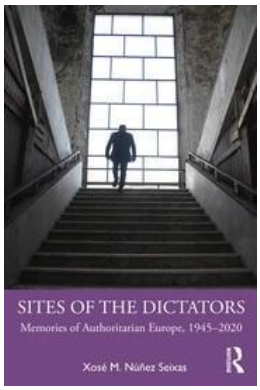
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Book Reviews

Managing Troubled and Troubling Places of Memory

Review of *Xosé* M. Núñez Seixas. 2021. *Sites of the Dictators: Memories of Authoritarian Europe*, 1945–2020. Abingdon and New York, NY: Routledge, 218 pp. ISBN 9780367684112

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After intense political debate embroiled with lengthy legal proceedings, in 2019 Francisco Franco's bodily remains were unceremoniously exhumed from the pharaonic necropolis he constructed at the Valley of the Fallen and reinterred in a family vault at the El Pardo cemetery in Madrid. This episode was the culminating – and the most morbid – moment pertaining to the contentious politics of memory fought over the authoritarian past in the post-francoist Spanish society. Franco's reburial was proceeded by the passing of a law of memory in 2007 (Ley de Memoria Histórica) which also set the legal stage for a broad but contested campaign of street names changes throughout the country (Labanyi, 2008; Capdepón, 2020). Almost half a century after Franco's death in 1975 and following a protracted period of embracing a "forgive and forget" politics of oblivion regarding the latter's parafascist dictatorship, Spain finally settled the scores with its former *Caudillo*.

These necropolitics surrounding the autocrat's physical remains are important because they represent the bodily personification of the political regime. Franco's exhumation and reburial reveal, once again, that dead bodies do have political afterlives, as Katherine Verdery had provocatively argued in her now classical book on this subject-matter (Verdery, 2000). But the political afterlives of dictators go well beyond their bodily relics. Their political legacies are embodied in a variety of material and symbolic places of memory, ranging *inter alia* from the graves where the bodies are buried, to the houses where they were born and the residences where they

Social Change Review ▪ 2022 ▪ Vol. 20: 181-194
DOI: 10.2478/scr-2022-0001

spent their time, to the monuments erected to celebrate their glory and the street names conferred in their honor.

All these places and artefacts that are intimately linked to an autocratic ruler become problematic memorial relics following a democratic regime change, as the one occurred in Spain after Franco's death. In cases of other political rulers of the twentieth century, such as the paradigmatic fascist dictators Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini, managing the places that still bear their intimate touch (e.g., their natal houses in Braunau am Inn and Predappio) poses even greater problems. It is Xosé M. Núñez Seixas's merits to have addressed in his book, *Sites of the Dictators: Memories of Authoritarian Europe, 1945–2020*, these thorny questions and timely issues regarding the political handling of such places of remembrance. The book draws on Pierre Nora's (1989) notion of *lieux de memoire* and applies it to the "sites of the dictators," that is, "memorial places or spaces whose management and resignification has turned, in the majority of examples analyzed here, into a laborious digestion or a permanent indigestion, when not into a melting pot of contradictions and changing interpretations, for democratic regimes that have succeeded dictatorship" (Núñez Seixas, 2021, p. 9).

After setting out a conceptual framework in the introduction, the book unfolds its analysis in four chapters dedicated to fascist dictators from Germany (Adolf Hitler), Austria (Engelbert Dollfuss), and Italy (Benito Mussolini); authoritarian rulers and collaborationist autocrats from Portugal (António Salazar), the Baltic states, Greece (Ioannis Metaxas), and the Vichy regime in France (Philippe Pétain); an entire section is focused on Spain and its (thanato)politics of memory; and communist dictators from the Soviet Union (Josef Stalin), Albania (Enver Hoxha), Romania (Nicolae Ceauşescu), and Yugoslavia (Josip Broz Tito). In the epilogue, the author further extends the geographical horizon of the book by surveying the situation with the sites of memory of other dictators from Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and reflects on the question of what should be done with these sites of dictators.

As already alluded in the brief description of the book structure from the previous paragraph, the *Sites of the Dictators* provides a comparative analysis of the politics of memory regarding the mostly material legacies of political rulers from Europe's postwar period. The comparative approach underpinning the analysis that covers a broad geographical area – from the shores of the Atlantic Ocean in Portugal to Europe's Asiatic confines in Georgia – particularizes the book in a field of studies still largely dominated by works characterized by "methodological nationalism" (Wimmer and Glick Schiller, 2003). Moreover, the comparative approach upon which

Social Change Review ▪ 2022 ▪ Vol. 20: 181-194
DOI: 10.2478/scr-2022-0001

the book is built extends beyond geography and includes ideological systems as well, as it addresses memorial issues left in the wake of both fascisms in Western and Southern Europe and communist regimes in the Eastern part of the continent.

This transnational approach that also crosses the ideological and regional divides between fascism and communism and between West and East reflects an ambitious comparative project of identifying the patterns and particularities between various cultures of memory developed across Europe after the end of the Second World War. However, when overreached – as it is the case in this book – such a large-scale comparative endeavor also reveals its limitation. I will come back to this issue in a moment, after completing taking stock of the other remarkable merits of Núñez Seixas's book.

Besides its comparative method, another innovative feature of the book lies in its objects of study. The analysis developed in this volume focuses on an overlooked category of places of memory: the sites of dictators, the memorial artefacts associated with the former fascist, parafascist, and communist rulers that pose a conundrum for the democratic societies regarding to how to come terms with these problematic material legacies of an unwanted past. The extant scholarship in the interdisciplinary field of memory studies, to which this book certainly belongs, tends to focus on the monuments erected to commemorate the victims of the short, but violently brutal, twentieth century. Thus, in the Western Europe, Holocaust memorials have captured most of the researchers' attention (e.g., Young, 1994), while in the Central and Eastern Europe, it was the monuments dedicated to the victims of communist regimes (e.g., Creţan, Light, Richards, and Dunca, 2018). When researchers transgressed the geopolitical and ideological line materialized in the Iron Curtain and explored the grief shared by all Europeans, they did so by examining the war memorials erected for the fallen in the two world wars throughout the continent (Mosse, 1990). Departing from this pattern, Núñez Seixas's book shifts perspectives and considers the sites of perpetrators as troubled *lieux de mémoire*.

Troubled, but also troubling, since their management poses particular problems for the post-authoritarian, democratic regimes that inherited them. As Maoz Azaryahu (1996) and other social scholars have made abundantly clear, in the wake of a major shift in a society's power structure the widespread removal of symbols, demolition of monuments, and renaming of places constitute a "ritual of revolution" (for postsocialist Romania, see Light, 2004; Rusu, 2019a, Rusu, 2021a). However, some legacies of the former regimes and overthrown leaders had survived this overhaul. As Núñez Seixas points out, "the childhood homes of dictators, often

Social Change Review ▪ 2022 ▪ Vol. 20: 181-194
DOI: 10.2478/scr-2022-0001

in private hands, as well as their tombs and mausoleums, their private residences or summer and winter palaces, often represented exceptions to the norm". It is in these places – birth houses or paternal homes, tombs of the dictators, residences and other spaces of political activity such as party headquarters etc. – where "the dictator's ghost seemed to still be alive and casting his shadow upon the present, meaning unfinished business for the score-settling politics with the dictatorial past" (p. 8).

Núñez Seixas succeeds in bringing to the fore the essential tension underpinning the management of these simultaneously troubled and troubling sites of the dictators. Political actors and administrative authorities found themselves at the conjunction point of three different forces: first, there is the pressure to preserve a material relic that is associated in an intimate manner with a dictator, which derives from the cultural imperative of patrimonializing the past. At the same time, those in charge of handling these sites face the threat of rendering the place they preserve as heritage into a rallying place for nostalgists and a site of political pilgrimage. In addition, especially when these memorial sites are in the administrative hands of local authorities, the latter must cope with the neoliberal pressure exerted by the tourism industry but also with the similar neoliberal temptation of commodifying the place for promoting "dark tourism."

Another asset of this book consists of the fact that it explores what could be called the "provincial geography of memory." The usual approach found in memory studies is to focus on capital cities (e.g., Moscow) and to examine the politics of memory enacted over some representative memorial landmarks located there (e.g., the Lenin Mausoleum) (these examples are taken from Forest and Johnson, 2002; see also Gill, 2005 for an analysis of street renaming in post-Soviet Moscow). Although this capital-centric approach has been criticized (Rusu, 2019b), few scholars have extended their geographical reach and moved their analyses beyond the capital cities. By focusing on small towns, where the sites of dictators tend to be located (e.g., Mussolini's birth house is found in Predappio, Italy, population cca. 6,000; Hitler's birthplace is located in Braunau am Inn, Austria, population cca. 17,000; Ceaușescu's natal house is in Scorniceşti, Olt, population cca. 11,000), the book shows that the politics of memory and the debates that surround them also occur outside the metropoles.

A highly intriguing analytical thread crossing the book's sections is the politics of dead bodies. In the footsteps of Katherine Verdery's anthropology of corpses, Núñez Seixas's book engages in a fascinating, albeit morbid, history of dictators' dead bodies as corporeal loci of political memory. Besides discussing Stalin's well-known

Social Change Review ▪ 2022 ▪ Vol. 20: 181-194
DOI: 10.2478/scr-2022-0001

embalming, exposition alongside the political mummy of Lenin, and its removal in 1961 from the mausoleum, the book tells the fascinating stories of other famous physical remains. For instance, in presenting the case of post-Nazi Germany, the author discusses Hitler's bunker as "a coffin without a body," which the Soviet authorities failed repeatedly to demolish (p. 18). After committing suicide together with Eva Brown, Hitler ordered his body to be cremated, which his assistant had done. The Red Army discovered the place where the burnt body was buried after they entered Berlin a couple of days later and performed an autopsy to confirm Hitler's identity. The Soviet military intelligence (NKVD) arranged for the remains to be secretly buried under the parade ground of a Red Army barrack in Magdeburg, in the German Democratic Republic (GDR). The partially incinerated body remained buried there until 1970, when the Soviet authorities incinerated the remains by the order of the Kremlin and poured the ashes into the River Ehle (pp. 18-19).

Mussolini's dead body – after being tortured, desecrated, and exposed – was buried in an unmarked grave in Milan's *Cimitero Maggiore*. A year later, not coincidentally on the Easter Sunday of 1946, three fascists located the grave and removed the *Duce*'s physical remains. The stolen remains of Mussolini were recovered by state authorities only after several months, and the government decided to rebury them in a secret location (a convent in Cerro Maggiore), where the corpse rested until 1957. Afterwards, the mortal remains were again exhumed and passed over to Mussolini's widow Donna Rachelle, who interred them in Predappio (pp. 54, 57). Around the same time when Mussolini's body was being transferred to its last resting place, the body of another fascist leader was removed from its anonymous grave. Anton Mussert was the main leader of the Dutch Nazi movement, tried and sentenced to death in 1945. He was executed and buried secretly under a road in The Hague's General Cemetery. In 1956, his family found out where he was interred and removed the remains which were reburied in a private garden (p. 94).

Another episode of necro-theft related in the book concerns the body of Marshall Philippe Pétain, the Chief of State of Vichy France (1940–1944). Deemed a traitor, he was tried and sentenced to life imprisonment on the island of Yeu, where he died in 1951 at the age of 97. The mortal remains of the Marshall made the object of a "stunning bodysnatch" in 1973, when a group of extreme-right activists exhumed what remained of Pétain's body. The police eventually caught the robbers, recovered the stolen goods, and transferred the corpse back to the Yeu island (pp. 100-101). The posthumous afterlives of these famous corpses – which have endured exhumation and reburial, embalming and desecration, but also theft and destruction – indicate

Social Change Review ▪ 2022 ▪ Vol. 20: 181-194
DOI: 10.2478/scr-2022-0001

that despite they are breathless and cold, or even turned into ashes, these physical remains continue to have political stakes for the living.

And now, the not so impressive. Overall, the book seems to have sacrificed conceptual precision for a greater geographical coverage and a broader ideological spectrum. The cost of the comparative overstretch comes as analytical shallowness in examining particular national case studies. For instance, when discussing Romania, the narrative is focused on Nicolae and Elena Ceaușescu and their posthumous memory, with scarce references made to Marshall Antonescu and Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej. There is no discussion of Corneliu Zelea Codreanu and his flamboyant necropolitics (Rusu, 2021b), King Carol II and his double postmortem reburial in 2003 and 2019 respectively (Verdery, 2000), or Dr. Petru Groza's state funerals in 1958 and his dead body politics (Rusu, 2020; Young and Light, 2013). Similar critiques could be mounted regarding most of the countries included in the book's comparative repertoire.

Secondly, the book exhibits a rather shaky conceptual foothold. Its subtitle explicitly announces that the sites of the dictators examined in the volume represent "memories of authoritarian Europe, 1945–2020." However, the author does not remain faithful to this subtitle and disregards the basic distinction made in political science between authoritarianism and totalitarianism. In the introduction, he does mention Juan J. Linz's (2000) classical work on *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes* but argues instead for the use of "flexible" concepts that transgress this line of demarcation (Núñez Seixas, 2021, p. 2).

Another issue that affects the theoretical framework consists of the author's bid to generalize by constructing an oversimplified ideal type: he argues that "at the head of a dictatorship was a leader whose legitimacy came from charisma" (p. 2). He doubles down on this idea and insists that "the main source of the dictator's power is charisma," understood in the classical Weberian sense as a supernatural quality of the leader's personality that binds him to his followers (p. 2). To be sure, Lenin, Mussolini, and Hitler represent the paragons of charismatic personalities that fit perfectly to Max Weber's notion. But other rulers such as Stalin and Ceaușescu, despite the personality cults developed to glorify them, are major examples of non-charismatic leaders, whose sources of power lied elsewhere their structure of personality, especially in controlling the party's administrative apparatus.

The volume is also disbalanced along the fascism–communism divide. The book's core analysis and its conceptual structure fits on the politics of memory in post-fascist countries from the Western and Southern Europe (e.g., post-francoist Spain).

Social Change Review ▪ 2022 ▪ Vol. 20: 181-194
DOI: 10.2478/scr-2022-0001

The national case studies of communist countries from the Eastern Europe, lumped together in a single section of the book (chapter 5), seem to have been added more like an afterthought than a genuine comparative counterpart. This part of the volume also constitutes the book's weakest point, where most of the issues are concentrated. For the remainder of this review, I will concentrate exclusively on Romania, mainly because I am intimately familiar with this particular country.

Romania is characterized as "the post-Communist country that has most succumbed to the dictates of mass tourism when musealizing the recent past" (p. 160). The author goes on to argue that "in the public return of the memory of the figures of Nicolae and Elena Ceauşescu, economic incentives also had a decisive impact in Romania, and one above all: tourism" (p. 161). The development of Ceauşescu's native house in Scorniceşti is interpreted in terms of entrepreneurial tourism and as an "opportunity to attract foreign visitors [that] awoke the greed" of Ceauşescu's nephew, Emil Bărbulescu. The book also conveys the exaggerated idea that since its opening, the former dictator's birth house has been taken by storm by "thousands of tourists" and nostalgists (p. 162). As one who has personally visited the place last year, I can say that this was certainly not the case. Moreover, there is no fee for visiting the house and taking picture to Ceauşescu's bust installed in the courtyard. These do not hold back the author from claiming that Emil Bărbulescu (who passed away in 2016) was a "glocal actor" who acted locally but thought globally in the logic of entrepreneurial dark tourism, responsible for the "disneylandification" of the sites of dictators for economic incentives (p. 182).

The same argument is set forward in describing the museumification of the military barracks from Târgovişte where the Ceauşescu's were tried, sentenced to death, and executed on the Christmas Day in 1989. In 2013, the military unit 01417 was turned into a museum and open to the public. Núñez Seixas sees it as "a stark example of commercial opportunism" (p. 163). The commercial success of the memorial site is contradicted by the museum's director, who declared in a press interview that he hopes that the opening of a shopping mall nearby will bring more visitors to the museum (Ţupran, 2018).

Other private projects of memorial entrepreneurialism in Timişoara and Bucharest which present to visitors the everyday life during communism are seen as a manifestation of the "Dracula syndrome": "all of these are private endeavours seeking to attract tourists, nostalgists, and those interested in bygone eras. At the same time, with acritical syncretism, they implicitly present Nicolae Ceauşescu as a sort of red twentieth-century Dracula" (p. 164). Ignoring the cliché of Dracula and its

Social Change Review ▪ 2022 ▪ Vol. 20: 181-194
DOI: 10.2478/scr-2022-0001

effects of exoticization, the Communist Consumers Museum in Timişoara exhibits the consumer goods available to an ordinary Romanian during the communist period, while the Ferestroika offers the experience of living in an apartment block in the 1980s. Therefore, these projects do little to sell Ceauşescu as a "red twentieth-century Dracula." What they do offer, in exchange for a fee, is a chance to get a retrospective glimpse into the daily life of ordinary Romanians who lived under the former regime.

And finally, the factual errors, typos, and misspellings: the book is replete with typos that punctuate it from the very first paragraph of the Forward (where Franco's name is written "Frnco"). In the section dedicated to Romania, Marshall Antonescu is referred to repeatedly as Tito (p. 165). Ceauşescu's bust placed in the courtyard of his natal house in Scorniceşti is not made of "granite", as claimed by the author (p. 162). Shortly after its unveiling, it cracked due to the poor material and now a long cleft crosses Ceauşescu's face. In addition, Târgovişte is misplaced "to the south of Bucharest" (p. 160), perhaps due to a confusion with the homonymous town located in Bulgaria.

Overall, the book provides an ambivalent mixture of novel objects of study (the sites of the dictators) and a broad comparative outlook on the one side, and conceptual confusion, analytical shallowness coupled with some contestable claims and problematic interpretations. In its overambitious bid to survey in a comparative manner the entire continent, the volume succeeds in providing the reader with a string of national snapshots that only at times go beyond scratching the surface of that country's intricate politics of memory. As such, the book shows the promises of a genuinely transnational approach to memory studies at the same time that it highlights the perils of comparative overreach.

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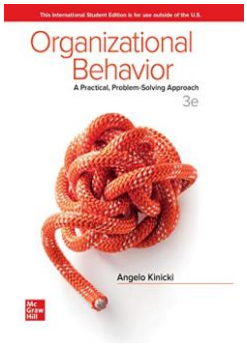
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Social Change Review ▪ 2022 ▪ Vol. 20: 181-194
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Angelo Kinicki. 2021. *Organizational behavior: a practical, problem-solving approach*. 3rd edition. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Education. 678 pp. ISBN 978-1-260-57037-3; MHID 1-260-57037-1.

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The dramatic changes in the last decade inside the work paradigms and ongoing evolution of new perspectives over the dynamics in processes at individual, group and organization level constitute a rich source and background for *Organizational behavior: a practical, problem-solving approach* which focuses on "integrating problem solving approach and clarifying its relationship to the organizing framework for understanding and applying organizational behavior" (p. v).

The author of the present book, addresses vital topics for the study of organizational behavior in action, giving the reader a possibility to test its applications, strategies, to explore its cases and explore legal or ethical challenges.

The structure of the book is developed in three major parts, following the three vital dimensions in organizational approach: individual behavior, groups and organizational processes.

In part one, *Individual Behavior*, the author decided to organize the thematic in seven distinct sections or chapters as follows: 1. Making OB work for me; 2. Values and attitudes; 3. Individual differences and emotions; 4. Social perception and managing diversity; 5. Foundations of employee motivation; 6. Performance management; 7. Positive organizational behavior.

Social Change Review ▪ 2022 ▪ Vol. 20: 181-194
DOI: 10.2478/scr-2022-0001

Part two, *Groups* is structured in six sections or chapters: 8. Groups and teams; 9. Communication in the digital age; 10. Managing conflict and negotiations; 11. Decision making and creativity; 12. Power, influence and politics; 13. Leadership effectiveness.

Part three, *Organizational Processes*, is following three sections or chapters: 14. Organizational culture, socialization and mentoring; 15. Organizational design, effectiveness and innovation; 16. Managing change and stress. Each chapter presents new content and extensive discussions upon a wide collection of themes related to the implications of organizational behavior inside organizations and the management strategies. The book itself is dedicated both for student use and managers, aiming at covering the redline of any vital "survival kit" in the organizational world and the art of management.

Going through part one, *Individual Behavior*, chapter 1, readers are carried out in a knowledge based journey over performance and career enhancement, completed by the rules of ethics, making organizational behavior work for its applicants.

In chapter 2, the author explored the new incoming trends and factors which shape the values of the Z Generation, new examples and statistics on employee commitment and engagement, value theory and telecommuting research. Chapter 3 brings to light an interesting discussion about personality dimensions at the workplace in relation with emotion management and brain training, with focus on performance, career outcomes and job search. In chapter 4, the author presents new research and views over social perception, diversity in organizations and their implications on the hiring process, with a close attention to stereotypes, gender topics and equity at work. The section orients towards a new model of awareness, developed in a world of virtual challenges and dynamic diversity, with respect to civil rights and fighting off discrimination. Adding to this, chapter 5 fulfills the frame on motivation theories, with direct influence on the job design, goal setting, performance index. The chapter itself contains an abundance of cases and practical situations associated to the motivational itinerary at work. In chapter 6, the

Social Change Review ▪ 2022 ▪ Vol. 20: 181-194
DOI: 10.2478/scr-2022-0001

discussion continues the debate over performance at work, exploring even more processes such as monitoring, building goals and coaching. The last chapter in part one, chapter 7 underlines the importance of practicing a positive and solution oriented organizational behavior, while exploring positive conducts at work, beneficial organizational climate, prosocial behaviors and productive attitudes.

In part two, *Groups*, chapter 8, the author analyses in terms of variables such as dependence, accountability and time, the well-known thematic of groups and teams. Moreover, the section follows an updated content over informal and formal groups, discussing functions, norms, types, trust, virtual domain. There is also an interest towards teamwork and team efficiency, with regard as in the other chapters towards new applications, new actions in organizational behavior and new problem-solving approaches.

In chapter 9, *Communication in the digital age*, the content draws attention to new concepts such as "phubbing (phone snubbing)" or "fear of losing out", presenting the new way of communication in a digital environment with regard to generational differences, media richness, social expectations and norms, up to date social media implications, impact and consequences on the individual at work. Chapter 10 approaches a classic theme inside the organizational behavior, with an overview upon conflict management at work in terms of types, causes, outputs, levels and negotiation solution-based strategies. The section detains also a segment dedicated to the analysis of work-life conflict in modern, present times. The author reveals again compelling cases on the data protection challenges, legal and ethical issues, union clashes in association with conflict at work. In chapter 11, the tone falls on the best known decision making process, described and discussed in relation with big data management and research, critical thinking, cognitive bias and completed by artificial intelligence utility and new usage.

In chapter 12, the discourse resides around the influence process and tactics, with new examples both for students and managers, pushing through political action and behavior, activism and change policies. The section contains references also towards new social media influence and mechanisms,

Social Change Review ▪ 2022 ▪ Vol. 20: 181-194
DOI: 10.2478/scr-2022-0001

employee activism, types of power in organizations. The last chapter in part two of the book, chapter 13 describes the leadership instances in organizations with regard towards various models of governance, traits and empowerment with new examples and research. In part three, chapter 14, *Organizational culture, socialization and mentoring*, the author draws focus on the importance of observing change inside the organizational culture, in a frame of sustainability goal, stages and mechanisms which may deliver a deeper understanding on how networks at work function, how mentoring improves the adaptation to change and how socialization may bring vital benefits to the organization through out the process of development. Chapter 15, on the other hand, provides an extensive overview on how design and innovations impact efficiency and continuous learning both at individual and organizational level. Chapter 16, the last in part three of the book, deals with the art of managing failures at work, in relation with the change process, discussing agents, reactions, features, forces and models that shape the evolution of an organization and the professional trajectory of the employee. The section presents a useful oversight over the stress topics at work as well, as a supplementary material.

In conclusion, the contributions of this book are highly important to the organizational domain, bringing up to date examples, statistics, new concepts and views over the organizational behavior at work and addressing the new incoming topics from an innovative approach, scientifically enriching. Overall the book comes with refreshing academic content, vital to any student, manager, scholar, and stakeholder involved in the organizational process, offering the necessary professional tools for problem-solving approaches and practical applications for users.

Social Change Review ▪ 2022 ▪ Vol. 20: 181-194
DOI: 10.2478/scr-2022-0001