Power Dynamics in Organizational Change

A Multi-perspective Approach

Patricia Bradshaw
Schulich School of Business, York University, Toronto, Canada
Jaap Boonstra
Sioo, Utrecht, and University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, The Netherlands

The role of power in organizational change efforts has been recognized as being important since the early 1970s and conceptual thinking about the relationship between the two has continued to evolve and been enriched by different underlying theoretical assumptions. In this chapter we review the topic and explore various different approaches to understanding power and change. The chapter is structured around a model that differentiates four different perspectives on power and is built on two polarities or dynamic tensions between manifest vs latent power and personal vs collective power. By conceptualizing four fundamentally different perspectives of power, various different approaches to organizational change are suggested. In this chapter, we address both the dominant and better-developed perspectives on power and change as well as newer and more emergent perspectives. We conclude by suggesting that transformational change in organizations can be more fully understood and enabled through the simultaneous recognition of the tensions between different perspectives on power.

Bennis was quoted in 1969 as stating that the organizational development (OD) practitioners' influence was based on their 'truth and love'. At these early stages of efforts to change organizations, using mainly group-based approaches, there was little or no reflection on the implicit power dynamics within them. The first laboratory, training, or T-groups run by Kurt Lewin out of MIT took place in 1946, and this methodology was further explored and utilized after 1947 at NTL (National Training Labs) in Bethel, Maine (Cummings & Worley, 1997). These group-based techniques formed one of the roots of organizational change approaches, and in particular of OD, and their emphasis on humanistic values was carried over to OD. By the 1970s, however, the field started to be more reflective and to more critically question this approach and the implicit values and inherent assumptions embedded within it. With this reflection came a growing recognition of the importance of power and politics in organizational change. Alderfer was a leader in this critical reflection and in 1973 he quoted Lodahl as saying 'The world was not a T-group'. Alderfer then pointed out that change approaches growing from T-groups resulted in assumptions of minimal power differentials and that this, in turn, resulted in a misunderstanding of power relations in organizational settings. Walton and Warwick, in the same year, challenged the ethics of OD and asked 'Who are its clients and what are its power implications?' (1973: 681). Nord, in 1974, used a Marxian perspective to critique the behaviour sciences and encouraged the exploration of alternative power bases for humanistically oriented change. He asked what functions change agents play in maintaining and reproducing the existing distribution of power. Similarly, Ross (1971) asked the question 'OD for whom?' He encouraged self-scrutiny while pointing out that the OD

specialists tacitly accepted the existence of class privilege and inequality, and that democracy was not the guiding precept of the field. Based on these early critiques and challenges, there have been repeated and varied, but not always consistent, efforts to marry an understanding of power with organizational change.

In this chapter, we review these efforts to link power and change and we frame them according to four different theoretical perspectives of power that have evolved in organizational theory generally and that have concurrently come to inform thinking about organizational change (Bradshaw, 1998). There is a lot of debate concerning the definition of power (e.g. Hardy, 1985). We prefer a broad and multi-faceted definition of power and the model we are using deals with widely different assumptions and perspectives on power. The model allows us to more fully conceptualize the rich diversity of types and sources of power and ways in which power informs change efforts. Our goal is to offer a framework for understanding power dynamics and organizational change, to explore different approaches, and to introduce and relate these approaches to the other contributions to this issue.

PERSPECTIVES ON POWER AND CHANGE

In this section, we present four perspectives on power dynamics and relate these perspectives to various organizational change approaches. These four perspectives and the change models we review are not fully comprehensive, yet they offer a good outlook on important perspectives that inform the field. Moreover, the approaches do not exclude each other but, we would argue, can be used in combinations in organizational change processes.

### POLARITIES AND TENSIONS IN STUDYING POWER DYNAMICS

We are relying on the notion of polarity to help us define four approaches to power and change. Rather than assert the dominance, legitimacy, and superiority of one idea, the notion of polarity suggests that opposites necessarily co-exist. The two polarities we would like to explore are individual power vs collective power and manifest power vs latent power.

The first tension of individual vs collective power is well articulated in the literature and informs the earliest developments in theories of organizational power (Hamilton & Woolsey Biggart, 1985; Clegg, 1990). Giddens describes two perspectives on power and says:

> One is that power is best conceptualized as the capability of an actor to achieve his or her will, even at the expense of others who might resist him—the sort of definition employed by Weber among many other authors. The second is that power should be seen as a property of the collectivity: Parson's concept of power, for instance, belongs in this latter category. (1979: 69)

This tension rests on dualisms in social theory such as between volunteerism and determinism or between individual action and structure (e.g. Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Reed, 1988). Proponents of the individual agency perspective argue that individuals have free choice to pursue and use power wilfully and towards some intended objective. This perspective deals with observable and intentionally used authority and legitimate power of agents. Personal power is required to make change happen in organizations. This view is rooted in a social psychological research tradition that investigated power bases.

On the collective side of the debate are those who say that the social structure (e.g. roles, rules, and resources) determines, or at the very least constrains, the use of power. For example, Kanter (1977) argues that structurally determined power can explain behaviours in organizations that were previously attributed to individual qualities. Others suggest that culture (e.g. values, beliefs, and assumptions) constrains individual agency (Marshall & McLean, 1985; Mills & Murgatroyd, 1991). From this
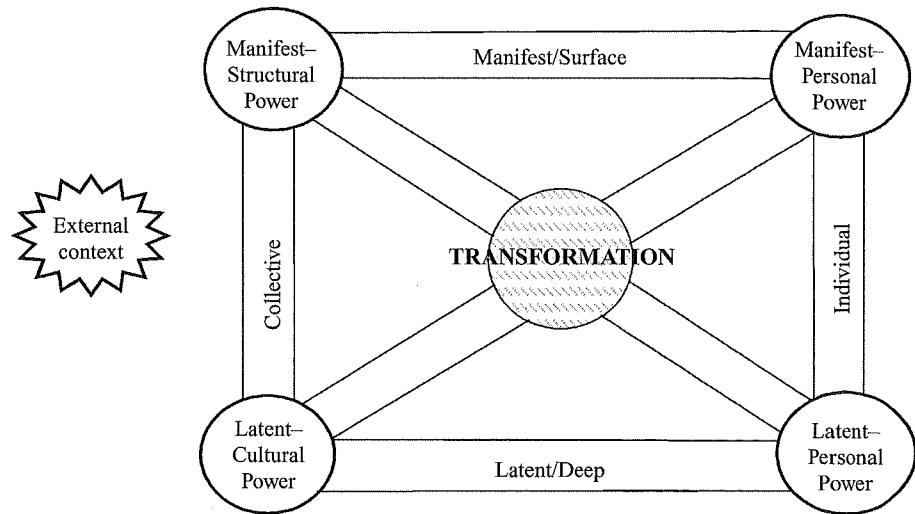
FIGURE 13.1   Four paradigms of power

perspective, power is a property of a social group and sources of power are shaped by the observable structures and taken-for-granted culture of the collectivity.

The second tension or polarity to inform this chapter is between surface or manifest power and latent power. Naming of this tension is more recent and is informed by the challenges to functionalist and managerially oriented approaches to organizational studies and organizational psychology. Early positivist studies of power assumed that power was latent and thus observable and that power-based conflict could be explicitly identified. An interpretative world-view and studies of culture, for example, have led to an increased understanding that power also resides in the more latent or subtle and unobtrusive operation of language, symbols, myths, and other meaning-making activities (Hardy, 1985; Bradshaw-Camball & Murray, 1991). This perspective also has its foundations in management and organization theory but its focus shifts towards the less observable and unconscious forms of power use. Central issues in this view from a managerial view are the construction of perceptions, values, and norms through management of meaning. At the level of deep structures of power, certain issues and conflicts are prevented from arising at all and the existing order of things is seen as natural and unchangeable. If power operates in an invisible or latent way, then questions of resistance and acquiescence are surfaced. Foucault (1977) and other postmodern theorists have also deepened our understanding of power and its invisibility in dominant discourses and truth claims (Knights & Morgan, 1991; Knights & Murray, 1992).

In the remainder of the chapter, we will develop four perspectives of power, which are conceptually defined by combining these two polarities. Thus, power can be conceptualized as being manifest–personal, manifest–structural, latent–personal, and latent–cultural (Figure 13.1). In the next section of the chapter, we will present each of these perspectives on power and some associated power sources, and then explore various approaches to change which emerge from each perspective.

MANIFEST–PERSONAL POWER

This is one of the best understood and widely shared conceptions of power and is informed by the early conceptual work of scholars such as Dahl (1975), Emerson (1962), and Wrong (1968). Basically, from this perspective we say power is a force and person A has more power than B to the extent that A can get B to do something they would not otherwise do. Early social and organizational psychological research

TABLE 13.1   Elements of manifest–personal power

Sources	Definitions	Strategies
Expertise	Knowledge and skills which others see as relevant to the task accomplishment and which the individual is seen as possessing	Obtaining credentials or ongoing experiences which others respect
Legitimate authority	Formal position and roles which define responsibilities and appropriate scope of activity	Ensuring roles and role expectations are clear and recognized as legitimate
Referent	Power which comes from trust and commitment given to the individual because of his/her personal traits and characteristics	Build respect and trust through personal integrity, charisma, and group affiliation
Rewards/ coercion	Behaviours which reward or hurt others but which ensure compliance and buy-in	Accumulating things of value to others or punishments which can harm others
Association	Influence which comes from knowing powerful people	Networking and developing connections and associations

on power focused on describing power bases of managers. From this perspective, power is viewed as the potential ability of an individual agent to influence a target within a certain system or context. As early as 1959, French and Raven created a typology of power which includes five sources of personal power, all of which are both manifest and identifiable. Table 13.1 defines the power that derives from expertise, legitimate authority, referent power, rewards and coercion, and association with other powerful people. Yukl, in Chapter 14, updates and expands this way of thinking about manifest–personal influence.

These manifest–personal power sources have been picked up in the literature on organizational change and have resulted in many attempts to mobilize this type of power to enable change in organizations. For example, Greiner and Schein (1988) contributed to the Addison-Wesley Series on OD with a book entitled *Power and Organizational Development*. They suggest that there is a need for a better integration of power and OD and that for too long they were seen as opposing and contentious approaches. They argue that there is a difference between positive and negative uses of power and call for the use of the 'high road'. In general, political tactics that arise from the use of these power sources are framed in the change literature either as dirty tricks to be avoided or as astute strategies for advancing a change effort. Despite the underlying discomfort of many with the use of manifest–personal power in organizational change, there are a number of approaches to change which draw on these power bases. Some of these are described below, two of which draw primarily on one power base (positional or expert) and the third which calls on a more broadly based political strategy.

EXPERT POWER APPROACH TO CHANGE

A change model that fits best in the perspective of manifest–personal power is the expert or design model (Boonstra, 1997). Although every person and group in an organization has access to power bases, the process of change is often initiated, coordinated, and controlled by top management who rely on the expertise of those hired to advise them. Change agents are seen to play this important role and they use expert knowledge to assist groups in the organization with analysing and solving problems. The educational background of the change agents seems to be connected to the way problems are analysed and solved. Change agents with a background in information technology, business engineering, or business administration usually start the change process with either an information-processing

rationality or an economic-technological rationality. Top management, striving for efficient service of organizational goals, employ behavioural expert knowledge in the analysis of socio-technical systems and in the design of more efficient work systems. In this situation behavioural science becomes a form of social engineering, used to assist management with the efficient implementation of the goals as defined by management.

The expert model emphasizes the design of new strategies, structures, and systems. In general, the change process starts with the designation of abstract objectives, and particular attention is given to the desired output of the organization, the formal transformation process, and the related information processes. The change process is managed as a special project, with clear-cut targets, and a restricted number of alternatives. The decision-making is highly structured and formalized. The implementation is aimed at creating acceptance for the new organization and finding solutions for different forms of resistance during the implementation. The dominant change strategy is the empirical–rational strategy (Chin & Benne, 1976). This strategy depends on knowledge as a major ingredient of power. In this view, knowledge is a legitimate source of power. The desirable direction of influence is from experts, that is, from those who know, to those who do not know through processes of dissemination of information and rational persuasion. The use of the expert model of change and the empirical–rational strategy seems suitable in a predictable and highly structured situation where the problem is known, not too complex, and a solution is within reach. The problems with the expert model of organizational change lie in an insufficient consideration of the cultural and other political impediments and the emergence of resistance to change within line management and other groups in the organization. It is argued that resistance can be prevented or averted by propagating a rational vision, by elaborately communicating about the changes, and by having line managers and other groups participate in the process of change (Boonstra, 1997). Behavioural science knowledge is used to realize compliance or commitment with the change effort. Of course, it is possible to use expert knowledge and power sources in a process of OD and bottom-up changes.

POLITICAL/POWER APPROACH

This is an approach to change in which the change agent develops an explicitly political strategy that begins with a complete assessment of all their manifest–personal power bases. For example, Margulies and Raia (1984) argue that understanding and skilful use of political strategies in an OD intervention are critical. Bateman (1980) calls this a political/power strategy and says the change agent must align with those in power and then influence them to desire and accept the changes. To do this, a change agent must convince the powerful that the change is in their self-interest. Change agents can employ many tactics, such as increasing their referent power by expanding their social networks and having lunch or coffee with key people. Becoming an assistant or staff adviser to board members, for example, can enhance personal expert power through advice giving. Understanding personal power and developing tactics for using it, however, are not enough and constant monitoring of the political activities of others is required because this will allow the change agent to develop, adapt, and modify his/her political strategies based on carefully selected goals. A power audit, identification of targets, an inventory of tactics, adequate resources, and monitoring with a commitment of time and energy are Bateman's suggestions for implementation of a political change model.

Similarly, in 1975, Pettigrew outlined a political theory of intervention for internal change agents based on his understanding that power is a relational phenomenon. He recommends starting with an understanding of the sources of power for the consultant and exploration of the mechanisms by which such resources are controlled and used tactically within the consulting process. He argues that there are at least five interrelated, potential power sources available to an internal change agent and these include expertise, control over information, political access and sensitivity, assessed stature, and group support. While some of these fall into the manifest–structural category, Pettigrew argues that the

political processes must be recognized and because of a change agent's vested interests in the change process they must be tactically utilized. A wise agent of change will manage the impressions they create in order to generate stature and will form multiplex relationships with key figures in the political network of the organization. Timing of interventions and building of credit are two of the political strategies Pettigrew identifies.

Schein (1977) goes further than Pettigrew in describing the political tactics that will build on identified power bases and these include aligning with powerful others, research, using a neutral cover, limiting communication, and withdrawing. She argues that while change agents can either play down politics or avoid them, it is better to use them to effect ends that are going to positively impact on the lives of the people in the organization.

In a similar way, Harrison (1980) argues that the positional power of a change agent is limited and it is the astute use of personal power that will allow them to accomplish the goals of the change process. Understanding of personal power allows the change agent to make choices, to feel potent and not magnify the power of others while denying their own power. He further argues that personal power is critical because positional power is not suited to the building of open, trusting, and cooperative relationships.

Personal Position Power Approach to Change

The model of organizational change related to the perspective of position power can be described as a power (over) model of change (Bouwen, 1995). In the power-over model, the leader is an authority figure who imposes and declares organizational change and effects the changes by using legitimate position power. Position power stems from this person's formal position and implies the legitimate authority to use positive and negative sanctions such as rewards and coercion. Thus, position power mostly refers to the existing organizational hierarchy that provides management with the ability to control the behaviour of others and to change the organizational structure and processes. This use of power is observable and direct. In order to employ sanctions it is necessary to know to what extent employees perform the required actions. Therefore, management uses control systems. The power embedded in formal organizational structures and processes are directed at domination. Decision-making is based on the exclusion of employees and the one-sided realization of interests of management and shareholders. Using such power-coercive strategies enforces change (Chin & Benne, 1976; Dunphy & Stace, 1988). When management is protected by its legitimate power in a social system and is able to use economic sanctions, it can use power-coercive strategies to effect changes that they consider desirable, without much questioning on the part of those with less power. In these situations a power-coercive way of decision-making is accepted as in the nature of things and is seen as functional for the organization. The use of such an approach is common when an organization is in crisis and rapid action is needed. This strategy will result in compliance when the groups in the organization depend on each other, share a sense of urgency to take immediate action, and are not aware of alternative strategies. The limitations of this power model of change are related to the strong top-down approach. The top management of an organization initiates, leads, and controls the process. Such processes follow a linear design and have a clear starting point and desired situation. Tight planning is necessary to attain the goals of the change. Many of these design approaches fail or experience difficulties with the realization of goals (Boonstra, 1997). These problems partly arise because the power model of change allows little participation of members of the organization and disregards learning possibilities.

MANIFEST–STRUCTURAL POWER

In this perspective on power the emphasis moves away from personal power, that is ascribed to the individual, towards an understanding of the power that rests in the position or location an interest

TABLE 13.2   Elements of manifest–structural power

Sources	Definitions	Strategies
Control of scarce resources	Ability to allocate resources (information, uncertainty, money, people, etc.) among groups with competing interests	Obtain positions which are responsible for distribution and allocation of resources
Criticality/ relevance	Tasks which are essential in the work-flow process and which can cause the total system to break down	Obtain positions responsible for the most critical tasks or those essential to key organizational goals
Centrality	Tasks or positions which are in the middle of a communication network	Obtain central positions where others are dependent on you
Visibility	Positions which are seen by those of power and influence in the organization	Seek out tasks which have high profile
Coalitions	Power which comes from building support from groups with similar interests	Systematically seek support from others based on an analysis of their interests
Flexibility/autonomy	Positions which are characterized by discretion in decision-making, work assignment, etc.	Seek out tasks which are not routine and which contain autonomy and room for independent decision-making

group, sub-unit, or organizational department holds in the structure of the organization. Thus, power potentially belongs to any collectivity in a particular structure regardless of their members' personal traits or characteristics (see Table 13.2). Structural factors become the major influence in understanding power relations. For example, Bacharach and Lawler (1980) identify the importance of coalitions and, using social psychological theory, argue that formal stratification of the organization constrains and facilitates the creation and collapse of coalitions between interest groups and the relational networks between groups.

From this perspective both cooperation and competition are seen to characterize relational networks of interdependent groups. On the one hand, we see that people are dependent on each other and yet, on the other, they pursue their own interests. Organizational processes are influenced both by mutual harmonization of parts of the system, and by the way power is structured and used. In organizations, the distribution of power is often characterized by stability. This stability results from a commitment to decisions concerning the realization of the business strategy, the structuring of the organization, and the distribution of power that emerged from the past (Pfeffer, 1981). The existing structure and the distribution of power are believed to be natural and unquestionable while still being largely latent and observable if appropriately assessed. In organizations, there is a balance of power between the interests of individuals and of the interdependent groups. Sometimes these interests are at odds and this can result in conflicting objectives, power games, and controversies in decision-making (Hickson et al., 1971; Pfeffer, 1994). The tension between the interest of individuals and groups is viewed as inevitable and as a normal part of the way of getting things done (Dalton, 1959; Pettigrew, 1973). This perspective on power in organizations is also known as the pluralist view (Emerson, 1962; for an overview, see Hardy & Clegg, 1996). The pluralist view is related to the exchange theory in social psychology in which the power of an actor is derived from the possibilities this actor or his or her group have of providing others with relevant resources (Kelley & Thibaut, 1978). The pluralist view maintains that groups and departments have to cooperate and that agreement between them is necessary for the functioning of the organization and to warrant its continuity. Negotiation and exchange of resources characterize the

power process. Some departments have more power than others. The departmental power bases are related to what the work unit does, but the power of different departments varies among organizations and can change over time (Perrow, 1970; Pfeffer, 1994). There are three underlying dimensions that determine departmental power bases (Hickson et al., 1971). The first dimension is the ability to cope with uncertainty that influences the day-to-day operation of an organization. Departments that can cope effectively with uncertainty can increase their power and their position in negotiation processes. The second dimension is the substitutability of the department's functions and activities of the organization. Departments can prevent substitution and acquire control over scarce resources through shielding from others how the work is actually performed. The third dimension is centrality. Centrality refers to the power of a department that derives from the dependency of other departments and their significant role in the flow of work.

There are various approaches to organizational change that relate directly to this view of organizational power relations. For example, strategic redesign of the structure of the organization is often used as a way of changing the balance of power between key internal and external stakeholders and making the organization better aligned with the environment. As Tichy (1983) suggests, there is a need in these approaches to align the technical, political, and cultural systems. Pfeffer (1994) argues that organizational design is inherently a political process. The approach to change presented below is the conflict management and negotiation model.

NEGOTIATION MODELS OF CHANGE

Conflict management and negotiation characterize the change models that draw on manifest–structural approaches to power. All interest groups play their roles in the change process, based on their position in the organization, their departmental power sources, and their own interests. In change processes, both the structure and systems of the organization and the balance of power are brought up for discussion. In the process, different coalitions will direct their attention at securing their interests, objectives, and power positions (Kanter, 1983; Steensma & Boer, 1997; Yukl et al., 2003). Resistance to change is seen as a result of the exercise of power and can be understood as a struggle to achieve power or to escape from it. The change managers focus on preventing conflict in the change process by regulating participation of the groups involved or by negotiation about the objectives of the change process and the way it is organized and managed. The dominant change strategy is the exchange strategy (Zaltman & Duncan, 1977). This strategy implies that a change agent sets the conditions for the way change is realized by providing the material or other means. Positive outcomes are for parties who accept the change. The exchange strategy appeals to the comparison of costs and benefits parties make and it stresses what will be gained by the change. Negotiations are directed at smoothing opposition, tensions, and differences in opinion between parties and the goal is to accomplish an agreement that does justice to the interest of all involved parties. In the change process, most of the negotiations are visible and parties are aware of the power processes. In the negotiations, many of the power bases described above are used to secure a good starting position and to influence the process by building good arguments, getting control of scarce resources, gaining a position of centrality, or controlling the procedures. Management usually possesses a considerable amount of structural power. It can use these power bases to win conflicts and to strengthen their position in the negotiation process. This increases the chance that their interests are realized at the expense of the interests of other parties involved in the change process. The use of an exchange strategy seems suitable in politically sensitive situations. If multiple parties with opposing interests and relatively balanced power are involved in a change process, negotiations will be needed to come to an agreement about things such as goals, the way the change is going to be implemented, and the role of the different parties in the change process. The pluralists view has been criticized because it suggests that all involved parties can defend their interests in the negotiation process. However, the power embedded in formal organizational structures and processes supports the interests of management more than those of others. Organizational structures,

TABLE 13.3 Elements of latent–cultural power

Sources	Definitions	Strategies
Control of the agenda	Power which comes from being able to define the issues which are important and will be acted on	Direct attention and energy towards own issues which align with own group's interests; will alternatively suppress or generate conflict
Management of meaning	Control of the language, symbols, rituals, and values which are culturally embedded and which unconsciously determine behaviours	Use organizational procedures and events to symbolically signal which issues are important and how decisions will be made
Taken-for-granted rules and routines	Everyday and historically instituted processes and tasks which benefit certain groups over others but which are not questioned	Reveal (or establish) repeated processes for resource and task allocation which leave certain assumptions unexplored and unquestioned
Knowledge claims	The determination of what is 'seeable' and 'sayable' (known) through the construction of discourses and discursive practices	Make visible and give voice to alternative/suppressed knowledge claims and challenge the objectification of knowledge claims of the dominant groups. Rebellion, challenge, and reconstruction (or suppress them)

rules, regulations, procedures, decision-making, and negotiation are seen as products and reflections of a struggle for control that puts management in a privileged position (Giddens, 1979; Hardy & Clegg, 1996).

Borum (1980) extends this approach to an alternative model for use in situations when power is not relatively balanced. He argues, in such a context, it is essential to first strengthen the weaker party's power bases prior to negotiations with the 'opponent' and to explicitly formalize the mechanisms for regulating the conflicts that may arise.

LATENT–CULTURAL POWER

In the latent–cultural perspective to power it is assumed that ideas, the definitions of reality, and shared values are central features of organizing (Alvesson, 1993). Organizing is seen as a process of the creation and reproduction of shared meanings that are largely latent or unconscious (Table 13.3). In this process, shared meanings that were formed previously may be destroyed and alternative and new meanings created (Weick, 1979). Gergen (1991) addresses this social construction of reality from a psychological standpoint. Social relations are characterized by a typical structure and culture, based on rules, habits, institutions, language, communication, use of symbols, and definitions of reality which serve as a foundation.

Culture represents relative stability in an organization and is related to power because power relations come to be seen as natural and unquestionable. Perceptions, cognitions, and preferences of individuals and groups are shaped by culture that, in turn, prevents them from seeing alternatives. Applying an interpretative paradigm (Burrell & Morgan, 1979), we come to understand how, for example, cultural artefacts, language, rituals, and values construct meaning for organizational members and how they simultaneously work to suppress conflict, prevent issues from being identified, and control, the actual agenda for decision-making and non-decision-making. In these ways, power relations become entrenched in the organization and those who can set the agenda, who manage the meaning

systems and who have others believe their definitions of reality, have more power than those who do not (Smircich & Morgan, 1982; Hardy, 1985; Rosen, 1985; Alvesson, 1992; Murray & Bradshaw-Camball, 1993). Thus, power is increased to the extent that the group which defines reality has others accepting their definition in unquestioning and taken-for-granted ways. Management fulfils a special role in these unconscious power processes because it has the opportunity, more than others, to give meaning to events and in doing so management contributes to the development of norms and values in the organization. Pettigrew (1977) describes the management of meaning as a process of symbol construction and value use designed both to create legitimacy for one's own demands and to de-legitimize the demands of others. Management of meaning involves the ability to define the reality of others. Thus, managers are powerful agents who create shared meanings, ideas, values, and reality through communication and the manipulation of symbols. As Winter (1996) would suggest, power is seen as an interpretative institution and pervasively hegemonic.

From the work of more critical theorists, we can further understand the deeper aspects of latent–cultural power by reflecting on how groups come to consent to their own domination and subjugation in a passive mode characterized by lack of resistance. Lukes (1974) argues that people accept the status quo and their role in it because they view the current systems as natural and unchangeable. The role of ideological hegemony (Clegg, 1990) is important to understand as we see that existing organizational and societal structures are supported by inherently classed, gendered, and raced assumptions and values (Mills, 1992). From this perspective we can argue that organizations are, for example, inherently gendered and we unconsciously accept that the organizational systems and structures work to advantage certain groups over others. The social construction of gender then becomes objectified and is seen as being a given which is unchangeable. Other ways of constructing meaning are suppressed and silenced with resulting inequities of power. We come to see and accept the interests of the dominant group as 'objective' and as legitimate knowledge claims instead of seeing all interests as subjectively created realities embedded in multiple truth claims. A postmodern perspective helps oppressed groups attempt to reveal, expose, deconstruct, and question the ideological assumptions embedded in organizational discourses and to show how they suppress conflicts.

From this perspective, power is assumed to be take-for-granted and latent. Power is a cultural artefact that becomes entrenched in the hands of certain dominant and privileged groups. This dynamic exists to the extent that the meaning systems in which the relations of power are embedded are shared collectively by various interest groups and are reproduced through discourses, practices, and routines within organizations (Townley, 1994). While the surface–structural perspective looks at power from a more positivistic perspective, with power originating in structures and objective resources, from a latent–cultural view of power the interpretative and postmodern perspectives provide the dominant lens and underlying assumptions. Just as perspectives on latent–cultural power are informed by various theoretical views, some more critical and postmodern than others, so the literature on change and power involves a variety of approaches. Below we review democratic dialogue as an intervention into the meaning system of an organization that is still largely consistent with modernist views of power, and then explore newer and more critical approaches that are informed by postmodern theory and psychoanalytic perspectives.

As well as revealing different options for change, this view of power also calls on change agents to personally ask different questions of themselves and their role. The questions change, for example, from what should be done to improve this organization?, or how do I get the CEO on side?, to whose meaning systems will I support? (Greenfield, 1973; Bradshaw, 1990). If a change effort is seen as an intervention in the reality construction process of an organization, how does the change agent impact on these processes and towards what ends? The literature also warns change agents against losing their power by being seduced themselves into the world-view of the powerful (Burke, 1980). Marshall and McLean (1985) warn change agents against being seduced into unconsciously exemplifying the culture that they are attempting to change and thus unwittingly helping the organization stay the same. With a paradoxical intervention, they argue, the change agent can achieve radical although unpredictable

change. Change agents are advised, from this perspective, to be powerful and independent enough to not be seduced into the dominant culture and subtle enough that they are not so threatening to the culture that they are expelled from the organization.

DEMOCRATIC DIALOGUE AS A MODEL OF CHANGE

Alvesson and Deetz (2000) refer to the critical modernism of Habermas (1984) which takes the ideal of emancipation by dialogue very seriously. In this view, knowledge can counteract the realties of domination and allow for emancipation based on unrestricted freedom. This can be achieved by critical reflection and independent thought and by way of thoughtful evaluation of various viewpoints and arguments in an open dialogue (Alvesson & Willmott, 1992). In dialogue, human consciousness, cognition, and the nature and potential of communication are critical elements for a systematic improvement of the work environment. It is assumed that in dialogue and open discussions, based on good will, rational argumentation, and questioning, consensus can be reached about present and desirable states of the organization.

Organizational learning with a strong emphasis on participative design and development (Emery, 1999) and democratic dialogue (Gustavsen, 1992; Bouwen, 1995) are approaches to change that can be used in the sense that Habermas intended. Some people use these methods in a way that explicitly recognizes the latent—cultural power dynamics inherent in dialogue but others ignore power and attempt to use the methods in a power-neutral or blind fashion.

Ideally, in an organizational learning change process, the concerns of all parties are involved and appreciated through an exploration of each party's meaning systems. This strategy stresses the involvement of all organization members in programmes of change regardless of their hierarchical power. The way participants see themselves and their problems becomes the subject of a dialogue in which different perceptions and meanings are exchanged. Such a dialogue makes clear that problems are related to the definition of the situation and the underlying attitudes, values, norms, and relationships. According to this strategy, members of organizations must learn to cooperate in problem identification and the formulation of solutions, which improve organizational learning in a democratic fashion.

In the participative design and developmental approach, power differentials are minimized as members from all echelons of the organization are brought together to analyse the problems in the organization, describe their work situation, redesign the work organization, and learn from their efforts. Methods to facilitate the changes are workshops, conferences, and project groups that search for common ground to help design their own work organization (Weisbord, 1992; Emery, 1999). In the developmental approach, the organization is considered to be a source of knowledge and experience which should be optimally utilized. The organization's ability to change is enhanced by involving members of the organization in problem analysis and teaching them to gradually shape changes themselves. In the process, attention is given to the culture of the organization and the ability of the people to solve problems. Decision-making is aimed at attaining shared objectives through consultation, dialogue, and negotiation informed by power. The experience of current problems by members is established and gradual adjustments and improvements are facilitated. Much consideration is given to group dynamics. In the change process, an attempt is made to change behaviours, values, and norms, to develop shared meaning, and to enhance the change capacities and learning abilities of the organization and its members. The results of the participative design and developmental approach in realizing organizational change, redistribution of power, and the enhancement of organizational learning are seen as promising for the future (Boonstra & Vink, 1996).

The approach of democratic dialogue can also focus on networks of organizations that try to learn from each other's experiences by means of conferences. In addition, projects are often carried out simultaneously within each organization. Communication and open dialogue are the most important methods in the change process. The change agent is a facilitator with process knowledge who supports

the dialogue. One of the aims of the dialogue is to realize cognitive and emotional restructuring of subjective realities (Gustavsen, 1992).

SEDUCTIVE MODELS OF CHANGE

We would describe a second set of change models that relate to the latent–cultural view of power as a seductive model. In these approaches to change, there is a striving to achieve commitment, unquestioning adoption of the new organizational culture, and a harmonious development of new meaning. It is a form of political seduction (Calás & Smircich, 1991; Doorewaard & Brouns, 2003). This approach implies agreement by all participants with the existing structure, systems, and culture. Second, employees must identify with the demands of both the structure and the culture of an organization. Third, compliance by employees is achieved by creating seductive situations that simultaneously push less appealing situations into the background. Fourth, there is a change of perspectives that conceals negative consequences of the change and draws attention to the positive effects. The deliberate use of this strategy by managers or change agents can be seen as manipulation. In such a situation one party consciously influences the values, attitudes, and constructions of reality of other parties by using all available power bases. For example, managers can charismatically use information in such a way that some alternatives no longer seem desirable or by stressing positive outcomes and not mentioning the risks that are taken. If the use of manipulative strategies is discovered, resistance will follow. An atmosphere of distrust develops which becomes a breeding ground for conflict that can prevent parties from coming to agreement about new situations. This approach is often called transformational or charismatic leadership and not seduction, but in all cases power is accrued to the extent that others do not question the definition of reality that gets created.

   This approach is related to the normative–re-educative strategy (Chin & Benne, 1976). In this strategy, patterns of action and practice are supported by socio-cultural norms and by the commitment of individuals to these norms. It is assumed that behavioural change occurs when the persons involved in a change process are brought to change their normative orientations to old behaviours and develop new ones. Changes in normative orientations involve changes in attitudes, values, significant relationships, and shared meanings. Chin and Benne argue that influencing these non-cognitive determinants of behaviour can be realized in a mutual process of persuasion within cooperative relationships. Using a seductive model to effect change seems suitable in situations where the mobilization of knowledge and experiences of employees is desired. Change is implemented gradually and the process allows participation of all involved parties. However, the methods used in the change model vary considerably and are dependent on the flow of the process. A limitation of the approach lies in the danger of manipulation by the change agent and the emergence of a paternalistic attitude towards the recipients of the change.

SPIRITUAL/SYMBOLIC MODELS OF CHANGE

Within what we are calling the spiritual/symbolic models of change there is a recognition of the deep and pervasive operation of symbols and that often, if one takes these at the level of the psyche, they are connected to what many consider to be spiritual or sacred elements. While there is no one school of thought in this area, there are efforts by many to apply the insights that grow out of recognition of latent–cultural power. For example, there has been an acknowledgement that change agents are organizational shaman and change efforts are 'less a science than an art, and less an art than a magical, spiritual, process between those who are OD consultants and those who are clients' (Margulies, 1972: 78). This approach to change sometimes uses interventions that work at the level of the unconscious in ways that engage the myth-making processes of the organization (Boje et al., 1982) and the symbol-creating capacity of the psyche (Olson, 1990). Methods for engaging the deep meaning systems drawing on Jungian and

other schools of psychology are being explored to overcome resistance to change and conflicts and to enhance understanding and integration. Olson, for example, argues that third-order change must address the unconscious and spiritual dimensions of organization. The unconscious manifests through myths or essential stories, dreams, metaphors that capture the imagination, and other underlying forces. From this view the unconscious is an irrational, creative force that often conflicts with the conscious world of objects and people. Active imagination, self-awareness, dream analysis, and other symbolic interventions facilitate integration of the two, through the activated transcendent function (Olson, 1990). Power dynamics and complexes are surfaced in these techniques and the unconscious aspects of them revealed (Bradshaw & Newell, 1993).

In a related way, Coopey (1998) suggests using radical theatre or theatre of the oppressed (Boal, 1979; Schutzman & Cohen-Cruz, 1994) to facilitate organizational learning, to challenge the knowledge claims of managers, and to overcome the 'democratic deficit' in organizations. Such interventions at the level of meaning and symbols are designed to reshape the institutional and cultural context of business and to create new local forms of politics. Coopey argues this approach is a way of moving towards a genuine learning organization, based on both trust and political action.

CO-POWER THEORY OF CHANGE

Critical and postmodern understandings of power are still relatively new in organizational theory (Calás & Smircich, 1999) and, as a result, the implications of these theoretical perspectives for organizational change are still relatively rare. Boje and Rosile (2001) make an interesting attempt to do this by applying the theories of Follett and Clegg to reframe empowerment. Using a co-power model, in which the co-relationships between individuals and the network of systems and relations that make up the organization are the focus, they recommend organizational change agents move beyond the duality in which managers delegate, share, or donate power to workers. To do this, they suggest democratic conditions that allow people to be agents of power, and fixed meanings to come under review, so that new rules of the game can be developed. Workers' participation in governance of the firm, employees who are co-owners of production, and localized economies are all change strategies that they argue will break us out of existing and taken-for-granted relations of power. Redefining the organization's relations with its community and resistance to global transorganizational dominance are change strategies that come from the embracing of critical and postmodern perspectives on power.

LATENT–PERSONAL POWER

Thus far we have seen that managers, change agents, and other individuals can use manifest–personal power directly, visibly, and consciously. As the polarity between manifest vs latent personal power is explored in this section, we can begin to suggest ways in which latent–personal power is being described and utilized in moving a change agenda forward in organizations. As in the section on latent–cultural power, this perspective is relatively new in organization theory and we are presenting approaches to change that are also correspondingly relatively underdeveloped.

This perspective on power has its roots in the psychoanalytic, postmodern, and feminist theories. It is not a look at how structures or cultures constrain agency but how individuals themselves come to limit themselves and to unquestioningly obey (Hamilton & Woolsey Biggart, 1985). This type of power differs conceptually from the latent–cultural power in several ways. One difference is the assumption that power is inherently diffused and shared among individuals located anywhere within a social system. This diffusion allows individuals to potentially become active agents who can deploy their power even if they are at the bottom of the hierarchy or relatively powerless (Whittington, 1992; Winter, 1996). Second, implicit in this approach to power is the recognition that power relations are often latent or even unconscious and they then become embedded in the actual psyche of the individual

TABLE 13.4 Elements of latent–personal power

Sources	Definitions	Strategies
Authentic existence	Being able to work in ways which reflect one's own truth and experience and which take into account both power/privilege and powerlessness/ oppression. Ethics as critical self-awareness	Become more self-aware through reflective practice and personal growth. Acknowledge taken-for-granted advantages based on race, class, sex, sexual orientation, etc. Own both personal power and powerlessness
Critical consciousness	Perception of social, political, and economic contradictions and inequities. Replaces panoptic consciousness	Engage in a deep learning process which facilitates a search for political awareness (e.g. theatre of the oppressed, liberation education, feminist therapy)
Focused scepticism and critical detachment	An ability to stand apart from the dominant discourses, micropractices, and disciplinary mechanisms and see how they are perpetuated and carried unconsciously within ourselves	Unlearn habitualized ways of being; defamiliarization; question the conventional; overcome deference to power
Defiance	Use our capacity to refuse; make choices to take action against oppressive elements of reality as it is constructed	Say 'no', demonstrate agency and assert equality, refuse cooperation and compliance, veto, disobey

(Starhawk, 1987; Bolen, 1992; Brown, 1994). Empowerment is the process of uncovering this latent power or powerlessness. According to Miller, '[power] acts on the interior of the person, through their self' (1987, quoted in Knights & Morgan, 1991: 269).

To the extent that an individual is unconsciously complicit and has internalized various mechanisms of control and obedience is the extent to which their freedom to act according to (or even to know) their own values and beliefs is constrained. From this perspective, for example, members of oppressed groups are asked to understand how they collude in maintaining the very systems that oppress them.

Alternatively, as suggested by Foucault (1977), the disciplinary mechanisms of the dominant groups and the very apparatuses of surveillance, examination, and normalization operate on us so subtly that we do not realize that we have internalized them into a type of panoptic consciousness. Such internalization of the 'gaze' renders actual mechanisms of control unnecessary. For Foucault this aspect of disciplinary power becomes 'embodied' or we carry it as individuals in our actual, physical, and 'obedient' bodies. In the face of these types of latent control mechanisms, there are a number of sources of power which can be mobilized by the individual (see Table 13.4). For example, attempting to be authentic and act in congruence with one's own values and beliefs. This involves not only honestly identifying one's powerlessness and complicity with the dominant systems but also owning one's taken-for-granted power and privilege. Peggy McIntosh (1990) defines privilege as a knapsack of taken-for-granted and unearned assets that provide special provisions that help certain individuals advance. Authentic existence requires those with power and privilege to make this explicit and then act on the consequences of this unearned advantage. Another source of deep personal power is the development of a critical consciousness that Freire (1970) defines as a perception of the social, political, and economic contradictions inherent in society. We believe that such a consciousness can replace what Foucault calls panoptic consciousness.

It is assumed that an attitude of focused scepticism and critical detachment is necessary if an individual is to have latent–personal power. Only by standing outside the dominant discourses and seeing how we have unconsciously carried them within ourselves can we unlearn these mechanisms of

power. Through a process of questioning and defamiliarization, we can replace an attitude of deference to power with an ability to make autonomous choices. Often the ability to develop a detached and sceptical attitude is facilitated by exposure to other systems and styles of organizing, for example, from outside the organizations of which we are members. Whittington (1992) suggests that experiencing contradictory structural principles will allow us to move organizations in directions that are in contradiction to the dominant capitalist rules. In effect, individuals have the possibility to 'act out their roles in the light of their own autonomous cultural and ideological values' (Whittington, 1992: 701) if they can import into the organization the experiences they have with other external institutions with different beliefs, rules, values, and resources.

Many groups are experimenting with ways to help people develop a critical consciousness. For example, feminist therapists are working with women to reveal their feminist consciousness (Brown, 1994). Liberation education techniques, first used by Paulo Freire, are now being utilized in other contexts to help individuals break silences and value their own experience and voice (e.g. Starhawk, 1987). We will explore a few of these approaches to organizational change below.

INDIVIDUAL LEARNING AND DEEP REFLECTION AS APPROACHES TO CHANGE

Quinn says he has come to believe that altering our inner world (1996: 217) can change the external world. He admits this is not a popular view and runs contrary to views of 'top-down' and 'outside in' change. His approach, he indicates, requires confidence and the ability to act on one's own values even if they are opposed to those of the system as a whole. Increasingly leadership from the 'inside out' is being advocated as a way of moving change ahead and increases in the use of personal coaches and the re-emergence of personal growth and reflection as essential managerial skills are, to us, a reflection of this shift (Schön, 1983).

Various well-known change agents model this type of 'deep reflection'. Harrison is a good example of this and in his 1995 book he describes his personal journey. He argues that the best contributions he can make are lovingly to assist others in reflection and deep learning, as opposed to scapegoating, and to help people face their shadow and speak their truth. In the Preface to the book, Block describes it as deeply political. He argues that processes such as Harrison describes will enable a genuine redistribution of power through the process of an individual's identification of their own complicity in creating the suffering around us (Block, in Harrison, 1995).

RESISTANCE AS AN APPROACH TO CHANGE

As stated by Bennebroek Gravenhorst (Chapter 15), resistance to change is usually seen as a negative process to be overcome. People are said to be resisting the change process and their resistance must be broken down or overcome. Those who have a more emancipatory change agenda are redefining the term, however, and it is being redefined from this perspective as a way for individuals to undermine or at least distance themselves from the prevailing power structures (Collinson, 1994). Various strategies of resistance are being defined and articulated for individuals and they range from defiance to persistence. Feminist resistance (Bradshaw & Wicks, 1997) is being well articulated and women who want to make change in systems they are also a part of are being described as 'tempered radicals' (Meyerson & Scully, 1995) or as engaging in 'disorganized coaction' (Martin & Meyerson, 1998). Women who are informed by a feminist consciousness are naming injustice and are refusing to accept the subjectivities and identities defined by those in power. The essence of this approach to change is that each individual acts within their own sphere of influence and large-scale change is pursued through a series of small wins and spread by contagion (Martin & Meyerson, 1998).

PARTICIPATORY ACTION RESEARCH

Participatory action research is an approach to change that explicitly recognizes the role of power and 'conscientization' in its interventions (Brown, 1986). Drawing on adult education principles and popular knowledge, it seeks to empower all participants in an action research project to learn as individuals through the process. Hall (1981) describes it as serving the needs and interests of the working classes who are oppressed by dis-indoctrination. This allows them to disengage from the myths imposed by the power structures and to examine deeper levels of social structure. This approach to change starts with individuals but also embraces social movements and the collective level of intervention (Gaventa & Horton, 1981).

CONCLUSION

We have presented four perspectives on power and explored different approaches to change that emerge from each. We recognize that we have not been comprehensive in this review but we have tried to reflect the trends in thinking about power and change since the link between the two was first identified in the 1970s. Some of the approaches are well developed and tested. Others are newer and emerging as we struggle to create change in systems that are embedded in complex, latent, subtle, and fragmented power relations. We know that new approaches will continue to be developed from the margins and that the question of how to link change to power will continue to be defined. Other questions, such as how to engage the silences in organizational discourses (Morrison & Milliken, 2000) that are being dealt with through feminist and other forms of postmodern deconstruction and in textual analysis, for example, have yet to be used to inform change. Foldy and Creed (1999) argue that a postmodern approach to change is more variegated, provides a more contextual understanding of the multiple elements of change, and pays more attention to localized accounts and stories. Understanding the broader organizational change process requires attention to individual sites of struggle as well as to how individuals participate or resist, adapt or rebel and modify the change process.

Each of the perspectives on power presented in this chapter represents fundamentally different sets of assumptions or what might be called paradigms of power. There have been interesting debates in the field of organizational behaviour about the possibility of integrating fundamentally different paradigms, and we think there is a significant challenge for the field in dealing with the diversity and plurality of the insights presented here. There are various ways of dealing with multiple perspectives and Morgan (1983) suggests one of the following: supremacy, synthesis, contingency, anything goes, or dialectic. With dominance or supremacy, one perspective is used to the exclusion of others. We believe the two manifest-power approaches have dominated the field to date, to the point of excluding others. We want to suggest that this pattern of domination and exclusion needs to be challenged and that it is time to encourage more expansive thinking on the topic of power and change. Morgan suggests, in addition to supremacy, that multiple perspectives can be brought together in a contingency framework or one in which the change agent selects the best approach for the situation and draws on different assumptions about power at different times. Morgan further argues that one can be more *laissez-faire* and say anything goes or a combination of any approach in any situation without constraint can be utilized. Morgan also argues that 'there would seem to be no reason why different and contradictory knowledges of the same phenomenon should not co-exist in the nature of that phenomenon' (1983: 390). Therefore another approach is to synthesize or blend two or more approaches together and this is easier with change strategies that share the same amount of latency. For example, two approaches that draw on fundamentally positivistic assumptions about the world will be more congruent and easier to combine (e.g. manifest–personal and manifest–structural). Finally, Morgan suggests a dialectical approach and we want to suggest exploring this alternative in more depth. We have framed the chapter on two polarities and outlined the tensions between all four types of power and their related change

strategies. While contradictory in fundamental ways, if a situation can be looked at first from the lens of manifest power and of latent power, in combination with the individual vs collectivist views, then rich new potential for change can emerge and be enabled. As organizational contexts become more uncertain and complex and the mechanisms of power both more entrenched and more difficult to understand, we believe a unidimensional approach has serious limitations.

We suggest that none of the approaches to change in isolation is sufficient but when taken together, and named as a part of a whole process, they may hold the keys to organizational transformation. We are also not suggesting a coordinated and systematic change process to focus simultaneously on all four types of power. But we are calling for recognition of these polarities or dialectics of power and we recommend an attempt to hold the tensions created by such a multifaceted conceptualization. Postmodern perspectives reveal how certain knowledge claims are privileged. In the field of organizational change, the manifest perspectives on power have been privileged in the dominant discourses. In this process, certain ideas, perspectives, and experiences have been silenced, denied, and oppressed. Given the difficulties of transformational change and the complexities of power, we are challenged to name and understand the multiplicity of approaches to change. If we can value and celebrate differences and nurture alternative change potentials, we are more likely to enable transformational change. If, however, we rely on one set of assumptions about change or, worse yet, suppress, deny, or devalue some perspectives, then the status quo is actually reinforced.

The problem with what we are suggesting is that tough questions must also be addressed. For example, when the latent perspectives on power are included, we must change our language and address questions of oppression, inequity, abuse, neglect, and collusion. This language is not often in the discourses of traditional literature on organizational change. Ideas from postmodernism and social constructionism offer new perspectives. When we include them, we must also ask questions such as change towards what, and towards whose ends? It is, however, naïve to assume that because we do not explicitly deal with these questions that they are not relevant and are not currently being answered in the silences. We often know whose power is currently being enhanced and we are learning how to expose silences in the dominant discourses. Once these silences are addressed, then we can also name the abuse and oppression that is being ignored. Likewise, this type of dialectical model challenges change agents to ask whose interests they are serving, what ends are served through their interventions, and how aware are they of their own internalization of existing power relations and their own unconscious privileges?

In this chapter, we have highlighted two polarities and the dynamic tensions created by simultaneously acknowledging both ends of these polarities. In conclusion, we want to re-emphasize the importance of holding both ends of the polarities in dynamic tension in order for transformative change to be enabled. For example, groups and individuals must engage in deconstruction and resistance at the deeper levels in order to reveal oppression and raise awareness. But to make meaningful change, it is also necessary to use the surface sources of power and change strategies associated with restructuring and personal action. The manifest sources of power must inform the latent and the latent inform the more manifest. Likewise, individual agency must be mobilized while simultaneously acknowledging the role of the collectivity. We can work as active agents but we also need to understand the constraints and limits imposed by the systems of which we are part. We must also understand how power is concentrated in the hands of the dominant groups and through understanding of shared oppression and privilege look at how subordinated groups can work together collectively and politically to create change. This still must be informed by an understanding of the need for the individual to resist and sustain their own critical consciousness. Oshry (1995) proposes the metaphor of a dance and how one must always dance from awareness and clarity of understanding of the systems and how they work. We are proposing this model as a way of informing and enriching our understanding as we dance towards organizational changes using all our powers. Recognizing the complexity and diversity of power sources is the first step. Embracing multiple perspectives and living in the resulting tensions are the challenges.

REFERENCES

Alvesson, M. (1992) Leadership as social integrative action: a study of a computer consultancy company. *Organization Studies*, **13**(2), 185–209.

Alvesson, M. (1993) *Cultural Perspectives on Organizations*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Alvesson, M. & Deetz, S. (2000) *Doing Critical Management Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Alvesson, M. & Willmott, H. (1992) On the idea of emancipation in management and organization studies. *Academy of Management Review*, **17**(3), 432–464.

Bacharach, S.B. & Lawler, E.J. (1980) *Power and Politics in Organizations*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Bateman, T. (1980) Organizational change and the politics of success. *Group & Organization Studies*, **5**(2), 198–209.

Bennis, W.G. (1969) *Organization Development: Its Nature, Origins, and Prospects*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Boal, A. (1979) *Theatre of the Oppressed*. London: Pluto Press.

Boje, D., Fedor, D. & Rowland, M. (1982) Myth making: a qualitative step in OD Interventions. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, **18**(1), 17–28.

Boje, D. & Rosile, G. (2001) Where's the power in empowerment? Answers from Follett and Clegg. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, **37**(1), 90–117.

Bolen, J.S. (1992) *Ring of Power: The Abandoned Child, the Authoritarian Father, and the Disempowered Feminine*. New York: HarperCollins.

Boonstra, J.J. (ed.) (1997) Barriers to organizational change and innovation. *Symposium, Proceedings of the Eighth European Congress on Work and Organisational Psychology*. 2–5 April, Verona.

Boonstra, J.J. & Vink, M.J. (1996) Technological and organizational innovation: a dilemma of fundamental change and development. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, **5**(3), 351–376.

Borum, F. (1980) A power-strategy alternative to organization development. *Organization Studies*, **1**(2), 123–146.

Bouwen, R. (1995) Social reconstruction of power relationships in workplace conflict episodes. In J.J. Boonstra (ed.) Power dynamics and organizational change. *Symposium, Proceedings of the Seventh European Congress on Work and Organisational Psychology*. 19–22 April, Györ, Hungary.

Bradshaw, P. (1990) Organizational development and the radical humanist paradigm: exploring the implications. *Academy of Management Best Papers Proceedings*, August, 253–257.

Bradshaw, P. (1996) Women as constituent directors: re-reading current texts using a feminist-postmodernist approach. In D.J. Boje, R.P. Gephart, Jr & T.J. Thatchenkery (eds) *Postmodern Management and Organization Theory* (pp. 95–124). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Bradshaw, P. (1998) Power as dynamic tension and its tension and its implications for radical organizational change. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, **7**(2), 121–143.

Bradshaw, P. & Newell, S. (1993) Dreams of untenured female faculty: exploring deep structures of power. *Canadian Woman Studies*, **18**(1), 123–127.

Bradshaw, P. & Wicks, D. (1997) Women in the academy: cycles of resistance and compliance. In P. Prasad, A. Mills, M. Elmes & A. Prasad (eds) *Managing the Organization Melting Pot: Dilemmas of Workplace Diversity* (pp. 199–225). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Bradshaw-Camball, P. & Murray, V.V. (1991) Illusions and other games: a trifocal view of organizational politics. *Organization Science*, **2**(4), 379–398.

Brown, L.D. (1986) Participatory research and community planning. In B. Checkoway (ed.) *Strategic Perspectives on Planning Practice* (pp. 123–137). Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath & Co.

Brown, L.S. (1994) *Subversive Dialogues: Theory in Feminist Therapy*. New York: Basic Books.

Burke, W. (1980) Is your client really involved in OD? In W. Burke & L.D. Goodstein (eds) *Trends and Issues in OD: Current Theory and Practice* (pp. 301–309). San Diego, CA: University Associates.

Burrell, G. & Morgan, G. (1979) *Sociological Paradigms and Organisational Analysis: Elements of the Sociology of Corporate Life*. London: Heinemann.

Calás, M.B. & Smircich, L. (1991) Voicing seduction to silence leadership. *Organization Studies*, **12**(4), 567–602.

Calás, M.B. & Smircich, L. (1999) Past postmodernism? Reflections and tenative directions. *Academy of Management Review*, **24**(4), 649–671.

Chin, R. & Benne, K. (1976) General strategies for effecting changes in human systems. In W. Bennis, K. Benne & R. Chin (eds) *The Planning of Change* (pp. 23–45). San Diego, CA: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Clegg, S.R. (1990) *Frameworks of Power*. London: Sage.

Collinson, D. (1994) Strategies of resistance: power, knowledge and subjectivity in the workplace. In J.M. Jermier, D. Knights & W. Nord (eds) *Resistance and Power in Organizations* (pp. 25–68). London: Routledge.

Coopey, J. (1998) Learning to trust and trusting to learn: a role for radical theatre. *Management Learning*, **29**(3), 365–382.

Cummings, T. & Worley, C.G. (1997) *Organization Development and Change* (6th edn). Cincinnati, OH: South-Western College Publishing.

Dahl, R.A. (1975) The concept of power. *Behavioral Science*, **2**, 201–215.

Dalton, M. (1959) *Men who Manage*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

Doorewaard, H. & Brouns, B. (2003) Hegemonic power proceses and team-based work. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, **52**(1), 106–122.

Dunphy, D.C. & Stace, D.A. (1998) Transformational and coercive strategies for planned organizational change. *Organizational Studies*, **11**(1), 17–34.

Emerson, R.M. (1962) Power-dependence relations. *American Sociological Review*, **27**, 31–41.

Emery, M. (1999) *Searching: The Theory and Practice of Making Cultural Change*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Foldy, E. & Creed, D. (1999) Action learning, fragmentation, and the interaction of single-, double-, and triple-loop change: a case of gay and lesbian workplace advocacy. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, **35**(2), 207–227.

Foucault, M. (1977) *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Trans. A. Sheridan. New York: Pantheon Books.

Freire, P. (1970) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: The Seabury Press.

Gaventa, J. & Horton, B.D. (1981) A citizens' research project in Appalachia, USA. *Convergence*, **14**(3), 30–42.

Gergen, K. (1991) *The Saturated Self: Dilemmas of Identity in Contemporary Life*. New York: Basic Books.

Giddens, A. (1979) *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Greenfield, T. (1973) Organizations as social inventions: rethinking assumptions about change. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, **9**(5), 551–574.

Greiner, L.E. & Schein, V.E. (1988) *Power and Organization Development: Mobilizing Power to Implement Change*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Gustavsen, B. (1992) *Dialogue and Development: Theory of Communication, Action Research and the Restructuring of Working Life*. Stockholm: Swedish Centre for Working Life.

Habermas, J. (1984) *The Theory of Communication*.

Hall, E. (1981) *Beyond Culture*. New York: Anchor.

Hamilton, G.G. & Woolsey Biggart, N. (1985) Why people obey: theoretical observations on power and obedience in complex organizations. *Sociological Perspectives*, **28**(1), 3–28.

Hardy, C. (1985) The nature of unobtrusive power. *Journal of Management Studies*, **22**(4), 384–399.

Hardy, C. (1994) Underorganized interorganizational domains: the case of refugee systems. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, **30**(3), 278–296.

Hardy, C. & Clegg, S.R. (1996) Some dare call it power. In S.R. Clegg, C. Hardy & W.R. Nord (eds) *Handbook of Organization Studies* (pp. 622–641). London: Sage.

Harrison, R. (1980) Personal power and influence in organization development. In W.W. Burke & L.D. Goodstein (eds) *Trends and Issues in OD: Current Theory and Practice*. San Diego, CA: University Associates.

Harrison, R. (1995) *Consultant's Journey: A Dance of Work and Spirit*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Hickson, D.J., Hinings, C.R., Lee, C.A., Schneck, R.E. & Pennings, J.M. (1971) A strategic contingencies' theory of intraorganizational power. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, **16**, 216–229.

Kanter, R.M. (1977) *Men and Women of the Corporation*. New York: Basic Books.

Kanter, R.M. (1983) *The Change Masters: Innovation for Innovation Productivity in the American Corporation*. New York: University of Chicago Press.

Kelley, H.H. & Thibaut, J.W. (1978) *Interpersonal Relations: A Theory of Interdependence*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

Knights, D. & Morgan, G. (1991) Corporate strategy, organizations, and subjectivity: a critique. *Organization Studies*, **12**(2), 251–273.

Knights, D. & Murray, F. (1992) Politics and pain in managing information technology: a case study from insurance. *Organization Studies*, **13**(2), 211–228.

Lukes, S. (1974) *Power: A Radical View*. London: Macmillan Education Ltd.

Margulies, N. (1972) The myth and magic in OD. *Business Horizons*, **15**(4), 77–82.

Margulies, N. & Raia, A. (1984) The politics of organization development. *Training and Development Journal*, **38**(8), 20–23.

Marshall, J. & McLean, A. (1985) Exploring organization culture as a route to organizational change. In V. Hammond (ed.) *Current Research in Management*. London: Frances Pinter.

Martin, J. & Meyerson, D. (1998) Organizational culture and the denial, channelling and acknowledgement of ambiguity. In L. Pondy, R. Boland & H. Thomas (eds) *Managing Ambiguity and Change*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

McIntosh, P. (1990) White privilege: unpacking the invisible knapsack. *Independent School*, **Winter**, 31–36.

Meyerson, D.E. & Scully, M.A. (1995) Tempered radicalism and the politics of ambivalence change. *Organization Science*, **6**, 585–600.

Mills, A. & Murgatroyd, S. (1991) *Organizational Rules: A Framework for Understanding Organizational Action*. Bristol: Open University Press.

Mills, A.J. (1992) Organization, gender and culture. In A.J. Mills & P. Tancred (eds) *Gendering Organizational Analysis* (pp. 93–111). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Morgan, G. (ed.) (1983) *Beyond Method: Strategies for Social Research*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Morrison, E. & Milliken, F. (2000) Organizational silence: a barrier to change and development in a pluralistic world. *Academy of Management Review*, **25**(4), 706–725.

Murray, V.V. & Bradshaw-Camball, P. (1993) Temptations and dilemmas in the interpretive perspective on organizational politics. In G. Dlugos, W. Dorow & D. Farrell (eds) *Organizational Politics: From Conflict Suppression to Rational Conflict-Management* (pp. 51–70). Wiesbaden: Gabler.

Nord, W.R. (1974) The failure of current applied behavioral science: a Marxian perspective. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, **10**(4), 557–578.

Olson, E. (1990) The transcendent function in organizational change. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, **26**(1), 69–81.

Oshry, B. (1995) *Seeing Systems: Unlocking the Mysteries of Organizational Life*. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler.

Perrow, C. (1970) Departmental power and perspective in industrial firms. In M.N. Zaid (ed.) *Power in Organizations*. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press.

Pettigrew, A. (1973) *The Politics of Organizational Decision-Making*. London. Harper & Row.

Pettigrew, A. (1975) Towards a political theory of organizational intervention. *Human Relations*, **28**(3), 191–208.

Pettigrew, A. (1977) Strategy formulation as a political process. *International Studies of Management and Organization*, **7**(2), 78–87.

Pfeffer, J. (1981) *Power in Organizations*. Cambridge, MA: Pitman.

Pfeffer, J. (1994) *Managing with Power: Politics and Influence in Organizations*. Boston: Harvard Business School Press.

Quinn, R.E. (1996) *Deep Change Discovering the Leader Within*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Reed, M.I. (1988) The problem of human agency in organization analysis. *Organization Studies*, **9**(1), 33–46.

Rosen, M. (1985) Breakfast at Spiro's: dramaturgy and dominance. *Journal of Management*, **11**(2), 31–48.

Ross, R. (1971) Comment on the two preceding articles. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 7(5), 580–585.

Schein, V. (1977) Political strategies for implementing organizational change. *Group & Organization Studies*, 2(1), 42–48.

Schön, D. (1983) *The Reflective Practitioner: How Professionals Think in Action*. New York: Basic Books.

Schutzman, M. & Cohen-Cruz, J. (1994) *Playing Boal: Theatre, Therapy, Activism*. London: Routledge.

Smircich, L. & Morgan, G. (1982) Leadership as the management of meaning. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 18, 257–273.

Starhawk (1987) *Truth or Dare: Encounters with Power, Authority, and Mystery*. San Francisco: Harper.

Steensma, H.O. & Boer, G. (1997) The effectiveness of influence tactics in leadership and organizational change. In K.M. Bennebroek Gravenhorst & J.J. Boonstra (eds) *Power Dynamics and Organisational Change II. Symposium, Proceedings of the Eighth European Congress on Work and Organisational Psychology*, 2–5 April, Verona,129–138.

Tichy, N. (1983) *Managing Strategic Change: Technical, Political, and Cultural Dynamics*. New York: Wiley-Interscience Publication.

Townley, B. (1994) *Reframing Human Resource Management: Power, Ethics and the Subject at Work*. London: Sage.

Walton, R. & Warwick, D. (1973) The ethics of organization development. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 9(6), 681–698.

Weick, K. (1979) *The Social Psychology of Organizing* (2nd edn). Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Weisbord, M.R. (1992) *Discovering Common Ground: How Future Search Conferences Bring People Together to Achieve Breakthrough Innovation, Empowerment, Shared Vision, and Collaborative Action*. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler.

Whittington, R. (1992) Putting Giddens into action: social systems and managerial agency. *Journal of Management Studies*, 29(6), 693–712.

Winter, S. (1996) The 'power' thing. *Virginia Law Review*, 82(5), 721–835.

Wrong, D.H. (1968) Some problems in defining social power. *American Journal of Sociology*, 73, 673–681.

Yukl, G., Ping Fu, P. & McDonald, R. (2003) Cross-cultural differences in perceived effectiveness of influence tactics for initiating or resisting change. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 52(1), 61–82.

Zaltman, G. & Duncan, R. (1977) *Strategies for Planned Change*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.