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# The Politics of Mediation: Colonization to Co-Generative Democracy

# Stanley Deetz

This chapter represents a big picture discussion providing the context for the many more micro studies and interventions that I, and others, often do. It is intended as a reminder of how the pieces might fit together and guidance for the choices we all make. The chapter is first and foremost about the reformation of democracy in light of a sophisticated understanding of mediation processes, the sites where mediation and decisions occur, and the practical inclusive interventions possible in these sites. The discussion here grows out of the widespread observation that we are not creating the future we could mutually choose. I believe this is the case because most often we are doing the wrong kind of democracy in the wrong places, thus endlessly (at best) applying band-aids rather than reinventing.

My career goal has been to design new processes of human interaction and systems of governance and decision-making enhancing the ability of people to thrive in conditions characterized by fast rapid change, high degrees of pluralism and interdependency as well as highly mediated (and sponsored) human experience. The best interaction designs enable human 'difference' and 'otherness' to contest unwitting consent and otherwise dominate positions producing choices that are creative and customized to local circumstances fostering high degrees of constituent commitment and voluntary compliance (Deetz 2017). Without this, we and other species will at best merely survive the conflicts set in play by expected social and ecological changes. To thrive rather than just survive, a reformation of democracy advancing these new interaction designs and practices is needed. Core to that is an understanding of, and interventions in, the politics of mediation, which I will focus on in this chapter.

A simple representation of mediation appeared in a cartoon some years ago. It shows a child on a beach with a joystick guiding a robot who is flying a kite. From

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the child's point of view the goal is mastery of the kite, a mastery that requires a certain disappearance or transparency of the eyes, arms, hands, controller, robot and string as well as a 'direct' responsiveness to the environment of the kite. The child lives control. My interest, like that of many today, is in escaping such innocence, and to attend to the situation differently. Contemporary theory tells us that the desire to fly a kite, the kite, the trip to the beach and the robot are all human products, bought and sold, sponsored by someone. Each has a history, each is enabling and constraining, each was produced under conditions of inequality, and the invisibility and felt transparency inhibit understanding this. The outcome of mastery is also unwitting servitude. Accepting the child's experience as theirs and as privileged is the foundation of liberal democracy and its ultimate flaw. My goal is to not simply accept the sometimes arrogance and elitism of cultural studies and blanket condemnation of neo-liberalism; it is to engage in the world aided by a conceptual understanding presented here as 'politically attentive relational constructionism' (PARC) and additionally to provide guidance for productive intervention. To do this without arrogance is to describe a co-generative democracy as an open and endlessly contested directive of interventions in social life.

## Politically Attentive Relational Constructionism

Since I have developed politically attentive relational constructionism (PARC) detail in other places (Deetz 2014, 2017; Deetz and Eger 2014) and much of this is familiar in the larger critical cultural work, allow me to begin with a very quick overview of the philosophy underlying my work and begin with a relational ontology. Experience itself arises out of a coupled relationship of a way of attending to the world and a world that is attended to. This is an unavoidable irreversible coupling of the 'attending to' (a movement toward) and a notyet-determined 'attended to'. Objects and subjects do not exist apart from this coupled relationship except in abstraction. The 'intending to' is usually called 'positionality'. Positionality includes our body, our corporal way of being; it includes our specific sense equipment and it is extended in our various tools, instruments, organizational forms and vocabularies. All these direct a way of being in touch with a not-yet-determined world.

Positionality is an interpellation, calling, recruiting into a produced self and engagement (Weedon 1987). As real human beings, we are recruited into positions that are possible and made possible by the materiality of the worlds in which we are placed, by the bodies we inherit and so forth. Each way of being positioned makes claims about a world and makes claims on us in that world. Possible social



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positionalities become institutionalized instruments, policies, checklists and routine responses in language and so on, and they are largely invisible and taken for granted, thus producing a kind of common sense. Such a concept reminds us that attention always precedes perception, and that attention is always political even if unknowingly so.

Relational constructionism shows that produced experience always arises in a tension between the way of encountering and the encountered. Neither is primary in open production. The indeterminate outside is as active as positionality. Recovering indeterminacy, allowing otherness to overcome subject-dominated construction, is the first critical principle. A fixed subject or a presumed fixed object of experience are each a suppression of the conflict of first production.

Thus, our analytic should help us be attentive to the politics of relational production (the preferences of some positionalities over others), the politics of reproduction (rendering the conflict in production invisible) and the politics of consequences (the material advantage of this construction over others for specific populations).

Constructions are laden with specific values providing affordances and, by design, advantaging some choices over others and some people over others. Construction takes place under specific conditions of power. Therefore, sophisticated theories of power are needed to describe not only visible power relations, but the ways in which advantage is embedded in constructions. The myths of objectivity (naturalism) hide the value system embedded in institutionalized positionality and the multiple ways that values enter into social productions and decision-making.

The PARC analytic goes a step further than most in the analysis of constructions. PARC helps in showing not just that constructionism exists, but what is being constructed. Experience is seen as composed of six productions, or in other words, positionality is put in relation to six indeterminates: an inner world, specific others, general others, the external world, the movement into the future and the limits of resources. These can be seen in basic everyday questions. How should I feel? Who am I? What are the social rules? What are the facts? What is good, right and beautiful? What is just?

Thus, social constructions exist in six arenas: (1) the inner world of the person, (2) personal identities in relation to others, (3) appropriate social behaviour, (4) understanding of the external world, (5) stories of how the social world works and (6) systems of appropriate distribution. Each of these embodies power and is formed under conditions of power. Each construction can be considered a claim about the indeterminate and a claim on it; an enabling of the person to see and a temporary blindness to alternatives. Since the constructions are formed, enabled and constrained within power relations, arise out of conflict and can be contested, each can be considered to have a politics.

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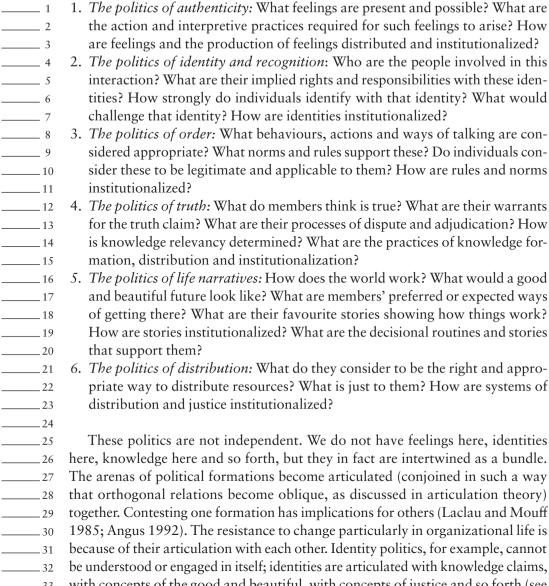
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\_\_\_\_33 with concepts of the good and beautiful, with concepts of justice and so forth (see Deetz 2014) Think of the way science has become articulated with specific polit-\_\_\_\_34 ical positions. In doing this work, we try to understand the ways in which these \_\_\_\_35 \_36 become articulated, and, from that, figure out how to intervene in these articula-\_\_\_\_37 tory practices. These articulated packages are produced under real conditions of \_\_\_\_38 equity and inequity in specific historical conditions and for specific problems. If we \_\_\_\_39 really want to understand how these politics work, how they become articulated \_\_\_\_40 together, we have to put them in the real politics of their moments of formation



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and the politics by which they are retained and reproduced (Haas and Deetz 2004; McClellan and Deetz 2012).

The analysis of social life shows that experience, actions and interactions are filled with unwitting consent, discursive closure and various forms of systematic distortions that lead people to prefer some things at the expense of others without anybody really being engaged in the choice of that preferencing. Rather social life is filled with giving into particular political formations without the capacity to step back and question them, let alone to engage in re-formation. Formations can be contested through disarticulation, reclaiming the struggle within and among the six politics listed above. The contestation, however, requires reclaiming some sense of indeterminacy and otherness. Dislodging that which has become common sense requires concrete interventions rather than general criticism or arguments out of simply different formations (Deetz and Simpson 2004). I do not believe that current concepts and practices of democracy provide the capacity to do this and thus I introduce interaction designs based within a co-generative democracy later in this chapter.

## The Organizational Context

Much of my work has focused on actual decision-making within the organizational, especially work and corporation, context. Corporations, especially, are very impactful for democracy. First, they are powerful political actors in the traditional sense that can greatly distort the public decision-making process (Ibarra-Colado 2007). This is why corporations were widely distrusted by the framers of the US constitution, and even Adam Smith treated them in a pejorative sense. Second, to be meaningful, democracy needs to occur in the places where most critical decisions are made. The corporate site is a key location where decisions are being made regarding the use of natural and human resources, the distribution of income and wealth, identities production and family relations and much more. From a moral standpoint, the public should be part of the processes that determine their future (Apel 1979; Pinchevski 2005). Existing systems for getting social value into the decision chain such as leader stewardship, governmental regulation and market pressures have tended to be only modestly effective, highly inefficient and often costly, and not productive of creative win-win choices. Finally, corporate organizations - through internal training, media sponsorship and ownership, advertising, political messaging and so on – colonize the overall experience production process. The choices and activities of the corporate worksite are a central issue of democracy.

My early book *Democracy in an Age of Corporate Colonization* (1992) focused on the third issue. Twenty-five years later, I still often feel the need to explain the



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inner colonization processes and how they occur. Corporations are very important. Even today as we talk about the incredible rise of small businesses, the differences of knowledge-intensive and entrepreneurial work, we also discuss the centralization of industries, the impact of a particular corporate form of capitalism and the spread of a business language. But I fear that my use of the term 'colonization' was taken as more negative than intended, especially by those who cite the title but did not read the book. Colonization was not to be seen as a totally bad thing. Corporations also colonize away from a lot of irrational practices that were quite damaging in many of our societies. It can be progressive and opening or very limiting in actual impacts. Corporations are not to be simply condemned as a colonizing force. We need to be specific about the times, places and ways it expands or closes open public discussion and development. For example, as religion re-emerges as a central colonizing force in many communities around the world, corporations may counter much of the ideology there.

But my own work over the years left the bigger questions of colonization and focused on the micro-dynamics of decision-making and work-identity production within organizations (Deetz 2003b). Much of this has shown that 'managerialism' rather than simply capitalism has led to the greatest harm. Short-termness, self-interest, philosophies of superiority and control, presumptions of value-neutrality and contrived economic rationality, and so on have all had very high economic, social and environmental costs (Deetz 1995). Dominant power relations have hurt work productivity and the economic health of work organizations. Ways of overcoming the various distortions in representation of social values positively rationalize the largely narrow self-interested value-laden choice-making fostered by what is called managerialism. The myth of the 'rational', 'economic' organization hides the value system embedded in the monetary code (e.g. accounting practices) and the multiple ways in which values enter into social productions and decision-making. Values are already present; the question is: whose and which values enter where within the decision chain? And, do we have interaction designs that enable productive gains from the tensions and differences?

Organizations, in general, and corporations, in particular, can be treated as simply economic entities. They of course are not. They produce people as well as products, and even the business decisions there are heavily value-laden and not simply economically rational. Business decisions are made within contexts with high degrees of uncertainty, judgements are sometimes based more on stories than data and confirmation biases are rampant. Decisions are value-driven even when put in the language of economics. Understanding those value-driven processes both as they already exist and the ways in which we can intervene in them is essential. My own interest finally is to try make decision processes more democratic and to





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actually understand what forms of democracy might actually work to get a wider set of values involved within our corporate decision-making (Deetz 2003a).

Rather than review all the micro-aspects here, I will return to larger questions, but in a different way: a way that for me frames the need for critical analysis today. I think the need for critical studies especially focused on organizations and organizational decision-making is even more compelling today than in the past. I see five trends (listed below) that have significant social, economic and environmental impacts and remain as a kind of time-bomb that could cause massive disruptions, further weaken democracy and foster a decline of civilization. The question is how to make systems that aid survival and hopefully provide the capacity to thrive in new contexts.

- 1. *Increased interdependence*. With interdependence, all decisions made by any group impact all. Differences are put into contact; it is harder and harder for a rights-based liberal democratic practices to make the necessary creative mutually supportable decisions. We need to increasingly understand the 'commons' and develop democratic practices that can make us more productive together.
- 2. The decline of public institutions and capacity for effective public decision-making. Will, legitimacy, process and capacity of public decision contexts are all weak. This could lead to crises and massive reform; however, various insights from critical work seem to provide a sufficient robust alternative. And, the pressing question comes as to how to get democracy to the sites where the actual critical decisions are being made in light of public institution inaction and decline, especially when many of these are economically driven, for-profit sites.
- 3. *Increased income inequality*. While worldwide poverty is in a slow decline reducing some forms of inequality, the gap between the upper 2 per cent and the rest is continuing to widen owing to contrived income allocation hidden under the pretence of market determination. Managerially dominated systems weaken the long-term economic health of organizations and reduce the capacity of organizations to play a positive role in society. And to the extent that income inequality leads to political inequality, the effect is not just on the lives of individual people.
- 4. *Global climate change*: Dislocation, migration and conflict are all spawned by the increase of extreme weather events and the more gradual sea-level rise and fresh water demand as well as species and agricultural changes. Existing systems of cross-sectional and cross-national governance are overstressed, and new systems with new logics and processes are needed.
- 5. *Increased sponsorship of human experience*: As PARC shows, human experiences are always products. Events are never experienced directly. But the chains

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of mediation are becoming longer and sponsorship of parts of the process leading to specific experiences is greater. Essentially all human experience today is sponsored and unwittingly consented to by people taking it as their own. 'Fake news' (or viral deception/viral disinformation) is only the most superficial issue. Democratization of the production of experience through assuring diversity in production forces has become central to whether democracy exists at all. A society which lacks the interaction skills necessary to determine what is occurring around them in relevance to them cannot be democratic.

These five trends are in many ways interdependent and mutually reinforcing. A positive vision is possible. The possible upside (if we have suitable interaction forums and designs) is that the opportunities and stresses in these could disrupt traditional authority structures and ideologies and hence move the human community toward invention and creativity – genuine human growth; that is, we could become more productive together. But without sufficient critical reform of decision processes, ontological insecurity and embedded advantages will continue to lead to protectionism, fundamentalist religious wars, and attempts at overarching colonization by the powerful. The integrating hope of neo-liberalism that economic systems has largely failed. In contrast, we could have a deeper democracy leading to a more mutually determined future of social, ecological and economic wellbeing or various dystopias. The quality of communication processes in decision-making is the determining factor.

For-profit organizations and their decision processes, perhaps even more than public sector groups, will have significant impact on the direction chosen. At times, and in some places, for-profit organizational choices have fostered increased education, communication skill development and the development of democracy generally; lessened irrational responses to difference and groupings of people; taken the lead on response to environmental concerns and increased the inclusion of the needs of diverse populations in work and product development. But plenty of examples exist of less positive effects – creating contrived needs, environmental destruction, public manipulation, expanding income inequality and so forth.

Critical studies of various sorts stand alone in providing both (1) concepts to understand and investigate the forces of diminished public will, system irrationality and skewing and (2) a proactive invention of a more robust and viable democracy. The former might be accomplished through identifying the various forces of structural and systemic distortion and discursive closure deepened by the PARC analytic, showing what is constructed in social and organizational life and how power relations enter into construction. Critical work is rare in that it is specifically designed to engage the five trends through improving decision processes making diversity positive, enriching democracy in the for-profit site, directly bringing social







and ecological issues into the decision-making chain, rationalizing these processes with a broader sense of rationality rather than the managerial and identifying the molecular nature of experience construction and democratization.

## Co-Generative Democracy

Much of the discussion in critical work of all sorts has centred on the need for democratization, but often what holds it back is not the lack of desire but the weakness of existing dominant conceptions and practices of democracy and the incapacity to create a democracy that works (Deetz and Brown 2004). It is a belief in many organizations that democratization, there understood as collaboration, inevitably leads to more meetings. Collaborations sometimes do result in time-consuming and dysfunctional meetings, which are procedure-centred, missing core issues, lacking creativity, filled with positioning, involving too many people, and where power differences are accentuated. The practice of collaboration has been a mixed bag. But all forms of collaboration are not the same. Many are failure by bad concept and design.

I agree with Benjamin Barber (1984, 1995) that much of the difficulty arises out of design problems inherent in liberal democracy itself. Interaction forums and practices arising out of eighteenth-century liberal democratic conceptions have been institutionalized, and they are in no way carefully informed by contemporary communication theory and research. Where would medicine be if eighteenth-century concepts of biology and chemistry had as much impact today as eighteenth-century concepts of the person, language and interaction have on democracy and communication? Part of my interest in the organizational site arises from this. Basic concepts and practices of democracy are not likely to change in the public sphere except perhaps in communities owing to deeply embedded mindsets and redundant institutionalization, but no such restriction exists in other organizations.

Recovery of suppressed conflict in experience production, contestation of the six types of claims and disarticulation is best accomplished in carefully designed interactions that foster inclusion and enable 'otherness' (Broadfoot and Munshi 2007). Attempts by 'experts' to do this for communities not only fail to get the type of creativity and commitments required but also evoke resistance. Our experience in numerous sites has been that organizations are like strings, best pulled rather than pushed. Requirements for diversity and stakeholder engagement especially in the deep and early stages of decision-making suggested here is a nonstarter especially if the organization does not have capacity to interact. In such cases, a set of carefully designed interaction processes that have shown to be more effective and mutually beneficial than routine processes has been recommended.





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We know much today about how to design interactions that disarticulate, overcome confirmation bias and the like – all the core problems of joint decision-2 making today (Deetz and Simpson 2004). We already do it reasonably well in places where we cannot afford reoccurring mistakes. We often seem able to accept \_\_\_4 \_ 5 reoccurring failures in the public decision spaces. Why not support a democracy that supports and embraces the interaction designs that work? All interaction designs have to work with four basic questions central to democratic theory. These are answered differently based on larger concepts of human \_\_\_\_\_ 8 \_ 9

beings and their interaction.

- 1. What is the nature and source of human experience, knowledge and meaning?
- 2. How shall group and individual differences be presented or represented, or in the case of democracies, how shall reciprocity be assured?
- 3. What shall be the preferred talk processes when we have differences and how should the conflict around difference be adjudicated?
- 4. How shall we deal with the problem of scale given that decisions often involve large populations?

Liberal democratic conceptions and practices are based on particular answers to these four questions:

- 1. The autonomous individual is seen as the origin of perceptions, thoughts and feelings. Communication study focuses on the expression of these.
- 2. Freedom of speech and speaking forums are considered to be adequate and sufficiently available for equitable participation in decision-making.
- 3) Persuasion and advocacy are seen as the preferred mode of interaction when differences are present leading to decisions by voting when differences and conflict remain.
- 4) Representation is used to overcome problems of scale. Representation may be based in lottery selection as in juries, elections as in representatives or distribution as done in representing interests in community planning.

The difficulty of liberal democracies and the embedded/enabling communication theory for our contemporary and projected future is that it does not take into account actual power relations, assuming power can somehow be overcome by the force of reason and does not provide interaction processes that generate creativity.

Central to this has been the very first assumption that accepts a psychological rather than social communication basis for experience production. If constructionism is accepted, democracy exists or does not in the systems of construction





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rather than expression. A critical interest in interaction has to focus on the interaction processes by which experiences came to be rather than simply on the manner of their expression and coordination. If experiences are socially constructed, they are always done so within real historical conditions; hence relations of power are always embedded within constructions and relations of power determine who and how constructions can be used. All constructions benefit some more than others, but because they become a kind of common sense, the disadvantaged come to unwittingly reproduce their disadvantage as they freely speak meanings produced by others. High degrees of mediation of experience and the absence of places for critical discussions accentuate this effect.

To account for relations of power and to provide more creativity in human interactions in contrast to liberal democracy, I propose a co-generative democracy, a democracy based on the potential productivity of difference in interaction. Co-generative democracy

- 1. describes experience as a power laden relational construction;
- 2. uses a strong sense of reciprocity as a normative ideal for the distribution of expression turns;
- 3. prefers collaborative talk (see Gray 1989);
- 4. overcomes scale by the preservation and presentation of meaningful differences (see Deetz 2017).

In sum, understanding relational construction is core to responding to our situation today. Understanding this leads to a focus on embedding democratic processes deeper within our private and non-governmental organizations and inventing a new kind of public governance. But for this to be effective, new democratic governance concepts and practices must be advanced that enable more robust interaction designs.

A different kind as well as place of democracy is available to us. Co-generative democracy is focused on making creative decisions, rather than one focused on talking. It starts with a fundamental difference from liberal democracy in that it presumes that what we understand and how we feel are social constructions. The interaction processes that form meanings are more central than the ones that express them. Freedom of speech and so forth is clearly a necessary but not sufficient condition for a productive democracy. The freedom to speak meanings that were formed by others does not give much freedom. The freedom and recovery of productive conflict has to be in the formation of meanings, and if the formation of meaning are taking place in companies, it has to be within the formation of the place that meanings are actually being formed and public decisions made.



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#### Conclusion

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\_\_\_\_8 \_ 9 The current historical moment requires improvements in the capacity of the public to make critical decisions. More can be done to accomplish this in nongovernmental and commercial organizations. But to do this, new organizational forms and decision processes are needed, as well as changes in management processes that were designed for other people in other times and places.

I believe that critical studies is especially important because of its stronger social theory, more balanced and nuanced analyses and the capacity to reclaim organizational rationality. I have argued that a PARC analytic plus interaction designs based in a co-generative democracy offers much. Together they provide:

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- an Appreciative Analytic, through a unified way of understanding the complex processes of organizational life by focusing on organizational constructions in lived settings;
- a Critical Analytic, through directing the evaluation of existing organizational forms and activities and looking at embedded power relations, systematic distortions, and contrived consent;
- a Transformative Analytic, through providing guidance for the skill development of members and redesign of organizational structures and practices that allow earlier and deeper inclusion of diverse values in the decision chain, thereby increasing organizational learning and innovation and the ability to increase economic, social and ecological goods.

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The open and responsive development of organizations and the capacity to contribute to democracy is lost when an organization cannot identify the specific nature of their constructions, the way they are articulated together, and establish practices of active reconstruction.

The ultimate goal of democratization is to get a wider set of values, including social and environmental ones, as well as less contrived economic ones, earlier and deeper into the decision processes. Core to this all is building communication and decision-making processes that lead to outcomes which are more desirable on multiple criteria, feasible in light of existing circumstances and sustainable over time and changing circumstances. To do this requires decision processes that generate high degrees of creativity in decisions, commitment to and compliance with decisions, and choices customized to local circumstances. High degrees of collaboration across a diverse membership appears to be the only way to reliably accomplish this, but not all collaborative designs are equal. The creation of concepts and interaction design formed out of co-generative democracy is a step towards providing necessary capacities.







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