POLITICAL BEHAVIOR AND MINTZBERG'S POLITICAL GAMES: EXAMPLE OF ORGANIZED CRIMINAL INSTITUTIONS WITH GODFATHER FILM ANALYSIS

Metin Karademir
Business Administration, Marmara University, Turkey
Asli Cillioglu Karademir
Business Administration, Hacettepe University, Turkey

Abstract

Social facts cannot be observed directly as in the case of the facts of natural sciences. At this point, art enables understanding and interpretation of human relations through cinema, theater and literature. On the other hand, the creators of works of art reflect social relations through their own perspectives and, in this respect, subjectivity is in question; however this is acceptable to a certain extent as, after all, they are part of social facts as a member of the society and, at least, they have the potential of reflecting social facts. From this point of view, in this study, the political behaviors and political games in organizations, as stated by Mintzberg (1985), will be described by exemplifying, through analysis of a film.

Keywords: Mintzberg, Power, Political Behavior, Political Games, Film

Introduction

Mintzberg (1985) describes politics sometimes capture an organization in whole or significant part, giving rise to a form called as political arena. After discussing the system of politics in organizations, he mentiones about thirteen political activity in organizations is sometimes described in terms of 'political games'. It is normal to see political behaviors and political games in any type of organization. In our study, we choose studying this subject from Mintzberg's view on mafia as an organized crime.

As it is known, organized crime has been studied in economic literature mostly focused on the market after the starting point with Becker's (1968) seminal work. Besides, the studies of organized crime included mafia as an institution. For example, Garoupa (2000) stated that "Reuter (1983)

describes mafia as a social dispute solving institution and Kelly (1987) refers to the social and political system created by organized criminal institutions"

At the literature of management side, although political behaviors and political games in mafia organizations hasn't been researched, about organization design, few numbers of researches was done. One of them is MacKenzie's study about the model called as Mafia model. As Stebbins and Shani (1989) mentioned that the model originates in classical management theory. Its assumptions are as follows: "There is one right way to organize; a few people do the best diagnosis; the key executive(s) and expert consultants should make the decisions; secrecy is critical; since drastic measures are needed, it is permissible to lie to employees and cover up managements intentions; implementation should be swift and sure". The keyplayers are outside management consultants and a few executives to be protected by the reorganization.

It is possible to claim that with these features the model is directly suitable to the organization design in Godfather trilogy which is a story of a mafia family. By this, the aim of this study, is to describe the political behaviors and political games in organizations, as stated by Mintzberg (1985), by exemplifying, through analysis of a film.

About Godfather Film

Popularly viewed as one of the best American films ever made, the multi-generational crime saga The Godfather (1972) is one of the most widely imitated, quoted and lampooned movies of all time. It was nominated for eleven Avademy awards and winning for Best Picture, Best Actor, Best adopted screenplay. The Godfather was followed by a pair of sequels: "The Godfather II" which is the companian piece to the original The Godfather continues the saga of two generations of successive power within the Corleone family. And in the "Godfather III" the sagas in movie history continues (http://www.thegodfather.com).

Having dominated both popular film culture and literature for the last 40 years, Mario Puzo's "The Godfather" is the undisputed patriarch of an awe-inspiring legacy. It's translation onto screen was done (part 3 excluded) by the director Francis Ford Coppola and Mario Puzo. The theme would be summarized as "when the gunfire and butchery has ceased, you yourself are left questioning to what limits you would go for your family's protection. But, of course, nothing is ever personal. Just business" (http://www.theguardian.com).

The Godfather film is the story of an Italian family. Southern Italy is a region where feudal relationships prevailed since it failed in industrialization contrary to the northern part of the country. Having had an autonomous government in the past Sicily lacked solid government agencies,

which resulted in the mafia's filling that gap and getting more powerful. The history of the mafia in Sicily may be summarized according to the changing of power in time: The Mafia's influence in Sicily grew until the 1920s, when Prime Minister Benito Mussolini came to power and launched a brutal crackdown on mobsters, who he viewed as a threat to his Fascist regime. But, in the 1950s, the Mafia rose again when mob-backed construction companies dominated the post-World War II building boom in Sicily (http://www.history.com).

The film starts in 1945, the year when the World War II ended, and covers a period of 10 years. In the film, a mother whose husband and a son was killed by such organization sends her sole remaining son (Vito Andolini) to the USA. Upon emigrating, Vito has no other choice but to be a powerful man to stay alive. This is why, entire life of Vito would be devoted to attaining power and maintaining the same power. In other words, political behavior will occupy most of his agenda. It would not be wrong to say that the phenomenon of power has a significant place in the film. More specifically, being family is the most reliable means to become powerful in the new continent. The Corleone family is an extended family of Italian origin, which is presided by Don Vito Corleone and which establishes a criminal organization. The family runs its underworld businesses together with four other families. However, what makes the Corleones different than others is the close relationship of Don Corleone with the judges and senators. These relationships allow them to get advantages which others cannot get. Solozzo asks Don Corleone to provide him with legal protection and financing by using his relations for importing and distributing heroine and, in exchange, offers him a share from the profit to be obtained. Nevertheless, Don Corleone refuses this offer, having concerns about being at odds with the politicians who find out that he is engaged in such business connection. Getting backup from the Tataglia family and New York State police chief, Solozzo attempts to assassinate Don Corleone. Hard times are ahead for Don Corleone, who had a last-minute return from the dead, and the entire family. In this process, Don Corleone's eldest son Sonny, known for his impulsive behaviors, will be murdered. His youngest son Michael, has just came back as a hero after World War II, who has never been interested in the family business before, will be drawn by the course of events to the center of the story, although he never wants that. Following that, a great feud starts, where other families are also involved.

Literature Review of Political Behavior with Examples of "Godfather"

The word of "politics" comes from the word of "polis" from ancient Greek. The most general account about the polis as a political community is Aristotle's Politics, especially Books 1 and 3 (Hansen, 2006:109). Aristotle

defines man as a zoon politikon, a 'political animal' or a 'polis animal' and the purpose of human life was precisely to take a share in the establishment and distribution of the values of the society (2006: 115). About the Greek perception of a polis as a community of citizens inhabiting a city has its reflection also in the names they gave their city-states (2006: 59).

Political behavior has been defined in various ways. DuBrin (1988) described it as a bunch of behaviors exhibited by the employees in an attempt to accelerate their professional developments, in addition to their skills and performances, and to attain more power within the institution. Farrell and Petersen (1982:404) summarized the starting wave of the interest in organizational politics and organizational power is composed of several distinct types of work. First, they mentioned about a number of authors who simply urged that organizations be viewed as political arenas or have provided a conceptual framework to permit such an approach. Besides with their expressions, Dachler and Wilpert (1978), although not explicitly concerned with politics, provided a conceptual framework for participation in organizations. The implications of participation for democratization and the diffusion of decision making were suggested as be able to seen a call for political analysis. Second, according to Farrell and Petersen, the theme of power in organizations is receiving substantial attention and it was emphazied that although organizational theorists generally treated power as distinct from organizational politics, the two concepts are linked theoretically and empirically (Farrell and Petersen, 1982: 404).

Political behavior can be explained as a function of the actor exhibiting that behavior, the individual perceiving the behavior exhibited by the actor, the involved environment and conditions, and the mental assessment developed later by the individual (Ferris et.al, 1994: 6). Accordingly, it can be said that political behavior is related to perception and that it includes the variables steering political perceptions.

Definitions bring forward different aspects of political behavior, whereas individual interests, rapid achievement, attaining power and illegitimacy appear as the common components of political behavior.

According to the classical organization theory, the politics and political behavior should not be involved in institutions. Because organizations are deemed as rational entities endeavoring for a certain purpose. Managers, on the other hand, are neutral. Yet, in reality, organizations are made of people and sub-units with different objectives and expectations. These objectives and expectations can differ from each other on a large scale. Generation of revenue, making profit, building a career, making dreams come true and gaining reputation etc. can be counted among those objectives and expectations. In a weird way, a similar situation applies for the artistic field, as well. For instance, in American classic films, every

character is either purely good or purely evil. Yet, in real life, people have both good and evil in their characters; because essentially objectives and expectations can be different from each other, which is natural. Similarly, the characters in the Godfather film goes beyond good and evil and are almost shaped in flesh and bones. A merciful father can give orders where necessary. Or, a brother (Michael) gets his older brother (Fredo) killed to prevent the family from getting weak and losing prestige. Again, in a similar way, a brother (Michael) gets his sister's husbands killed on the grounds of leaking information to opponent families. As is seen, strong family bonds and mercy can be replaced with political behavior, when it comes to interests. Interests dominate political behavior and strong family and relative ties or humane-vulnerable feelings can be replaced with political behavior. Believing otherwise necessitates an attitude close to naiveness. Michael's fiancée (Kay), who he introduced to his family, is far from these relationships. A dialogue between Michael and Kay suggests this:

Kay Adams: You told me you weren't going to become like your father.
Michael Corleone: My father is no different than any other powerful man. Any man who's responsible for other people. Like a senator or president.
Kay Adams: How naive you sound.
Michael Corleone: Why?
Kay Adams: They don't have men killed.
Michael Corleone: Who's being naive, Kay?

Interests, as well as the phenomenon of power, is closely related to political behavior. Pfeffer (1992) defines power basically as a potential force; and a potential ability in the broad sense, in the way for influencing behaviors, changing the course of events, dealing with resistance and winning people by making them act in that direction. Accordingly, any influence process used within the institution are included in the definition of political behavior.

The relationship between political behavior and power is also observed on the film poster. It is implied on the poster that whoever holds the strings (which symbolizes power) will control the people around him, in line with his objectives. The fact that the strings fall on to the word of "father" (which refers to both its real meaning and the meaning of Godfather) can be evaluated as a reference to his ruling power (see Image 1).

Image 1. Godfather Film Poster

Duties, statuses, communication among the members and authority relationships are identified with the organizational structure. In the Godfather film, there is an organizational structure in the Corleone family. The organizational structure after Vito Corleone dead is shown at Image 2 (http://www.thegodfathertrilogy.com).

Image 2. The Organizational Structure of Corleone Family

The leader of Corleone family receives the title of "Don". Don is on top of the organization. When the organizational structure is considered, don can be named as the "boss". His subordinates generally consist of his brothers and the attorney (consiglieri) of the family. Consiglieri is an advisor or counselor to the boss, with his legal knowledge. In other words, he does not have the authority to give direct orders. Head of crew, called caporegime, comes after the foregoing two structure members. Caporegimes are responsible for the crews which are committed to them and the members of which are called "soldiers". It is generally the caporegime and his team appear in the combats. As the caporegime operates on the streets together with his soldiers, their possibility of getting caught by the FBI is higher when compared to the family members. In such case, the "omerta", or the code of silence, steps in. Accordingly, the organization member who gets caught never informs the legal authorities. In the event of receiving any punishment, all responsibilities of the family of this person are assumed by the Corleone family. Already receiving no direct order from the family, the caporegime has limited information about the members of the Corleone family.

Ferris and Kacmar (1992: 93-95) classified the factors that lead to the emergence of political behavior as structural factors, duty and social environment-based factors and personal factors.

Structural factors are associated with centralization, formalization and hierarchical order (Ferris and Kacmar, 1992). Political behavior perceptions are assumed to be stronger in the organizations with strong centralization tendencies (Eisenhardt and Bourgeois, 1988). Political behavior tendency is accepted to be lower in the organizations that achieve formalization (directives, rules and structures where communication is based on writing). Similarly, some studies have showed that, in the organizations where the hierarchical structure dominates, employees think that they do not have any control powers on the processes; but managers perceive this as they are natural part of political acts (Connor and Morrison, 2001).

Taking decisions by top managers results in the subordinates' drifting apart from the decision-making process. As a result of this process, which can also be defined as centralization, the organization members who feel weak can show political behaviors in order to gain power. As can be observed in the organizational structure in the Godfather film (shown in Image 2), it is unlikely for a soldier to contact with anyone but the caporegime, which is why they may feel weak. Consequently, they may exhibit political behavior to attain power. Also, when a soldier displays political power, this can lead to huge problems for the family. It is risky for the Don's family, particularly if the opponent families want to win over the disappointed organization members, pull them to their sides and use them for their own good.

In the organization, the amount of formal rules, policies, and procedures indicates its level of formalization and it has been proposed as a means of reducing political activity. Provided there are appropriate rules and policies in the job, employees will have less opportunity to engage in or perceive organizational politics (Ferris et al., 1989). The low of formalization creates uncertainty and confusion especially while thinking the levels of hierarchy. Employees may choose the way of defining their job descriptions by political behaviors. That's why, demonstrating the possibility of political behavior will be higher. Similar situations are also witnessed in the film. While the top members in the hierarchical order or their closed ones determine the fundamental strategies of the family, various examples of political behavior are displayed, as will be presented in the following sections of the study.

One of the duty and social environment-based factors that trigger political behavior is the specifications of the job. Autonomy of the work (freedom and independence), skill diversity (using of different skills together) and feedback (receiving explicit information from the superiors

about the performance), which are among the specifications of the job, are important in terms of making the employee feel esteemed and powerful (Ferris and Kacmar, 1992: 96). Otherwise, the employees will feel themselves worthless and incapable, which can bring forward political behavior. In the film, the situation of Fredo summarizes it very well. Due to his fondness for entertainment and weak personality, Fredo is formally powerful in family business– as is seen on the organization chart, yet weak in reality. He is not taken so seriously by the members of the organization and his failure to use the gun in his hands even when his father is shot to death is construed as his inadequacy as a son. One of the dialogues which shows it is as follows:

Fredo: Send Fredo off to do this, send Fredo off to do that! I'm your older brother, but was stepped over!

Michael: It's the way Pop wanted it.

Fredo: It's not the way I wanted it! I can handle things, I'm smart! Not like everybody says.

Michael: Like dumb.

Fredo: I'm smart and I want respect!

Personal factors are also a reason behind the emergence of political behavior. At this point, assessments can be made over features like gender, education level and age. For instance, gender is regarded as a significant factor for both the perception of political environment of the organization and the differentiation of the exhibited political behavior (Falbo and Peplau, 1980). Ferris and Kacmar (1992: 96) have revealed that female managers need to attain more power in comparison to the male managers and, accordingly, more prone to show political behavior. Secondary position of women beside men in the patriarchal order is also reflected in the business life. This situation causes women to work at lower positions in the organization and increases their probability of perceiving the environment as a more political one, as they are distanced to some relationship networks created by men (Ferris et.al, 1989:162). Other times, women who are not formally powerful can play a role in the management through informal steering. The women of the Godfather film mostly stay away from the family businesses (both legal and illegal ones) in real terms.

In literature, it has been observed that there was no coherence in the researches measuring the relationship between gender and political behavior and that there are different results. Similarly, there are several results regarding the relationship between age and political perceptions of the employees in the literature. For instance, Gandz and Murray (1980) could not find a significant relationship between age and political perceptions, while Ferris and King (1994) ascertained in their study that older managers perceived the environment more politically – depending on the performance

evaluations of their superiors – than others. At this point, it would not be wrong to say that older managers have more political instruments due to their position at the upper stages of hierarchy. This case is verified in the Godfather film. It is observed in the Godfather-I that "dons" appear to be older persons coming from the first generation of the family as is seen in family meetings and being the don is the equivalent of being in the deep waters of political behavior.

Education is another personal factor of political behavior. It can be asserted that educated employees can have more instruments for political behavior, as they are working at more superior positions (Ferris and Kacmar, 1992: 97). In the Godfather film, not education but family blood ties are far more important for the Corleone family and the same persons with family blood ties are the ones who have political behavior instruments. For instance, the person who will become the don in the family must actually be first-degree member of the family. The only exception for the family blood ties is the consiglieri's position, as can be seen on the organization chart (see Image 2). The consiglieri, who mostly has a degree in law and elected from among the people under the auspices of the family, advises the "don" with their specialized knowledge.

Method of the Study

In this study to illustrate political behaviors and political games which Mintzberg described, movie analyzed by using narrative theory. The movie was selected by voluntary sampling according to the criteria of finding the movie that harbors the political behavior and political games. For the selection of the movie, IMDb (Internet Movies Database) which is an online database of information related to films, television programs, and video games, including cast, production crew, fictional characters, biographies, plot summaries, trivia and reviews (http://en.wikipedia.org), was used. As the IMDB includes data for the entire film history and is referred to as a reliable source by the film authorities, the idea for using it as a film database has been supported. All films registered at the IMDB have been searched by using the key word "power", due its close relation to the concept of politics. More specifically, the politics covers what people are engaged in to become powerful, when they cannot have it through natural ways. Similarly, power is a source and politics is the action involved to improve that source (Lewis, 2002:28).

232 films have been identified as a result of the search. The Godfather (1972) film ranks as one of the top best films on the list, with a score of 9.2 over ten points. It is followed by the Godfather II (1974) film with a score of 9.1. The Godfather III (1990), on the other hand, ranks lower on the list (Because 10 out of scoring in IMDb, broad participation is also

complimented by movie critics. 775.208 people vote for Godfather -I, 506.495 people vote for The Godfather-II). However, with a view to preserve story integrity, it has been considered appropriate to include the Godfather III film in the study analysis, together with the other two. By doing that, Godfather has been mentioned in the study as a trilogy.

Using narrative theory is not easy especially because of the hesitation of objectivity. Bal (1985) focuses on this point of view, called as focatization, with which the events in the fabula are perceived and narrated. But to say that stories are constructs is not just a play on words; stories are abstract conceptual models used in explanations of observed data. Pentland (1999) expresses that narrative data have properties that provide the basis for many kinds of organizational theories and agrees with Reissman (1993) about the narrative is an overarching category that takes on many different forms and is described in many different ways.

In line with these, in this study, the relationship of narrative properties to organization theory is applied. Pentland (1999) summarized it as follows:

Table 1. Relationship of Narrative Properties to Organization Theory

Narrative Property	Indicator for
Sequence	Patterns of events
Focal actor(s)	Role, social network, and demographics
Voice	Point of view, social relationships, and power
Moral context	Cultural values and assumptions
Other indicators	Other aspects of context

Analysis of the Study
Political Arena and "Godfather"

According to Mintzberg (1985), political behavior is experienced in every organization, though the intensity of thereof may differ, and, in this regard, each organization is a political arena. Emergence of political behavior in an organization can be explained with the weakening of the legal system of the organization (authority, ideology system and specialization); because political behavior can replace the weakened system. By this, Mintzberg focuses on the conflict factor in the changing of the entire or a major part of the organization into a political structure. In his study, Mintzberg addresses the political activities in the organization as "games" and the thirteen tactics played by the players at all stages of the hierarchy are presented.

In the Godfather-I film, one of the opponent families makes an offer to Don Corleone for drug trade. According to the offer, the supply and sales of drugs would be assumed by the offerer family and the Corleone family would enable freedom of movement by using its political influence. Upon declining the offer, Don Corleone is assassinated. The offerer family is

behind the assassination and their intention is to weaken the authority system and to make sure that a political behavior is exhibited in their favor and their offers are accepted.

Mintzberg mentions thirteen political behavior games. These games are displayed by several maneuvering actors. Mintzberg classified the political actors in the organization as, primarily, internal (intra-organizational) and external (inter-organizational) factors (actors, players). The mentioned internal actors are employees who continuously work for the organization on a permanent and regular basis and who take decisions, perform activities, determine the objectives of the organization and suggest results; while external actors do not work as part of the organization, yet try to influence the behaviors of the employees. The influence of this political game on the players, purpose of the game and the effects on legal systems are summarized by Mintzberg in the Table 2 (Mintzberg, 1985):

Table 2. Some Caharacteristics of the Political Games Played in Organizations

GAME	MAIN PLAYERS	REASONS PLAYED	RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER SYSTEMS OF INFLUENCE
Insurgency	Unskilled operators (in large groups), lower level managers and sometimes professionals (singly or in small groups)	To resist authority (or other legitimate power)	Antagonistic to legitimate systems
Counter Insurgency	Senior managers	To counter resistance to authority	Coexistent with legitimate systems
Sponsorship	Any subordinate or junior, usually managers, personal staff or younger professionals	To build power base (with superiors or seniors)	Coexistent with authority or expertise
Alliance Building	Line managers	To build power base (with peers)	Substitutable for legitimate systems or else coexistent with authority or expertise
Empire Building	Line managers	To build power base (with subordinates)	Coexistent with authority or expertise; sometimes substitutable for legitimate systems
Budgeting	Line managers	To build power base (with resources)	Coexistent with authority or expertise
Expertise	Operators and staff specialists	To build power base (with real of feigned knowledge and skills)	Coexistent with expertise or substitutable for it
Lording	Unskilled operators and their managers	To build power base (usually with	Coexistent with authority (expertise or ideology)

	(sometimes professionals)	authority, especially bureaucratic rules)	
Line vs. Staff	Line managers and staff analysts (sometimes support staff)	To defeat rivals	Coexistent with authority for line, antagonistic to it for staff
Rival camps	Any alliances or empires usually in middle line	To defeat rivals	Substitutable for legitimate systems
Strategic Candidates	Line managers, professional staffers and operators, chief executive	To effect organizational effect	Coexistent with legitimate systems sometimes substitutable for them
Whistle Blowing	Usually lower level operators or analysts	To effect organizational effect	Antagonistic to legitimate systems
Young Turks	Usually higher level line managers and/or staffers sometimes professional operators	To effect organizational change	Antagonistic to legitimate systems

The actors mentioned by Mintzberg (1983) in his games can be paired with the approved people or positions from the Godfather film as follows:

Senior managers or top managers: As these managers are rank top in the hierarchic structure, they have numerous actors and means to be engaged in political behavior. They can be engaged in political behavior with a view to preserve or enhance their power. The top manager in the film is, without doubt, the "don" and senior managers are subordinates close to the "don".

Line Managers: These managers serve as a bridge between their own managers and the top management. They are managers with career expectations and authorities that can be considered wide. As the people in the film who serve as caporegimes serve as a bridge between the top management and soldiers, they can be pointed as the line manager.

Operators or staff specialists (unskilled and professional) Simply put, they are the ones who do the work in an organization. Unskilled operators take simple and distinctive decisions while performing basic and routine works within the organization. They want continuity of the social relationships they establish in the organization. They may be engaged in acts like slowdown strikes, resisting the administration and strikes, through various coalitions formed by benefitting from these relationships. In the film, soldiers are unskilled employees. This is why we see them mostly in aggressive games that will potentially result in a shorter time.

Professional employees, on the other hand, have a higher level of knowledge and skill and stand in a more satisfactory position than the unskilled employees. Acts of professional employees spread over time and

show flexibility. Their expectations in political behavior is autonomy and prestige.

Staff analysts or professional staffers (unskilled and professional): These employees provide support in the performance of works. Unskilled staff analyst is the position of people working for jobs that do not fall into the main field of activity of an organization, but that facilitate the performance of that activity. Sanitation worker at a post office, cafeteria staff or sales staff specialist can be counted as examples. In the film, there are those working for similar positions in the legal businesses of the family.

Knowledge and skill levels of professional staffers are high. They act as counselors to senior managers and work together with the senior management due to their knowledge and skills. Therefore, he uses his authority as staff and contrary to line manager, he does not have the authority to give orders to the subordinates. His expectations can be to do career and attain power, like the line manager. This is why, the line manager and professional staffer can get in conflicts. As a consequence of such conflict, political behavior may emerge. In the film, the best example of professional support appears as the character of Tom Hagen. This person is a trustworthy person, even if not having any blood relations, as he was raised under the family's care. With his legal knowledge, he serves as a counselor to Don Corleone.

Political Games and "Godfather"

Mintzberg's (1985) thirteen game is explained below in Table 2 with examples of Godfather film is given:

1. Insurgency game: The game is played by low-level players for the purpose of resisting and opposing legal systems. The rebelling organization members do not offer any alternatives to legal systems and they rebel only for the sake of opposition itself.

Example 1: In the Godfather-I, after Michael kills the opponent family member who assassinated his father and runs to Corleone Town. In the meantime, an act of rebellion awaits Michael. The opponent family pulls one of the soldiers of the Corleones to his side and makes him place a bomb on Michael's car. However, the victim turns out to be his wife who wants to make a surprise to her husband by driving the car.

2. Counter-insurgency game: The game is played rather with senior managers. Mintzberg uses the metaphor of anathematize while describing this game.

Example 2: In the film, Tessio is a close friend of Vito Corleone and their acquaintance dates back to really old times. Occupying a significant place in the rise of the family, Tessio is responsible for the security of the family. Assuming that the family would be dissolved when the father dies, he

betrays the family upon agreeing with Emilo Barzini on murdering Michael. Nevertheless, Michael notices beforehand the trap that might be set against him, after being warned by his father before his death. In the end, Tessio is taken away to be murdered by the gunmen of Michael and the authority is restored through counter-insurgency.

3. Sponsorship game: The game is played as follows; young managers giving reference to their superiors with status, in the event that their opinions or decisions about any subject are not accepted. At this point, political behavior coexists with authority and expert systems.

Example 3: In the third installment of the Godfather series, son of the deceased Sonny Corleone, Vincent looks for a better position for himself in the family. Because of his inadequate educational background and short temper in face of events, Michael Corleone is reluctant to support his such plans. When Michael stays in the hospital, in coma as a result of diabetes, Vincent takes the initiative and plans an assassination against Joey Zaza, who tried to murder a few other family leaders together with Michael. When Michael regains consciousness and does not welcome the situation, Vincent tries to defend himself and claims that he received the consent for his orders from Neri and Connie (who are superiors with status). In other words, Vincent played the reference game to his superiors, in case his decision may not be approved.

4. Alliance building game: The game is a political behavior displayed by the line managers to create a lateral power base.

Example 4: In the film, the caporegimes can be represented as the line managers. In fact, the caporegimes have a certain autonomy, yet that autonomy derives from a method developed by the family against the FBI investigations, rather than his own power. That is to say, it would be easier for the FBI to arrest top managers in the event that the caporegimes are caught, they tip off the cops and any investigation is initiated, since they know every relationship on the streets. Pentangeli, who is devoted to Michael, has established an alliance with Clemenza, a former caporegime in the family, in an attempt to form a power base. As a matter of fact, when Clemenza dies, he bequeaths his properties and a part of his business to Pentangeli.

5. Empire building game: The game implies the process where the line managers commit the subordinates to themselves. At this point, political behavior of the line manager coexists with the authority/expertise systems or generates alternatives to such systems.

Example 5: A caporegime expects his soldiers to obey him and to get committed. The more this obedience is unconditional and strong, the more powerful gets the position in the organization. Furthermore, this situation will also be welcomed by their superiors.

6. Budgeting game: In the game, line managers try to seize the sources, instead of the subordinates.

Example 6: In the film, it is observed that being an effective and popular person in legal works such as hotel management and real estate businesses etc., in addition to gambling, selling alcoholic beverages and entertainment, is desired for every caporegime. For a caporegime, seizing the sources is a process at least as important as winning over his subordinates. From one point of view, obedience of their soldiers depends on their seizure of sources.

7. Expertise game: The game is based on the effort for creating commitment or attaining power, through real or feigned (by showing off/pretending) knowledge and skills. In this game, those who are not actually operators/staff specialists are in an effort to look like and perceived as operators.

Example 7: In the film, if the soldiers (operators) who are the most unskilled members in the organization serve to the Corleone family, then of course, they are engaged in a superior-subordinate relationship with the caporegime. Then what can make a soldier powerful? The answer to the question of "Which characteristic can make him different from other soldiers?" can be hidden in the expertise game. For instance, being perceived as mysterious and cruel could be the path leading to expertise for a soldier. As a matter of fact, this mystery is raised by the "urban legend" about Luca Brasi. This is an old story, accuracy of which has never been verified and, in fact, which nobody has ever dared to talk about. According to the story, Irish-origin Luca Brasi had a child out of wedlock in his youth. Feeling himself trapped, Brasi not only had the mother of his child killed, but he also had his newborn infant thrown into the oven. When the story is that scary, nobody ever wants to talks about it. Owing to that terrifying event, Brasi has attained power within the organization, in time, and, at least, he has become one of the first names that comes to mind among all soldiers. The fame of Brasi has expanded to such extent that the only person who is capable of having a conversation with him, without any hesitations, is Vito, the name on top of the organization.

8. Lording game: The game is played by mostly unskilled operators, in other words, those lacking legal power. Whereas managers can give orders with their legal power and the specialists can give orders with their knowledge or skills, the unskilled operators are deprived of any power sources. Basically on the grounds of the foregoing reason, the unskilled operators are engaged in political behavior through authoritarian attitudes and try to gain power in the lording game.

Example 8: When the Corleone and Tattaglia families come across in the Godfather-I film, Tom Hagen, the consiglieri of the Corleone Family

tells Sollozzo, after he offers a deal on behalf of the Tattaglias, "Even if you can convince me to cease the war, even I can't stop Luca Brasi". Considering, in terms of the lording game, which power lies behind such rage of Brasi, as implied in the dialogue, or if his rage is a choice or not, it could be said that the fact that Brasi served to the family for long years and the informal knowledge, as well as secrets, he attained in that course of time has provided him with a "lord" power defined as "unstoppable".

9. Line vs. staff game: The game is played between the line manager and staff analysts. The objective of the game is the explicit elimination of a party by the other one. As it is mentioned before, the line manager is authorized to give orders, while the staff analyst serves as counselor to senior managers thanks to the knowledge and skills they have. The line manager and staff analysts who want to climb higher in the hierarchy of the organization are always in a conflict, with regard to their objectives, expectations and current statuses. In other words, the formal power faces the power originating from staff position. This case creates the suitable environment for the emergence of political behavior.

Example 9: As mentioned before, Tom Hagen, who is the consiglieri of the Corleone family, is the advisor of Vito Corleone and, due to his position, he is constantly together with the senior managers in the family. Beyond being the advisor, he is considered as a member of the family (not in the meaning of crime organization, but in real terms). Tom Hagen is so close to Don Vito Corleone that it is really difficult to understand when their relationship is on a professional basis and when it is based on an emotional basis. For instance, when Tom Hagen tells Don that his elder son, Sonny, is murdered, is he acting as part of professionalism or is he sharing Don's grief? (see Image 3). About its answer, hard to say something definitely.

Image 3. The scene when Tom Hagen tells the death of his son to Don

In the Godfather-II, on the other hand, young son Michael Corleone supersedes Vito Corleone. The game titled line vs. staff is played between them. The relationship between Michael and Tom Hagen is quite different from the one established between Don and Tom Hagen before. Michael does not follow his father's lead and he never lets Tom get as close to him as his father does, nor he shares his private moments with him. His relationship

with Tom is more superficial and professional, as he reminds Tom of his limits whenever he gets a chance. At this point, Michael obviously thinks that it would do no harm to establish a merely professional relationship with the consiglieri, who has a grasp of the family's secrets.

At the very beginning of the Godfather-II film, Michael Corleone asks Tom to leave the room right before the meeting he will have with the senator. The sensed tension throughout the film finally becomes evident in the following conversation:

Tom Hagen: Just consider this, Michael. Just consider it. Roth and the Rosatos are on the run.Are they worth it,are they strong enough?Is it worth it? You've won.
 Do you want to wipe everybody out?
Michael Corleone: I don't feel I have to wipe everybody out, Tom. Just my enemies, that's all.Are you with me in these things,
 or what? Because if not, you can take your wife, your family and your mistress and move them all to Las Vegas.
Tom Hagen: Why do you hurt me, Michael? I've always been loyal to you. What is this?
Michael Corleone: So...you're staying?
Tom Hagen: Yes, I'm staying.

10. Rival camps game: The purpose of this game, played by mid-level managers, is to eliminate the opponent. When the organization is divided into two as a result of the alliance and empire building games, the turn for rival camps arrives. At this stage, now the organization is divided into camps on the basis of departments or managers and the identities are now defined by referring to which camp or side is supported.

Example 10: Although camping cannot be evidently observed in the Corleone family, because of the authoritarian and patriarchal structure of the organization culture, it would not be wrong to say that this situation is partially observed in the Godfather-II. At this point, when Michael replaces his father and becomes the Don, he reconsiders his relationships with the caporegimes committed to him. Contrary to the relationship of his father with the caporegimes, he stands closer to some of them, but also keeps his distance to others. As a consequence, the organization is divided into rival camps, in the wake of the distant relationship of Michael with Pentangeli, as an instance, and a dichotomy based on caporegimes appears within the family. Michael's brother Fredo, who wants to receive the support of the caporegimes with followers, also joins this game and he tries to stand close to Pentangeli, against his brother.

11. Strategic candidates game: The game is played for the purpose of affecting the change and covers political support of a certain candidate for critical positions. The efforts for assigning a top manager at institutions or

the process of supporting dean or rector candidates are the most appropriate examples for this game. Support of the candidate is not a unilateral effort in this game. Namely, once the candidate takes up the desired position, his supporters assume that they will attain certain benefits.

Example 11: In the Godfather-III film, Michael Corleone is now over 60 of age and is looking for a successor. In the meantime, he re-addressed his project for transforming the family into one that is engaged in legal business, rather than a crime organization, which is his years-long goal. Endeavoring to create a religious image before public, Michael intends to become a partner of a company owned by the Vatican. To this end, he pays a bribe of $600 million to cardinal Labirtoni.

In fact, the goal in this example is change, once again, however, the game is run by Michael in the opposite direction. In a sense, expectations are mutual at this point: Michael has achieved making himself the person supported by the Church and the Church has won over Michael's material and political power. From another standpoint, this game proves that the decisions taken by the establishments for purchasing or merging involve a lot more parameters (political, power-based relationship, and prestige etc.) than the evident reasons.

12. Whistle blowing game: The game is generally about sharing, by the operators, of some knowledge with the external environment. In a position devoid of power, these operators are after deriving certain benefits by affecting the change and, therefore, it would not be wrong to assert that they are opposing characters of this game to the legal systems. Today, although establishments try to avoid this game through non-disclosure agreements, this game can also be played easily with the help of communication technology.

Example 12: Being a (literal) member of the Corleone Family is one of the most significant sources of power within an organization. The situation is more different for Carlo, Vito Corleone's son-in-law. Carlo's status for benefitting from this power is below his expectations, because the role casted to him in the family is restricted. The efforts have been canalized to keep him away from family businesses.

On the Christmas night, the way how Carlo is expelled from the table (he is asked to take a look at the Christmas tree on another corner of the room, together with his wife) when Michael announces his decision to join the army because of the Pearl Harbor attacks clearly illustrates his excluded position within the family. After that event, having failed in attaining the power he desires, Carlo maltreats his wife who is a member of the Corleone family and, on top of that, he reports the route used by Sonny on his way home to the opponent family and causes the death of Sonny Corleone. He picks the timing of this event as a time when Vito is on his deathbed and,

therefore, the authority system of the organization is weakened. As is known, such times of changing lay the ground for environments where political behavior can be frequently observed.

13. Young Turks game: The objectives of this game are to establish a power base, eliminate existing threats and affect change in line with interests. In this game played by senior managers close to top management, those holding power through an unexpected success are desired to be overthrown. Opposition to legal systems is in question. With Mintzberg's (1983: 344) expressions "it is change in strategy or in players they promote, not change in power configuration".

Example 13: In the Godfather-I film, family members organize a meeting among themselves before meeting with Sollozzo. During that meeting, Tom Hagen indicates that there is high profit in drug trade, that they would be replaced with other families if they refuse to be a part of it and that they would end up being unable to compete with the other families within the next ten years.

Later on, Sollozzo visits the family and makes his offer. The offer is as follows: Don Corleone would provide financing to the drug trade in an amount of $1 million and also support through his connections with the politicians and the policemen. In return, the family would have a 30% share in the partnership. Don Corleone refuses the offer, believing that the politicians consider drug trade as a "filth business" and, if they accepted the offer, the politicians would grow rapidly apart from them. At that point, Sollozzo underlines that Tattaglia family would be supportive in case they have concerns about security behind that decision and Sonny intervenes, asking Sollozzo how they would guarantee that. Sollozzo realizes in that question that Sonny is essentially willing to be in the drug trade, only he has some reservations.

Thereupon, the Young Turks game will be put into effect. In this game, merely changing the representative of power will be sufficient to make an agreement, without the need for any drastic change. Accordingly, Don is assassinated and, as Don lies in his deathbed and is now considered dead, the offer is reiterated to Sonny, who is believed to become the new Don of the family in the future.

In addition to all the foregoing, Mintzberg (1985) describes that these games and political behavior do not necessarily have to be perceived negatively and, in fact, they could make contributions to the organization. Accordingly, the followings could be listed as political behavior with contributions to the organization, among the examples presented over the Godfather film in the previous sections:

-Political behavior not only enables promotion of the most powerful people in the organizations through a Darwinist method, but it can also lead

the way for powerful people. In the film, changing of Michael from "collegian" into the cold-blooded Don and the way he manages the family reflects this situation.

-While other systems address the events from one perspective, political behavior enables through discussion of an issue that concerns everybody within the organizations. Although hours-long assessments and discussions occasionally increase the tension after Vito is shot, both the situation is determined and new strategies are developed in face of unexpected events.

Conclusion

Studies on political behavior introduce that the political games are frequently played within organizations, albeit with varying intensity levels. According to Mintzberg (1985), players can be from all steps of hierarchy; the objectives of games and their impacts on organizational systems can be different. Political games cannot be expected to take place only at profit-oriented big organizations. Even if an organization consists of a single family, political games can happen in. The reason behind that is the fact that different interests, objectives and expectations will be in question wherever people are involved. The same fact is explained in this study through examples, upon an analysis based on narrative theory of Godfather film. The factors determining political behavior in the film, political actors of the behaviors, which political game is played, its objective and impacts on legal systems are presented respectively.

Accordingly, hoping that political games never exist or fighting to that end can be regarded as a meaningless effort, no matter how different the structures or types of the organizations are. It would, therefore, be beneficial to accept political games as a phenomenon, rather than exerting such effort, and to reveal their positive potentials for the organizations. Furthermore, it should also be remembered that political behavior can provide benefit for the organization, if managed properly.

References:

Bal, M. (1985). *Narratology: Introduction to the theory of narrative*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Becker, G. (1968). Crime and punishment: an economic analysis. *Journal of Political Economy*,76, 169-217.

Dachler, H. P. and Wilport, B. (1978). Conceptual Dimensions and Boundaries of Participation in Organizations: A Critical Analysis. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 23, 1-39.

DuBrin, A. (1988). *Human relations: A job oriented approach*. Reston Publishing.

Eisenhardt, K.M. and Bourgeois, L.J. (1988). Politics Of Strategic Decision Making in High-Velocity Environments: Toward A Midrange Theory. *Academy of Management Journal*, 31 (4).

Falbo,T. and Peplau, L. A. (1980). Power Strategies in Intimate Relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 38 (4).

Farrell, D. and J. C. Petersen (1982). Patterns of Political Behavior in Organizations. *Academy of Management Review*, 7(3), 403–412.

Ferris, G.R., Donald B.F. and King, T.R. (1994). A Political Conceptualization of Manageial Bahavior, *Human Resource Management Review*, 4 (1), 1-33.

Ferris, G.R. and Kacmar,K.M. (1992).Perceptions of Organizational Politics. *Journal of Management*, 18 (1), 93-116.

Ferris, G.R. and King, T.R. (1992). The Politics of Age Discrimination in Organizations. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 11(5/6).

Ferris G.R., Russ G.S. and Fandt P.M. (1989). *Politics in organizations. In Impression Management in the Organization*, Giacolone RA. Rosenfeld P (eds). Lawrence Erlbaum: Hillsdale, NewJersey.

Gandz, J. and Murray,V.V. (1980). The Experience of Workplace Politics. *Academy of Management Journal,* 23 (2), 237-251.

Garoupa, N. (2000). Optimal Law Enforcement and Criminal Organization. *Economic Inquiry*, 38(2), 278–288.

Hansen, M. H. (2006). *Polis: An Introduction to the Ancient Greek City-State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lewis, D. (2002). The Place of Organizational Politics in Strategic Change. *Strategic Change*, 11, 25-34.

Mintzberg, H. (1985). The Organization As Political Arena. *Journal of Management Studies*, 22(2), 133–154.

Mintzberg, H. (1983). *Power in and Around Organizations.* Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, NJ.

O'Connor, W.E. and Morrison, T.G. (2001). A Comparison of Situational and Dispositional Predictors of Perceptions of Organizational Politics. *The Journal of Psychology,* 135 (3).

Pentland, B.T. (1999). Building Process Theory with Narrative: From Description to Explanation. *Academy of Management Review*, 24 (4), 711-724.

Pfeffer, J. (1992). *Managing with Power: Politics and Influence in Organizations*. Harvard Business School Press.

Reissman, C.K. (1993). *Narrative analysis.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Stebbins, M.W. and Shani (Rami), A.B. (1989). Organization design: Beyond the "Mafia" model. *Organizational Dynamics,* 17(3),18-30.

Retrieved on 11 February 2015: http://www.thegodfather.com/

Retrieved on 11 February 2015: http://www.theguardian.com/childrens-books site/2014/feb/09/review-the-godfather-mario-puzo

Retrieved on 14 February 2015: http://www.history.com/topics/origins-of-the-mafia

Retrieved on 12 April 2014: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Internet_Movie_Database

Retrieved on 3 February 2014: http://www.thegodfathertrilogy.com/family.html