Organizational Politics:

The Cornerstone for Organizational Democracy

DAVID BUTCHER   **MARTIN CLARKE**

T he idea that democratic principles should play an essential part in the world of work has a long and controversial history. However, on the face of it, a progressive shift towards organizational democracy has occurred in the last 20 years. Substantial changes in domestic and global economic environments have led to new business models requiring a redistribution of power within organizations. Effective organization demands that significant decisions be made lower in the hierarchy, and that leaders at all levels shape both strategy and front-line innovation. In these empowered circumstances the need for high employee commitment is addressed using the motivational device of ownership, widely encouraged through stock option plans. Such transformations appear to be remoulding the organizational landscape.

However, there is substantial evidence that employees do not see themselves as beneficiaries of these changes. Surveys and reports consistently highlight unacceptable levels of cynicism, disillusionment and alienation at lower organizational levels. True organizational democratization, it seems, continues to remain elusive, as does the reason for this. Is it simply that democracy has no real place alongside the principles of rational organization? Or is it that the role of politics in democracy is insufficiently appreciated in an organizational context? It is to the latter possibility that we turn our attention in this article.

As a framework of governance, democracy has a long pedigree. The values that underpin it have created a convergence of the political order world-wide, permeating both parliamentary systems and institutions across many societies. But the idea that there may be a parallel, that organizations can be governed as democratic political systems, is alien to mainstream management thinking because it appears to be at odds with rational organizational working. It defies the managerial mindset to the extent that even successful attempts to run businesses as democracies, such as the Spanish Mondragon Cooperative (where all workers have a vote and even elect the board of directors), become marginalized as "interesting experiments." This is so notable because it happens despite the recognition from most managers that, in practice, organizations are more akin to arenas of competing stakeholders than rational decision-makers.

The phrase "organizational politics" typically elicits a range of reactions—at one extreme politics are seen as an unnecessary organizational evil, whilst at the other, as the very essence of organizations. Accordingly, managers may be caricatured as self-seeking wheeler-dealers or adept statesmen and women. But whatever their starting point, few dispute that managers exercise power in pursuit of organizational objectives, thereby raising two fundamental questions: how is that power used, and to achieve whose objectives? The principles of democracy

David Butcher, Ph.D., has been in management education for 20 years, and has held positions in several major business schools in the U.K. He is a leading member of the Cranfield School of Management, faculty and currently director of the school's General Management Development Programs.

Butcher acts as a consultant in a wide range of contexts on an international basis, including investment banking, telecommunications, FMCG multinationals, airlines and aerospace organizations. His focus is on developing business strategy, leadership capability at senior and top executive level, and the constructive use of managerial politics. He has worked recently with organizations as diverse as Mars Confectionery, BP Amoco, Ericsson, Astra Zeneca, Williams Formula One and the European Space Agency. He has published widely on the subjects of business transformation and leadership. He travels widely in Europe, the U.S.A., Asia, and the Middle East, and is a frequent speaker at both international conferences and company seminars in many different countries.

stipulate clear answers to these questions; appropriate political mechanisms are required. But if these are inadmissible in an organizational context, a different question arises. Does the acceptability of organizational democracy depend on the legitimization of organizational politics? We will argue that it does.

THE PROGRESS OF ORGANIZATIONAL DEMOCRACY

The move to redistribute workplace influence has a long history. It can be traced from European feudalism, through the industrial revolution, the many attempts to introduce participation schemes and cooperative enterprises over the past 100 years, to the more recent emphasis on delayering and empowerment. Today democratization is center stage, evangelized by business gurus and politicians as a new paradigm of economic, social and political organization.

Whilst there are divergent views about the nature and form of democratized organizations, there is some agreement that they are likely to share the following principles:

• Devolved power and responsibility for many more organizational decisions, leading to smaller, self-organizing units.

• Acceptance of diverse internal and external interests based on power as a function of successful relationships rather than structure.

• High levels of psychological ownership of organizational activities that depend on individual contribution, knowledge and leadership.

However, instances where these principles are to be found in practice do not arise simply as a result of the well-intentioned application of democratic values. Rather, they are a response to very real business imperatives. Technological advancement, innovation, globalization, and an increasing concern for business ethics are forcing management to reconsider its approach to this issue (see the following box).

THE DRIVERS OF ORGANIZATIONAL DEMOCRACY

- The need for continual innovation and improvement has led to the recognition that individual tacit knowledge is a valuable source of ideas that requires constant nurturing. This knowledge is harnessed through the power of the possessor, so enabling organizational democratization.

- The recognition that customer satisfaction is critical to organizational success has facilitated employee empowerment and delayering. These are designed to ensure that information and authority are pushed to the point where they can have greatest value for the customer. For example, at AT&T Universal Card Services, front-line staff are trusted to handle 95% of requests on the first call, even credit extensions.

- The benefits of managing knowledge and reducing hierarchy are realized through attracting, retaining and developing key talent. In the words of the social philosopher and business commentator Charles Handy, employees are increasingly treated as ''members of voluntary clubs'' rather than organizational assets, or human resources. These changes have the effect of raising the voices of individual contributors in organizational decision-making.

- As organizations align ever more closely with the needs of specific customer groups, individual business units serving customer segments become more specialized. The resulting fragmentation of organizational structures pulls power away from the corporate center in the service of particular customer needs. For example, in First Data Corporation, the electronic commerce and payment service, this fragmentation is actively designed into the way the company works as a means of ensuring that it stays close to its customers.

- The interdependence of organizations with their suppliers and competitors has led to increasing acceptance that external stakeholders influence decision-making and, ultimately, competitive advantage. In industries like biotechnology, product development may be dependent upon a knowledge network of thousands of scientists located around the world. Democratization is being driven by the need for organizational boundaries to be permeable, and, at times, altogether removed.

- The need to secure greater levels of employee commitment has led organizations to democratize their approach to rewards and ownership. Stock ownership plans are now commonplace, albeit sometimes restricted to specific management levels, whilst some organizations, like the U.K.-based John Lewis Partnership, include all employees as owners.

- At an institutional level, the democratization process has also been influenced on a global scale by growing legislation in the areas of employee protection, participation and communication. Thus, in Europe, an EU (European Union) directive may have the effect of forcing organizations with more than 50 employees to consult staff about decisions involving substantial changes in work organization.

All of these trends reflect the increasing importance of many voices in the management of contemporary organizations. They act incrementally on society at national and global levels, edging organizations closer to accepting the need to reconcile different aims as the basis for managing. Yet there remains a question as to the real impact these changes are having. Newspapers and management journals regularly report on surveys highlighting worrying levels of employee dissatisfaction and stress, often fueled by issues such as poor communication, race and gender discrimination, or organizational injustices such as harsh layoffs. Even in areas where progress has supposedly been made, there is considerable evidence that change has been patchy at best. The benefits of autonomous work teams, for example, have been known since Pehr Gyllenhammer's experiments at Volvo over 40 years ago, yet this organizing principle has never been widely adopted. Or consider the move towards empowerment. As Chris Argyris points out: ''Like the emperor's new clothes, we praise it loudly in public and ask ourselves privately why we can't see it. There has been no transformation in the workforce, and there has been no sweeping metamorphosis.''

Furthermore, this gap between public praise and reality devalues the efforts of management to democratize organizations,
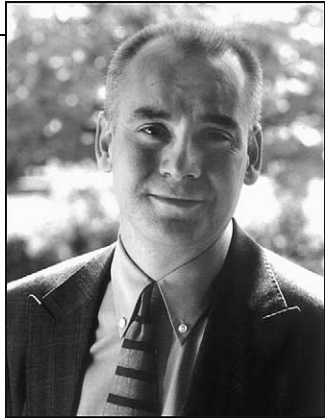
Martin Clarke has extensive managerial experience in both the manufacturing and logistics industries, and before joining Cranfield School of Management in 1993, worked as a director with a subsidiary of a European business information company.

Clarke works as a management development consultant to a broad range of international companies including Morgan Stanley, Financial Times, Anglo American and Carillion. He is currently program director of the Cranfield General Management Program. His experience lies chiefly in the area of organizational development, and he writes extensively on the role of management development and organizational politics in personal and organizational change. This area has been the subject of a recently published book, *Smart Management, Using Politics in Organizations*, which he co-authored with David Butcher.

and worse, creates cynicism. A recent survey by Gallup revealed that 80% of employees in the U.K. are not psychologically committed to their organization. The reasons are not difficult to find. For example, enlightened managerial efforts to treat employees as corporate citizens by enhancing their employability falls into disrepute when training and development budgets are slashed in the face of poor trading performance. Much the same tension arises when independent business units are subject to top-down budgeting processes. Examples are legion because they are routine. Evidently something beyond good intentions and pressure of the business environment is required to effect a meaningful redistribution of organizational power.

THE RATIONAL MINDSET AND ORGANIZATIONAL DEMOCRACY

There are of course well-rehearsed explanations for this continuing disconnection. For some, management simply does not want to relinquish power. For others, most employees, when it comes to it, do not want power, because with it comes responsibility. However, we believe there is another, altogether more powerful reason for the discontinuity between the desire for democratization and organizational practice—what we call the *rational mindset*.

Mindsets are the particular ways that individuals come to think about everyday experience, saturating attention to the exclusion of all else. They are driven by values that are created and reinforced at an institutional level, and define what is appropriate and inappropriate in specific contexts. Our interest here is of course the context of "organization," and how values about rationality create a deeply held belief system that governs what is assumed about organizations. At the heart of the rational mindset is the idea of organizational unity, and it is this that restricts the democratization of organizations. The value placed on unity within an organization renders the process through

which democracy is enacted—politics—illegitimate. Resolving the tension between political and rational thinking is therefore critical to organizational democratization.

Rationality is often considered to be the differentiating factor between modern society and all earlier forms of society throughout history. The core values are economic efficiency and effectiveness. Within the rational mindset, organizations are conceived as places of unity where employees work with consistent strategies towards clear corporate goals. Top management provide direction through vision and value statements that reflect prescriptions about desired behaviors. Key to these behaviors is the need for employees to appreciate the rational logic of working collaboratively in order to share effort and knowledge in the wider interests of the enterprise.

THE RATIONAL MINDSET UNDERMINES DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES

Rationality is reflected in much teaching about business and has formed the bedrock of organizational thinking for over a century. It is, after all, a common sense basis for efficient and effective working, and in that sense the essence of *organizing*. However, it is important to recognize that the principles of rational organization are not in themselves in opposition to those of democracy. Indeed, the historical argument in support of organizational democracy is persuasive particularly because of its emphasis on combining the best of both value systems. But, in practice, the rational mindset implicitly undermines the democratization process.

Consider the first principle of the democratized organization—power must be hierarchically devolved. This does not obviate the need for hierarchy—rather, it ensures that decisions are made by those best placed to make them. In rational terms, it promotes efficiency and effectiveness. Yet there are countless examples of management embarking on empowerment strategies only to wrest

decision-making control again in times of economic downturn. One recent longitudinal research programme designed to assess the devolution of power at work, and led by long-term advocate of organizational democracy Frank Heller, concluded "that organizational influence sharing appears to have made only limited progress during the last 50 years."

The second principle of democratized organizations, the reconciliation of diverse interests, is also accommodated within the rational model in theory, but not necessarily in practice. Stakeholders, particularly employees, can be satisfied through a range of motivational devices and management tools that "balance" potentially clashing demands. The "business scorecard" does just that. Likewise, the separate and often conflicting interests of business units, projects, product lines and even brands can be managed as an in-house market democracy. Businesses like 3M Company, Apple Computer Inc., and MCI have done it successfully for years. Yet the intention to meet this diversity of interests is easily submerged in the pursuit of corporate goals. The language of top level leaders can be a graphic illustration—phrases such as "living the values," "cascading the vision" or "developing organization-wide openness and trust" imply a requirement for deep conformity. Not surprisingly, research has consistently shown that employees tend to surface act espoused values rather than wholeheartedly embrace them, raising the question of whether congruence of interests is the means to a corporate goal or an end in itself.

The priority of corporate vision and values also serves to undermine the establishment of the "psychological ownership" principle. Even small organizations can be sufficiently fragmented so that corporate goals become disconnected from what matters in constituent business units, or become too generic to provide meaningful ownership. Yet there is solid research evidence that employees attach greater psychological ownership to local issues having a direct impact on them than they do to distant corporate agendas. This simple understanding

underpins the devolved structures of successful global operations like engineering group Asea Brown Boveri (ABB) and marketing services giant WPP Group PLc. In First Data Corp., a limit is placed on the size of individual business units, which are split out as separate profit-and-loss (P&L) entities when they grow too big. The aim is to capitalize on what happens to businesses when employees believe they can make a direct organizational contribution, or as Ric Duques, ex-chairman of First Data puts it, "act like a small company." Consider, for example, the energy invested by front-line workers in recommending improvements within their sphere of activities, or their willingness to go the extra mile if the incentive and reward scheme can be locally adjusted. Consider also how easily this commitment can be extinguished by management inaction driven by the desire for corporate neatness. Again, the concept of local identification does not itself contradict the principle of organizational unity. But in practice, psychological ownership of organizational activity is limited by the rational mindset.

ORGANIZATIONAL POLITICS AND ORGANIZATIONAL DEMOCRACY

Rationality, then, obscures and suppresses the political dimension of organizations. In using the term "political" we are referring to a different way of thinking about organizations. We intend it in the sense used when referring to the idea of government, in other words, as the means of reconciling and mediating between social agendas. Organizations, like the wider social contexts in which they exist, are arenas of competing and mutual interests. "Organizational politics," therefore, refers to the constructive reconciliation of competing causes, and is central to managing. As with government, there are different systems for achieving this, of which democracy is but one. But whilst democratic systems now predominate in government, they do not in organizations.

Smart managers, of course, accept the political nature of organizations, but for many, the word "politics" has negative connotations associated with the misuse of power, secrecy and backroom deals. That of course may often be the reality, which only serves to obscure the idea of politics as a constructive organizational reality. As if to caricature the negative associations of organizational politics, one senior executive we know in a leading investment bank will not even allow the "p" word to be used in her presence.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL PARALLEL

Certainly, the use of power to promote partisan interests is open to abuse, but as in the world of government, this process is judged principled so long as the cause is just. Unfortunately, if a just cause is at times elusive in government, it is doubly so in organizations. There, one person's just cause may be another's slashed budget, leading, as in government, to the question of who decides what is in the best interests of whom. However, other than in totalitarian regimes, political interest is institutionalized in government, as are the mechanisms for reconciling just causes. As political theorists have shown, these mechanisms are both formal and informal (as with behind the scenes lobbying), and most advanced in democratic systems. Those with formal power (elected members of an administration) have the great responsibility of both representing the interests of the (theoretical) majority, and preserving the integrity of a system that represents the interests of all. The organizational parallel lies in the role of top management—often now argued to be one of stewardship and grand social design, achieved through the mediation of many strong interests internal and external to their organization.

Of course, organizations do not have the same constitutions as governments, nor can they fully emulate the principles of democracies (see the table). For one thing, most

organizations do not elect their managers. For another, managerial agendas are not usually associated with great social causes. Furthermore, unlike organizations, government itself does not have corporate goals. Rather, it is the institution through which the corporate goals of consecutive administrations are realized. Nevertheless, the principles of democracy, representing as they now widely do, the ideal of constructive politics, contain the model for organizational democracy. They do this in two key respects.

• Constructive politics, in this general sense, represent the *logical process* by which diverse interests and stakeholders are reconciled in organizations. Given that it is in the nature of organizations for powerful interest groups to form, more than ever in today's decentralized corporations, how else can this reconciliation be achieved? Not through hierarchical control—the evidence for that is overwhelmingly clear. Indeed, within the model of constructive politics, significant interest groups check the power invested in

mary component of organizational working, and many examples are to be found. There are well known experiments in democracy such as Semco, whose production workers eventually set up their own businesses, given the opportunity by founder Ricardo Semler to take their operations outside the company. But there are many more quietly successful organizational democracies, such as Oticon, a Danish hearing aid manufacturer. There, employees choose their own project teams, and working in self-managed units, have responsibility for the identification and organization of new business projects. These organizations have one noticeable feature in common—diversity is considered both desirable and essential.

COMPARISON OF COMMON PERCEPTIONS ABOUT GOVERNMENTAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL POLITICS

Governmental Politics	Organizational Politics
• Perceived as legitimate	• Largely perceived as illegitimate
• Strongly linked to governmental democracy and the management of diverse stakeholders	• Limited acceptance of link to organizational democracy and management of diverse interests
• Conflict of aims expected and encouraged	• Conflict of aims not easily tolerated
• Legitimacy of covert debate	• Covert debate considered illegitimate
• A positive process in systems of formal representation	• A negative process that frustrates efficient hierarchical management

formal hierarchy. Far from being irrational, the political model is the only judicious way of managing inevitable differences.

• In recognizing the multi-goal nature of organizations, the political model implicitly *values diversity*. Generic corporate goals (that is, survival, growth or profit) become an umbrella under which (competing) top management visions and disparate local interests can be balanced. The democratic management of these differences is therefore a pri-

MANAGERS AS CONSTRUCTIVE POLITICIANS

Constructive politicians have a distinct advantage. They avoid the bewilderment and suspicion that accompanies decisions made by others about them and their business. They understand how power is distributed in organizations, and are able to work with competing and mutual agendas. They distinguish between constructive and

destructive politics, or more exactly, selfless and selfish motives. Likewise, they see the difference between ethical and unethical means of achieving political goals. To be able to do this requires a heightened awareness of the agendas and relationships that drive the political process of organizations, and a great sense of responsibility about how to use power in the service of vested interests. In short, a mindset of constructive politics transforms the nature of managerial work (see the following box).

THE COMPLETE CONSTRUCTIVE POLITICIAN

The constructive politician's view is distinguished by the ambition to influence an organization through the ceaseless pursuit of his or her own agenda. Above all, this involves establishing worthwhile causes and realizing them through building relationships.

Establishing Worthwhile Causes

From a political perspective, strategy, operational activity and change are the result of negotiation between vested interests that emerge over time. In terms of activity, this means:

- *Stimulating organic change*: Able politicians recognize the value of local interest in stimulating change. Groups that initiate change from the bottom-up have been variously labeled ''hot groups,'' ''communities of practice'' or ''pockets of good practice'' by contemporary management writers. They may conform to formal organizational boundaries and divisions, or as with the reinvention of IBM Corp. as an Internet specialist, consist of informal networks of like-minded people spread throughout an enterprise. These groups feature influential individuals who share a common purpose, with or without formal organizational consent. They create organic change that stands in mark contrast with the rationality of top-down business transformation processes.
- *Stealth and the nominal adherence to accepted procedure*: In pursuing worthwhile causes that may run counter to formal policy, managers inevitably risk being taken for mavericks. Maintaining credibility is therefore key, and because of this, astute politicians ensure that they appear to comply with formal procedure. This requires careful boundary management, and might include ''dubious'' actions such as limiting access to reports, or being selective about who attends key meetings. Of course practices of that kind are close to the edge of constructive politics, and can only be construed as principled if those involved are able to justify their actions as in the interests of the organization.

Relationship Building

Relationship management is the vehicle through which these organic changes are negotiated and implemented.

- *Managing upwards*: For the constructive politician, managing upwards is an activity aimed at creating the space necessary for independence and self-determination. Equally it can be used to great effect in getting support and sponsorship from key stakeholders. Seen this way, the boss is a potential ally, but may be no more than another relationship to be managed.
- *Internal networking*: Networking is the motor of political fluency. It enables managers to generate support, identify key issues and locate resistance. For the capable politician, the network provides access to power up and down the organization, and those who establish themselves as the informal link between different networks find this offers great scope for influencing.
- *External networking*: Building relationships across external boundaries has come to assume an entirely new significance as organizations are increasingly bound together through supply chains, joint ventures and other such arrangements. In these circumstances, stakeholders in other organizations may be powerful allies. In fact, the greater the mutual destiny that exists between organizations, the more constructive politicians think in terms of belonging to a web of organizations, rather than just one.

ACCELERATING THE PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION IN YOUR ORGANIZATION

We have argued that both the value and logic of organizational democracy is greatly hindered by the rational mindset. Rational values determine political activity as illegitimate in organizations, despite the self-evident reality of multiple interests. This being so, the problem of how to accelerate the process of organizational democratization is better cast as one of how to hasten the legitimization of organizational politics. However, it is an equally daunting prospect, given that the values underlying the rational mindset run as deep as those of democracy. After all, the language of rationality applies alike to military organizations, churches, universities, and Wal-Mart. So, how might politics gain a rightful place and thereby advance the process of organizational democratization?

The Role of Executive Development

Executive development seems an obvious answer, until we remind ourselves that this activity does not exist independently of the rational mindset. Consider corporate university programs. These have become a prevalent means of ensuring that managers live the organizational values that align behaviors to the mission and strategy. Or think about how management workshops are cascaded through organizations with the aim of creating cultural unity. The values of rationality that lie behind such interventions remain deeply embedded, even though much of this effort appears to have little long-term impact—recipients tend *publicly* to accept the ideas presented to them in order to ''play the game'' that assures them of careers, security and a quiet life. Part of the problem lies in what is meant by executive development. Many activities so described are not in practice developmental, in that they do not enable managers to consider *their own* values and beliefs, and how these influence behavior. Yet it is those personal values that

managers must consider before alternative models of organizing can be explored.

In contrast, the business schools should provide the independent intellectual critique required to address alternative organizational models. In practice, however, they too are caught in the same rational mindset trap as their client world. Indeed, the academic communities of North America and Europe have played a substantial role in articulating and encouraging the use of the rational mindset. In any case, B-schools are also businesses and, like most businesses, not given to alienating their clients with unpalatable messages. Furthermore, development is not often on the curriculae because the intellectual heritage of many B-school faculty members leads them to emphasis the cerebral rather than the emotional element in learning. Tellingly, when Boeing surveyed 23 leading U.S. education providers they found that many of these organizations ran executive programs in which less than 10% of the content covered interpersonal and political savvy. Case studies, models and research findings are the established currency, not in-depth personal development.

Whilst there are pockets of academics who critique the institutionalized values and processes of executive development, it seems unlikely that there will be any rapid alteration of existing priorities. This is only likely to come with a shift at the level of society itself that influences education as a whole, a process of transformation almost certainly measurable in decades rather than years. However, this does not mean that the individual in a given organization has to wait for sea changes in society. The ability of individuals to promote alternatives is, after all, the cornerstone of democracy, and in the context of a single organization, it is this notion that provides the most realistic way of accelerating the process of democratization.

Individual Action and the Art of the Possible

In any one business it is the determination of individuals and groups to promote their

alternative organizational agendas, to act on principled causes, which may serve to dislodge the constraints of the rational mindset. In other words, within the context of any one organization, constructive political action can legitimize itself. Consider how progress towards democratization has been made in particular enterprises, of the impression made by champions of organizational innovation such as Percy Barnevik, the ex-CEO of ABB, Andy Grove of Intel, or Richard Branson of The Virgin Group. They and others like them impact, not just on their own organizations, but on popular consciousness as well. Whilst their businesses, like all businesses, enjoy mixed fortunes over the long term, this does not eclipse their greater contribution—they create organizations that become models for other organizations. Moreover, in terms of

together by mutual interest rather than legal ownership. Some companies are research and development (R&D) centers, others marketing organizations. Its management and home-country investors jointly own each one, with (usually) only a small minority ownership stake held by Acer. At London-based advertising agency St. Luke's, they have gone one step further still in ushering democratization into the process of management (see the following box). These are organizations where action by leaders at the top makes it possible for the values of democracy to flourish. But not that many organizations are led by enlightened entrepreneurs or radical corporate visionaries, so what are the possibilities for individual or group action working from less favorable organizational starting points?

ST. LUKE'S

All employees at St. Luke's are owners, shares being distributed every year in equal proportion to all that have been in the company for the previous year. Andy Law, chairman, is firmly of the opinion that this ownership increases loyalty, productivity, responsibility, empowerment, and trust. The company is composed of what employees call ''citizen cells'' of no more than 35 people—the maximum number, they believe, that can feel a mutual sense of commitment. Trust is generated within these groups because they have a very real operational requirement to work together. Cells have complete control over their budgets and income streams, and can question their own direction at any time. There is a warm atmosphere at St. Luke's, yet at the same time it is evidently a challenging environment. Individual needs are respected but balanced with organizational agendas. To facilitate this, the company pays for all employees to have access to an outside consultant who advises on issues such as careers, relationships, or personality clashes.

the power of individual action, they are but the tip of the iceberg—for in many corporates it is possible to find unsung champions of constructive politics who have won widespread respect and admiration for their opposition to ill-conceived corporate policies. Those organizations, or pockets of good practice within them, provide glimpses of how truly democratized large-scale organizations might be managed.

Similarly, many smaller organizations experiment with radical approaches to managing. At Acer, the personal computer company, co-founder Stan Shih has built a federation of self-managing firms held

Establishing Worthy Causes

Pursuing an agenda that competes with the agendas of others happens only because individuals or groups see it as worthwhile. The risks are too great otherwise, above all when that agenda runs counter to the corporate interest. Political action is not an end in itself, but a means to an end, and most individuals engage in politics only when there is a gain to be had. The exception is political activity for its own sake, but this we can safely dismiss as game-playing—aberrant behavior, in other words. As we have tried to show throughout this article,

for political action to be constructive, any gain must be in the service of others, not just self-seeking. Worthy causes are the key, and we would argue that these are abundant in every organization. They are to be found in the ambitions of deeply committed project teams, the frustrated values of true professionals, the innovative ideas of front-line entrepreneurs. They are implicit in the "wish lists" and improvement plans generated in off-site management workshops. The rightful question is whether there is a willingness to pursue worthy causes, and that ultimately comes down to a sense of responsibility. It places the emphasis on individuals and groups to go beyond merely deliberating and enthusing about their agendas or protesting and whining about the agendas of others. Equally, it demands that those senior managers well placed to encourage action give their protection and support. It is, after all, no more than we expect of good political leaders.

CONCLUSION

Whilst individual and isolated group agendas appear insignificant, in the context of one organization they provide a point of departure in legitimizing politics. Since the benefit of constructive political behavior appears to be best appreciated when experienced in practice, exploiting the loopholes and contradictions of the rational mindset from within has the potential to create progress towards organizational democracy. The history of democracy reveals its self-fulfilling character—democracies are created as much by action as by grand design. But in terms of bringing about a wholesale shift, it is a gradual process. That said, it is important to remember that the rational model of organizing has guided managerial values for at least two centuries, if not much longer, yet in the last 20 years there has been a significant unfreezing of organizing principles. Contemporary organizational forms and management models allow greater scope for individual agendas to be voiced. On a more optimistic note, then, true organizational democratization, built on principles of constructive politics, may be closer than its painstakingly slow emergence suggests.

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