

SIXTH
EDITION

MANAGING AND ORGANIZATIONS

An Introduction to Theory and Practice



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MANAGING AND ORGANIZATIONS



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

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

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

SAGE Publications Asia-Pacific Pte Ltd
3 Church Street
#10-04 Samsung Hub
Singapore 049483

Editor: Kirsty Smy
Assistant editor: Jessica Moran
Digital content assistant: Mandy Gao
Production editor: Sarah Cooke
Copyeditor: Sharon Cawood
Proofreader: Salia Nessa
Indexer: Martin Noble
Marketing manager: Lucia Sweet
Cover design: Naomi Robinson
Typeset by: C&M Digital (P) Ltd, Chennai, India
Printed in the UK

© Stewart R. Clegg, Tyrone S. Pitsis and Matt Mount 2022

This sixth edition published 2022

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Library of Congress Control Number: 2021936047

British Library Cataloguing in Publication data

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

ISBN 978-1-5297-6389-8
ISBN 978-1-5297-6388-1 (pbk)

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Contents

Your Guide to Using this Book	vi
Online Resources	ix
About the Authors	x
Acknowledgements	xi

Part One MANAGING PEOPLE IN ORGANIZATIONS 1

1	Managing and Organizations	3
2	Managing Individuals	35
3	Managing Teams and Groups	65
4	Managing Leadership	97

Part Two MANAGING ORGANIZATIONAL PRACTICES 133

5	Managing Cultures	135
6	Managing Conflict	173
7	Managing Power, Politics and Decision-making	203
8	Managing Communications	239

Part Three MANAGING ORGANIZATIONAL PROCESSES AND STRUCTURES 273

9	Managing Knowledge and Learning	275
10	Managing Innovation and Change	309
11	Managing Ethically and Sustainably	343
12	Managing Organizational Design	373
13	Managing Globalization	413
Bibliography		449
Index		537

Your Guide to Using this Book

This book comes with a range of useful learning features to support you in your studies:

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

This chapter is designed to enable you to:

- identify the impact that changes in the contemporary *managing and organization*
- be introduced to trends in the digital organizations *managing and organization* occurs
- understand *managing and organization* as sensemaking
- grasp the managerial rationalities that constitute much of *managing and organization*
- familiarize yourself with some significant global shifts in *managing and organization*.

Learning objectives set out the aims of each chapter.

In Practice boxes help you to relate theory to real-world examples.

IN PRACTICE

Darkest hour

The movie, *Darkest Hour*, directed by Joe Wright (2017), captures some of the most famous moments in British history. The occasion was 4 June 1940, with the evacuation of British and allied French troops from Dunkirk in full swing in the face of an overwhelming advance by German troops. The scene was set in the House of Commons when the prime minister Winston Churchill, rose to make a statement in which he said the following:

We shall fight them ...

Even though large tracts of Europe and many old and famous States have fallen or may fall into the grip of the Gestapo and all the odious apparatus of Nazi rule, we shall not flag or fail. We shall go on to the end, we shall fight in France, we shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing confidence and growing strength in the air, we shall defend our Island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall not surrender, and even if, which I do not for a moment believe, this Island or a large part of it were subjugated and starving, then our Empire beyond the seas, armed and guarded by the British Fleet, would carry on the struggle, until, in God's good time, the New World, with all its resources, would appear on the scene.

WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

The predominant view held by politicians influenced by neo-liberal economics was that the state, and the public expenditure that supported it, had become too large. The aim was for a smaller state to be achieved by cutting public expenditure. As the largest part of this expenditure went to support elements of the 'social wage', such as unemployment benefits, welfare and related expenses, these policies led to an increased rhetoric of government spending in these areas, as well as a policy focus targeted at levels of public sector debt reduction. The alternative would be growing the size of the surplus through government investments lifting economic activity and thus tax receipts, as Keynes recommended, instead of focusing mainly on the expenditure side of the equation.

Questions

1. How persuaded are you by this argument, especially in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic and the unprecedented responses by government to it?
2. What would you have future governments do in your country to manage recovery in the aftermath of the pandemic?
3. Do you think that there might be feasible alternatives to managing debt by cutting public expenditure?

What would you do? boxes encourage you to reflect on real-life scenarios.

SUMMARY

In this chapter, we have staked out the territory that th

- Managing/organizing is very dynamic – its world never stays still – so innovation, change and tension are characteristic of the way that events pan out.
- Managing and organization are never done in isolation from broader social trends and contexts, which is why it is important to contextualize how they are being done.

Chapter summaries bring together key themes and findings.

Exercises help you to evaluate your own knowledge and understanding.

EXERCISES

1. Having read this chapter, you should be able to say in your own words wh the following key terms means. Test yourself or ask a colleague to test y

○ Globalization	○ Hierarchy
○ Digitalization	○ Metaphors
○ Organizations	○ Sensemaking
○ Values	○ Tool views of manage
○ Managing	○ Corporate social responsibility
○ Identity	○ Organizations as tool
○ EDI	○ Neo-liberal economic
○ Rationality	
2. Why do organizations seek to forge common sensemaking?
3. Why do organizations become globalized?
4. What do you think are some of the major changes that are shaping the

TEST YOURSELF

Review what you have learned by visiting: <https://organizations6e>

Test yourself with multiple-choice questions.

Test Yourself boxes point you in the direction of useful online resources.

CASE STUDY

Managing communication

Data is an ICT communication agency. Data started out developing based on inspiration from artificial intelligence computing. It grew from a small core of 12 developers to more than 130 employees. As it performed got bigger and its services slightly more productive, it grew its growing portfolio of projects and continuously growing size to enhance project management skills within the organization. Project management procedures, such as budgeting and softer skills, such as the management of client expectations. A wide range of project management skills proved hard to nail down. Tacit practices lacking clear-cut definitions, involving emotional intelligence, and a collage composed from a wide range of experiences.

Case studies at the end of each chapter help you to bridge the gap between theory and practice.

Additional resources enable you to explore specific topics in greater depth.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- If you want to find out more about 'sensemaking', the entry in Cummings and Bailey (2008) *The Sage International Encyclopedia of Organizational Studies* is useful.
- The Swedish theorist Nils Brunsson has written three excellent books on problems with the rational model of organizations: *The Irrational Organization* (1985), *The Organization of Hypocrisy* (1989), and *Mechanisms of Hope* (2006). Together, they form a remarkable contribution to organizational analysis at its best.
- Christopher Grey's (2021) *A Very Short, Fairly Interesting and Reasonably Cheap Book about Studying Organizations*, London: Oxford University Press, is a good and brief introduction to the field.
- Anne Cunliffe's (2021) *A Very Short, Fairly Interesting and Reasonably Cheap Book about Management*, in the same series as Grey's book, is also a good introduction.
- What do all these digital terms mean? Read www.i-scoop.eu/digitalization-digital-transformation-disruption to understand the difference between digitization, digitalization and digital transformation.

Online Resources

Head online to <https://study.sagepub.com/managingandorganizations6e> to access a range of online resources that will support teaching and aid learning. *Managing and Organizations: An Introduction to Theory and Practice*, sixth edition, is accompanied by:

FOR LECTURERS

- A **teaching guide** providing ideas and inspiration for seminars and tutorials. Includes lesson plans for each week at UG and PG level, links to video content, further reading, tips for debate and additional **tutorial case studies**.
- **PowerPoint slides** for each chapter that can be adapted and edited to suit your own teaching needs.
- **Testbank questions** offering a wide variety of multiple choice, short and long answer assessment questions to use with your students.
- A **new extended case study** connecting the chapters, accompanied by **case study assignments** that can be used in seminars and tutorials.
- A **Resource Pack** to easily upload all the lecturer and student resources into your university's online learning platform (i.e. Blackboard or Moodle), and customise the content to suit your teaching needs.

FOR STUDENTS

- **Multiple-choice questions** to test understanding and aid exam preparation.

About the Authors

Stewart R. Clegg is an Emeritus Professor of Management and Organization Studies at the University of Technology Sydney and is now Professor in the Faculty of Engineering, School of Project Management, University of Sydney. He is also a professor at the University of Stavanger, Norway and at Nova School of Business and Economics in Lisbon, Portugal. He has published widely in the management, organizations and politics literatures in many of the leading journals and has been the recipient of many professional honours and awards, including being elected a Fellow of the Academy of Management, ANZAM and EURAM and an EGOS Honorary Member. In 2020 he was the recipient of the prestigious Edith Penrose Award for Trailblazing Research awarded jointly by INSEAD and EURAM. Widely acknowledged as one of the most significant contemporary theorists of power relations, he is also one of the most influential contributors to organization studies. Stewart tries to write something every weekday and sometimes even on wet weekends when the garden or an NRL Rugby match featuring Tigers does not beckon, usually writing with some instrumental jazz or baroque music playing softly in the background.

Tyrone S. Pitsis is Professor of Strategy and Technology at Durham University Business School. He is also Director of the Centre for Technology and Innovation Management and a Fellow of World Commerce and Contracting. His research is situated at the intersection of strategy design, innovation and highly complex projects. He is currently working with the Royal Air Force, researching the Astra 'whole of force' transformation. He has been the recipient of several awards for his research and was also awarded the Practice Theme Committee of the Academy of Management (AOM) leadership award for his contribution to AOM's strategic aims of promoting and recognizing the impact members make through their research. Dropping out of high school and having worked since he was 14, Tyrone originally began his working life in food, starting off as a kitchen hand and working his way up to executive chef before going back to TAFE to do his school and higher school certificate. He did well enough to be accepted at the University of New South Wales where he studied for a Bachelor of Social Science, majoring in Psychology; the rest is history. Aside from his family, Tyrone could not imagine life without music and cycling.

Matt Mount is Assistant Professor of Strategy and Innovation at Deakin Business School, Melbourne. He received his PhD in Management Science from the University of York. His research seeks to answer the question, *How do managers make strategic decisions and what impact does their decision-making have on firm behaviours and outcomes?*, and his work has appeared in several world leading academic and practitioner journals. He is also an active strategic management consultant and serves on the advisory board for several international organizations. Outside of work, he is an avid sports fan and enjoys playing and watching rugby, football (or soccer for those who use the incorrect label), as well as Australian football with his two boys.

Acknowledgements

The sixth edition could not have been completed without some acknowledgements being due. On this occasion, we would like to thank the following people for their invaluable assistance and feedback on this new and revised edition of *Managing and Organizations: An Introduction to Theory and Practice*. Administratively, we were extremely ably directed by Sarah Turpie at SAGE.

Stephen Allen, University of Sheffield

Lawrence Benson, University of Manchester

Jesper Dopping, Mahidol University International College

Shelley Harrington, University of Huddersfield Business School

Kari Jalonen, Aalto University School of Science

James Johnston, University of the West of Scotland

Clíodhna MacKenzie, University of Cork

Sideeq Mohammed, University of Kent

Fabian Müller, Copenhagen Business School (CBS)

Michelle O'Toole, University of Edinburgh Business School

Mike Ryder, Lancaster University

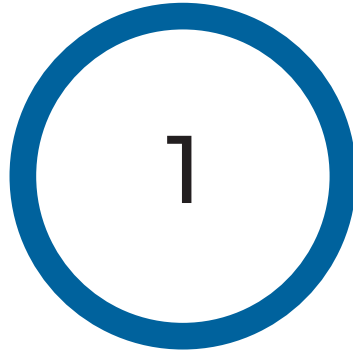
Xiaozheng Zhang, Nottingham Trent University



Part One

MANAGING PEOPLE IN ORGANIZATIONS

1	Managing and Organizations	3
2	Managing Individuals	35
3	Managing Teams and Groups	65
4	Managing Leadership	97



MANAGING AND ORGANIZATIONS

OPENING, THINKING, CONTEXTUALIZING

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

This chapter is designed to enable you to:

- identify the impact that changes in the contemporary world are having on *managing and organization*
- be introduced to trends in the digital organizations in which much contemporary *managing and organization* occurs
- understand *managing and organization* as sensemaking
- grasp the managerial rationalities that constitute much contemporary *managing and organization*
- familiarize yourself with some significant global shifts for future *managing and organization*.

INTRODUCTION

The book has a clear logic to its structure. We have grouped the chapters into three core themes. Part 1 is all about managing people in organizations. The field of management known as organizational behaviour has paid a great deal of attention to individuals and their work in teams and groups, which we draw on to compose **Chapter 2** and **Chapter 3**. In **Chapter 2** we write about individuals, their sociopsychology and how this comes into play in managing and organizations. Of course, increasingly, it is rare for people to work alone, as individuals per se. They work

in teams and groups, which we discuss in **Chapter 3**. Organizations are invariably highly structured with some who act in leadership roles and others who do not. Broadening our focus from individuals and teams to leaders and followers, we enhance the scope of the book in **Chapter 4** by discussing how individuals and teams are led and motivated. With Chapter 4 we conclude our specific focus on people in organizations, although, of course, people figure in every chapter that follows. What we do in the second part of the book is to switch the focus from the level of the individual to some of the practices that govern their conduct, which often happen at an organization level.

The second part of the book focuses on organizational practices; **Chapter 5** opens by noting that leadership, various theories of leadership and approaches to it, are a staple of texts on management and organization. One significant aspect of leadership is seen to be the creation and maintenance of an organizational culture by the elites of the organization. When organizational cultures fail to reflect current community standards within those cultures, the leadership is usually held responsible. Increasingly, these standards are stipulated in contemporary times by a concern with equity, diversity and inclusion (EDI), so we pay particular attention to these, as well as looking at the different levels of organizational culture, different theoretical assumptions about organizational culture and the extent to which organizational culture varies nationally.

Although many management and organization theory texts tend to downplay the significance of organizational conflict and organizational power relations, we place them at the centre of organizational life and discuss them in **Chapters 6 and 7** respectively. While all conflict is a matter of power relations not all power relations involve conflict, as we argue. Power relations, in their centrality for organizations, are not only explicit in the conflicts that occur between individuals, teams, departments, disciplines and divisions but also in the measures that organizations take to try and minimize and foreclose opportunities for such conflicts. As well as the coordination of power relations through authority systems and the control of conflict through various strategies, practices of communication are central to management and form the focus of **Chapter 8**. Increasingly, in contemporary organizations, communication is digital and so we will discuss not only some older approaches to organization communication but also those that are relevant in the digital age, a theme to which we shall return later in this introductory chapter.

In Part 3 of the book, we turn our attention to the ways in which organizational processes and structures are managed. Increasingly, it is evident that one of the most important and difficult things that organizations must manage is to learn and to change in consequence of what is learnt. How do organizations learn? We devote two chapters to the implications of this question. First, in **Chapter 9**, we focus on organizational learning and change, while in **Chapter 10** we look at the literature on the innovation process. While these are closely related topics, they have been treated largely separately in the literature. With these chapters, we are investigating much that is central to organizational processes, making organizations' long-term effectiveness a paramount everyday concern for managers.

Increasingly, contemporary organizations and their managers are being called to account in terms of new relevancies for learning, innovating and changing – those of sustainable and ethical practices, a topic with which we engage in **Chapter 11**. Organizations that are unsustainable in their practices, in

a world of climate change resulting from human actions in burning fossil fuels, can hardly be considered ethical in contemporary terms. Managing sustainably and managing ethically are increasingly central elements in the expectations that stakeholders have for how organizations are managed, for the products and services people wish to consume and for whom they wish to work. These topics, especially that of sustainability, open the field of managing and organizations to a much more global set of concerns.

Organizational design is a vital topic. We all spend most of our lives in organizations, in schools, universities, employing organizations as well as those that are civic, religious and sporting, without usually giving much thought to how they are designed. Nonetheless, it is a topic that has long been a central theme of Management and Organization Studies, and in **Chapter 12** we review some of the contours of the enquiries that have been made. Historically, these were largely based on principles assumed to be good because authoritative figures had decided that they were, based on their practical experience and careful observation. These principles were often used as the basis for organizational design, as we argue in **Chapter 12**. The widespread application of these principles led to organizational structures that followed a standard design. Later, these principles were to be replaced by more explicit research, rather than principles-based organizational design. In earlier editions of the book, we treated these as separate chapter topics; in this edition, we have merged them, both to tighten the content to better fit a standard semester structure and also because we wanted to stress the way in which tried-and-tested principles have given way to far more sophisticated ideas about organizational design. Initially, as we argue, the focus was very much on control of the individuals doing the work in organizations, through various modes of control: slavery and architectural design of buildings as sites of surveillance. To the latter at the turn of the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century, was added the detailed design of jobs and individual relations in a fit with tools and machines. The emphasis was on the one best way of working according to principles of management as well as more empirically grounded approaches to organizational design. Later, the emphasis on organizational design became less instrumental and prescriptive and more oriented to design thinking as a creative process.

Finally, in **Chapter 13**, we address the big themes of modern organizations and their management: we look at globalization and deglobalization, the supply chains that sustain these practices, as well as the costs and benefits and winners and losers in the processes associated with the global extension of organizations. We note that globalization is not a one-way process. We have all lived recently, through 2020–21, as a period of deglobalization in which borders have been shut, supply chains broken, trade wars launched and multilateral trading blocs being seen to be less permanent than they might have appeared not so long ago. A number of phenomena have contributed to this sense of uncertainty, including the effects of the evolving coronavirus pandemic as it has infected almost every country, especially in the ways in which governments responded by restricting international travel. The individual freedoms of the Trump administration in the United States was also a major variable in changing sentiment towards globalization as was the UK's Brexit. Globalization is a contested concept; it is not a one-way street as our discussion demonstrates. There are tensions between globalization and deglobalization.

By the time you reach the end of the book, you will find that you have explored a range of organizational life touching on the personal, the individual and the teams that you work in, through the leadership you experience, the cultures that you are part of, as well as the conflict and power relations that you will inevitably be exposed to in organizational life. You will have immersed yourself in discussions of organizational communications, the management of knowledge and organizational change and innovation processes and projects, which perhaps, will open new opportunities for the organization and its members or maybe end up wasting time even more than usual. The last part of the book will broaden your vision and deepen your understanding of the organizations that surround and envelop us in everyday life. Questions will be raised: how sustainable are organizations? How ethical are their practices? How well designed are their structures and processes? How global have they become? Are they deglobalizing? Do they mostly create jobs for knowledge workers, or junk jobs for the downtrodden and dispirited?

In the remainder of this introductory chapter, we will seek to familiarize you with some of the major trends of recent times that pervade the context of contemporary managing and organizations. Some of these will be familiar; others you may not have thought about. Managing and organizations are dynamic elements of the contemporary world, changing rapidly. Little stays the same. What managers do is to make sense of those changes and other stimuli in the environments in which they find themselves. Doing this is called 'sensemaking'. Sensemaking is one of several closely allied terms, including sensegiving and sensebreaking, which are constitutive of managerial work, irrespective of its substantive content.

MAKING SENSE OF MANAGING

We can differentiate *managing as a practice*, as something that we do, from *organizations as goal-oriented collectives*, entities in which we are *organized*. To be organized means being an element in a systematic arrangement of parts. Management is the process of communicating, coordinating and accomplishing action in the pursuit of organizational objectives. These are pursued by managing collaborative relationships with stakeholders, technologies and other artefacts, both within as well as between organizations and managing more or less considerate relationships with those employed as well as with those encountered as suppliers, customers, communities, and so on. It would be both wrong and dangerous to consider management as a neutral activity that can simply be considered in terms of its capacity to deliver objective gains in productivity/efficiency. It is also a socio-political activity, which implies the need to adhere to societal, political and ethical responsibilities.

For the past 40 years or so, the predominant sense of what an organization should be has been modelled on lean and efficient private sector organizations that are profit oriented. In such organizations, top management teams strive to set a common frame so that organizational members, customers, suppliers, investors, and so on, can make common sense of the organization – what it is and what it does. This is called **sensemaking**. Sensemaking is the process through which

Sensemaking

is the ongoing retrospective and prospective development of plausible images that rationalize what people are doing and not doing.

individuals and groups give meaning to something, especially to explain novel, unexpected or confusing events.

Sensemaking (Weick, 2008), or the process through which individuals and groups explain novel, unexpected or confusing events, is critically important in the study of organizations (Maitlis and Christianson, 2014). We are constantly making sense, revising past rationalizations in the light of new information, knowledge and events not previously available. Sensemaking brackets and labels the flow of events by breaking its experience into blocks of 'sense' that can be categorized and described with language. Meaning is constructed in an ongoing process in which past experience informs the present (Maitlis and Christianson, 2014). Sometimes organization leaders bring new phenomena to the attention of people; at other times, events are so disruptive it is impossible not to register the phenomena that they bring to attention. Interaction with others is essential to constructing a shared view, if coordinated action is to occur through common scripts and accounts (Steigenberger, 2015).

Considering the definition of sensemaking given in the margin above, we can explore each of its terms in a little more detail:

- *Ongoing*: We are always making sense – we never stop doing so, even when asleep – our dreams are ways of making sense of deep issues that we must deal with in our wakeful moments. Our sense of what we are experiencing is always of the moment – fleeting, experiential, changing and contextual.
- *Retrospective*: We make sense of something as it is elapsing, such that we are constantly reviewing the sense we make in terms of additional sense data.
- *Plausible*: We never make perfect but rather provisional sense, sense that is good enough for the matter and the people at hand. It allows us to go on with what we are trying to do. While accuracy may be desirable, reasonable constructions that are continuously updated work better as directional guides, especially when things are changing fast.
- *Images*: We often work with representations of things – models, plans and mental maps – as we navigate our way around unfamiliar territory. We hear what the other is saying and try to accommodate it to things we already know and carry around with us as our stock of knowledge.
- *Rationalize*: We rationalize the meaning of things that are confusing to make them clear and justifiable.
- *People*: Although organizations contain many things that act, which are not people – such as computers and keypads – it is people who do the sensemaking.
- *Doing*: We do things through thinking and action, which define one another. Weick (1995) uses a rhetorical question, 'How can I know what I think until I see what I say?'. The point he is making is that

when people act, they discover their goals, which may be different even when we think we are dealing with the same cues. Enactment is the key: what I enact may be very different from what you enact. Not only is what is done significant; sometimes it is what is not done that is important.

In doing sensemaking, the identity of the person making sense is important: who the person is, their role and the legitimacy that others attach to their capabilities for making sense will frame the reception of the sense made. Sense will be enacted through storytelling, usually expressed as a narrative account of experience, perceptions and the sense being made (Weick, 1995). Such narratives are usually shared and constructed in conversations with others as a *social activity* (Hernes and Maitlis, 2010; Maitlis, 2005).

In organizations, managers want to influence how their employees make sense. However, you make individual sense of what's happening around you. You use *your* sense data – sight, sound, touch, taste and smell – to assemble impressions of unfolding events and then use *your* cognitive capacities to make a pattern from the data. While the sense you make is always *your* sense it is never made in isolation. Not only is sense made through the language and concepts you use but also through the many cues that prompt you to make sense: experience, what others say they think is happening, likely stories that you are familiar with that seem to fit the pattern that appears to be forming, and so on. People will not use these cues in a uniform way, because they are individuals and, as a result, people can make wildly different sense of the same set of cues. A significant part of managing is to try and cue people in similar processes of pattern making to fit clues and cues together and to make common meaning out of them. Managers create a frame, enabling things to be connected to make coherent sense. Once we have the frame, we can make sense. Managing entails **framing**.

Framing By framing, we decide on what is relevant from the infinite number of stimuli, behavioural cues, sense data and information that surround us.

Framing is a term that comes from film making: a director frames a shot by including some detail and omitting other elements. A frame defines what is relevant. All managing involves framing: separating that which deserves focus from that which does not. One thing that managers do all the time is to differentiate between the relevant and the irrelevant.

Framing involves the creation of devices that assign meaning to organizational situations (Fairhurst, 1993). Framing entails the ideational use of metaphors, the repetition of stories, the citing of traditions, the articulation of slogans and the material creation of artefacts to highlight or contrast a particular organizational issue (Deetz et al., 2000). Framing is what leaders do, especially when they are seeking to reframe in the case of organizational change (Fairhurst and Sarr, 1996). Framing mobilizes followers through the judicious use of images, symbols and language. Framing occurs not only through sensemaking but also through **sensebreaking** and **sensegiving**.

Sensebreaking occurs when organizational members disrupt an existing sense to make alternative sense.

Sensegiving attempts to influence the sensemaking of others so that others come to accept a preferred meaning.

Sensemaking has both social and cognitive elements (Maitlis and Christianson, 2014). Issues such as the performative role of emotion in strategic conversations are important (Liu and Maitlis, 2014). A leader's sensemaking has a strong emotional element (Helpap and Bekmeier-Feuerhahn, 2016; Maitlis et al., 2013). Emotion matters in sensegiving: information served up dispassionately, perhaps

in a text, is very different from information transmitted with theatrical flair, performative ability and dramatic intent.

Tradition is one basis for sensemaking, as Maclean et al. (2014) found when doing archival and oral history research on organizational change at Procter & Gamble from 1930 to 2000, focusing on periods of transition. They examined historical narrative as a vehicle for sensemaking by top managers. These managers used the past as a recurrent lever of strategic manoeuvres and re-orientations. The past was a repository of opportunities for legitimating and delegitimizing possible actions. Executives (re)interpreted the past to author the future, ensuring ideological consistency over time.

Another basis for sensemaking is to assert the legitimacy of rational sensemaking, in accordance with professionalized knowledge, compared with other points of view. Relationally, *sensemaking*, *sensegiving* and *sensebreaking* are different ways of mediating the flow of sense data that provides your informational environment. *Sensemaking* is the formulation of accounts of what's going on; *sensegiving* is the strategic attempt to frame others' perceptions to accord with the sense that you are making, while *sensebreaking* is a strategic attempt to disrupt existing flows of sensemaking and sensegiving. Sensemaking, sensegiving and sensebreaking have all become popular topics in management literature, especially sensegiving, perhaps because it maps on to leadership competencies most evidently. Leaders are expected to frame the sense that others make, recruiting and enrolling them as followers in their sensemaking.

Amongst many studies, far too numerous to recount in total, sensegiving has been researched in academic environments (Gioia and Chittipeddi, 1991), amongst business leaders (Maclean et al., 2012), within a British division of a multinational company (Balogun et al., 2015) and in a corporate spin-off (Corley and Gioia, 2004). There are many studies of middle managers managing change by sensegiving (Balogun, 2003; Hope, 2010; Huy, 2002; Rouleau, 2005). Sensemaking and sensegiving amongst employees have been researched in various contexts: animal shelters (Schabram and Maitlis, 2017), a design consulting firm (Stigliani and Ravisi, 2012), a Fortune 500 retailer (Sonenshein and Dholakia, 2012), an empowerment programme for nurses (Bartunek et al., 2006), practices of communication professionals (Cornelissen, 2012), ethics training (Brown et al., 2008). In addition, a number of articles survey the literature on sensemaking (for example, Brown et al., 2008, 2015; Helms Mills et al., 2010).

Sensemaking is a particularly acute issue in moments of crisis. The origin of much of the sensemaking literature was Weick's (1993) analysis of how some firefighters lost their lives because their identity as firefighters was to not drop their tools in the face of a forest fire moving at speed towards them, the Mann Gulch incident. Dropping their tools would have enabled them to run and duck for cover behind a ridge, with a degree of shelter from the flames encroaching on them.

Sensemaking continues to be a special concern in crisis situations. Certain occupations have a strong need for accurate sensemaking, for instance in monitoring equipment upon which split-second life-and-death decisions need to be made. Pilots are a case in point, as analysis by Berthod and Müller-Seitz (2017) showed in their exploration of how a brief failure of one item on the display of the information system (IS) on Flight AF 447 wrought havoc on the coordination between the pilots and the aircraft, leading to the loss of all 228 lives on board.

IN PRACTICE

Darkest hour

The movie, *Darkest Hour*, directed by Joe Wright (2017), captures some of the most famous framing in British history. The occasion was 4 June 1940, with the evacuation of British and allied French troops from Dunkirk in full swing in the face of an overwhelming advance by German troops. The scene was set in the House of Commons when the prime minister, Winston Churchill, rose to make a statement in which he said the following:

We shall fight them ...

Even though large tracts of Europe and many old and famous States have fallen or may fall into the grip of the Gestapo and all the odious apparatus of Nazi rule, we shall not flag or fail.

We shall go on to the end, we shall fight in France, we shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing confidence and growing strength in the air, we shall defend our Island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender, and even if, which I do not for a moment believe, this Island or a large part of it were subjugated and starving, then our Empire beyond the seas, armed and guarded by the British Fleet, would carry on the struggle, until, in God's good time, the New World, with all its power and might, steps forth to the rescue and the liberation of the old.

The framing that Churchill produced communicated the current predicament and set an agenda for possible futures (Fairhurst, 1993).

Questions

1. Who do you think were the audiences for this speech, in addition to the MPs to whom it was addressed?
2. What are some of the reasons that you think it was as effective as it was in stiffening the resolve of a country that, at this stage, was alone in the European theatre in its struggle against Nazi Germany, as neither the Soviet Union nor the USA had yet entered the war on the Allied side?
3. What sensebreaking and what sensegiving was the speech providing?

Leaders often employ sensegiving during strategic change (Gioia and Chittipeddi, 1991) and this was obviously part of Churchill's intent. In part, he also sought to defeat, by sensebreaking, those in his government who entertained the prospects of a treaty with Germany and a negotiated surrender. Churchill was breaking the sense made by prominent proponents of appeasement in his government, such as Lord Halifax and his predecessor as prime minister, Neville Chamberlain, who, in the lead-up to the outbreak of war, had favoured allowing Hitler to extend German territory through occupation. In the speech cited, he reaffirmed his commitment through unequivocal sensemaking in favour of 'no surrender'.

In emergency situations, such as the one the UK faced in 1940, the real sense of emergency aids common sensemaking. In such situations, a leader's role is to make, break and give sense to events. Churchill did all three. In terms of sense-breaking, Churchill broke any sense of appeasement as a strategy, a position that he had long argued for as a relatively lone voice in Parliament. He made sense of the defeats in France in such a way that did not see them leading to ultimate defeat but to further fighting on the part of a country that would never surrender. He gave sense by signalling to the USA – the New World – that it should join the struggle. Leader sensegiving shapes processes of organizational sensemaking and the process of constructing accounts by directing attention to specific cues (Maitlis and Lawrence, 2007).

MANAGERIAL RATIONALITY

When managers claim to be able to make decisions that deny legitimacy to other forms of knowledge, based on their generalized managerial competence, this is termed **managerialism**. Managerialism often seeks to justify the application of managerial techniques to all areas of society on the grounds of managers' expert training and exclusive possession of managerial knowledge (Klikauer, 2013). The belief in management as a means capable of solving any problem elevates the necessity of management into an **ideology** of the modern world.

Managers that espouse the ideology of managerialism assume that organizations should be normatively integrated by a single source of authority, legitimacy and decision-making embedded in the managerial hierarchy that controls the organization. Despite organizations often having multiple sources of official formal meaning, managers will often seek to constrain sensemaking only within the managerial frame. For instance, many organizations contain members who are represented by unions, which will formulate views that may well conflict with those of management. In a pluralist organizational setting, it is recognized that management and the unions will often hold competing but legitimate views on an issue. Unions are also formal organizations that need to be managed; just as other organizations, they use IT, maintain websites and offer benefits and services to members.

Managerialism is essentially a construct that emerged in profit-making organizations as an expression of **economic rationalism**.

For many students and teachers within business schools, the whole point of sensemaking in business organizations is to be economically rational, signified by making a profit. Profit is what accrues to the owners of organizations after all the costs of using **capital** have been met, such as interest charged, debt repayment, wages and salaries, supplier costs and taxes.

It is not just financial capital that needs to be managed, however. As well as *financial capital*, required to ensure that an enterprise is a 'going concern', there is also, very importantly, *symbolic capital* (above all, that intangible thing called 'reputation'), as well as *social capital* that refers to whom you know and how you are known rather than what you own or what you know; social capital is the set of relations and knowledge embedded in those relations that you are able to mobilize. For instance, at business school, students not only learn from the formal curriculum but also make social contacts that they can relate to later in their business career. It is through this knowledge and the tools that are learnt in the

Managerialism

claims that managers manage on the grounds of exclusive education and the possession of codified bodies of knowledge.

An **ideology** is a coherent set of beliefs, attitudes and opinions; the meaning is often pejorative, with a contrast drawn between ideology and science.

Economic

rationalism argues that markets and prices are the only reliable indices of value, delivering better outcomes than states and bureaucracies.

Capital is an asset owned with the intention of delivering a return to the owner, implying a complex set of relations and associated obligations.

Metaphors frame sensemaking by using terms other than those of the subject under discussion to describe that subject, such as a business organization aiming for the 'premier league'.

classroom as well as the contacts made that management students will become accomplished sensemakers, running organizations with broad-based know-how and know-who.

Capital is literally liquid assets; social capital is a **metaphor**. A metaphor is a figure of speech used to make a comparison between two things that aren't alike but appear to have something in common. Creating a metaphor always involves the literal meaning of a phrase or word being applied to a new context in a figurative sense. Metaphors influence the way we describe, analyse and think about things. As Morgan (1986) has argued, it is the metaphor of the machine that is most frequently applied to managing and organizations. So, when rationality is attributed to managers and organizations, it is often done in terms of machine-like properties, such as 'the organization runs like clockwork'. Managers commonly use metaphors in practice. One study, by Latusek and Vlaar (2015), found that the common metaphors in use by a cross-national selection of managers, in respect of their day-to-day interactions in relationships with suppliers and clients, saw themselves as performing acts, playing games and fighting battles.

Other research has pointed to the ways in which employees are increasingly exhorted to become 'brand ambassadors' for their organizations. These metaphorical phrases provide linguistic framing for internal branding and simultaneously convey conflicting messages to different stakeholder groups. These metaphors describe internal branding as empowering employees to be autonomous, encouraging them to take control of the brand, while also pointing to a hidden value system that values brands higher than employees. These metaphors reflect a value system in which the financial value of brands is paramount.

Most organizational life is lived through highly professionalized routines. Organizations that are highly professionalized host many different forms of specialist knowledge, each with their specific rationalities. Consider the example of hospitals, places that can be surprisingly dangerous for patients. One reason for this is that the patient's body becomes the point of intersection of many different professional practices, such as radiography, anaesthetics, operative care, post-operative care, and so on. At each handover point, there will be inscriptions – readings, charts, data printouts, briefings – that are passed from one team to another. Unfortunately, these present lots of opportunities for people to make different sense of the situation. Sometimes inscriptions will be misunderstood, sometimes improperly interpreted or communicated, while at other times they will be faulty, sometimes just plain wrong. Organizations are full of handover situations: when inspection comes into play; when training takes over; when memos are sent as well as when instructions are issued from one subunit to another. All of these afford ample opportunity for recipients to make plausible sense of incomplete details – and, hopefully, not have to be subsequently accountable for the sense that they did or did not make at the time (Weick and Sutcliffe, 2003).

Organizations are full of plausible stories – rumour, gossip, official statements, business plans and websites – each making sense in its own way but none necessarily coherent with the others. People talk all the time at work. Much of what they say is formal: the transmission of instructions and information; the making and taking of orders; the analysis of data and artefacts; debating issues in meetings or making speeches and presentations. Yet, *even more is not formal*, which

is to say that it is neither constitutive of, nor mandated by, the occupational and organizational roles that organizational members fill, such as gossip, which is, nonetheless, a vital part of organizational life.

Stories are a major medium of communication, circulating and changing with the telling. Managing entails implementing schemes, themes and dreams for the future, contained in the official stories, the business plans, the missions and visions. These are some of the tools of management. Managers use many tools to get things done, such as accounting systems, resource planning models, and so on. These tools are designed to be rational instruments to aid managing. Management tools only work insofar as they are made sense of. If managers are not successful in positioning their tools as decisive in sensemaking, then it may well be other stories, stories spreading smears, fears and nightmares that define the future.

Sometimes tools work smoothly and paper over the little cracks that may occur in different understandings of a situation. While trying to fix everyone's sense-making on management's terms is a powerful device, it can create a fair degree of cynicism and contestation on the part of other stakeholders when managerial interpretations are argued to be the only ones that count. An example of this is when unwanted sensemaking is argued to be 'fake news'.

The most rational managers never have perfect knowledge of alternatives. They neither have a calculus for every action nor can they account for every action in quantitative terms. It is not just that they lack the data. Some actions have value expressed morally, ethically and socially rather than economically, as matters of instinct or habit. Most organization and management theorists are sceptical about the capacity of human decision-making to be utterly rational. Instead, they prefer to see people as only ever rational within the bounds of their knowledge *and* ignorance: what they know; why they know they don't know and the unknown unknowns. People are characterized by **bounded rationality**. Conditions of uncertainty are often characteristic of decision-making situations. In situations of uncertainty, individuals act inconsistently (and therefore not wholly rationally). We discuss this further in Chapter 3. The crucial thing is to *appear to be rational* by having symbols of rationality in place.

Managerialist rationality places managers in control, symbolizing that they know what they are doing and positioning them as authoritative. Sometimes, as some feminist critics suggest, managerial rationality seems a peculiarly masculine view of the world (Ferguson, 1984), which we discuss in terms of gendered communication in Chapter 8. The rational attributes of decision-making are equated with male characteristics in contrast to the way that women have been represented as being emotional, unsystematic and irrational (also see Calás and Smircich, 2006).

A belief in rationality can become a self-fulfilling prophecy, a myth of rationality: if what managers define as rational is resisted then the resistance simply shows the irrationality to be reformed (Fleming and Spicer, 2008). For instance, when managers implementing reforms encounter widespread **resistance to change**, they tend to see the resistance as irrational. Resistance serves as additional evidence for managers of the rightness of the reforms being resisted and so a vicious cycle of more control generating more resistance often ensues. Hence, it is not surprising that resistance to change is a widely observed phenomenon in organizations. Such resistance can be overt, in the form of wildcat strikes,

Bounded rationality

means producing satisfactory rather than optimally rational decisions, a process referred to as 'satisficing', meaning accepting decisions that are both sufficient and satisfying.

Resistance to change

consists of those organizational activities and attitudes that aim to thwart, undermine and impede change initiatives.

campaigns or other forms of collective action, or it can be covert, through attempts at undermining change programmes by the widespread adoption of cynicism, irony and ambivalence.

Resistance can sometimes be thought of as an attempt to assert an alternative rationality. Claims to management knowledge that position it as rational often assume that all other claims are merely the promotion of sectional, self-interested and irrational strategies. To make these claims is to adopt a unitary view of organizations as a major strategy in promoting managerial rationalities. According to this view, when reason prevails there will be total commitment and no resistance.

People make sense through their understanding of the world, their interpretations of other people and those things that populate their world. Some of the categories and devices that are used for making sense will be shared with other members of the organization and some will not. Some will be regarded as legitimate by the organization while others will not. Organization members will build their practices on their understandings (Baunsgaard and Clegg, 2013). Rationalities will always be situated in different practices and accounts, some of which will have far more legitimacy in certain contexts than others. From this perspective, plural rationalities that do not necessarily agree will be the norm.

Many managers manage as if the world depicted and represented in their view of rationality was as controlled and controllable as they think is the case. Rarely, given the ingenuity that different stakeholders bring to sensemaking, can this illusion be sustained, because we rarely share a common sense. Employees, customers and suppliers work from the vantage point of different interests. Doing this makes managing a highly politicized and contested activity. One reason it is highly politicized and contested is that management is always dealing with change; things never stay the same.

CONTEMPORARY MANAGING AND ORGANIZATIONS IN A CHANGING WORLD

You might think that there is a great deal of difference among organizations doing different things – organizations with different missions. For instance, that the mission of schools and universities is to educate people, that charity organizations support people in need, while church organizations nurture spiritual life and provide rituals for life's points of transition, such as marriage and death. Some of these organizations will be for-profit entities – that is their mission. Others will be not-for-profit bodies, while still others will be supported through taxation as a public service.

Bromley and Meyer (2017) argue that the distinctions between what were once seen as distinctive types of organizations in individual sectors are blurring. Consequently, it is increasingly difficult to distinguish between organizations in historically separate sectors. One reason is the increasing rationalization of a world characterized by a growing emphasis on science and other rational knowledge, such as accounting. The scientific emphasis renders the world subject to systematic principles as well as to widespread and similar expansion of individual rights, responsibilities and capacities. There is growing consensus that the practices involved in organizing share a high degree of commonality. In this view, the differences in mission are subordinate to the practices involved in managing and organizing.

Organizations are tools: they are purposive, goal-oriented instruments designed to achieve a specific objective. A tool, traditionally, is an extension of human agency: a hammer enables a hand to hammer, a screwdriver to screw and an iron to iron. The tool extends the power of the human agent using it. Organizations extend human agency, as Perrow (1986) argues. For those able to control them, organizations are practical tools for accomplishing their goals. Sometimes these goals can be benign, such as healing the sick, housing the homeless or assisting refugees in finding a home. At other times, especially where the interests of the rich and powerful are in control, these goals can be more particularistic, as Barley (2007) argues.

In the large organizations of the post-war era, people were managed through their career aspirations to become tools of the corporation, keen to secure career progression by being good organization men (and they were mostly men in those days). A journalist, William H. Whyte, captured the spirit of the times in a bestselling book, *The Organization Man* (Whyte, 1956). Whyte observed executive behaviour that was risk-averse because no single individual was responsible for any decision. Consequently, career progression meant enhanced authority and a career for life if one performed well. On the other hand, an inability to fit in, to comport oneself in the appropriate way or to simply blend in, especially in terms of politics and gender, was a sufficient reason for a person's career aspirations and fitness for available opportunities to be questioned and restricted. Not only did large-scale bureaucracies create managerial careers that employed many millions (mostly men) but also these corporations produced technological innovations in abundance, such as computers, fibre optics and satellites. These innovations would creatively destroy much of old corporate America, with the rise from the 1980s onwards of the new economy of **digitalization**, creating the world that we now live in.

DIGITAL ORGANIZATION

An increase in knowledge-intensive work means that organizations employ – and manage – different kinds of employees. Brains not brawn, mental rather than manual labour, are increasingly the order of the day. Employees need to be capable of working with sophisticated databases and software as well as knowledge-management systems. These relate to customer and client requirements, often on a unique and tailored basis that deploys a common platform while customizing it for specific requirements. Thus, technical and relational skills will be at a premium.

Knowledge-intensive work, according to Alvesson's (2004) research, depends on much subtle **tacit knowledge** as well as explicit mastery. In such a situation, working according to instruction and command will not be an effective way of managing or being managed, especially where the employee is involved in design and other forms of creative work on a team basis, often organized in projects. In such situations, increasingly common in contemporary work, 'because of the high degree of independence and discretion to use their own judgment, knowledge workers and other professionals often require a leadership based on informal peer interaction rather than hierarchical authority' (Sandberg and Targama, 2007: 4). As we will explore in Chapters 3 and 4, some of the old theories and approaches to leadership and project work need updating.

Digitalization is the use of digital technologies and of data (digitized from non-digital sources or originally created as such) to manage organizational processes.

Tacit knowledge enables you to speak grammatically or ride a bike: while you can do it, explaining how it is done to a novice is difficult.

Knowledge workers, almost universally, are digital workers. The digital economy is a terrain with rich pickings for those who know how to exploit it. For instance, in the digital economy, Facebook friends and likes are a valuable field because they comprise a network premised on assumptions of identity and, as Lakoff (2014) notes, people vote and buy in terms of their identity, their values and those they identify with. Messaging and websites that affirm identity simultaneously disaffirm other identities. In such a context, whoever has the most resources of money, domain names, data, bots and technology has accumulated the best odds for effecting closure to their advantage.

Electronic media support digitally enhanced 'tribalism', in which boundary maintenance is accomplished through the network of like-minded feeds that occupy the targeted groups' social media and preferred websites, creating what Merleau-Ponty (1994) referred to as a 'bubble'. As Bauman (2017: 50) suggests, it is the emotional significance that is important. What provides legitimacy is inscribed within the digital bubble and the shared imagined experiences of those who subscribe to it. What are produced are bubbles of highly situational emotionality in which reason, in the classical sense, has little purchase because legitimacy increasingly is inscribed in a shared sense of emotionality rather than a shared rationality. The attack by an inflamed mob on the US Capitol of 6 January 2021, was an example of this. The mob was assembled through the affordances of social media communities, emotionally prepared by numerous fraudulent claims of election malpractice by the loser in the 2020 federal election, then-president Trump. Incited by Trump, they laid siege to the most powerful symbol of US democracy, the Capitol, overrunning it rapidly.

These bubbles can also be exploited commercially through building brand loyalty, as Apple has done so well. Seemingly rational people queue for hours in advance of a new product launch to be one of the first to own whatever new gadget has emerged. Building brand loyalty today involves using social media. The emergence of a digital platform economy enables broad recourse to a market type of governance by organizations, using spot contracts, dramatically reducing transaction costs, making it easier to assess the contribution of providers. Today, the digital economy employs far fewer people than the old corporates: for instance, Uber has over one million 'driver-partners' in the USA but recognizes far less people as actual employees. The sharing economy is not an employing economy – at best, it develops self-employment and self-exploitation. Freedom and participation in the platform economy come at the cost of a reduction in responsibility and accountability for those who are the contractors or platform managers. The rise of 'freelancing' platforms can enable subjects who might otherwise be excluded from the market to accumulate experience and visibility, at the cost of a commodification and marketization of everything. The main contractors in the platform economy neither acknowledge nor bear any responsibility for the wellbeing of their providers. In the platform economy, the transaction is everything: if transactions dry up, so does the money. This is known as the **gig economy**.

There is also a parallel 'currency' to that of money, based on vanity and popularity, which automatically assesses the 'value' of an organization or

Gig economy

participation in a labour market is characterized by the prevalence of short-term contracts or freelance work as opposed to permanent jobs.

individual's contribution. Money does not have to be invested in resources for editorial selection as the audience selects what is 'worthy', while the platform provider extracts value from the generated 'traffic'. Individuals are offering their labour not in exchange for money but for visibility, public approval, for 'likes' and 'fame'. These assets are very perishable: it is the owners of platforms such as Tik Tok and YouTube that keep on accumulating hard currency and increasingly appropriating surplus value, since the labour costs are largely borne by those whose vanity is being stoked. Contemporary expressions of this are the employment of unpaid interns, seeking favour, rather than wage earners.

Considerable opportunity arises from within the digital economy. An increasing reliance on input and meta-data from users and customers means that organizations have to handle the blowback that comes with the ability of critics and opponents to ironize or critique strategic choices made with marketing strategies. Managerial decisions can be widely and easily challenged. New media generate idea creation, participation and criticism that dissolve distinctions between organizations with their strategies and environments as objectively external determinants. The boundaries of the firm dissolve somewhat. New media can enable both discerning customers and ardent critics to become involved in framing or even co-producing management's strategic choices. It affords a powerful source of pressure for different conceptions of good strategy that can directly reach customers, employees and suppliers.

Control is increasingly distributed across a network of actors, including new media and their users. The sphere of management control can be increasingly easily challenged. Hackers can seize an organization's social media projections; they can critique, ridicule and ironize them; they can disrupt them through sabotage. An example of this in 2021 was when the Russian-based DarkSide group inserted malicious 'ransomware' code into the systems of the Colonial Pipeline company. The business supplied 45 per cent of US east coast petrol, diesel and jet fuel. The ransomware crippled the company and shut the pipeline down, causing immense disruption to fuel supplies. Colonial paid \$US4.4 million ransom in Bitcoin to get its operations up and running, much of which was subsequently recovered digitally by the FBI.

Digital affordances mean that distinct organizations can work together, provided there is trust, empathy and commitment on all sides. Boundaries, choices and control are shifting in the direction of increasing fluidity and plurality. Moreover, it is evident these days that if we are bereft of our digital devices and their affordances, we are less than fully human – McLuhan's (1964) hypothesis that the media become extensions of our nervous systems holds even more so than when first formulated. The nature of being an individual is changing as anyone can be connected anywhere, anytime through social media. On the one hand, social media can build rapid momentum in mobilizing blocs of voters or consumers; on the other hand, it can be used as a means of distraction and appeasement. We use digital devices to make us members of those communities we co-create and share; they network our proclivities, interests and desires; they create the digital bubbles in which we live through networks that rapidly evolve as communities over time (Fosfuri et al., 2011).

IN PRACTICE

Independent gigging or exploitative employment?

In many countries, a crucial question about the nature of the work that you do depends on the answer to this question: do your job entitlements see you receive the minimum wage, annual and sick leave, and contributions to a pension scheme (superannuation, as it is called in Australia)? If the answer is yes, then you are probably a permanent employee, receiving an income that is defined by legislation governing industrial relations (see Karp, 2021 for recent issues in Australia). If the answer is no, you are probably either a cash-in-hand casual or a contractor. If a contractor, then you are a member of the gig economy. If you work for a business such as Uber, Deliveroo or Airtasker, you will be a contractor. In many countries, most gig workers currently miss out on basic employment rights because firms have successfully argued that gig workers are in fact self-employed – a loophole that means no receipt of holiday or sick pay or minimum hourly wages.

There are some arguments that stress the benefits of the gig economy; see, for example, Petriglieri et al. (2018) who write about ‘thriving’ in the gig economy, and many companies welcome gigging as well (see, for example, the AiGroup Workforce Development Education and Development Team’s [2016] endorsement). More analytically, the gig economy has been subject to serious sociological analysis by Vallas and Schor (2020) and Gandini (2019).

Question

1. Who benefits, in what ways, from the gig economy?

DIGITAL DESIGN OF ORGANIZATIONS

Digital affordances have been the means through which some organizations, such as Zappos, an American shoe manufacturer whose CEO was Tony Hsieh (see the case study later in the book and listen to Syed [2021]) who embraced self-management, known as ‘holacracy’. Behind Zappos’ endorsement of self-management stands a company called HolacracyOne, which has been developing organizational design based on self-managing circles since 2007. In holacracy, vertical hierarchy is replaced with overlapping and concentric circles dedicated to specific functions, in which circle members can pursue other projects if the circle’s work is completed. There might be an overall circle of marketing, for instance. Within this circle, there might be a team dedicated to improving user experience – the UX team.

Digital affordances are important for holacracy. In an interview, Tony Hsieh (2017), CEO of Zappos, talked about how the organization had developed self-management on a digital platform:

Our org chart is available in real-time online and changes probably 50 times a day, and every one of our 1,500 employees can transparently view what every employee’s purposes and accountabilities are. We have self-organized

governance methods and meetings that happen on a regular basis, and it's all browsable and updateable online, along with, occasionally, policy updates – all of which enables any employee to contribute to the evolving structure of the organization. (*McKinsey Quarterly*, October 2017)

These digital affordances align with a definite organizational approach that seeks to empower all 1,500 employees to be 'sensors' – active sensemakers – who can bridge the gap between what is and what is not possible, bringing it to the attention of the other sensemakers in the organization. Deeply embedded in Zappos, according to CEO Hsieh, are core values that have been crowdsourced internally and refined. These help to make common sense in interpreting the gaps between the actualities and the possibilities. There was a strong sense of purpose at Zappos as well, aligned with an internal market for ideas and innovation: 'different internal teams become customers of each other. We're building an internal currency as well as the internal tools and systems to support an underlying infrastructure to allow for multiple participants, fast feedback loops, and things like crowdsourced participation', says Hsieh (*McKinsey Quarterly*, 2017). To make the internal currency more engaged and active, employees are concentrated in spaces for conviviality, where chance encounters can occur, ideas can be swapped and projects started.

Kallinikos (2006) argues that digital technologies allow tasks that were previously embedded in the 'fixed space' of traditional organizations (for example, accounting, inventory management, production operations or financial management) to be dissolved and recomposed as 'informatised' modules or services (Kallinikos, 2006: 96), such as Zappos' circles became. Digital technologies are implicated in an historic shift dissolving bureaucratic organization. The major advantage of digital technologies for business and organizations is their virtual possibilities for disaggregating existing designs. Increasingly, organizations can segment activities that are critical to their competitive advantage, specializing elsewhere those not done in low-wage-cost countries, or substituting machines for human intelligence.

Machine intelligence is based on algorithms. What algorithms do most easily is to capture and replicate routines; that is why algorithms increasingly replace human labour in, for example, booking flights or hotels, or searching for basic information. Algorithms are better than laborious and less skilled human energy at accomplishing routine tasks. What happens to the people whose jobs are displaced? Basically, they will have to participate in education and training that boosts their skill formation or be treated as labour surplus to contemporary requirements.

Algorithms afford no room for critical reflection or for adjustment based on the acknowledgement of the (often unforeseen) consequences of our actions, such as the distortions of the gig economy. Hence, they represent the purest form of technically rational management. On the other hand, human management (may) involve emotions, such as compassion, which emerge as a safeguard against the effects of the separation between decision, action and (moral) consequences.

Algorithms, built by extraordinarily creative mathematicians, disrupt and transform whole industries: Uber is the most obvious example. Even more dramatically, intelligent machines can use inference based on patterns established by machine learning in big data. How these patterns are identified may well be inscrutable to the expert programmers who initially programmed the machines. The machines are just too smart.

The clearest example of what artificial intelligence (AI) means comes from the outcome of a series of Go games, the traditional East Asian pastime. Unlike chess, which machines can be programmed to play through a deductive logic that is based on explicit rules of the game, Go is a game with an almost infinite number of possible moves. The winners of Go games, have highly intuitive pattern recognition that they use to play their moves. The game in question occurred on 15 March 2016 when a Go grandmaster, Korean Lee Sedol, lost a Go tournament 4–1. What was remarkable was that he was not beaten by another grandmaster but by an AI program designed by Google engineers, called AlphaGo. AlphaGo was a smart intelligence – an arrangement of artificial networks analogous to neural networks – that developed its Go strategy by playing millions of games against itself and building a repertoire of pattern recognition in unsupervised learning.

What are the implications for future organizations? Two researchers, Frey and Osborne argued in 2017 that half the jobs in the US economy were likely to be eliminated by algorithms for big data based upon pattern recognition in a wide range of non-routine cognitive tasks (Brynjolfsson and McAfee, 2011; Autor and Dorn, 2013; Wirtz et al., 2018). Combined with the fact that advanced robots are gaining sensemaking capabilities and manual dexterity, the nature of work across industries and occupations is likely to change dramatically. On this basis, these authors identified nearly 50 per cent of existing jobs as being under threat of routinization and disappearance within a decade.

The modelling that Frey and Osborne (2017) conducted predicted that most workers in transportation and logistics occupations, the bulk of office and administrative support workers, labour in production occupations and a substantial share of employment in service occupations would be highly susceptible to job losses. These losses would come through computerization, the growth in the market for service robots (Wirtz et al., 2018) and the concomitant gradual diminution of any comparative advantage human labour might have in tasks involving mobility and dexterity (Peters, 2017; Wirtz et al., 2018).

DIGITAL NOMADS

Digital nomads are mobile workers armed with a laptop and Wi-Fi, connecting anywhere and choosing mobility rather than a fixed abode.

Many recent jobs have been created and filled by **digital nomads**, young people armed with a laptop and connected to Wi-Fi who can move around doing their work wherever the fancy takes them – usually in warmer places that are less expensive to live in, with good beaches and surfing, such as Portugal (Clegg et al., 2019). Indeed, before COVID-19 changed perceptions, Lisbon was the capital of cool in digital terms in Europe. In the past, some nomads would housesit for a few months and then move on to another opportunity to do it again, elsewhere, or perhaps use Airbnb.

Being highly mobile, with no fixed abode, digital nomads create problems for the tax authorities: they can contrive not to be anywhere long enough to be liable for taxation, it being very easy for them to ‘fly under the radar’ of national tax authorities, especially in the European Union (EU), where borderless travel and the free movement of labour mean that there is little in the way of control of passage. Additionally, digital nomads tend to distort local housing markets, driving up rents and conversions to Airbnb in cool inner-city areas, such as the Alfama in Lisbon (Bloom, 2018).

Of course, trends can change dramatically as events shift. The onset of COVID-19 as a worldwide pandemic has had world-changing consequences everywhere, especially in Portugal, which in early 2021 was battling one of the worst rates of infection in Europe, with a total lockdown. Border closures and city lockdowns have restricted digital wandering. The Airbnb economy that had fuelled the digital nomads' occupancy has largely dried up; the digital nomads are no longer flooding into Portugal as travel restrictions and health considerations are increasingly curbing the nomadic lifestyle. When the virus is finally under control, when the vaccination regime is well established, the nomads might return; certainly, there are many industries that would desire this to be the case, even though some of the residents of the neighbourhoods they colonize might not.

WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

You are young and footloose; the world is your oyster. Together with a close friend, you decide that you will travel after finishing your studies and will try to work as a digital nomad. The pandemic seems to be receding and you have been vaccinated. The world beckons and you respond.

Questions

1. What would you do in advance of travelling and working?
2. What contacts would you make?
3. What personal organizational arrangements do you think that you would need to make for both travel and work to go smoothly?
4. Where would you want to work and what would your expectations of working be?

It is not only that there are new types of workers, such as these digital nomads. Even those organizations that are the clients of such workers are changing, irrespective of their mission, as a result of the possibilities afforded by digitalization. For instance, charities earn money through using call centre staff and robot dialling in cheap labour markets. The public sector administration of driving licences and passports is now conducted online. Tablet devices stuck on tables are replacing wait staff; checkout workers in supermarkets are being replaced by self-service machines; even roles that involved many hands shifting ore from mines to port to ships, are seeing miners, truck and train drivers and dockers being replaced in an integrated and automated process in resource-rich economies such as Australia. Robots are carrying out mundane work, providing opportunities for open/platform-based collaboration and transactional management that facilitate a market-based form of coordination, making organizations less reliant on hierarchies and consequently, less reliant on long-term relationships with a trusted workforce.

Again, COVID-19 has hastened changes that were already under way. Working from home, using Zoom, Skype, Facebook, Teams, and so on, has

accelerated enormously everywhere in 2020–21 because of changes in behaviour prompted by the virus and by reactions to it, such as enforced quarantine. Many organizations have discovered that working from home is feasible. Again, at the time of writing, it is unclear whether things will revert to the old normal when the pandemic is finally under control, or whether a ‘new normal’ will be created, in which working from home, or some other remote location, becomes the norm.

Irrespective of what happens with the accelerated take-up of working from home, there will be many changes to work and organizations because of the increasing use of AI. Some interesting policy implications for digital developments flow from the increasing use of AI that might seem surprising. In the face of rising costs, those industries that thrive only because of low-cost labour will probably be outsourced to countries where workers have fewer rights and protections or these industries may increasingly adopt robotics and AI. Bill Gates has suggested that such productivity-enhancing devices should be taxed. The main argument against taxing robots is that it might impede innovation but only if the option of a low-cost workforce is available. Smart governments will try to ensure that this does not happen. They will strive to be a high-wage, high-skill economy in which enterprises that in the past relied on the super-exploitation of low-cost labour would either die as they were priced out of the market or would adjust structurally, through increasing investment in productivity enhancements that would improve working conditions, wages and productivity. To the extent that these enterprises decamp elsewhere, all well and good: they will, in all probability, lift average wages where they land and, provided there is an active labour market policy funded in part by an exit tax on de-campers, the overall level of skill formation and domestic income may be raised.

ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE AND SOCIAL RELATIONS AT WORK

Diversity is increasingly being seen as an asset for organizations: people with diverse experiences can contribute more varied insights, knowledge and experience than can a more homogeneous workforce. (In the terms that we use in Chapter 8, we can say that it is a good thing to introduce more polyphony – different views and ideas – into organizations, even though it can also introduce more conflict: see Chapter 6.) An evident reason is that if a business wishes to sell globally, it must understand all the specificities of the local markets in which it seeks to trade. One good way of doing this is to ensure that the organization has employees that understand that market. Moreover, in certain markets, such as the Middle East, where etiquette and rituals are of considerable importance in everyday interactions, it is enormously beneficial to have employees that have an intuitive cultural understanding rather than learning through making costly mistakes. Moreover, those organizations whose members are not representative of the populations the organizations draw on and serve, risk being seen as discriminatory in their recruitment policies. There are ethical issues concerned in managing diversity as well.

Time and space are two fundamental coordinates of the way we relate to the world and the ways in which we do so are socially constructed. Today, the concern is with the simultaneity and immediacy of access to global web spaces at any

time. With a computer, a camera and a broadband connection, any organizational member can simulate immediacy with anyone anywhere in the world similarly equipped. In such a situation, time and space are eclipsed. Organizations can be global, navigating anywhere. Digital communication, rather than face-to-face meetings by appointment in the same space and time, gives the technologies and objects that mediate interaction far more importance than they had in the pre-digital era. However, temporality is not eclipsed. Working across more than two time zones is physically demanding in terms of the times that at least one party has to be alert and awake.

Immediacy through the eclipse of space presents problems. Work is much more accountable and transparent as others can be online anytime, anywhere, challenging the understandings that the other has developed. Often, these understandings will be embedded in a sense made in a cultural, linguistic, religious, ethnic, age and gendered context that is simply foreign to partners elsewhere. Great cultural sensitivity, as well as a capacity to handle circadian rhythms, is needed in the interest of global business. In such contexts, there will be a great deal of doing by learning as managers seek to make sense of others whose cues are not only unfamiliar but often mediated by the limitations of digital communication. Managing communication in these circumstances poses special challenges, as we will see in Chapter 8.

Communication differs enormously across generations. Older generations can remember when the phone was a luxury that was installed and had pride of place in the home. Middle-aged people may recall the excitement of having an early mobile phone. Gen Z would hardly regard talking as the prime or only means of direct communication: Snapchat, Instagram and even old-time Facebook all offer alternative models of communication that eclipse space instantly. As we will see in Chapter 2, the issues of commitment and motivation are increasingly central to managing. The Millennial generation is seen to be more cynical than its predecessors and less likely to accept rhetoric from management that is not backed up by actions. Using traditional management control and command devices will not work well to manage people who desire to be creative and innovative, as we explore in Chapter 10.

If there is one value that binds disparate generations together, it is the sense that previous generations have really made a mess of the planet; green values are very strongly held by Gen Z, with saving the environment through sustainability high on the list of value preferences. Consequently, as we discuss in Chapter 11, issues of corporate social responsibility, especially those addressed to sustainability, are high on the values agenda.

Organizations in the digital age are switching from managing through 'hard power' in the form of imperative commands to 'soft power' through indirect methods, such as induction into organizational culture, training and strategy workshops or leadership courses. The targets of these subtler management tools are not old-style blue-collar shopfloor workers, a diminishing breed in advanced economies, so much as highly skilled knowledge workers whose complex skills cannot be easily supervised. They will be people like you, practising skills that you may not even have thought of at present. Your future career may well not have been invented yet. Things are not what they used to be, something that is true of managing and organizations as much as anything else.

The stress on managing through practices such as organizational culture is not new. Top managers have embraced Peters and Waterman's (1982) arguments about how to hone the organization tool through leadership and culture, as have many scholars who produced studies on the keys to excellence in organizations (e.g., Athos and Pascale, 1981; Deal and Kennedy, 1982; Kanter, 1984, 1990). They argued that improvements in productivity and quality would accrue when corporate cultures systematically align individuals with formal organizational goals. Public sector management has been in the vanguard in promoting as formal goals the increasing salience of equity, diversity and inclusivity (EDI) considerations. Many organizations strive to try and integrate their culture further to ensure that EDI goals are widely shared, irrespective of sub-cultures, differentiation in the workforce and the fragmentation of past assumptions created by events such as working remotely in the wake of COVID-19.

THE ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF CONTEMPORARY MANAGEMENT

Where you work can affect the kind of management that you do. In the public sector, traditionally, management has been conceived as a rules-based and bureaucratic activity. In government and public sector circles, for some time now there has been increased enthusiasm for **new public management**. The adoption of new public management started in the early 1980s; its reforms were informed by neo-classical economic theories relating to marketization and the increased adoption of private sector management techniques.

Across Anglo-American polities, there has been an underlying assumption that private sector business management is better than its equivalent in the public sector (Box et al., 2001; Kettl, 1997; Light, 2006; Nigro and Kellough, 2008; Thayer, 1978). Managerialism increasingly became the only tool in the box. Microeconomic theory anchored in a 'market-based model' has advocated downsizing government, applying private sector management principles to public sector administration, viewing citizens as customers, divorcing policy-making from administration implementation and viewing government as being akin to a 'business within the public sector' (Box et al., 2001: 611; Kettl, 1997). Influenced by right-wing 'think tanks' and two popular texts, *Reinventing Government* (Osborne and Gaebler, 1992) and *Banishing Bureaucracy* (Osborne and Plastrik, 1997), the reinvention movement of public sector reform (Brudney et al., 1999; Brudney and Wright, 2002; Calista, 2002) flourished. The quest for efficiency and effectiveness in the public sector along the lines of the private sector was evident (Arnold, 1995; Kettl, 1997; Light, 2006; Nigro and Kellough, 2008; Pautz and Washington, 2009).

Rather than use a traditional organizational theory of bureaucracy, such as that of Weber (1978), the reformers of the new public management were inspired by classical microeconomic theories that had a strong 'normative influence' on public sector reforms (Box et al., 2001: 611; Nigro and Kellough, 2008). Part of the reaction to the extreme individualization that this introduced into performance appraisals was a realization that not everyone enters organizational competition with the same chances. Some are handicapped by aspects of their identity in various ways, ways that sometimes may be a result of 'unconscious bias' on the part of the organization, one consequence of which is to make explicit EDI

New public management replaces public sector bureaucracy with public managers and citizens with customers, managed by targets and audits.

policies more characteristic of contemporary public sector management. Of course, the private sector, especially the tech industry and other areas in which there is a shortage of skills, have also embraced EDI.

At roughly the same time that public sectors were being urged to abandon bureaucracy and adopt private sector efficiencies, the decline of bureaucratic corporations was being charted by Davis (2016a). With them declined lifetime employment, a stable career path, health insurance and retirement pensions – the civil benefits of well-designed bureaucracies. Davis (2016b) argues that decline in corporate jobs is a root cause of contemporary income inequality, as well-paid jobs in career bureaucracies with clear routes to promotion have been eviscerated.

Favourable economic policies for the rich, such as low taxation, minimal control of offshore accounts as tax havens, the ease of intergenerational wealth transmission through inheritance laws, free mobility of capital and anti-union laws, all implemented as part of a neo-liberal agenda to minimize regulation and maximize markets, have been widely adopted in the English-speaking world. These have translated into the rhetoric of trickle-down economics in Australia and the UK, for instance. In a recent example of this policy, the Trump administration in December 2017 signed into law significant change to the American tax system, which included a permanent 40 per cent corporate tax reduction, substantial rate cuts for the wealthy, with modest (and, in some cases, non-existent) temporary cuts for the majority of the population. Tax cuts for elites are proposed on the grounds that lower income taxes would encourage economic activity and the benefits would be distributed in the form of enhanced employment opportunities and a trickle-down effect of increased wages paid by more successful businesses.

Ruiz et al. (2017), in an important International Monetary Fund (IMF) paper, argue that tax cuts do not work as expected. Looking at longitudinal data from the USA, they argue that while lowering tax rates for the rich stimulates the economy, it does so at the great cost of increased inequality. The IMF study modelled the impacts of tax cuts on a US-style economy and found that income-tax cuts reduced tax revenue across the board. While growth was stimulated by increased employment and wages, it did not offset the revenue lost from lower marginal tax rates. More growth occurs when cuts are made to the highest level of taxes. High income tax cuts 'lead to increased spending on goods and services, which in turn could improve wages for those lower-income earners who provided those goods, but it would also cause prices to rise and would need to be paid for by either other tax increases or cuts to government spending' (Jericho, 2017: online). Economic growth occurs but at the cost of increased inequality as those on lower- and middle-class incomes adjust to rising prices by consuming less. If the tax cuts are targeted at middle- and lower-class incomes, there is less overall growth but reduced income inequality, as those from lower-income households spend more on life's necessities.

Linked to these findings is another IMF article, from the journal *Finance and Development*, by Ostry et al. (2016), that argues that where taxes are lowered for the wealthy and corporations, then government deficit increases substantially, which serves as a pretext for government spending to be cut. Again, COVID-19 has changed everything. As a result of the economic impact of the pandemic on employment, governments around the world have adopted various kinds of stimulus packages, designed to maintain people whose work life has been devastated

by the effects of the virus on organizational employment. People are being paid for not working as support for a guaranteed basic income seems to have taken over policy direction, almost irrespective of the previous ideological commitments made by governments.

WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

The predominant view held by politicians influenced by neo-liberal economics was that the state, and the public expenditure that supported it, had become too large. The desire was for a smaller state to be achieved by cutting public expenditure. As the largest fraction of this expenditure went to support elements of the 'social wage', such as unemployment benefits, welfare and related expenses, these policies led to an increased rhetoric opposed to government spending in these areas, as well as a policy focus targeted at levels of public sector debt reduction. The alternative would be growing the size of the surplus through government investments lifting economic activity and thus tax receipts, as Keynes recommended, instead of focusing mainly on the expenditure side of the equation.

Questions

1. How persuaded are you by this argument, especially in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic and the unprecedented responses by government to it?
2. What would you have future governments do in your country to manage recovery in the aftermath of the pandemic?
3. Do you think that there might be feasible alternatives to managing debt by cutting social and welfare expenditures?

GLOBAL SHIFTS

One implication of the growth in AI is the development of more team-based working in which robot intelligence is an integral part of an often project-based team that is globally connected, whose members require skills of empathy, the ability to listen and learn from others, and to be creatively curious. Rather than leadership skills being the preserve of an elite of authorities, they will need to be flexible elements of the way different team members work.

Associated with organizational decomposition is a parallel spatial decomposition. The global division of labour, the associated asymmetry of power relations and the social systems hosting them are the result of an always-unfolding spatial process (Löw, 2009). Each long wave cycle of accumulation is associated with a spatial configuration, a global pattern of interdependent technologies, infrastructure, institutions, networks and social relations and ideologies that structure the distribution and direction of global flows of capital and labour (Albrecht, 2014). Spatially, we have been accustomed to a long cycle of US dominance, with the two post-war countries of Germany and Japan sharing in the profits.

Times are changing: the new centre of manufacturing employment in the global economy is tilting towards Asia, especially China and its semi-periphery states in East Asia. Europe and the USA are ceding centrality, once again, to Asia (Darwin, 2007). The global realignment of the economic centre, peripheries and semi-peripheries means that the major regions of capitalist investment are no longer in the Western world but are in Asia, under the conditions of capitalisms that differ markedly from those of the liberal and social democracies of the West. Global changes have local effects. Wages have stagnated or gone down in the West for over three decades as hundreds of millions in Asia and Eastern Europe have entered the global workforce. Such a massive increase in the supply of labour, which has depressed wages in the core countries of the advanced economies, was great news for capitalists but not so good for most people outside the metropolitan cities of the global economy. Adding to these pressures is the cult of disruptive entrepreneurship that threatens the livelihood and serenity of millions who work in the 'gig economy', providing only an 'entrepreneurial option', one that, in practice, is the equivalent of either a lottery ticket or a disguised precariousness.

Meusburger (2006) argues that symmetric social relations of power, dominance and control manifest themselves in spatial disparities. Both functionally and symbolically, knowledge and power tend towards spatial concentration, whereas low-skilled routine activities in production and administration show a trend towards dispersion and decentralization. The former comprises the core components of the global spatial economy, not only in terms of the financial and related capabilities concentrated in the major global cities, but also in terms of design capabilities. Design and capital dominate and locate in the cores; networked and subcontracted manufacturing populates the margins in a network society. Managerial rationality laces the network together.

There are consequences for jobs when much of the routine is extracted and repositioned through AI. The remaining core staff will need to be more skilled than ever before. They will be working in technological environments subject to rapid and radical change. They will be globally connected, working with people remotely as well as face to face, people with different languages, ethnicities, cultures and religions. New competencies and skills will be required. Managing will mean more developmental work oriented to renewing staff's specific skills and general competencies, rather than issuing imperative commands and generally exercising authority over lower skilled labour. Managing will mean negotiating the use and understanding of new technologies, contexts and capabilities, facilitating understanding of those who will be operating with the new tools and environments. Sensemaking will be increasingly digitally and technologically mediated.

Digital technologies and a growing international division of labour between economies specialized in services and production make the world economy increasingly globalized. Competition is based less on traditional comparative advantages such as being close to raw materials and more on competitive advantages that arise from innovation and enterprise. Global competition goes hand in hand with outsourcing in industries, as firms exploit technology to disaggregate 'back-office' routine functions and locate them in cheaper labour markets, as we discuss in Chapter 13.

Just as much service work has been disaggregated into lower value-adding elements, such as call centres that can be located anywhere, it has been transformed by machine intelligence. Much of what was once produced by a domestic blue-collar labour force in the heartlands of Europe or the USA is now produced globally, often in China, in contexts in which machines and humans do most jobs together in a combination of high machine learning capabilities with highly skilled personnel (Manyika et al., 2017).

One consequence of the shifting international division of labour is that employment and organizations in the developed world are increasingly based on the production of services rather than goods. Material things – such as computers, clothes and household goods – are being produced in the developing world, while the most developed parts of the world economy switch to services, such as financial services. In the developing world, peasants are rapidly becoming factory workers; in the developed world, there has been an explosive growth in what is referred to as knowledge work, done by knowledge workers in knowledge-intensive firms. Chief among these are global IT firms, consultancy, law and accounting firms, as well as the universities, technical colleges and schools that produce the new knowledge workers.

For the past 200 years, Europe and North America have dominated the global world but now civilizations and cultures that have, for the past two centuries, been marginal and minor players on the world stage, are now at its centre. The capitalist development of countries such as China and India, with over one third of the global population, as well as other newly emerging states such as Indonesia and Brazil, is transforming the future. If the future managers reading this book want to have stimulating and successful careers, they are as likely to be forged in these countries as in Europe or North America. The managers that you become will have to be truly global in experience and outlook.

Doing business internationally in real time, enabled digitally, produces ample opportunity for cultural *faux pas* and misunderstanding. Work groups may be working in serial or in parallel with each other on projects that are networked globally. Global organization means managing diversity: it means developing appropriate ways of managing people who may be very different from each other – in terms of their nationality, ethnicity, religion, age, education, social status and gender (Ashkanasy et al., 2011).

IN PRACTICE

Have you ever wondered why some companies seem more politically engaged than others? When campaigns demand that a company change its practices, corporate executives tend to weigh up the costs and benefits of complying. They may estimate the risk they face to their brand image against the benefits of mitigating this risk and improving this image. Costs include shifting and monitoring their supply chains. Benefits may include accessing new markets and enhancing the marketability of the brand.

The ways in which they engage with activists will also be influenced by the corporate culture of the company. Is it a company that engages with political issues? A company that prides itself on its attitude to sustainability?

(Continued)

Finally, when activists bring issues to the company, on whose desk do they land? Is there a Department of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)? If there is, does it wield much influence?

The answers to these questions will vary. But we can intuitively see why companies that have engaged with activists in the past are more likely to do so again in the future.

For one, companies are more at risk of activist 'attacks' if they have previously responded, even in other issue areas. They are on the activists' radar. This happened with Nike, which has been experiencing renewed pressure from activists who suspect the company is slipping back into poor practices.

The same goes for Tiffany. The company's proactive response to blood diamonds made it a prime candidate for leading the charge against dirty gold – and a prime target for the activists planning the campaign (though, in this case, Tiffany beat them to it).

Companies that have also responded to past issues probably go on to boast about their sustainability credentials, making them susceptible to accusations of hypocrisy if caught backsliding. They will already have analysed sourcing strategies and supply chains, so they have the systems in place when new issues pop up. They are also more likely to have a CSR department – or consider it important enough to be handled directly by the CEO. And their corporate culture is more likely to include sustainability concerns, as they have now become part of the company's practices. Perhaps most significantly, their leadership is more likely to reflect this corporate culture, as culture and leadership enjoy a mutually constitutive relationship of sorts. People are important and having people within the firm that are activists becomes more likely.

While the details will differ among individual companies, past engagement with activists can make future engagement more likely. The role of activists in driving the expanding role of business in global environmental politics becomes clear.

Business and activism

Corporations and activists are collaborating through these battles, building institutions – from CSR to certifications – within firms and across industries to tackle environmental problems. They are finding solutions to some problems and, in doing so, shifting expectations about the role and responsibility of the private sector and those who work within it. This is a good thing.

But corporations are also largely dictating the terms of their response. Activists are rarely able to force companies to do their bidding. Business is simply too powerful and consumers too complacent. This means that sustainability is made to fit within the parameters of their business models, and not the other way around.

In the hierarchy of priorities, the needs of markets are too often placed above those of people and the planet. And this can be a very bad thing indeed.

So, while there is a case for cautious optimism here, there is an even stronger case for continued vigilance when evaluating this expanding role of business in global environmental politics. And that means a strong case for continued activism.

(Continued)

In the terms of Aguinas, H. and Glavas, A. (2019), activists introduce extra-organizational sensemaking into the arena of the organization. Thus, they are a source of innovation.

Question

1. Using Bloomfield's (2018) article from *The Conversation* (from which the above is drawn) and Aguinas and Glavas (2019) as guides, explore an industry in which activists have succeeded in making organizations more responsive to corporate social responsibilities.

CONCLUSION

The evidence is in on the neo-liberal economic experiment and it is overwhelming: almost everywhere in the developed world, it has produced an economy that is more polarized and more prone to crisis, and run by less regulated organizations. One effect of the loss of bureaucratic regulation in the private sector has been the diminution of opportunities for well-paid careers, while in the public sector the impositions of austerity and the slow war waged on welfare and bureaucracy have seen the erosion of standards and opportunities. Increased inequality results as the range of middle-class occupations supported by bureaucracies diminishes, while benefits and salaries going to the wealthiest increase disproportionately. The changes are often assumed to be inexorable – the result of the market, efficiencies, economic rationality, globalization, and so on. They are, however, always the result of 'strategic choices' (Child, 2002) made by those people comprising political, public and private elites.

USING MANAGING AND ORGANIZATIONS

The basic themes of this text are now established. In this book, as we have foreshadowed, we will introduce you to the main lines of contemporary management and organization studies, which we will situate in major changes marking the present-day world. These, we will argue, make the ideal of the wholly rationalistic organization ever more difficult to believe in principle and secure in practice; nonetheless, that does not stop organizations and management from trying to achieve this ideal. Organizations go to great lengths to try and ensure that stocks of knowledge are shared as widely as possible within the organization, as we will see in subsequent chapters, and do so in ways that are reflected in each of the subsequent chapters:

1. Creating induction programmes that socialize individuals into an organizational frame of reference (Chapter 2).
2. Training individuals in teamwork and group work (Chapter 3).

3. Hosting leadership development, coaching and training for common understanding (Chapter 4).
4. Emphasizing strong, common cultures and rules to frame everyday behaviour in the organization, often by implementing EDI policies and programmes (Chapter 5).
5. Managing organizational conflicts, so that the goal-oriented elements of organization can come to fruition, despite the countervailing tendencies, schisms and frictions within an organization (Chapter 6).
6. Managing power, politics and decision-making so that plans are implemented, not resisted, and so that sectional and specific interests are well aligned with rational plans (Chapter 7).
7. Managing communications both in the organization and about the organization to the wider world, using digital affordances (Chapter 8).
8. Capturing all of what their members know and embedding this in management systems as they try and practise organizational learning (Chapter 9).
9. Managing change, introducing and effectively using new technologies, and ensuring innovation (Chapter 10).
10. Incorporating new mandates arising from social issues and concerns articulated by new stakeholders and influential social voices, such as sustainability, ethics and corporate social responsibility (Chapter 11).
11. Implementing global management principles in the organization and designing the structure of the organization to fit the contingencies it has to deal with, such as size, technology or environment (Chapter 12).
12. Managing to manage globally, to manage globalization as well as deglobalization, with all the added complexities entailed in so doing (Chapter 13).

SUMMARY

In this chapter, we have staked out the territory that the book covers:

- Managing/organizing is very dynamic – its world never stays still – so innovation, change and tension are characteristic of the way that events pan out.
- Managing and organization are never done in isolation from broader social trends and contexts, which is why it is important to contextualize how they are being done.
- No organization or manager today can escape the effects of digitalization.
- Managing and organizations today are increasingly either global enterprises or related to them as suppliers, markets, customers, employees or shapers of others' environments.

EXERCISES

1. Having read this chapter, you should be able to say in your own words what each of the following key terms means. Test yourself or ask a colleague to test you.

<input type="radio"/> Globalization	<input type="radio"/> Hierarchy
<input type="radio"/> Digitalization	<input type="radio"/> Metaphors
<input type="radio"/> Organizations	<input type="radio"/> Sensemaking
<input type="radio"/> Values	<input type="radio"/> Tool views of management
<input type="radio"/> Managing	<input type="radio"/> Corporate social responsibility
<input type="radio"/> Identity	<input type="radio"/> Organizations as tools
<input type="radio"/> EDI	<input type="radio"/> Neo-liberal economics.
<input type="radio"/> Rationality	
2. Why do organizations seek to forge common sensemaking?
3. Why do organizations become globalized?
4. What do you think are some of the major changes that are shaping the contemporary world, and what do you think their impact is on management?
5. What are the implications of digitalization for future employment opportunities?
6. In what ways are managers typically rational?
7. Why might new CEOs seeking to turn around an organization have recourse to sensebreaking?
8. What are the major obstacles to cultivating sensebreaking within a workforce?

TEST YOURSELF

Review what you have learned by visiting: <https://study.sagepub.com/managingandorganizations6e>

Test yourself with multiple-choice questions.

CASE STUDY

Reflecting on the world of organizations

This is a very simple case study to get you started. Think about the last organization that you were a member of for some time. It might have been a school, a church or an employing organization.

(Continued)

1. What were its main routines?
2. How were these organized in terms of some of the factors that might frame organizations? Think about factors such as how standardized, timetabled or ritualized the flows of time and organizational effort were in the organization in question.
3. What were the characteristic markers of identity of the different people and groups in the organization?
4. What were the goals of the organization?
5. How would you describe its organizational culture? What sorts of EDI policies did it have in place? How well were the policies respected in practice?
6. What were the characteristics of being a member of that organization that you most enjoyed and least enjoyed, and why was this the case?

Resources

Check out the companion website <https://study.sagepub.com/managingandorganizations6e> for a list of web resources related to this case study.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- If you want to find out more about ‘sensemaking’, the entry in Clegg and Bailey (2008) *The Sage International Encyclopedia of Organization Studies* is useful.
- The Swedish theorist Nils Brunsson has written three excellent books on problems with the rational model of organizations: *The Irrational Organization* (1985), *The Organization of Hypocrisy* (1989) and *Mechanisms of Hope* (2006). Together, they form a remarkable trio of organizational analysis at its best.
- Christopher Grey’s (2021) *A Very Short, Fairly Interesting and Reasonably Cheap Book about Studying Organizations*, London: Sage, is a good and brief introduction to the field.
- Anne Cunliffe’s (2021) *A Very Short, Fairly Interesting and Reasonably Cheap Book about Management*, in the same series as Grey’s book, is also a good introduction.
- What do all these digital terms mean? Read www.i-scoop.eu/digitization-digitalization-digital-transformation-disruption to understand the difference between digitization, digitalization and digital transformation.
- A report from the Brookings Institute (Muro et al., 2017) takes a macro view of the implications of digitalization for the US workforce: you can access this at www.brookings.edu/research/digitalization-and-the-american-workforce.

- Globalization has been a hot topic for at least the last 20 years. Some thought that the era of the Trump ‘trade wars’ as well as the decision of the UK to adopt Brexit signalled the end of the era of globalization. Thomas Sigler, in *The Conversation* in 2017, provides sober reasons for thinking otherwise: <https://theconversation.com/trump-and-brexit-wont-kill-globalisation-were-too-far-in-73688>.
- One of the timeliest and most necessary topics for all organizations today is how they can foster more equity, inclusivity and diversity in their membership. One systematic consideration of this topic is provided by Berg (2020), who looks especially at the university. A more general consideration is provided by Hartwell and colleagues (2017). A specific focus on Black Lives Matter is provided by Cole and Grace (2021), while a recent paper focuses on CEO strategies for promoting gender equity (Lansu et al., 2020).

2

MANAGING INDIVIDUALS

SEEING, BEING, FEELING

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

This chapter is designed to enable you to:

- develop an understanding of how psychology contributes to organizational behaviour
- describe the process of perception and understand how it can affect performance at work
- outline how values drive individual behaviour
- outline a range of personality theories
- explain how positive psychology can improve people's workplaces.

INTRODUCTION

It is not an over-dramatization to say that those of us alive today live in a world of unparalleled uncertainty. In the last few years, we have seen a succession of natural disasters ranging from destructive floods and viral pandemics to human-made catastrophes, including the escalation of geo-political conflict and shifts in economic power trending towards the east as well as trade wars, global financial meltdowns and increasing civil unrest across the world. At the same time, we have seen incredible advances in technology, particularly in artificial intelligence (AI), robotics and communications technology, transforming not only the ways in which we do business but also how we relate to each other and communicate within and between societies. As people in organizations face unparalleled levels

of complexity and uncertainty that arise from such challenges, they must become more agile and responsive, not only to survive but also to lead and capitalize on the opportunities available to them during such turbulent times. As a current or future manager and leader, you have enormous challenges ahead of you.

In organizations today, a 'one size fits all' management approach will not work. Contemporary managers can no longer rely on hierarchy and nominal roles to manage people; there is no longer an *a priori* right to manage, and so managing has become an increasingly difficult, political and challenging endeavour. It is so for one very good reason: people work in increasingly complex organizations that are embedded in contexts inscribed by complex networks, compounding the complexity of being a person in a rapidly changing world. It is imperative, therefore, that managers are acquainted with some of the core ideas for understanding human complexity originating from psychology that are now applied to managing and organizations.

In this chapter, we will take a predominantly psychological perspective to explore the core ideas central to managing individuals. Psychological properties can be analysed at both the individual level and that of groups and teams, both of which are critical to managing people at work. In this chapter, we explicitly focus on the former, the individual level, introducing you to basic psychological concepts and principles that are central for managing individuals in organizations. In Chapter 3, we will then focus on groups and teams. Individual psychological properties are important aspects for managers to be aware of – as well as to actively manage – as they regulate our perception and cognition, which in turn affect how we behave. As humans, how we perceive things, what we attend to and ignore, how we interpret people and make decisions about them, are processes prone to many types of bias. For this reason, understanding the process of perception is critical in helping us become better managers. However, we begin this chapter by first discussing psychology in the workplace more generally.

Psychology is the study of our being, or more simply the study of the human mind and behaviour.

The term **psychology** is derived from the Greek word 'psyche', meaning one's own thoughts and feelings or their 'being', and the English suffix 'ology', derived from the Greek logos, meaning reason.

Subsequently, we will take a close look at 'values' as the psychological building blocks for managing culture, diversity and communication (all topics covered throughout this textbook). You need to consider how your and others' values are formed, how they inform our working lives and bind us to and differentiate us from others, and how they can potentially lead to conflict between people and societies. Finally, we consider 'personality' as the essence that makes each of us who we are and is expressed in how we behave, shaping how we feel. We ask, 'Can we categorize people as types, or are we all unique individuals?'. Finally, we close the chapter by looking at aspects of 'affect' and emotion from a 'positive psychology' (PP) perspective.

PSYCHOLOGY AT WORK

Psychology has a classical etymology, first explicitly emerged in Greece more than 2,500 years ago when philosophers tried to explain the nature of the self, the soul and personality.

Psychology seeks to answer the question: 'Why are we the way we are?'. It concerns itself with all aspects of the workings of the mind (such as perception,

attention, thought, memory and affect at the intrapersonal and interpersonal levels of analysis) as well as how the mind develops and its possibilities, degradation and limitations.

The application of psychology at work has mainly occurred through the fields of applied industrial and organizational psychology (Kozlowski et al., 2017). However, more generally it is in the field of **organizational behaviour** (OB) that theory, research and practice in psychology have been applied to organizational life. OB involves, researching, understanding and addressing organizational behaviour phenomena from a multidisciplinary perspective, primarily drawing on psychology but also on sociology, anthropology, economics and political science, to name but a few relevant disciplines.

At certain times in our lives, we will ask an existential question about our self: Who am I? What do I stand for? We can all answer such questions to a degree but how we answer them depends on our beliefs about human nature, the way in which we make sense of the world and our place within it, what we understand our values to be, which relationships we prize, what we count as success and failure, and so on. Over the last 100 years or so, there has been a great deal of research generating theory and practice in psychology that seeks to address such questions. Our intention in this chapter is to guide you to what you need to know as a manager in relation to psychology at work.

In almost all fields of psychology, two main themes drive theory and research. The first theme centres on the nature-versus-nurture debate. At issue is whether we are genetically encoded by nature to be the way we are, such that how well you achieve things in specific spheres of life will depend on genetic dispositions predisposing your personality, your ability to be a leader, to be caring or aggressive, for example. The second theme focuses on the idea that we come into this world *tabula rasa* – that is, with a clean slate – and that our personality is something that is socially constructed or nurtured as we learn to manage ourselves and become the kind of self we want to be. From this perspective, we learn to become leaders, influenced by social contexts such as the socioeconomic status of our family, our culture, our social support system, our education and the wider environment in which we grow up.

The seemingly opposing views of nature versus nurture frame much of what you will learn in the field of OB. Psychology informs much of OB research, theory and practice. Some theorists and researchers strongly prefer one of these views, stressing nature or nurture, to the detriment of the other. Those favouring arguments that stress nature argue that the major factor determining behaviour resides in the genes, that we are genetically predisposed to be who we are; those favouring nurture think genetics largely irrelevant; who we are depends on the environment in which we develop, in which we are nurtured into becoming who we are.

We prefer a more moderate, integrative view about what makes us who we are. Our view is that we are born with genetic aspects constituting us as a person but that that is the beginning, not the end, of the story. It is how our genes become phenotypically manifest that is important; that is, how our genes manifest in certain behaviours, traits and action nurtured by the environments we move and grow through. While genetic predisposition does not *determine* a behaviour, coupled with environmental opportunity it *shapes* behaviour. To use an analogy,

Organizational behaviour (OB)

refers to the study of human behaviour in organizational contexts. OB is an applied discipline focusing on individual-level, group-level and organization-level processes and practices inhibiting and enabling organizational performance.

the hydrangea is a plant that flowers in a variety of colours. The flowering of the plant is determined by its genotype while the colour and the phenotypic manifestation of the flower is determined by the soil in which the plant grows. Acidic soil leads to a blue bloom, whereas alkaline soil leads to a pink bloom.

How you approach the question of nature and nurture influences how you manage people, how you manage yourself and how you behave at work, as well as the underlying assumptions that you hold about how people might or might not behave at work.

HOW NATURAL IS COMPETITION?

An important theme that has emerged in OB theory and research suggests that fundamental drives underpin human nature that override nurture. The most famous proponent of these ideas was Charles Darwin (1959), stressing the importance of behaviours that perpetuate the survival of the species in his theory of evolution. Some evolutionary arguments stress the 'selfish gene' perspective: that we are programmed for competition in a fundamental struggle to perpetuate our genes over those of others. Others stress that fitness and survival depend far more on the fact that we are social animals seeking affiliation and human relations; hence, we are more committed to cooperation than competition to ensure our survival as a species. These two related, but somewhat opposing, views of evolution underpin many of the ideas in management research and theory today.

Many management scholars and theorists use evolutionary theory to validate and substantiate their claims about human nature as being based on inherently competitive instincts and struggle. Evolutionary psychology has made substantial inroads into management research and theory such that much of it is now steeped in the Darwinian tradition of 'survival of the fittest'. Yet, despite this belief in survival of the fittest, some of those who believe in it as a competitive concept are the first to claim a liver or a kidney transplant when their survival is at stake! In the ideal world of survival of the fittest, of course, such individuals would be left to die because they are simply not fit enough. Conversely, some of those who believe that the fittest survivors are those best able to cooperate are the first to complain when their taxes are raised to provide more public goods.

Before Darwin first published *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* in 1859, Adam Smith (1961 [1776]), a political economist and philosopher of the Scottish Enlightenment, who is credited with being the father of capitalism, argued that progress and economic growth occur because human behaviour is based on self-interest, which is best served by the operation of free and unfettered markets in the supply of goods and services. For example, if we as consumers want more leisure time and express a preference for this through our purchasing decisions in markets – maybe by buying vacations and appliances rather than saving money – then businesspeople who market vacations or innovations in labour-saving devices will be rewarded. We buy and sell in markets that achieve balance between the supply and demand of goods such that, in the long term, efficiencies will prevail, with a price mechanism maintaining equilibrium. By being self-interested, we create demand preferences that markets emerge to meet. These markets benefit all of society because they create a self-regulating economic system where benefits trickle down by way of jobs, economic prosperity and innovation.

The views of Adam Smith have certainly been influential. Look at any newspaper story on corporate behaviour to see parallels with notions of survival of the fittest, the centrality of self-interest and the primal pursuit of economic wealth as the sole purpose of human activity. Today, this bundle of beliefs assumes that self-interested economic action is the only rational basis for human behaviour. Hence, it is a small step to arguing that our rationalities are formed this way as a constitutive feature of our human nature. Using Darwin (1859) and Smith (1961 [1776]) as authorities, some scholars, such as Nicholson (2000), would argue that competition is genetically a human predisposition. Despite the global financial crisis of 2008, which brought into question the viability of unfettered market behaviour, we still see behaviours being lauded that stress a return to business as usual based on naturally just discriminations, such as exorbitant CEO salaries and pay-outs, together with a continuation of gender and racial inequalities in management ranks, as well as resistance to sustainable, corporately collective social responsibility. Indeed, while the more recent global financial downturn caused by the COVID-19 pandemic created an opportunity for a re-set, it remains self-interested economic action that drives strategies of recovery.

There are flaws in attributing the social good to competition. Fundamental self-interest does not necessarily provide welfare, products or services that cannot be privately owned to generate income. Government must become involved in providing such public goods. If you lost your job or were temporarily laid-off during the COVID-19 pandemic, for example, you will have noticed that no business jumped into action to fill the void and part with their profits. It was governments that stepped in with income support in extraordinary times. Most governments provide some form of basic social security, support or re-training in the event of unemployment. The exercise of social responsibility and the regulation of economic, social and environmental sustainability have long been perceived as the duty of government, with charities and foundations filling in or augmenting those gaps not covered (see also pp. 347–351).

All ideas, such as the survival of the fittest through competition or cooperation, as well as debates about nature and nurture, underpin and are underpinned by our beliefs or working theories about how the world, and the things within it, operate. Our values and beliefs are integral to all theories and assumptions about work, organizations and society. These values, beliefs and assumptions are inherent in the workplace and become an important component of the management of people and organizations. Whether one thinks in terms of the survival of the fittest, stressing rugged competition and individualism or one sees the world in more collaborative terms, it will be a matter of perception and cognition. Next, we will look at how these factors affect how we behave and think about things, especially at work.

PERCEPTION AT WORK

In general terms, all management starts from **perception** because we manage what we think we perceive to be happening.

Figure 2.1 represents a basic model of information processing: the model shows in a simplified way the perceptual process of how we deal with stimuli in our environment. Let us use an example to make sense of this model. Assume

Perception is the process of receiving, attending to, processing, storing and using stimuli to understand and make sense of our world; the stimuli can be experienced through any and all of the senses, such as sight, sound, smell, taste and touch.

you are at a party, and the music (*stimulus A*) played has been excellent all night. You notice one of your fellow students (*stimulus B*), whom you find very attractive, is alone and you go over and strike up a conversation – you find you both have so much in common that you attend to every word (*attention*). So much so that you forget about the music, even though your absolute favourite song is playing (*filtering*). Filtering can be intentional or subconscious and essentially is the same thing as *selective perception* – the process of selectively gathering and processing information that is consistent with one's values, beliefs and attitudes. The more you listen to the person, the more you find you have in common, the more attractive they appear to you; consequently, the more they seem to reinforce what you believe about their attractiveness. In other words, you selectively attend to and process information about this person relative to existing schemas (*organization*). The cognitive process of organizing information happens through schemas – which can be thought of as sets of cognitive constructs, or scripts – developed through social interactions that organize our thoughts, feelings and attention (Baldwin, 1992; Epstein and Baucom, 2002).

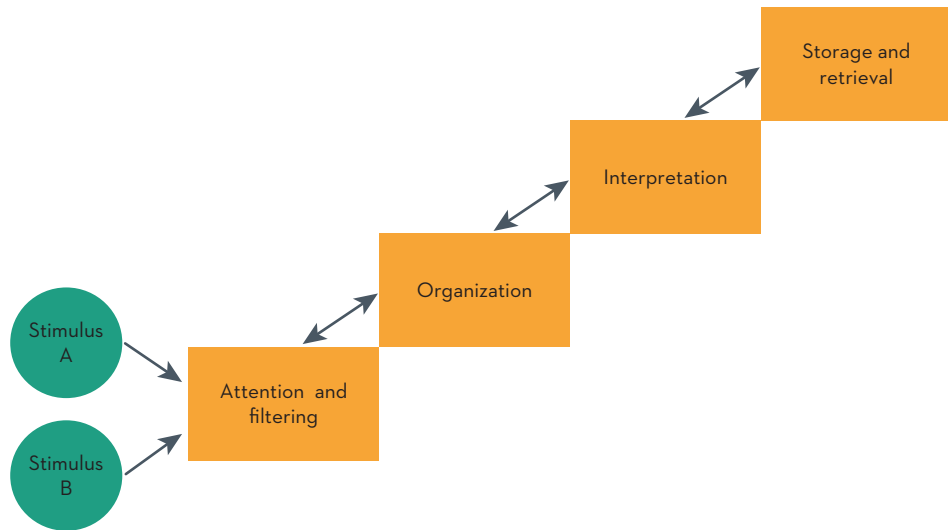


FIGURE 2.1 A basic information-processing model of perception (adapted from Reed, *Cognition*, 8E. © 2010 South-Western, a part of Cengage, Inc. Reproduced by permission. www.cengage.com/permissions)

The next step in the model is *interpretation* – all the information you have gathered and organized about this attractive person (attractiveness, smiling, common interests, body language) has been grouped into a set of schemas that comprise a possible relationship, so you *store* all this information as a reality that is representative of what you are experiencing. The problem is that people interpret stimuli in different ways and sometimes not in the same way you do. What you did not notice is crucial: what you did not notice was that this person found you friendly and recognized you from the lectures – it was not romantic interest but simple affability that the person exhibited towards you. The difference in interpretation becomes transparent when they utter the words you did not

want to hear: ‘Oh, here is my partner. I’ll introduce you; you’ll really get along’. All that information you stored about a possible sexual interest is *retrieved* and reinterpreted. What you once thought ‘real’ is no longer real, and you must re-analyse and update your information as you come crashing back from a momentary alternative reality. Of course, some people don’t do this and still hold on to the original belief. In this example, if you did this you would probably find yourself charged with stalking or being labelled ‘a creep’.

Schemas are a very important component of the perceptual information-processing story told above because in many ways they underscore much of what we cover in this chapter. Our values, personality and emotions can all be linked to schemas (sometimes referred to as schemata or scripts). Schemas are used to structure and organize information that we experience in our social world and are often hierarchical (my car is a Mini Cooper, a Mini Cooper is a small car, a car is an automobile, an automobile is a vehicle, a vehicle is a mode of transport). There are several types of schemas, including **person schemas** and **self-schemas**.

You may perceive yourself to be an open, honest and hard-working person and so it is not surprising to you that your employer also finds you hard working. Self-schemas are critical for our personality. They reflect how we expect ourselves to think, feel and act in specific settings or situations. Each of these beliefs includes our overall perceptions of ourselves as well as our knowledge of past experiences in similar situations; they include idealized person schemas that form the ‘ideal’ type of what a person strives to be or with which they compare themselves.

Other kinds of schema include script, social and role schemas. We all have several scripts, deriving from **script schemas** that allow us to function in our daily lives – we have scripts for going to a restaurant, scripts for going to university, scripts for how we interact with our parents, and so on (Schank and Abelson, 2013). In all these situations, there are *conditions* (such as going to the restaurant because you are hungry, you have money for food and the restaurant has a menu that appeals to you and is affordable), *standard roles* for main actors (you are the star playing the lead role of customer) and supporting actors (waitress, chef and other customers), *props* (tables and chairs, etc.) and *results* (the main actor has less money but is no longer hungry) (Reed, 2009). We develop these scripts from **social schemas** and **role schemas**.

Once our schemas become established, they become increasingly difficult to change and falsify. That is, we tend to pay attention to information that reaffirms or fits our schemas, rather than questioning our schemas whenever we experience information that contradicts them (Reed, 2009). As an example, read the following sentence:

THE HAMUN BRIAN IS SO AZAMING,
AS LNOG AS THE FRIST AND LSAT LTETER IS THE SMAE
YUO WLIL MKAE SNESE OF THE SNETECNE!

This sentence is an example of how schemas are organized and selectively influence our perception. Your brain will automatically complete information for you so that things will make sense – most people will see ‘The human brain is so amazing ...’. However, if you read the sentence exactly as the letters appear, you will find most of

Person schemas are structures of meaning that affect thinking, planning and behaviour concerning others; within person schemas, there are idealized person schemas that serve as prototypes with which we compare all other persons (see Horowitz, 1991).

Self-schemas are specific self-conceptions we hold about ourselves, which we believe are self-descriptive and highly important to possess (Fong and Markus, 1982; Markus, 1977).

Script schemas refer to schemas about how we operate in our world and understand and remember information.

Social schemas, as the name suggests, refer to our social knowledge (such as knowledge about public affairs, laws, politics, media and the arts, and anything else socially important).

Role schemas refer to schemas about appropriate and inappropriate behaviour in specific contexts (for example, a woman’s role as a mother, daughter, professional, wife, friend).

the sentence is nonsense. What you think you see and what is there are two different things. Note that this example tends to work only with people who possess good English language skills. The brain reads the first and last letters, matches them to the words on either side and quickly calls up language scripts that fit the general idea of the passage. 'The hamun brian' makes no sense (unless you know someone called Hamun Brian), so your brain searches for the closest match – 'the human brain'.

For social cognitive psychologists, schemas are, as already mentioned, the underlying constructs that contain information about our values, how we perceive ourselves as people, how we perceive others, how we adjust and respond to change, how we operate in our social world, and how we experience our emotions, make sense of things such as our and others' attitudes, opinions, prejudices and assumptions (Augoustinos et al., 2014). Schemas are so powerful that they are one of the most important components of cognitive-behavioural therapy. Schema therapy is used to uncover and deconstruct the underlying thought processes and structures of people so as to treat depression and anxiety by replacing destructive schemas with more psychologically healthy ones (Giesen-Bloo et al., 2006; Young et al., 2003). Schema therapy can even be used to understand better how we might negotiate peace between conflicting parties (Leahy, 2011). We will revisit schemas in this context when we look at personality and the pursuit of happiness. Now let us turn to how perception and schemas can be problematic, especially in workplace contexts.

There is probably no better example of how schemas structure our understandings, beliefs, and values than the science-versus-religion, evolution-versus-creationism debate. The argument for and against intelligent design (ID) is one of those debates. There has been a growing and powerful movement within the USA, which seeks to include ID as a core part of the education curriculum. Some proponents of ID want it taught along with Darwinian evolutionary theory; others, holding stronger views, want it to replace teachings on evolution totally. The main argument is that God (an intelligent entity) designed the world and humans. They argue that much of this design can be scientifically tested and supported to (a) prove God exists, and (b) prove evolutionary theory is wrong. Here is an example of the arguments used:

The Christian world view begins with the Creation, with a deliberate act by a personal Being who existed from all eternity. This personal dimension is crucial for understanding Creation. Before bringing the world into existence, the Creator made a choice, a decision: He set out a plan, an intelligent design. (Colson and Pearcey, 1999: 55)

In March 2011, a Republican State Representative for Texas, Bill Zedler, introduced the Bill HB 2454, which was aimed at protecting the rights of people to teach ID. Science, of course, on the basis of research and its evidence, rejects the ideas espoused in ID and organizations and institutions such as the National Science Teachers' Association and the US National Academy of Science argue that ID is not a science; in fact, some call it junk science. In 2017, the *New York Times*' Clyde Haberman wrote a thought-provoking article accompanied by an informative video. (You can read the article and watch the video at www.nytimes.com/2017/11/19/us/retro-report-evolution-science.html.) During the administration of President Trump, creationists became emboldened by his support for ideas that