaries dissolve into networks and virtual organizations. We have brought these topics into the mainstream of this text because we believe that they have already established their intellectual and practical significance in the world of management and they represent a realistic agenda for the study of both.

However we have also taken an approach in which each chapter, as far as possible and appropriate, addresses a group of key themes related to its content. These themes are:

- sources and uses, including abuses, of knowledge and information
- learning in organizations, both its oppressive and liberating forms
- reflective practice and self-reflexivity
- diversity, including but not limited to race, gender, ethnicity and cross-cultural issues
- power in its many and varied forms.

We begin each chapter with some questions which you might like to keep in mind when you consider the topic of the chapter; don’t jump ahead at this point, but be reassured that in most cases we do attempt to answer those questions at the end of the chapter! Of course, by the time you reach the end of the chapter, you will have
your own answers, which might not be quite the same as ours. But there is more than one way to respond to these complex questions and, as we shall see, management is not a simple question of right and wrong, but of using both reasoned judgement and feeling to make sense of complicated situations. Accordingly, we also begin each chapter with a short case study and some questions on it, which we ask you to think about before you read the chapter and reflect on as you progress through the chapter. By the end of the chapter you should be able to make a thorough response to these questions, but to help you along we address them ourselves in Revisiting the Case Study — but not in the sense of our having the final word. We would also expect you to challenge our assumptions, based on your reading of the chapters and your interpretations of the materials. We have chosen the case study method because it is a way of framing problems that can be shared in common and from which some lessons and insights can be drawn. Ideally, we would have left the questions out and left it up to you, the reader, to formulate them. However, we have to pose and answer these questions because we want to expose our own limitations and imperfections and open ourselves to scrutiny and challenge. There is no ‘one best way’ to deal with a case study. There are only better questions than others!

Why study management?

There are many sides to management, no simple and clear answers, and no ‘one best way’ to do it. Management is a complex field of activity and one that requires enormous effort and will to do well. It is not something that comes naturally to many of us, yet it is something that almost all of us might be called upon to do, not only through involvement in formal organizations, but in our private lives as well. Our focus in this book, however, is primarily on formal organizations, but we do consider public, private and voluntary organizations to be within our compass.

There are two main reasons for studying management. The first is to gain knowledge and understanding of management and what it is and, in the process, learn how to be a better and more effective manager. There is no simple way to do this. There is also no guarantee that what will be learned in the theory of management will be easily translated into the practice of management. This raises the second reason why it is important to study management. When we study management we need a framework that will allow us to develop reflective practice, which is at the heart of critical thinking as we see it. In this textbook, the notion of ‘critical thinking’ remains a core idea, considered essential to the development of the manager and, more importantly, to the better practice of management (Fulop 1992; Thomas 1993). There are of course a number of different ways in which critical thinking and a critical approach can be developed. We consider some of these shortly.

We can develop reflective practice by adopting perspectives that help us to see familiar situations in new ways, and by considering things that challenge our perceptions about people, organizations and ourselves. Adopting a questioning, quizzical attitude can help us to recognize and solve problems, identify opportunities and think creatively (Thomas 1993). Robert Chia and Stuart Morgan (1996: 58) state:

The purpose of management education is not so much knowledge acquisition and accumulation as it is sensitizing students to our own peculiar culturally based (and often idiosyncratic) ways of ordering the world. It is about inculcating an intimate understanding of the way ... management knowledge ... is organized, produced and legitimized ... In other words, the priority of education is quintessentially about gaining an understanding of [how we organize and represent knowledge from various sources].
In a nutshell, learning about management requires a critical perspective that is guided by four key processes of inquiry:

1. identifying and challenging assumptions
2. developing an awareness of the context in which management ideas have evolved historically, culturally and socially
3. always seeking alternative ways of seeing situations, interpreting what is going on, understanding why an organization is configured the way it is, and speculating about the way the organization could be managed differently and in ways that disrupt routines and established order
4. being appropriately sceptical about what one hears and reads about management (Thomas 1993: 11; Brookfield 1987, cited in Alvesson and Deetz 2000: 8).

Much as these processes sound like work, the essence of managing is learning about managing in a way that brings ‘the connection between knowledge, imagination and the zest for life’ to the fore (Chia and Morgan 1996: 57).

The critical approach

This introduction outlines a critical approach to management that enables us to reflect on how we learn about management. It is designed to help us to develop the intellectual rigour and knowledge to deal with the complex and multifaceted issues that arise every day in work situations. Managers need to know how to analyse problems, how to use the knowledge they have acquired in a questioning manner, and how to employ their creative capacities to see things in new ways in order to resolve dilemmas. A vast body of knowledge and research can be drawn upon to help analyse and respond to what is happening or unfolding in organizational situations.

What sources of knowledge about managers and organizations are most useful, and how does a manager use or adapt them in a meaningful and constructive manner? Most of what is found in the management, OB and organizational literature is based on theories, research or studies that have been undertaken in various organizations, sometimes even in laboratories, under different sets of constraints, some more scientific than others, often in different countries and within different time frames. This means that most ideas or suggestions have to be adapted to take account of the peculiarities and uniqueness of the manager’s own situation or context.

In Chapter 1, we discuss some of the complexities and problems associated with learning, both from the vantage point of the individual and the organization. Enhancing individual and organizational learning (or collective learning) is perhaps the hardest thing any manager will ever attempt to do, and it requires the art or skill of reflective practice. Reflective practice has been popularized in the organizational learning literature (for example Senge 1990), but draws heavily on the work of the late Donald Schön (1983). Some theorists argue that this type of learning cannot occur unless organizational members are able to identify new knowledge, transfer and interpret new knowledge, use the knowledge to adjust behaviour or practices and pass on this knowledge to others (Levinson and Asahi 1995: 59–60). Others present different views of what it means to be a reflective practitioner (Golding and Currie 1999).

Others argue that self-reflexive practice is a further development of reflective practice. Questions such as ‘Who am I and who am I becoming?’ are ones that self-reflexive practitioners will ask of themselves. Questions such as ‘What really happened, why, and what can I do about it?’ are typically posed by the reflective practitioner. To engage in self-reflexive practice is something akin to trying to rethink and rework one’s own identity, values and assumptions, to such an extent that self-
reflexive practice has been regarded as being tantamount to trying to ‘jump over one’s shadow’ (Limerick and Cunnington 1993: 221). Our use of the term ‘reflective practice’ in this book includes the important sense of self-reflexivity (Cunliffe 2001, 2004; Cunliffe and Jun 2005). This form of reflective practice adds another dimension to the education of managers. Typically, management has been taught or thought of as something that is achieved by imparting particular forms of knowledge and know-how. Often it is taught as a skills-based activity or set of practices. In contrast, reflective practice emphasizes the need for all managers to develop abilities to critique and to be creative (Chia and Morgan 1996). Or, as Mats Alvesson and Stanley Deetz (2000: 8) suggest, critique allows a person to recognize if and how certain ways of organizing, reasoning and representing the world constrain imagination, autonomy and decision making. The very idea of reflective practice also raises the perennial question: What is good management? How do I know when I’ve done well?

As stated above, we take the approach that management is the management of relationships and, as such, is a relational practice, so the answer to these questions will not be fixed and final but will change as the relationships between the elements of management change. However, before we take a look at the nature of these relationships, we need to address our fourth theme, that of diversity.

Diversity is an issue which managers are being forced to confront both in the workplace and increasingly outside it in terms of relationships with, for example, overseas suppliers and overseas manufacturing facilities, investors or joint venture partners. The recognition of the existence of diversity and, in some cases, the desire to increase or create it have led to a more intense focus on managing relationships in the workplace and managing differences more effectively (see Chapter 2). Differences are based on age, race, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, beliefs, experience, disability and so on, although often gender and race receive most attention. These differences have to be accommodated, or even celebrated, in managing. For example, whether or not managers are male or female, the fact remains that they have to understand and accommodate better a broader range of differences than in the past. In addition, they need to do their part in providing genuine opportunities for meaningful, equitable and rewarding careers for those whom they manage. By using diversity as a lens through which we examine the content and issues of management, we can begin to become aware of a much broader set of consequences, questions, challenges and potential sources of creative solutions to organizational problems, besides uncovering a few more of these problems to which we were previously oblivious. Certainly the consideration of diversity can change the nature of relationships in the workplace and what we see as the management task – as we shall see in Chapter 2 – and in particular the way we theorize management.

While it is important for managers to learn about and confront issues of diversity, changing the nature of relationships in the workplace will not be achieved unless issues relating to power and control are also addressed. We explore the complex ways in which power becomes embedded in relationships, both in its more obvious and less obvious forms. Power is integral to explaining how relationships are formed, but also why they often fail or are difficult to sustain over longer periods. In considering issues of power, we do not wish to identify ourselves with any particular one of the various ‘critical’ positions which have emerged over the past two decades – among them critiques grounded in the critical theory of the Frankfurt School, notably Jürgen Habermas (Alvesson and Willmott 1992, 1996); varieties of postmodernism, influenced by Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida in particular, although their work has been unevenly interpreted, which have sometimes sought to lay claim to the field of critical management studies (Fournier and Grey 2000); critical postmodernism,
which has attempted to bridge the distance between postmodernism, critical theory and Marxism, often inspired by Theodore Adorno (Boje et al. 1992; Alvesson and Deetz 1996); and critical realism, a position that attempts to incorporate some elements of both the interpretative and more objective approaches into a politically aware agenda to offer a superior alternative (Ackroyd and Fleetwood 2000). Critical realism rejects the extremes of positivism, which treats social phenomena as though they were things (reification), and radical relativism, which takes the approach that ‘anything goes’ and people have free and unfettered choice over how they act (voluntarism). Critical realists try to recognize that the social world may have objective qualities independent of the discursive and conceptual constructions of its members, or the ways they make sense of it. Nevertheless they recognize that the world ultimately depends on these sense-making practices for its reproduction and transformation, maintenance and change. Accordingly they try to follow an empirical strategy which claims both an active reflexivity (critique of its own practice) and an acceptance of causality in method and analysis. We will have more to say about some of these perspectives and our preferences and arguments will emerge during the course of this book. We are not attempting to settle debates or sell a particular perspective here – we don’t think of ourselves as ‘ists’ of any particular sort, whether realists, postmodernists or critical theorists – or to engage in internecine warfare over the ‘critical’ high ground. What we hope to do is utilize work from a variety of traditions that we consider to be critical, in order to introduce our readers to the richness of these approaches and the range of insights that they can offer to the inquiring and questioning manager.

Management is the management of relationships

Management is often presented as the management of things, which includes resources (and people are treated as human resources). This reification (literally, ‘thing-making’) reinforces the artificial separation between the component disciplines through which management is defined and taught. However, the separate disciplines of management – accounting, organizational behaviour, information systems, operations management, marketing and so on – cannot easily be separated in practice, as each interlocks with the other (see also Jacques 1996: x). Real-life problems are overlapping and interconnected, rather than self-contained, and even when a management problem is solved successfully, the process is never finished. Relationships are constantly changing and the process of managing, and perhaps improving, them is continuous. It is not surprising to hear managers often refer to their daily work as largely one of ‘putting out fires’.

Management is a relational, differential activity, involving criteria that shift and environments that change at different rates. Because management is a relational activity, managers have to deal with multiple realities, roles and identities, and multiple loyalties of individuals. It is the recognition that individuals have multiple realities, roles, identities and loyalties that is so central to managing diversity in organizations. Whether it involves dealing with the natural environment, with other colleagues, with customers/clients and competitors, with communities, networks or alliances, the managing of ‘relationships’ will be paramount. How is the relational view different from more traditional approaches to management?

Traditional approaches to management tend to emphasize (implicitly and often explicitly) management as the control of relationships. Scientific management, as we shall see in Chapters 2 and 11, constructs the supervisor–employee relationship as that between the head and the hands, with the head (manager/supervisor) firmly in control, giving the instructions, and the hands (employees) carrying them out. Yet
studies of business pioneers and entrepreneurs emphasize the role of the entrepreneur in bringing people and things together, the literal meaning of the word ‘entrepreneur’. Here the important role of the entrepreneur/manager is the bringing of relationships into being for mutual advantage. Some that are more focused on the power of management as a group than on the individual manager, such as labour process theory, emphasize inequality or asymmetry in relationships. They focus on relationships where one group becomes powerful and remains dominant over another for long periods of time (see Chapters 6, 7 and 11). Systems thinking, which developed in the 1940s and has enjoyed a resurgence of popularity in the learning literature (see Chapter 1), takes a particular view of the process of relationships, looking for functional and dysfunctional elements and emphasizing the relationship of fitting in with the environment in order to survive and grow. Strategic management approaches (which we discuss in Chapter 15) build on this and increasingly view business failure in terms of failure to stay in touch with changes in the competitive environment, in terms of interrupted or distorted relationships, where something is wrong with the conversion of system inputs into the right sort of system outputs. Developing as far back as the Hawthorne Studies (see Chapters 2 and 11), but changing as the field of psychoanalysis changed with each decade, psychodynamic approaches have emphasized problematic relationships – organizational pathology as the result of a failure to maintain psychological balance in relations, resulting, for example, in group conflict. In Chapter 10 we discuss the concept of ‘narcissism’, which is an example of how such distorted relationships can profoundly affect organizational practice. In short, existing studies suggest that, at a basic practical level, without building, maintaining and developing relationships a manager cannot manage. We also extend this argument into managing the environment and finding ways in which control and mastery can give way to sustainable and manageable relationships in this highly sensitive and political area of global development in which managers are pivotal figures.

Two things, however, are important to the perspective we are taking here. First, these relationships are in a dynamic field, in constant (although not necessarily profound or radical) change, and, second, they embody flows of energy and power through the field. The manager then has to be able to monitor how these changes are occurring, and has to be able to channel these flows of energy, interest, knowledge and power in order to get things done in the organization. What becomes of particular interest to studies of these networks or webs of relations is:

- what is related, how, and how this in turn changes
- how changes in one part of the web affect other parts or are prevented from doing so
- how managers act in establishing, maintaining and changing relationships
- how existing patterns of relationships pose constraints and how these can be addressed by managers.

What also emerges from these considerations are the skills and qualities which managing these relationships demands:

- sensitivity to a wide variety of types of information and forms of knowledge – technical, cultural, emotional – as well as different narrative forms such as stories or workplace myths
- the ability to visualize and perceive new patterns of relationships
- the ability to tolerate ambiguity and uncertainty
- the ability to be persuasive
- the confidence to take risks and intervene, to exercise judgement in the absence of authoritative prescriptions such as rules, policies, procedures
- the capacity to be self-critical, learn from mistakes and develop continuously.
If we take the individual manager as our focus, these relationships could rather crudely be said to fall into two groups (see Figure 0.1). One group of relationships is that which is related to the job, the organization and the demands of the manager’s formal role in relation to the organization’s ‘rational-purposive’ dimension: goals such as making a profit, meeting production targets, retaining customers and so on. The other group is that related to the manager’s personal desires, ambitions, social demands, familial relations and so on. In the practising manager’s world, these fields are in tension and may from time to time be in overt conflict – such as when the managing director calls an ‘away day’ meeting to discuss changes in the company strategy on your wedding anniversary or your partner’s 30th birthday party. Let’s look at this division more closely, with the help of the summary overview provided by Figure 0.1.

**Figure 0.1** The management of relationships

Role-focused, goal-oriented relationships

At their simplest, these roles are all about what it is that managers do that differentiates management from any other activity. Lots of writers, for example Henry Mintzberg (1975) and Rosemary Stewart (1988), have focused on this. At this level it is those features of the job and the role in the organization that exert demands and create tensions in the manager’s life. Most relevant are practical problems that confront managers in their formal role, such as how to do the job, how to do it better, how to change it, how to get others to cooperate and so on.

Henry Mintzberg (1975) undertook a groundbreaking study that challenged much of the received wisdom about management. In a blatant challenge to classical management theories, which argued that there was ‘one best way’ to manage, that management was simply the application of a set of principles or that management was the collective term for a group of functions, such as planning, coordinating, leading and controlling, Mintzberg instead argued that it was an evolving process.
Classical theories of management were poor descriptors of the interactive and complex reality of what managers actually do. Indeed, while it is tempting to think of management in terms of these functions of organizing it is also dangerous, as it leads us to try to make the reality of the task fit its image – as Burrell (1997) and Collins (2000) argue, it de-forms reality rather than informs us about it. After observing and recording the activities of a number of senior managers, Mintzberg identified three groups of roles, shown in Figure 0.2, and described here:

### INTERPERSONAL ROLES

- **Figurehead**
  - Embodies legal authority; leads ceremonial duties such as signing formal documents and accepting visitors
- **Leader**
  - Motivates others to do their jobs
- **Liaison**
  - Acts as link to bind organization, both horizontally and vertically

### INFORMATIONAL ROLES

- **Nerve centre**
  - Provides focal point for non-routine information, receives all types of information
- **Disseminator**
  - Passes selected information to those who can use it
- **Speaker**
  - Acts as source and channel of information to outsiders

### DECISIONAL ROLES

- **Entrepreneur**
  - Creates and gives impetus to organizational changes
- **Disturbance handler**
  - Intervenes when unexpected situations demand corrective action
- **Resource allocator**
  - Decides the amount and allocation of resources such as capital and personnel
- **Negotiator**
  - Represents the organization in negotiations with third parties, for example contractors, officials, suppliers and trade unions

**Figure 0.2** Mintzberg’s managerial roles  

1. **Interpersonal roles** – Most people in organizations engage in a good deal of interpersonal contact. When one is acting as a manager, these interactions increase emphatically and have three differing aspects, whether the manager is performing
as figurehead (representing to other bodies), leader (managing internal relations) or liaison (bridging with other groups).

2. **Informational roles** – All managers act as focal points for information, and accordingly they enhance their understanding of the organization and its environment by being caught up in this flow of information. As nerve centres and disseminators, they facilitate the achievement of organizational objectives by channeling information to the most appropriate points. They often act as spokespersons to channel and control information to outside bodies.

3. **Decisional roles** – Managers are engaged in change, where they act as entrepreneurs, stimulating and driving it through, and also in ‘running the business’, keeping activities going smoothly by handling disturbances, allocating resources and negotiating.

Critics of Mintzberg say, in particular, that he generalizes about all managers from a small sample of those at or near the top of the organization. While Mintzberg has suggested that the roles can and do apply to other managers, he has also welcomed the work of other researchers who have narrowed their focus to look at the roles of those managing in specific functions, such as human resource management (HRM), R&D or marketing, or managing at different levels, where middle management has received particular attention (see Linstead and Thomas 2002; Thomas and Linstead 2002). ‘Downsizing’ processes intended to cut costs in making organizations ‘lean’ during the recessionary times of the late 1980s and early 1990s were subsequently found to have left organizations lacking an often critical resource by removing middle managers. Middle managers did far more than simply link decisions at the top with actions at the bottom (Naylor 1999: 11–13).

The managerial task may therefore have changed and be changing since Mintzberg’s research. Although his critique of classical management theory was trenchant, it could be argued that his own model no longer fits the reality of managing in the postmodern world. It has been suggested, for example, that for middle managers in information technology-enabled organizations, the tasks of communication and coordination have been ceded to information and knowledge management systems, while other roles have come to the fore. Dauphinais (1996, cited in Naylor 1999: 13) identifies four of these roles:

1. **Creators and implementers of strategy** – making quick responses to developments within the framework of organizational goals, largely enabled because middle managers, in particular, gain early knowledge of internal problems and shifts in the marketplace.

2. **Influencers** – middle managers’ roles are at junctions of vertical and horizontal communication. Their key responsibilities require them to manage key tasks or functions yet their position enables them to influence people above, below and at the same level.

3. **Key sources of stability** – middle managers may be a source of resistance to change, but may on the other hand use their experience to consolidate and integrate the improvements that may result from change.

4. **Drivers of continual change** – middle managers have an important role in, and may control the outcomes of, project and teamwork, which have grown as forms of work organization to match the need for flexibility in changing environments.

So although Mintzberg’s work pioneered the view of management as a relational process, it also emphasized the need to monitor continually the changing nature of management over time, and to question its own conclusions by comparing them against everyday reality.
Person-focused, self-oriented relationships

This area of concern focuses on managers as individuals, and the impact that the role may have on them. It covers effects on the manager’s personality, including emotions and stress (see Chapters 2 and 9). It can also include: the consideration of ethical and moral issues that might arise as personal dilemmas during the course of doing business (see Chapter 8); and the consideration of learning, learning styles, levels and types of learning, self-management and self-development (see Chapter 1). Diversity in the workplace puts emphasis on people, differentiates their perspectives, views and mindsets and stresses that these differences have to be managed to ensure organizations gain the maximum benefit from potential sources of knowledge. Relational management also recognizes that people bring their ‘whole self’ to work, not just a ‘work self’, that is, they also bring their sexuality, spirit, emotions and connections to family and friends with them every day. These aspects of people’s identity need to be taken into account to enrich the meaning and context of work (Zangari and Cavaleri 1996: 338–9). Commitment and attachment to work and the organization can diminish as people find meaning, identity and the whole self beyond work (Handy, cited in Ettore 1996: 15). It is naive to expect that people will centre their lives entirely on their employment, as we discuss in Chapter 9. The managerial challenge is not to annex and incorporate the personal and social world of their employees, but to allow space for and achieve an appropriate balance between these elements across all age groups. It would be foolish to assume, for example, that every generation of people in the organization shares the same aspirations or world views, and indeed even levels of skills and knowledge, especially today with the widespread use of the Internet and computers.

Relationships are with constituencies

Relationships are enacted with groups of others as well as with individuals. Where these groups have a strong and recognizable identity, we can call them constituencies, and these constituencies can be both internal to the organization or outside it and impacting upon it.

Relationships with internal constituencies

Constituencies could be regarded as groups of stakeholders. The stakeholder terminology has some rather unfortunate ‘representative’ and ‘bargaining’ connotations related to traditional industrial relations approaches. In the sense that we use the term here, we are mindful that social reality itself is constructed and negotiated even at the basic level of establishing meanings that can be shared. Within the organization, this involves consideration of issues like managing other people, vertical and horizontal relationships, internal customers and suppliers, support systems and service suppliers, specialists and professionals, and formal/informal relations, along with some basic principles of organizational structure. It is this process of creating meanings, enrolling others to share common understandings and often imposing them on others, which gives people their ‘stake’ in something.

Relationships with external constituencies

From the organization’s point of view, these are the external stakeholders – customers, clients, suppliers, investors, those involved in the micro-legal environment, the public in terms of public image, competitors, collaborators, cooperators, coexistors, collectives, agents/distributors/franchisees, potential recruits/suppliers/customers and so on, and former members of the organization in some cases. This also involves the manager’s own community, family, partner and friends who are the core of other
networks whose interests and influence may cut across those of the organization and produce tension for the manager. The home, for example, is perhaps the most powerful external constituency for most people.

However, the notion of the external stakeholder changed in the 1990s and this change challenged managers’ capacities to deal with the relational dimensions of their work. As Warren Bennis (cited in Hodgetts 1996: 75) argued, organizations have responsibilities not only to internal stakeholders (that is, employees) but to customers and the community. Yet many companies are increasingly focused on serving the needs of shareholders more than their other constituents. Institutional investors (banks, finance companies and so on) that constitute the most powerful group of shareholders often pursue short-term strategies to maximize shareholder returns. Bennis and others (for example Peter Drucker, cited in Caulkin 1993: 42) believe that these trends have produced CEOs who benefit from the ‘bottom-line’, market-driven, hard-nosed, hard-driving image that reaps them millions through stock options and pleasing stock markets. This focus or shareholder mindset (Bennis 1996: 75, cited in Hodgetts 1996) leaves little room for managing or building long-term relationships, when the personal wealth of CEOs can increase substantially when they downsize or opt for short-term gains. These trends have raised concerns about how organizations can build trust and commitment and create the intellectual capital they need to compete.

Relationships are managed by performance

If we now turn to consider how relationships are managed, it is not too difficult to see that they must be managed by action or performance of some sort. There are three different objects of performance:

1. The performance of functions, tasks and roles: This involves looking at what managers do in terms of specific tasks, including the functions of marketing, operations management, HRM, finance and so on, and how these specialized areas relate to the general properties of management – in other words, what is common or overlapping across these functions. Much work has been done in this area in regard to classical studies of management principles. Colin Hales (1993), in a review of various historical formulations of ‘management principles’, identified a staggering variety, yet pointed out that this was only a small sample of the existing work.

2. The performance of interpersonal skills: This is where task performance intersects with the skills of interaction with others – leadership in a personal sense, presentation skills, negotiation skills, group dynamics and facilitation, decision making, competencies, critical thinking, change management and even managing emotions. In this mode the manager may come close to the performance artist, employing complex skills, rehearsing and changing roles where necessary (see Chapters 9 and 13).

3. The performance of analytical techniques: Managers do need some quantitative or analytic skills, albeit in varying degrees, and at the very least they need to understand enough to know how to use technical specialists in the best ways or interpret quantitative data provided by ‘experts’ in the course of their work. Quantitative analysis, just-in-time (JIT) knowledge, quality measurement and benchmarking, information technology, especially in support of statistical process control, economic analysis, financial and accounting skills, market analysis and research all relate to the general conceptualization of management at this level.

The combination of functional task skills as an accountant, marketer or other specialist, combined with interpersonal skills and the ability to understand and use
quantitative data, all enable managers to manage their key relationships flexibly and effectively. But to what ends do they apply these skills?

Relationships are managed through organization

The managers’ performance skills are realized through applying them to organize specific arenas of action to their advantage. This means the organization of:

1. **Social processes**: In this area the influence of sociological thinking is most clearly felt in studies of management, and particularly in the critical linkage of language, knowledge and power. The performance of tasks and functions takes place through social processes that can constrain or enable different forms of action. Through focusing on power, social processes involving political action, such as network and coalition building and establishing and leveraging power bases, are emphasized. Critical views also emphasize structural inequality, control, hegemony and domination in relations. They also regard ideology as a mystification that enables power to become the rule of the powerful – to create domination, subordination and hegemony (the perpetuation of one group in domination over another). The labour process perspective is also important here, including issues of exploitation and extraction of surplus value and the manager’s role in the process, as are issues of class, race and gender differences and discrimination (see Chapters 2, 7, 11 and 12).

2. **Symbolic representation**: An important part of management is what has been called the ‘management of meaning’. Thus ‘symbolic’ management, or the attempt to create corporate cultures, teams, new forms of motivational tools, ‘transformational’ or visionary leadership (and of course other styles), is significant here (see Chapters 3 and 10). In addition, the dramaturgical view of management as a performance, staged in a theatrical sense, or the acting of scripts and storylines is relevant. The focus here is on verbal and visual language used to create meanings that literally define for people the ‘rules’ of membership in an organization (even down to the appropriate language to use) and the communicative methods by which they are sustained (see Chapters 1, 2 and 3).

3. **Knowledge and information**: One of the key influences and drivers of change in organizations is the increasing speed of the flow of information. The ways in which ‘knowledge’ is formed from information are important to some companies, but critical for ‘knowledge-intensive firms’, a rapidly growing area of commercial activity and study (Microsoft is an example). Networks and virtual organizations all depend on knowledge and information flow, and issues of copyright secrecy, confidentiality, privacy, theft and robbery, viruses, corruption and fraud have assumed new dimensions. Information is at the heart of the ‘deal’ which produced the spectacular successes on paper, and the equally spectacular collapses of the highly leveraged entrepreneurs and corporate raiders of the 1980s. Similarly, many of the dot.com failures in the late 1990s and early 2000s were also created through inflated paper values and stock market perceptions and misinformation. In addition to learning to master information technology, the information superhighway, cyberspace, the Internet and a range of relevant databases, there is still the pervasive and important traditional form of information flow – the grapevine, the rumour mill, gossip, stories, talk and so on – which has not diminished in its significance. Knowledge and power have a close relationship, and language could be seen as the glue which holds them together (see Chapters 7, 13, 14 and 15).
The manager then exercises performance skills by building and changing relationships based on managing power, meaning and knowledge. But these processes also have broader social contexts which inform them. Managers do not act in a vacuum – their behaviours are always subject to some constraints due to the complex web of relationships in which they operate.

Relationships are managed in formative contexts

Taking a look at the broader canvas, we could use Brazilian critical legal and social theorist Roberto Unger’s (1975, 1987) idea of ‘formative contexts’ to express the sense in which action is shaped but not necessarily determined by wider sociocultural influences. These contexts, it should be emphasized here, are historically situated (time, cycles), regionally or globally located (place, cyberspace), and discursively formed and sustained (through specific combinations of customs, languages, cultural knowledge and power relations). In other words, managing is always tailored to considerations of time, place and discourse (see Chapters 2, 3 and 8). These contexts could be divided into four broad subdivisions that we will call ‘environments’ which impinge upon and shape the manager’s actions:

1. Regulatory environment: The regulatory context is the formal background of the law, regulations and restrictions against which businesses and managers must operate. The significance of the regulatory environment becomes glaringly obvious in even the most superficial consideration of British economy and society during nearly two decades of Thatcherism; as it does, for example, in any consideration of Hong Kong’s future development as a capitalist city in a communist country. Political influence, policies and initiatives, economic factors like interest and exchange rates and tariff control, trade agreements and common market agreements all shape the ground on which business is conducted (see Chapters 5, 8 and 16).

   At the organizational level, rules and structures act as frameworks for managerial action, and organizational design options open up choices and facilitate some practices rather than others, although ultimately, like the broader regulatory environment, they are subject to challenge, subversion and change. Alternatives in organizational structures and new forms, global corporations and multinational corporations (MNCs) and strategic alliances, the virtual corporation, and even the question of ‘modern’ or ‘postmodern’ organizations affect what management is becoming here. This also articulates consideration of the competitive environment that is the specific focus of strategy and marketing (see Chapter 15).

2. Cultural environment: Here the impact of cultural diversity is recognized. Culture can of course be studied at several levels, and here it is those things which extend beyond organizational boundaries that are most significant. While professional, local and industrial subcultures are important, perhaps the most important are national/ethnic and cross-national cultural features. The increasing need to manage across cultures in terms of marketing, procurement and manufacturing combines with the increasing ethnic diversity and mobility of workforces to pose highly significant challenges. Gender issues too are very important at this level (see Chapters 2 and 3, and also parts of each chapter).

3. Physical environment: The rise of ‘green management’ is one of the best examples of how the physical environment has become central to the study of management. The need to operate in a way that sustains rather than exploits natural resources, limits pollution and cares for the communities in which facilities are located is perhaps the most important new emphasis in global management. An
increased concern with risk and reliability as demands for products and services and the speed at which they are delivered increases also raises concerns about managing the physical environment. Recent research and emphases on disaster avoidance and management have led to a very substantial new multidisciplinary field emerging in management and engineering studies. Concerns about the physical environment have spread beyond disciplinary boundaries. This area also covers more traditional issues of climate and geography, and the logistics of infrastructure (see Chapters 5, 8 and 15).

4. Ideational environment: This is the world of ideas which account for, legitimate, question and make possible certain lines of argument and action, dividing up the world in characteristic ways. This is still shaped by the classic ideas of management, particularly scientific management and Fordism (see Chapter 11). Indeed, Jacques (1996: Chapter 1) argues that many of the so-called ‘new’ management ideas, such as knowledge management and learning organizations, can be dated back to the early nineteenth century. Many ideas that have come to form a corpus of contemporary ideas about managing need to be carefully interrogated to ensure that outmoded ideas and world views are not continually informing contemporary practice, when such practice was faulty or flawed all along. It is therefore important to consider why management seems so peculiarly vulnerable to ‘fads and fashions’ that are often really not new at all (see Chapter 1). At this level, too, broader sociological studies of morals and ethics are important beyond the consideration of individual moral dilemmas (see Chapter 8).

These different levels of consideration can of course be related across their boundaries. For example, if we wanted to consider the management issues relating to the space shuttle Challenger disaster, which occurred in 1986, and in which all lives aboard were lost including that of a civilian, we would find that it has been analysed from every possible angle from engineering to psychoanalysis! NASA, the US space agency, was blamed for this accident – on grounds which ranged from neglect of engineering safety issues, to an arrogant organizational culture. Technology failure – the disintegration of the ‘O’ rings, which caused the fire on board – was a major contributor to the accident. But technology operates as a mediator beneath all three circles described in Figure 0.1 (mostly down the right-hand side) as it mediates analysis and task performance, the physical environment and the circulation or otherwise of information. If we look at information, and the circle in which it appears in Figure 0.1, the management of information is the management of knowledge and is part of the triadic interaction of power/knowledge/language. Managers need to see the relations between language and symbolic representation, knowledge and information, and power and social processes and the broader contexts in which they are embedded. What has made the Challenger disaster a classic case for managers to study is that such cases, incorporating diverse perspectives, are rare. With the Discovery shuttle disaster in 2003, which disintegrated on re-entry to the earth’s atmosphere killing all seven crew including Indian and Israeli astronauts, NASAs activities were again put under the microscope and the investigations were as wide-ranging and thorough. In the Challenger case, however, the point was repeatedly emphasized: managers are trained to deal with management problems in a fragmented fashion, often with a narrow view. But if you look closely enough and range widely enough, the full range of connections can be made from only a small amount of information. The management of relationships means management as a process in whatever circumstances it occurs, and our final argument is that the challenge of relational management is threefold:
1. To be able to ‘surf’ the waves of changing relationships and maintain a sense of balance.

2. To be able to sense the immense interconnectedness of things through these relationships, without being overcome by the vertigo of possibilities (a kind of ‘analysis paralysis’), and still be able to act effectively.

3. Not to look for simplicity where it cannot be found, but rather to see the complexity of managing relationships as a distinct advantage, which is vital to learning about oneself and one’s organization.

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