Upward defiance in organizations: management lessons from the Battle of Blair Mountain

John H. Humphreys

Texas A&M University – Commerce, Commerce, Texas, USA

Jane W. Gibson

Nova Southeastern University, Fort Lauderdale, Florida, USA, and

Jennifer D. Oyler

Texas A&M University – Commerce, Commerce, Texas, USA

Abstract

Purpose – Based upon an analysis of 30 historic narrative accounts of mutinies, Coye, Murphy, and Spencer recently extended voice theory to clarify the ontological status of the concept of upward defiance. The purpose of this article is to extend the framework of Coye *et al.* and illustrate the process of escalation towards hostility to offer practicing managers guidance on appropriate steps to interrupt the extreme escalation of member resistance.

Design/methodology/approach – The authors examined the significant historical insurrection within the 1921 Battle of Blair Mountain. With the case of the Blair Mountain War, the historical record provides ample narrative data for a textual, interpretive, pseudo-ethnographical analysis.

Findings – The examination of the Battle of Blair Mountain provides additional support for the upward organizational defiance framework proposed by Coye, Murphy, and Spencer. In addition, the authors have extended the theoretical upward defiance framework to account for the escalation of constructive to destructive forms of voice towards mutiny to reveal managerial actions and attitudes to mitigate follower defiance.

Research limitations/implications – The common limitation to any historic case study is one of generalizability, although it often useful to accept the trade-off between limited generalizability and the potential discernment associated with the methodology.

Originality/value – The paper investigates a mutiny outside of a maritime setting to offer support for Coye *et al.*'s conceptual framework, extend that framework in a manner more consistent with organizational practice, and offer guidance to practitioners.

Keywords Upward defiance, Voice theory, Mutiny, Resistance, Blair Mountain War, Organizations, Organizational conflict

Paper type Research paper

Although the romantic aspects of mutiny appeal to popular press usage, business research has not explicitly incorporated the underpinnings of the mutiny concept into existing theory. [...] When voluntary exit is not practical to members, barriers and risks severely limit their voice, and perceived injustices are grave, members may resort to organized action. Enter the concept of mutiny (Coye *et al.*, 2010, pp. 272-273).

Based upon an analysis of 30 historic narrative accounts of mutinies, Coye *et al.* (2010) recently extended voice theory to clarify the ontological status of the concept of upward defiance. They proposed a framework, based on dimensions of perceived

injustice to organizational members and barriers to voice, to locate the construct of mutiny in relation to voice theory, thereby enhancing comprehension of upward defiance in modern organizations. Their conceptualization made a significant contribution to the literature, as modern organizational theory has not adequately studied this phenomenon (Lammers, 1969). Consequently, Coye *et al.* (2010) called for the examination of other potential historical cases of seafaring sedition to strengthen their arguments about the foundations of mutiny that might be applicable to an organizational context.

Mutinies, however, can also occur outside of a maritime milieu (Lammers, 1969). One such example is the Battle of Blair Mountain, which was the largest armed uprising in the United States since the Civil War (Kinder, 2005). In 1921, more than 10,000 West Virginia coal miners, maddened over injustice, oppression, and exploitation, took up arms against their employers, the powerful coal operators (Shogan, 2004). To differentiate their forces from those representing management ("Whites" due to their white handkerchiefs), the insurrectionist coal miners wore red bandanas around their necks and were thus dubbed "Rednecks" (Swain, 2009, p. 37), a term that only later indicated a derogatory slur rather than a descriptive insigne. During a five day period in late August and early September, approximately one million rounds of ammunition were fired between the "Rednecks" and the "Whites" (Shogan, 2004). The so-called "Battle of the Rednecks" (Swain, 2009, p. iii) was so serious that the president was eventually forced to intervene by way of the US Army (Corbin, 1981). "Yet the great uprising of the West Virginia miners remains only an afterthought in our historical consciousness, earning only a few sentences at most in chronicles of the labor movement and no attention at all in more general accounts of the American heritage" (Shogan, 2004, p. ix).

Consistent with the offering of Coye *et al.* (2010), we similarly contend it is valuable to explore conceptualizations that emerge from the patterns, experiences, and insights of such topical and momentous historical events and actors (Wren, 1994). "We must look forward but also learn from the past, especially if our theoretical contributions are to be practical for real organizations and leaders" (Humphreys *et al.*, 2009, p. 59). Accordingly, we examined the case of the Battle of Blair Mountain with a practical lens to:

- provide support for and extend Coye *et al.*'s (2010) upward defiance framework;
- illustrate the process of escalation to hostility; and
- offer practicing managers guidance on appropriate steps to interrupt the extreme escalation of member resistance.

Historical interpretation

While the validity of case-based approaches have been questioned by some with a strict positivist perspective (see Gibbert *et al.*, 2008), we maintain that inductive conceptualization from particular cases can "offer insights that might not be achieved with other approaches" (Rowley, 2002, p. 16). Taking a realist viewpoint, we argue that historical case studies can produce sound, explanatory knowledge (Tsoukas, 1989) that is beneficial to the extension of theory (Shamir, 2011) and management practice (Ahmed and Humphreys, 2008).

We find this statement particularly apt with respect to the Battle of Blair Mountain. Emulating the proposition of Siggelkow (2007), this case was not randomly selected, as we reasoned it offered compelling insights with regard to managing upward defiance and an effective illustration of the elemental escalation process towards insubordinate behavior emerging from inappropriate and ill-considered managerial attitudes and actions.

Unique events, such as the Battle of Blair Mountain, require the use of archival data from survivor accounts, media interpretations, and public inquiry reports (Starbuck and Milliken, 1988; Turner, 1978; Weick, 1988) to produce documented evidence, as such events are difficult to predict and research methods cannot be easily developed a priori to examine them. Organizational researchers argue that these types of events should be studied because of their significant impact (Perrow, 1984; Shrivastava, 1987). Thus, management research serves to benefit from extensive research of qualitative databases, the inclusion of a wide variety of documentary sources from these records, and the use of stakeholder accounts of the events (Gephardt, 1993). To this end, Gephardt (1993, p. 1,466) emphasized a textual approach to qualitative research that "[...] allows systematic assembly, presentation, and interpretation of a set of related texts or documents concerning an event, thus offering researchers an improved way to systematically [...] analyze a range of qualitative data on important organizational events."

With case-based research, conceptual explanations are usually in narrative form (see Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007), providing inferences from documented events that further organizational knowledge (Humphreys *et al.*, 2011). In order to ascribe specific meanings to the recorded events, we noted salient excerpts, relating them to each other and to the established management impressions to which they would be practically related (Jones *et al.*, 2012). In doing so, we also subscribed to Bevir's (2002) perspective of postfoundational intentionalism to look beyond specific textual references alone to explain intent through our intended practical frame (see Novicevic *et al.*, 2006).

In the case of the Battle of Blair Mountain, the historical record provides ample data for such a generally textual, interpretive, pseudo-ethnographical analysis. Primary data can be found at the West Virginia University Institute for the History of Technology and Industrial Archeology. An array of primary data can also be accessed from the archives of the State of West Virginia (see www.wvculture.org/history/thisdayinwvhistory/0904.html). In addition, we examined the excellent historical scholarship of Bailey (2001) – *Matewan Before the Massacre: Politics, Coal, and the Roots of Conflict in Mingo County, 1793-1920*, Shogan (2004) – *The Battle of Blair Mountain*, and Corbin (1981) – *Life, Work, and Rebellion in the Coal Fields*.

The road to Blair Mountain
The Battle of Blair Mountain stands as the "largest armed insurrection on US soil since the Civil War" (Kilkeary, n.d., para. 2). Yet, few people today have even heard of Blair Mountain or know how significant it was in the struggle to gain fair and equitable treatment for American workers (Shogan, 2004). The road to Blair Mountain began long before the battle in 1921 (Bailey, 2001; Corbin, 1981).

With the advent of the industrial revolution and the concomitant change in economic base, southern West Virginia saw an influx of European immigrants and

transplanted African Americans eager to take advantage of good wages and cheap housing provided by the coal industry. What they encountered were company towns with company housing and company stores where prices were typically designed to relieve the miners of their wages (Shogan, 2004). To aid in this strategy, coal companies paid the miners in "scrip" which was only good at the company facilities. Safety in the mines was a major concern and, according to one report, West Virginia had a higher death rate than any other state (Corbin, 1981). As evidence, as early as 1907, a single explosion in Marion County killed 361 workers (WVAH, n.d.).

In the early 1900s, southern West Virginia remained largely without unions and yellow-dog contracts (a signed pledge to not join a union) prohibited workers from joining unions (Shogan, 2004). As the United Mine Workers gained strength throughout the country and in other parts of West Virginia, the mine owners in southern West Virginia employed Baldwin-Felts agents to suppress organizing and to evict sympathizers from both their jobs and their homes (Gleason, 1921). As local miners saw the growing economic disparity between the increasingly rich mine owners, the better paid miners in other parts of the state and themselves, tempers rose over both economic and civil rights issues. Not only did the miners demand to be paid more, but they wanted the freedom of speech and congregation to which they were entitled under the US Constitution (PAWV). In April of 1912, miners from Paint Creek and Cabin Creek walked off the job. On February 7, 1913, the simmering hostility erupted into violence when mine guards on a train fired into a tent colony killing an unemployed miner (Shogan, 2004). The miners retaliated by attacking a mine guard camp, during which 16 people died. With the repeated intervention of Governor Henry Hatfield, the strike ended in July of 1913. The only gain the miners made was the agreement to remove the Baldwin-Felts detectives from their locations (WVAH).

For the next six years, the mine fields were relatively peaceful and the First World War provided a boost in the economy and a raise in miners' wages. This improvement was short lived as the US entered a recession after the war and less coal was in demand. By this time, mine owners' associations had a stronghold on the mine fields of southern West Virginia, in particular Logan and Mingo counties. In return, the UMWA targeted these counties for organizing activities. Reported atrocities and lowered wages for the southern West Virginia miners coupled with a wage increase received by other miners ratcheted up the tension and a strike was called in the Spring of 1920 (WVAH).

During this time, the UMW launched an organizing campaign and reportedly signed up 3,000 of the 4,000 miners in Mingo County with the support of County Sheriff, George T. Blankenship, Matewan mayor Cabell Testerman, and police chief Sid Hatfield who noticeably slowed down the evictions being enforced by the Baldwin Felts agents. In retribution, Tom Felts, owner of the agency, dispatched additional men to Matewan on May 19, 1920. These agents were reputed to be tough and ruthless and Baldwin Felts "detective" and Deputy Sheriff Albert Felts, Tom's brother, was on hand to meet them at the train station. Shortly thereafter an argument broke out as each side produced warrants to arrest the others and a gunfight ensued. Two miners and seven of the so-called detectives were killed in the battle and Mayor Testerman was mortally wounded. Significantly, Hatfield was also murdered some time later, as he walked into a courthouse where he was to stand trial for his role in an unrelated shooting (WVAH).

When put into the context of the times, the tension ignited in Matewan is even more volatile (see Bailey, 2001). After the First World War, the need for coal decreased and profits were somewhat down from the war boom days. The feeling in Washington was anti-labor and the specter of the "Red menace" (i.e. communism) was seen behind every corner (Shogan, 2004). Union organizers were looked on suspiciously as communist sympathizers and patriotic Americans were called upon to stop the union advance. In 1919, a year before the Matewan massacre, a major coal strike resulted in an injunction against the UMW, which miners chose to ignore. After arbitration, miners received a 27 percent raise, but this did not help the miners in southern West Virginia who were not unionized. After Matewan, the union miners appealed to President Wilson for help regarding the abuses they were suffering, but there is no evidence to suggest that Wilson got personally involved. Senator Kenyon of Iowa, however, told union leader Samuel Gompers that the violence in West Virginia was not a senate concern (Shogan, 2004). Following the Matewan Massacre, UMWA miners went on strike; by now their ranks included over 90 percent of Mingo County's miners. People died on both sides of the conflict as mines were dynamited and tent encampments were attacked.

Hatfield was seen as a hero by the miners and his murder provided another spark to the violence. UMWA leaders called for a march on Logan and on August 24, a group which has been described as 5,000 (WVAH) to 15,000 (National Geographic Daily News, Friends of Blair Mountain, n.d.) men headed for Logan County where Sheriff Don Chafin was known to be in the pocket of the mine owners. President Harding's representative let the miners and UMWA officials know that this march would be seen as treason. Unfortunately, the trains that were to be sent to take the miners back home did not arrive before State Police killed two miners, adding fuel to the fire; so, many of the miners continued their march (WVAH) looting company stores and confiscating guns as they went. By the time they reached Blair Mountain, they had a machine gun and a Gatling gun (Shogan, 2004). They even commandeered trains to get to the front line. Their purpose was to free their miner compatriots who were in jail and to organize the workers in Mingo County (Pringle, 2010). In the meantime, the anti-union forces dug in on top of Blair Mountain which stood between the marching miners and their destination.

In imminent danger and with pleas from Chafin, Governor Morgan again appealed for Federal help. President Harding, in response, proclaimed that all participants in the conflict should stand down by noon, September 1, with the understanding that he would send troops if this did not happen. With no knowledge of the proclamation, the miners began their way up Blair Mountain where they met Chafin's men, a volunteer army consisting of the First World War veterans and American Legionnaires among others; shooting began (Shogan, 2004).

The Chafin forces were buoyed by the intervention of Kentucky Governor Edison Murrow who even provided three airplanes which were soon used to drop tear gas and pipe bombs on the miners. The President's deadline passed with no cessation, and he soon ordered troops and aircraft to the area, albeit with strict instructions to avoid blood-spilling engagement with the miners. Ironically, both sides greeted the arrival of the troops with enthusiasm. The defenders felt the miners would be stopped; the miners thought that justice would finally prevail. A ceasefire was mandated for September 3; the miners had no desire to fight Federal troops and those that were not arrested began returning home. By September 4, the war was over. The actual death toll was never confirmed but has been estimated as between 20-50 (Shogan, 2004).

At the end of the five day incident, "hundreds of workers were tried for insurrection and treason. The legal fees bankrupted the United Mine Workers Union, and for the next decade, it almost disappeared" (NPR Staff, n.d.). Regardless of the immediate setback for the unions; however, the Blair Mountain incident raised awareness around the country and paved the way for more union-friendly legislation down the road. The events at Blair Mountain are overwhelmingly significant to the history of labor in the United States, because they set in motion a national movement to better the conditions of working people (PAWV, n.d., para. 14).

To some, the seeming obscurity of an insurrection in the West Virginia coal mines may initially appear to be an unlikely case study to extend the concept of mutiny and upward defiance in contemporary business organizations. The Appalachian area at this time, however, was not inconsequential. According to Lewis (1993, p. 300), "West Virginia was in fact the frontier of American industrial capitalism during this period. [. . .] The coal industry, and in many respects the state itself, was transformed into a peripheral economic and political appendage of the nation's industrial and financial centers."

Others might question the relatedness of an insurrection in the coal fields and maritime mutiny. Actually, we found evidence that the coal miners themselves found their work and environments quite similar. For example, Corbin (1981, p. 39) recounted that the miners described their fascination with mining as "closely akin to the lure of a sailor's life." As a result, the lyrics of one of the miners' favorite songs were (Corbin, 1981, p. 39):

> Miner's life is like a sailor's
> 'Board a ship to cross the wave;
> Every day his life's in danger,
> Still he ventures being brave.
> Watch the rocks, they're falling daily,
> Careless miners always fail;
> Keep your hand upon the dollar
> And your eyes upon the scales.

Some have also attempted to disregard the lessons that might be learned from the Battle of Blair Mountain because of the "presumed violent streak in the mountaineer character [. . .]" (Lewis, 1993, p. 301). Bailey (2001), however, offers compelling evidence to dispel the line of reasoning that these workers were somehow culturally and/or genetically prone to violence.

In addition, she debunked the notion that there were significant differences between union and non-union coal fields (Hinrichs, 1923, in Bailey, 2001, p. xvii) and that cultural change was an overwhelming factor (Billings *et al.*, 1995), concluding that the insurrection was primarily the result of managements' basic enslavement of the miners (Burkinshaw, 1920) with no apparent "nonviolent redress for their grievances" (Bailey, 2001, p. xv). Likewise, Corbin (1981) determined that the miners' eventual violence stemmed from the oppression imposed by management whose actions and attitudes considered them little more than "chattel" (Keeney, 1919, in Corbin, 1981, p. 196) and "servants" (Shogan, 2004, p. 16).

Consequently, the significance of this episode speaks to numerous contemporary management issues. "Modern organizational life is not divorced from its historic and anthropological roots" (Coye *et al.*, 2010, p. 274). Additionally, historical accounts can

offer significant insights into fundamental dynamics (Hoffer, 1969) and lessons and conclusions can be drawn from historical events outside traditional organizational forms (Bailey, 2005; Humphreys, 2005; Humphreys *et al.*, 2007; Novicevic *et al.*, 2011). In particular, and consistent with the offering of Coye *et al.* (2010), we argue that the insurrection at Blair Mountain presents valuable lessons for practicing managers regarding revolutionary phenomena in contemporary organizational settings.

Revolutionary phenomena and upward defiance

Several historical reviews of the literature suggest that upward defiance and other revolutionary phenomena are common occurrences within organizations (e.g. Coye *et al.*, 2010; De Cock *et al.*, 2007). Typically, upward defiance occurs both individually and collectively and has been seen in various organizational settings including, but not limited to, academic departments, board of directors, entrepreneurial ventures, organizational divisions, penitentiaries, and non-union and union environments (e.g. Coye *et al.*, 2010; Golden-Biddle and Rao, 1997; Jackman, 1957; Lipset and Wolin, 1965; Mallinckrodt and Leong, 1992). Much of the literature, though, tends to confuse the issue, as various terms (e.g. revolt, uprising, insurrection, revolution, rebellion, etc) are often used as synonymous with mutiny.

To further explain the concept of revolution, Albert Camus discussed the French resistance to Nazi occupation and suggested that revolution was very different from revolt (Todd, 1997, p. 197 in Land, 2007):

> Revolution is not revolt. What carried the Resistance for four years was revolt, which is to say the entire stubborn refusal, practically blind at first, of an order that wanted to make men kneel. Revolt is at first a matter of the heart. But there comes a time when it passes into the mind, where feeling becomes idea, and spontaneous outbursts end up in concerted action. That is the moment of revolution.

Other authors prefer the term insurrection to revolution and argue the following:

> Uprising, and the Latin form, insurrection, are words used by historians to label failed revolutions – movements which do not match the expected curve, the consensus-approved trajectory: revolution, reaction, betrayal, the founding of a stronger and more oppressive State – the turning of the wheel, the return of history again and again to its highest form: jackboot on the face of humanity forever (Bey, 2001, p. 403, in Land, 2007).

Considering these perspectives, the Battle of Blair Mountain can be accurately described as mutiny and/or insurrection (Shogan, 2004) and conforms to the extreme usage of the term "upward defiance" as described by Coye *et al.* (2010, p. 270). To effectively move beyond labels alone, however, Coye *et al.* (2010, p. 270) introduced voice theory to articulate the proposed underpinnings of upward defiance "so extreme as to rise to the level of possible mutiny." Put in this context, the concept of mutiny is a socially constructed phenomenon (Coye *et al.*, 2010).

Upward defiance and employee voice and silence

Borrowing from Morrison and Milliken (2000; 2003), Coye *et al.* (2010), and others (e.g. De Cock *et al.*, 2007), take the view that upward defiance does not always negatively impact organizational functioning. In fact, organizing at the bottom levels of the organization may positively impact organizational functioning when barriers and risks are removed and employees are free to exercise their voice. As a result, employee

voice results in innovative organizational change. In contrast, impediments to employee voice and exit options result in organizational dysfunction where attempts to express voice results in promotions of interests, seizure of power, and suspension of routines (Land, 2007).

According to Morrison *et al.* (2011, p. 183), "Employee voice refers to the discretionary verbal communication of ideas, suggestions, or opinions with intent to improve organizational or unit functioning (Greenberg and Edwards, 2009; Van Dyne and LePine, 1998)." The definition of Kim *et al.* (2010, p. 373) is more encompassing to include not only verbal communication but also other work-related behaviors: "Employee voice describes how employees raise concerns, express their interests, solve problems, and contribute to and participate in workplace decision making (Pyman *et al.*, 2006)." Voice is extremely important to organizational effectiveness because it helps to improve policy and processes (Detert and Burris, 2007), decreases employee turnover (Spencer, 1986), and results in long lasting improvement in worker productivity (Levine and Tyson, 1990). Specifically, individuals were more likely to share their voice in a group that collectively believed voice could be shared safely and effectively. Further, the effect of work-group identification on voice was stronger in groups with favorable voice climates. Practically speaking, it is important for leaders to not only foster the development of individual level attitudes but also to create environments that enable members to collectively feel confident that expressing their voice will not be met with punishment (Detert and Burris, 2007).

Quite opposite of this phenomenon is organizational silence where employees withhold information about potential problems and issues within the organization (Morrison and Milliken, 2000). Morrison and Milliken (2000) proposed that organizational silence is a socially constructed phenomenon/outcome which is created at an organizational level, facilitated by manager's implicit beliefs, and defined by several organizational characteristics. In contrast to group voice climate, the climate of silence is a state where collective beliefs hold that voice is dangerous and futile (e.g. low safety and low efficacy; Morrison *et al.*, 2011).

Morrison and Milliken (2000) conjecture certain organizational conditions lend themselves to the creation of an environment that supports organizational silence. Further, they delineate between top management team characteristics, organizational characteristics, and industry characteristics. Some of these conditions include functional backgrounds of the top management team, demographic homogeneity of the top management team, cultural backgrounds of the top management team, high levels of dissimilarity between the top management team and lower level employees, organizations with strong focus on cost control and characterized by low-munificence environments, organizations that operate in stable and mature industry environments, organizations that have many hierarchal levels and hire senior managers from outside, and organizations that rely heavily on contingent environments. To this end, the authors propose that in organizations where managers' implicit belief structure is that employees are self-interested, management knows best, and dissent is undesirable:

- the organization will have centralized decision making structures and formal feedback mechanisms; and
- managers will be more likely to reject feedback from subordinates and less likely to solicit feedback from subordinates.

Organizational silence is also likely to play a significant role in impacting employee attitudes and behaviors and ultimately organizational effectiveness. Specifically, Morrison and Milliken (2000) propose that organizational silence will influence employees' feelings of not being valued, employees' perceived lack of control, and employees' cognitive dissonance. Senge (1999) suggested that employees have become ingratiated in organizational environments where fear, intimidation, and silence are the norms so that they are unable to imagine any other way of working. In return, the silent norms and behaviors are passed on to organizational newcomers. Redding (1985) echoes these sentiments by epitomizing the policy of many organizations that "boat rockers" who challenged policies and management prerogatives were not welcome.

As demonstrated, employee voice and/or silence is largely influenced by the conditions created by managerial leadership (Coye *et al.*, 2010; Detert and Burris, 2007; Kassing and Avtgis, 1999; Smelser, 1962). As this is the case, the considerable knowledge base encompassing voice theory prompted Coye *et al.* (2010) to use the concept of follower voice to clarify the ontological status of extreme forms of upward defiance in organizations.

Extending the upward defiance framework

Coye *et al.* (2010) refer to upward defiance in organizations as overwhelming dissent that exists between members and leaders. In particular, they state that it refers to a bottom-up type of force within an organization and is similar to voice with the exception that it becomes so extreme it leads to mutiny. Coye *et al.* (2010, p. 272) explicitly integrated the underpinnings of the concept of mutiny by illustrating the potential ramifications when "the need for voice is intense; upward expression is impossible due to active or passive barriers; and voluntary exit is impracticable" (see Figure 1).

As illustrated, their 2 × 2 framework is based upon the dimensions of the level of injustice and the barriers and risks of upward communication. When barriers and perceived injustice are low, an organization is adaptive. "These organizations enjoy effective leadership that enables upward dissent and voice" (Coye *et al.*, 2010, p. 273). When barriers to upward communication are high and injustice perceptions are low, or vice versa, the boundaries of voice theory come into play "concerning the discretionary provision of upward dissent intended to improve organizational functioning (Detert and Burris, 2007)" (Coye *et al.*, 2010, p. 273). Finally, when barriers to upward communication are overwhelming and perceived injustices are unbearable, the potential exists for mutiny. We find this upward organizational defiance framework a compelling theoretical paradigm. More importantly, our examination of the Battle of Blair Mountain provides additional evidence to support the primary propositions of Coye *et al.* (2010).

For example, even a casual reading of the history of the Blair Mountain conflict reveals the extreme "injustice" (Shogan, 2004, p. 28) to which the miners were subjected. Authority in this context was near absolute and constructed around coercive power (Bailey, 2001). Couple this with equally extreme barriers to communication (see Corbin, 1981; Shogan, 2004) and serious "intimidation" (Shogan, 2004, p. 39), "retaliation" (Shogan, 2004, p. 12), and "retribution" (Shogan, 2004, p. 74) for voicing concerns, Coye *et al.*'s (2010) upward organizational defiance framework fittingly predicts the potential for mutiny.
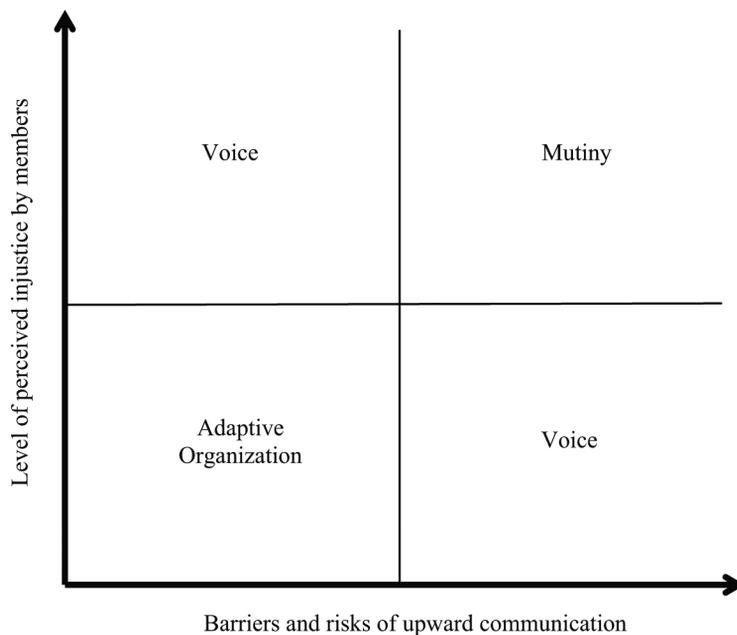
Source: Coye *et al*. (2010)

Figure 1.
The upward
organizational defiance
framework

We do posit, however, that Coye *et al*.'s (2010) framework could impact management practitioners to a greater extent with a more detailed and applied representation. While not presented in their graphical representation, Coye *et al*. (2010) considered voice strategies as occurring in both constructive and destructive method. Clearly, all forms of voice are not alike and it seems logical that more constructive forms of voice (e.g. sharing information with managers based on evidence) would be used initially in organizational encounters before more collective (see Clawson and Clawson, 1999; Godard, 1992) and destructive forms would emerge. Likewise, more destructive voice processes, such as open dissent and threats of exit, would reasonably appear before further significant action such as a strike (Kerr and Siegel, 1954) or, the ultimate form of strike, violent mutinous action (Lammers, 1969). Within the case of the Battle of Blair Mountain, we find supporting evidence for such an expanded process. Miners did attempt to use constructive forms of voice initially but voice strategies turned more destructive as management consistently, and "either blindly or arrogantly" (Bailey, 2001, p. 422), ignored their concerns and grievances (Shogan, 2004). Destructive forms of voice did turn into strikes prior to insurrection, as management attempted to smother dissent (Shogan, 2004). In fact, "Between 1919 and 1921, the southern West Virginia coal fields exploded in wildcat strikes. In one coal field alone, 63 work stoppages occurred within 11 months" (Corbin, 1981, p. 196). Shogan (2004, p. 3) reported that the desperation of the workers triggered as many as "3,000 walkouts" in one year (1919). Accordingly, based upon our observations, we submit an initial attempt at extending the upward defiance framework of Coye *et al*. (2010) to account for the escalation and intensification towards mutiny (see Figure 2).
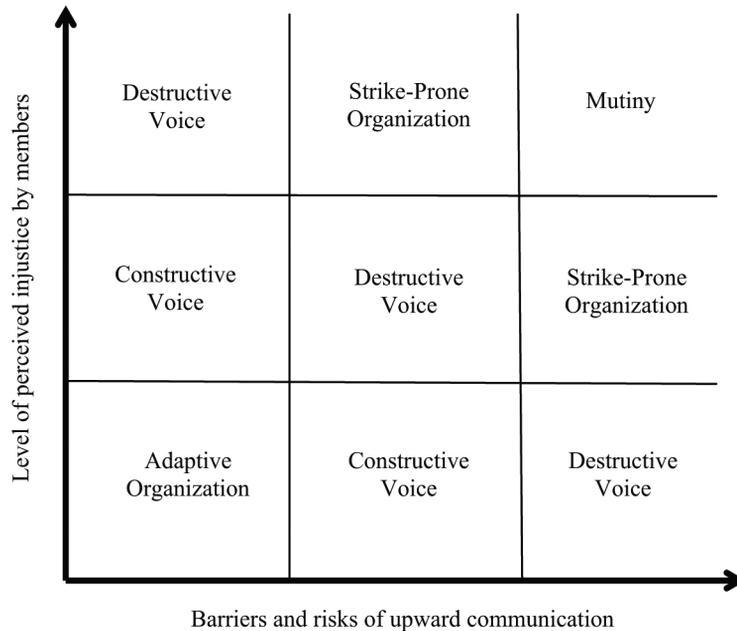
Level of perceived injustice by members

Destructive Voice	Strike-Prone Organization	Mutiny
Constructive Voice	Destructive Voice	Strike-Prone Organization
Adaptive Organization	Constructive Voice	Destructive Voice

Barriers and risks of upward communication

Figure 2.
An expanded upward
organizational defiance
framework

Moreover, we argue that it is this escalation and intensification towards mutiny that may hold the greatest lessons for management practitioners. We find support for this statement in the practitioner literature, where calls for managerial actions to combat the escalation of employee resistance in various contexts have appeared (e.g. Atkinson, 2005; Budd, 1995; Finkel, 2003; Hartung, 2011; Michelman, 2007; Wade, 2007).

Furthermore, our perspective is consistent with the findings of Coye *et al.* (2010). Based upon their scrutiny of the historic records of famous mutinies, these authors offered three fundamental managerial implications, suggesting that organizational leaders should: "1) manage the gap between echelons, 2) address sources of disgruntlement, and 3) develop competence continuously" (Coye *et al.*, 2010, p. 281).

Managing the gap between echelons speaks to the distance between leaders and followers found in most insurrections (Coye *et al.*, 2010). In organizational vernacular, this refers to employees being unable to relate to or trust management who are perceived as out of touch and self-interested. Simply put, management and their work force cannot identify with each other (Kouzes and Posner, 2002). Coye *et al.* (2010, p. 282) found that in all of the cases of mutiny they explored, "leaders were physically and socially disparate from members of lower echelons." This situation can make leaders unaware of the escalation of defiance and less effective in "managing the gap" (Coye *et al.*, 2010, p. 282). Reading the accounts of mine owners and miners, the gap associated with the case of Blair Mountain indicates an immense chasm, portraying management as arrogant, unaccountable, and clueless with respect to the daily duties and lives of their workers (Shogan, 2004). Since management made no attempt to manage the gap, they also made little attempt at addressing the sources of disgruntlement of the miners (Bailey, 2001).

"Managing the gap between echelons helps one to address sources of disgruntlement" (Coye *et al.*, 2010, p. 283). Management possesses the capacity to lessen the chances of extreme resistance by recognizing, acknowledging, and attending to employee concerns (Ford and Ford, 2009). In the case of the Battle of Blair Mountain, it is clear that management ignored the concerns voiced by the miners, allowing resentment to fester (Corbin, 1981).

Although Coye *et al.* (2010) included the development of continuous competence as one of their three primary implications, we argue that this is a given. Incompetent managers should be deposed. Therefore, we focus on Coye *et al.*'s (2010) first two implications in our study.

At first glance, Coye *et al.*'s (2010) historically supported findings could be construed as overtly leader centric (see Shamir, 2011). Clearly in most mutinous actions there are two sides to the story, which was certainly the case with the Battle of Blair Mountain (Bailey, 2001). In addition, as researchers interested in the practice of management, we acknowledge Jacobsen and House's (2001, p. 76) perspective that it is "self-evident" that leaders and followers are part of one interrelated system.

We also assume, though, that "leaders exercise influence, taking actions that [. . .] shape the behavior of others" (Mumford *et al.*, 2000, p. 11). Although leader centrism is common with historical data (Shamir, 2011), historical data also offers the advantage of viewing documentation addressing leader attitudes and actions, as well as those by followers, and fixed in the historical record. While addressing the leader-centric versus follower-centric debate was not our objective (see Howell and Shamir, 2005), as these positions are not mutually exclusive (Humphreys, Zhao, Ingram, Gladstone and Basham, 2010), like Coye *et al.* (2010), we intentionally focused on managerial actions and attitudes, thereby highlighting the significant managerial elements and ensuing follower perceptions and responses (Kark and Shamir, 2002). This is appropriate, as the concept of mutiny is clearly a failure of leadership (Guttridg, 1992) when leaders foster mutinous underpinnings (Coye *et al.*, 2010).

Similarly, we are not attempting to weigh in on the leadership versus management debate (see Nienaber, 2010). Although Coye *et al.* (2010) specifically relate voice to leadership theory, taking a practical view; we are focusing more broadly on management, as leadership is a management function (see Humphreys, Oyler, Pryor and Pane, 2010). Inherent within organizational management are explicit expectations of leadership (Sveningsson and Larsson, 2006). Although some of the leadership literature portrays leadership as distinct from management (e.g. Kotter, 1990), managers are not simply "apparatchiks of various forms of bureaucracy" (Scarborough and Burrell, 1996, as cited by Sveningsson and Larsson, 2006, p. 206). Certainly, one of the vital roles within organizational management is positively influencing employees (Shulstad, 2009). In this sense, managers do not have the luxury of avoiding the mantle of leader (Barnard, 1938) and must be accountable for attitudes and actions that foster follower escalation towards mutiny (Coye *et al.*, 2010).

Escalation through the management gap towards mutiny

While there is great practical merit to Coye *et al.*'s (2010) admonition of the importance of managing the gap and addressing sources of employee disgruntlement to mitigate the undue escalation of destructive upward defiance in organizations, we posit that an illustration of the escalation towards mutiny in the Battle of Blair Mountain could

make a valuable conceptual contribution (see Siggelkow, 2007). Moreover, Shamir (2011, p. 312) recently called for the examination of more historical case studies as a means to "narrate leadership phenomena as they unfold over time." We argue that such a narration could provide management practitioners specific guidance as to behaviors and attitudes that could interrupt such an extreme escalation of member resistance. Thus we examined the case of the Battle of Blair Mountain in the attempt to discern the management actions/inactions that allowed for such hostility to emerge.

In order to attribute meanings to the documented events of the historical case, we noted relevant excerpts, connecting them to each other and to the grounded management concepts to which they would be realistically and practically linked (Jones *et al.*, 2012). Since Shogan's (2004) book accounted for the most complete array of archival excerpts and analysis of the events at the battle of Blair Mountain, we focused on this work for our interpretive, textual examination. In doing so, our analysis revealed 51 managerial/leadership themes from management and follower attitudes, actions, and perceptions. These included managerial issues related to bad strategy, cheating by way of policy, inequity, retaliation, ingratitude, lack of accountability, violating due process, suppressing voice, exploitation, brutality, bad faith, etc. From the employee side of the equation emerged feelings and actions of despair, estrangement, mistrust, retribution, refusal to negotiate, ignoring outcomes, hatred, growing antagonism, etc.

In conducting the review, however, two observations immediately came to the forefront. First, the majority of the salient organizational themes emerging could be generally consigned to five broad categories for both managerial attitudes and behaviors and employee perceptions and actions. Second was the advent of the escalation of intensity as management and employee attitudes diverged over time. Based upon these observations, our understanding of the Battle of Blair Mountain, and the propositions of Coye *et al.* (2010), we offer our interpretation of the process of escalation through the management gap to the zones of irrationality and entrenched dysfunction (see Figure 3).

We begin with the basic assumption that managerial actions and attitudes influence employee perceptions and behaviors and vice versa (Collinson, 2005). In addition, we presume that management and workers generally begin their relationship at some base point of near equilibrium prior to reciprocal and dynamic forces that can cause the relationship to "spiral up or down (Gerstner and Day, 1997)" (Shamir, 2011, p. 310), thus setting the boundaries of our representation.

Although both sides bear some responsibility for this violent conflict (Shogan, 2004), the gulf between management and miners emerged from the attitude of management (mine owners). There was clear "inequity" and "injustice" was simply a fact of life for the workers (Shogan, 2004, p. 28). We label this as an injustice mindset and evidence is abundant in the case, as management viewed the leader/follower relationship as that of "master and servant" (Shogun, 2004, p. 16). This attitude was pervasive and led to severe mistrust on the part of the workers.

Although the attitude of management increased mistrust of the workers, the practical outcomes of their injustice mindset were manifested in the mine owners operating as dishonest brokers. According to Shogun (2004), they consistently negotiated in bad faith (17), considered themselves above the law (5), refused to accept responsibility (18), rigged the game in their favor (33), and cheated workers by policy
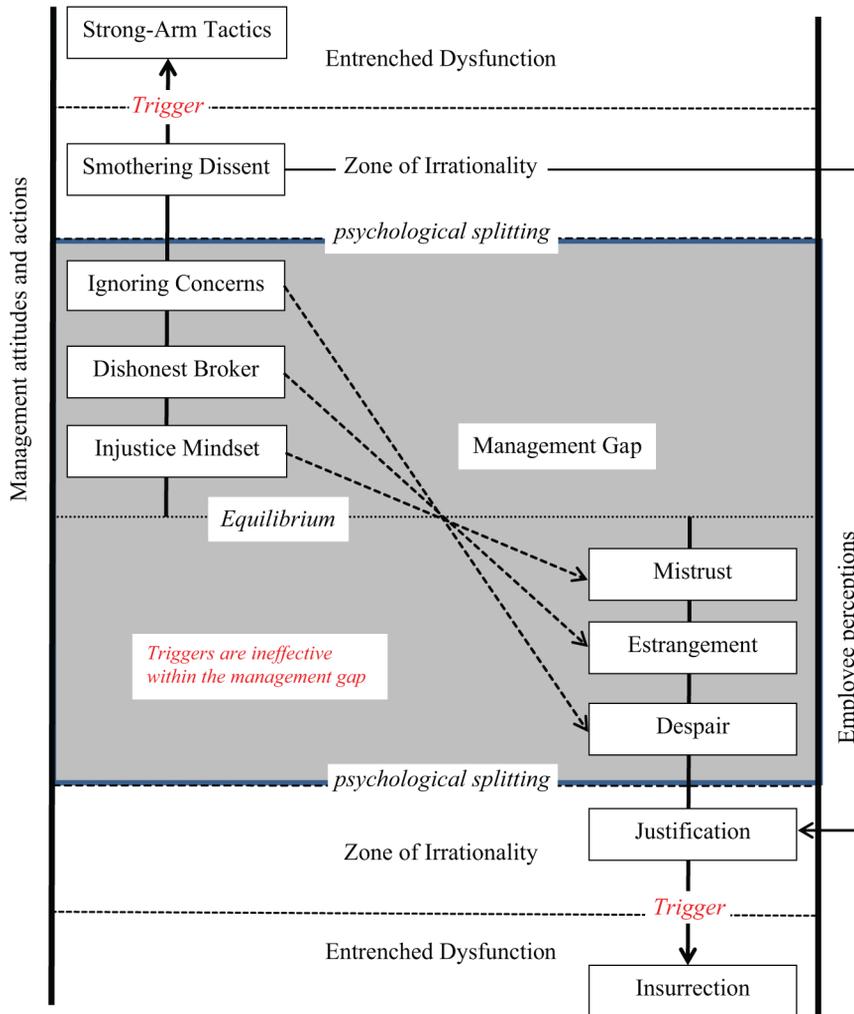
Strong-Arm Tactics

Entrenched Dysfunction

Trigger

Smothering Dissent ─── Zone of Irrationality

Management attitudes and actions

psychological splitting

Ignoring Concerns

Dishonest Broker

Injustice Mindset

Management Gap

Equilibrium

Mistrust

Estrangement

*Triggers are ineffective
within the management gap*

Despair

Employee perceptions

psychological splitting

Justification

Zone of Irrationality

Trigger

Entrenched Dysfunction

Insurrection

Figure 3.
Escalation through the
management gap to the
zones of irrationality and
entrenched dysfunction

(34). Therefore, they were accurately perceived by the miners to be corrupt brokers (32). This perception led to the miner's feelings of estrangement, as they realized they "were on their own" (Shogan, 2004, p. 63).

Yet, management was seemingly unaware (see Coye *et al.*, 2010), or unconcerned (see Pane Haden and Cooke, 2012), about their workers feeling disaffected and alienated from their organizations, as they continued to ignore their concerns (Bailey, 2001). This disregard served as an immovable barrier to employee voice, thereby initiating a deep sense of despair among the miners (Bailey, 2001).

Borrowing loosely from Coye *et al.*'s (2010) terminology, we show these steps in the escalation process as being within the management gap. Our intent is to represent the sphere where management attitudes and action have the capacity to intervene and halt the escalation towards hostility from spiraling out of control.

Coye *et al.* (2010, p. 283) suggested that, "Some underpinnings of mutiny are triggers; whereas others are direct causes [. . .] Leaders can reduce the likelihood of mutinous events by acknowledging and addressing the underlying factors and preventing potential trigger events." We are proposing that within the management gap, events that could serve as triggers for conflict will be largely ineffectual. In other words, within this frame, management still possesses the ability to interrupt the extreme escalation of member resistance.

Unfortunately, in the case of Blair Mountain, management continued to ignore concerns, promote injustice, and block follower voice. All the while the miners' feelings of despair "festered and mounted" (Shogan, 2004, p. 38), intensifying feelings of resentment and antagonism (Corbin, 1981). We argue that this excessive resentment initiated the more destructive forms of voice emanating from the workers, thereby engendering a form of psychological splitting in the mine owners.

Psychological splitting is "a primitive defense mechanism and describes the tendency to see everything in good or bad terms that leads one to perceive everything around them in oversimplified expressions, often leading to hostility and an impaired conception of reality (Kets de Vries and Miller, 1985)" (Humphreys, Zhao, Ingram, Gladstone and Basham, 2010, p. 13). It is the impaired conception of reality that allows leaders to ultimately commit acts of brutality (Rosenthal and Pittinsky, 2006). In this case, the miners certainly endured "exploitation and brutality at the hands of the mine owners [. . .]" (Shogan, 2004, p. 223).

Though splitting is generally considered an individual defense mechanism (Klein, 1959), it has been applied to group settings (Bion, 1961), organizations (Moxnes, 1999), corporations (Ketola, 2006), and even nationalities (Armstrong, 2002). In addition, Kets de Vries (1996) indicated that psychological splitting was common among leaders of entrepreneurial ventures as a means to alter their beliefs of realism.

This impaired conception of reality had grave consequences in the case of Blair Mountain. Not only did the mine owners come to see everything in stark good and bad terms, for them it had become a "life-and-death struggle" (Shogan, 2004, p. 67). William Cummins of Red Jacket Coal Company declared, "It must be remembered that with the lawless [. . .] agitators which the condition here has landed on upon us, there is no such animal as neutral [. . .] There are but two attitudes, for and against" (Shogan, 2004, p. 79). "The coal operators now saw the miners [. . .] not simply as economic adversaries but as a diabolical force [. . .] (Shogan, 2004, p. 42).

This perception put management into what we refer to as a zone of irrationality. As such, it became not only possible, but in their minds noble and even patriotic (Shogan, 2004), to move beyond simply ignoring the concerns of employees to actively smothering dissent, verbally, by process and policy, and even physically. For example, when miners complained about increases in prices at a company store that offset their raise in salary, they were "pistol-whipped by mine guards" at the direction of management to discourage further dissension (Shogan, 2004, p. 12).

From this zone of irrationality, we show an arrow leading from the smothering of dissent to the justification for violence among workers. They had come to view violence as a "legitimate means to achieve righteous goals" (Shogan, 2004, p. 50). We show it outside of the management gap, however, merely as a way to signify our proposition that these management actions and subsequent follower reactions occur outside of the gap. We are suggesting that once splitting has occurred and leaders and

followers are in their respective zones of irrationality, management has largely lost the influence needed to stop the escalation of resistance. Furthermore, whereas triggers would be generally ineffective inside the management gap, triggers occurring in the zones of irrationality will result in greater intensification. In the case of the Battle of Blair Mountain, that primary trigger was the massacre at Matewan (see Bailey, 2001).

"On May 19, 1920, gunshots rang through the streets of Matewan, West Virginia, in an event soon known as the 'Matawan Massacre'" (Bailey, 2001, p. ii). As the mine owners smothered dissent in their zone of irrationality, the miners' equally illogical response was the justification of violence. In this setting, a trigger would undoubtedly result in hostility. Shogan (2004, p. 65) described the situation as "a powder keg ready to blow." It did. The May 20th, 1920 edition of the *West Virginia Federationist* reported the violence with a headline of "Hell Turned Loose in Mingo County" (*West Virginia Federationist*, 1920). Bailey (2001, p. 418) notes, though, that although the Matawan Massacre may have triggered the broader Blair Mountain War, it was the result of "long-brewing" resentments.

We reason that this further supports the notion of escalation and intensification. The killing of the company guards representing management escalated the smothering of dissent into even more severe strong-arm tactics by the mine owners (Corbin, 1981; Shogan, 2004). This complete elimination of employee voice coupled with the extreme injustice perceived by the miners made violent mutiny a reality. "When barriers and risks impede voice, it can escalate further into coordinated intents, coups, or rebellions (Lammers, 1969)" (Coye *et al.*, 2010, p. 271). In our representation, we show that within the divergent escalation process a trigger could occur in either zone of irrationality that would ultimately result in insurrection by followers.

We also borrow from Coye *et al.*'s (2010) terminology to label the zone where irrationality becomes entrenched. These authors offered that organizational dysfunction can become entrenched when others in the organization share management's dysfunctional orientation. We are postulating that once a trigger has occurred, all parties enter a zone of entrenched dysfunction whereby irrational thinking becomes so embedded that horrific acts become acceptable. In the case of the Battle of Blair Mountain, there are numerous instances where the escalation reached such a crescendo that both sides demonstrated a complete lack of humanity (Shogan, 2004).

Theoretical and practical contributions and implications

Our examination of the Battle of Blair Mountain provides additional support for the upward organizational defiance framework proposed by Coye *et al.* (2010). In addition, we anticipate that our attempt at extending their theoretical upward defiance framework to account for the escalation of constructive to destructive forms of voice towards mutiny will further their general paradigm theoretically and pragmatically, as it presents their framework in more typical organizational fashion (Figure 2).

As illustrations of this process of escalation towards mutiny are practically non-existent in the management literature, we reason that our representation will also encourage debate and further inquiry. Moreover, like Coye *et al.* (2010), we accept that historic records of mutinies can inform contemporary organizational management. Therefore, we think that our illustration of the process of escalation to hostility in the case of Blair Mountain (Figure 3) can offer practicing managers guidance on appropriate steps to interrupt the extreme escalation of member resistance.

Although we readily admit that some of our arguments within this process are speculative, we do build upon prior research (e.g. Bion, 1961; Collinson, 2005; Coye *et al.*, 2010; Klein, 1959; Lammers, 1969). In the Battle of Blair Mountain, management possessed an injustice mindset, acted as dishonest brokers, consistently ignored the concerns of their employees, and actively worked to smother dissent, which eventually led to extreme strong-arm tactics. The results were workers that mistrusted management, felt estranged from their organizations, fell into a sense of despair, leading to a mental justification for violence that eventually resulted in hostility/insurrection.

Based upon these elements in the escalation process, our illustration would suggest that the primary managerial implications would be for management to:

· begin with a justice mindset;

· work diligently to act as honest and equitable brokers;

· consistently seek out the concerns of employees and effectively address them; and

· all the while encouraging employee voice (Coye *et al.*, 2010).

While these implications might be considered "truisms" (Coye *et al.*, 2010, p. 281), they are still too often disregarded in organizational life (see Pane Haden and Cooke, 2012), often resulting in various destructive forms of voice that can ultimately materialize as modes of work stoppage or worse (Lammers, 1969).

Additionally, management must understand the diligence necessary to keep leader-follower separation within the sphere of the management gap. Within the gap, managers can take actions that can mitigate the escalation and intensification of upward defiance. Once divergence gets beyond this expanse, however, irrationality can set in which allows for potential triggers to explode into greater and more ingrained dysfunction. Within this level of embedded dysfunction, the concept of mutiny is no longer theoretical; it becomes real.

Limitations and future research

First, the common limitation to any historic case study is one of generalizability, although it often useful to accept the trade-off between limited generalizability and the potential discernment associated with the methodology (Siggelkow, 2007). We also note that with various forms of ethno-methodology, the achievement of generalizability is considered at best premature (see Fairhurst, 2009), as the focus is more on identifying issues that require further investigation, interpretation, and testing (Ordonez *et al.*, 2009).

A second limitation is the specific focus on extending the structure presented by Coye *et al.* (2010). While we find their upward organizational defiance conceptualization a compelling template, this framework is specifically focused on the concept of voice theory. Future research could examine this significant historic case with alternative theoretical frames such as the violation of the psychological contract (Chiu and Peng, 2008), perceived injustice, and/or abusive supervision (Detert *et al.*, 2007).

Another assumed limitation is the difference in time period. There is no question that the Battle of Blair Mountain took place during "cruder times than now, with a good deal less artifice" (Shogan, 2004, p. x). Even so, Shogan (2004) insists that the conflict provides lessons for the twenty-first century as well. We maintain that

fundamental elements and progressions can be illuminated (Hoffer, 1969) from cases from divergent eras, as "leader/follower relations are fixed in the historical record and reveal valuable information about behavioral characteristics, situations, and outcomes (Rhodes, 1981)" (Humphreys, 2005, pp. 1,419-1,420).

The issue of time, however, must also be considered as a potentially fruitful avenue for future research. On one hand, our illustration and narration are a step in the direction of those calling for researchers to make greater use of historical case studies to "describe leadership phenomena as they evolve over time [. . .]" (Shamir, 2011, p. 312). We did use the case data to observe, interpret, and describe the phenomena of the escalation and intensification towards mutiny across time. This historical case certainly covers a longer time period than most research methodologies. That acknowledged, while we offer specific practical guidance to organizational managers, we in no way address the time dimension from an elemental standpoint. For example, how long must a follower perception of management injustice exist before mistrust develops? Once extreme mistrust is in place and it becomes apparent that managers are dishonest brokers, how long does it take for estrangement to emerge? If management continues to ignore employee concerns, exactly when does the estranged workforce begin to experience feelings of despair? Future studies with more sophisticated designs are necessary to begin resolving these questions, the answers to which could be profound and serve as the basis for new theory (Shamir, 2011).

In addition, future research should examine the importance of social class in organizations more robustly. Based on the excellent historical scholarship of Bailey (2001) and Corbin (1981), we dismissed the idea that social/cultural characteristics of the West Virginia miners in this case were a leading contributor to the insurrection. Moreover, we stand by that determination. Notwithstanding, Cote (2011, p. 43) recently presented the premise that social class may shape organizational behavior, particularly with "social relationships, morality, and judgment and decision-making." Although this line of inquiry may be difficult and uncomfortable to pursue, future research is clearly warranted, as emerging knowledge in this area could greatly influence this and other similar historical research efforts.

Conclusion

"Historically, narrative accounts of mutinies provide fascinating insights into basic dynamics (Hoffer, 1969). Their lessons are timeless but easy to forget" (Coye *et al.*, 2010, p. 274). Within the current economic transformation and climate, researchers that are focused on the practice of management are concerned that contemporary managers may have forgotten some of these important lessons of the past (see Humphreys, Novicevic, Olsen, and Buckley, 2010; Pane Haden and Cooke, 2012). In this paper, we argue that an examination of the historic Battle of Blair Mountain can provide a "richer mode of description, understanding and explanation" (Booth, 2003, p. 103) of the escalation and intensification of the concept of upward defiance that is applicable to contemporary business organizations. Accordingly, we examined this significant insurrection with a practical lens to support and extend the upward defiance framework proposed by Coye *et al.* (2010), to illustrate a plausible interpretation of the process of escalation to hostility, and to offer organizational managers guidance on attitudes and actions to interrupt the extreme acceleration of employee defiance.

References

Ahmed, Z.U. and Humphreys, J.H. (2008), "A conceptual framework for developing country transnationals: PROTON Malaysia", *Thunderbird International Business Review*, Vol. 50 No. 1, pp. 45-58.

Armstrong, M.K. (2002), "Splitting and projection before, during and after World War II", *The Journal of Psychohistory*, Vol. 29 No. 4, pp. 425-435.

Atkinson, P. (2005), "Managing resistance to change", *Management Services*, Vol. 49 No. 1, pp. 14-19.

Bailey, G. (2005), "Modern project management and the lessons from the study of the transformation of the British Expeditionary Force in the Great War", *Management Decision*, Vol. 43 No. 1, pp. 56-71.

Bailey, R.J. (2001), *Matewan Before the Massacre: Politics, Coal, and the Roots of Conflict in Mingo County, 1793-1920, UMI Number: 3022034*, Bell and Howell Information and Learning Company, Ann Arbor, MI.

Barnard, C. (1938), *The Functions of the Executive*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

Bevir, M. (2002), "How to be an intentionalist", *History and Theory*, Vol. 41 No. 2, pp. 209-217.

Bey, H. (2001), "The temporary autonomous zone", in Ludlow, P. (Ed.), *Crypto Anarchy, Cyberstates and Pirate Utopias*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.

Billings, D.B., Pudup, M.B. and Waller, A.L. (1995), *Appalachia in the Making*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, NC.

Bion, W.R. (1961), *Experiences in Groups*, Basic Books, New York, NY.

Booth, C. (2003), "Does history matter in strategy? The possibilities and problems of counterfactual analysis", *Management Decision*, Vol. 41 No. 1, pp. 96-104.

Budd, J.F. (1995), "Coping with mutiny", *Industry Week*, Vol. 244 No. 18, p. 29.

Burkinshaw, N. (1920), "Labor's Valley Forge", *Nation*, Vol. 111, p. 639.

Chiu, S.F. and Peng, J.C. (2008), "The relationship between psychological contract breach and employee deviance: the moderating role of hostile attributional style", *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, Vol. 73 No. 3, pp. 426-433.

Clawson, D. and Clawson, M.A. (1999), "What has happened to the US labor movement? Union decline and renewal", *Annu. Rev. Sociol.*, Vol. 25, pp. 95-119.

Collinson, D. (2005), "Dialectics of leadership", *Human Relations*, Vol. 58 No. 11, pp. 1419-1442.

Corbin, D.A. (1981), *Life, Work, and Rebellion in the Coal Fields*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana and Chicago, IL.

Cote, S. (2011), "How social class shapes thoughts and actions in organizations", *Research in Organizational Behavior*, Vol. 31, pp. 43-71.

Coye, R.W., Murphy, P.J. and Spencer, P.E. (2010), "Using historic mutinies to understand defiance in organizations", *Journal of Management History*, Vol. 16 No. 2, pp. 270-287.

De Cock, C., Fleming, P. and Rehn, A. (2007), "Organizing revolution", *Management and Organizational History*, Vol. 2 No. 2, pp. 107-114.

Detert, J.R. and Burris, E.R. (2007), "Leadership behavior and employee voice: is the door really open?", *Academy of Management Journal*, Vol. 50 No. 4, pp. 869-884.

Detert, J.R., Trevino, L.K., Burris, E.R. and Abdiappan, M. (2007), "Managerial modes of influence and counter-productivity in organizations: a longitudinal business-unit-level investigation", *Journal of Applied Psychology*, Vol. 92 No. 4, pp. 993-1005.

Eisenhardt, K.M. and Graebner, M.E. (2007), "Theory building from cases: opportunities and challenges", *Academy of Management Journal*, Vol. 50 No. 1, pp. 25-32.

Fairhurst, G.T. (2009), "Considering context in discursive leadership research", *Human Relations*, Vol. 62 No. 11, pp. 1607-1633.

Finkel, E. (2003), "Team effort heads off mutiny", *Modern Healthcare*, Vol. 33, p. 30.

Ford, J.D. and Ford, L.W. (2009), "Decoding resistance to change", *Harvard Business Review*, Vol. 87 No. 4, pp. 99-103.

Friends of Blair Mountain (n.d.), available at: www.friendsofblairmountain.org (accessed 22 September 2011).

Gephardt, R.P. Jr. (1993), "The textual approach: risk and blame in disaster sensemaking", *Academy of Management Journal*, Vol. 36 No. 6, pp. 1465-1514.

Gerstner, C.R. and Day, D.V. (1997), "Meta-analytic review of leader-member exchange theory: correlates and construct issues", *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, Vol. 82 No. 6, pp. 827-844.

Gibbert, M., Ruigrok, W. and Wicki, B. (2008), "What passes as a rigorous case study?", *Strategic Management Journal*, Vol. 29 No. 13, pp. 1465-1474.

Gleason, A. (1921), "Gunmen in West Virginia", *New Republic*, Vol. 28, pp. 90-92.

Godard, J. (1992), "Strikes as collective voice: a behavioral analysis of strike activity", *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, Vol. 46 No. 1, pp. 161-175.

Golden-Biddle, K. and Rao, H. (1997), "Breaches in the boardroom: organizational identity and conflicts of commitment in a nonprofit organization", *Organization Science*, Vol. 8 No. 6, pp. 593-611.

Greenberg, J. and Edwards, M. (2009), *Voice and Silence in Organizations*, Emerald, Bingley.

Guttridg, L. (1992), *Mutiny: A History of Naval Insurrection*, US Naval Institute, Annapolis, MD.

Hartung, A. (2011), "The employee mutiny", *CIO*, Vol. 25 No. 4, p. 12.

Hinrichs, A.F. (1923), *The United Mine Workers of America and the Non-Union Coal Fields*, Columbia University, New York, NY.

Hoffer, E. (1969), *Working and Thinking on the Waterfront*, Harper and Row, New York, NY.

Howell, J.M. and Shamir, B. (2005), "The role of followers in the charismatic leadership process: relationships and their consequences", *Academy of Management Review*, Vol. 30 No. 1, pp. 96-112.

Humphreys, J., Novicevic, M., Olsen, W. and Buckley, M.R. (2010), "Time to hunker down?", *BusinessWeek Online*, 2 January 2010, p. 4, available at: http://businessweek.com/managing/content/jan20100128_592971.htm]#,46].

Humphreys, J., Oyler, J., Pryor, M. and Pane, S. (2010), "Lost in translation", *Journal of Business Strategy*, Vol. 31 No. 2, pp. 13-17.

Humphreys, J., Pryor, M., Pane, S. and Oyler, J. (2009), "The leadership of Joseph R. Walker: towards a model of socialized charisma through expert power", *Journal of Applied Management and Entrepreneurship*, Vol. 14 No. 1, pp. 59-81.

Humphreys, J.H. (2005), "Contextual implications for transformational and servant leadership: a historical approach", *Management Decision*, Vol. 43 No. 10, pp. 1410-1431.

Humphreys, J.H., Ingram, K., Kernek, C. and Sadler, T. (2007), "The Nez Perce leadership council: a historical examination of post-industrial leadership", *Journal of Management History*, Vol. 13 No. 2, pp. 135-152.

Humphreys, J.H., Pane Haden, S., Clayton, R., Novicevic, M.M. and Gibson, J.W. (2011), "Lillian McMurry of Trumpet Records: integrity and authenticity in the charismatic, constructive narcissist leader", *Journal of Leadership and Organizational Studies*, Vol. 18 No. 1, pp. 40-55.

Humphreys, J.H., Zhao, D., Ingram, K., Gladstone, J. and Basham, L. (2010), "Situational narcissism and charismatic leadership: a conceptual framework", *Journal of Behavioral and Applied Management*, Vol. 11 No. 2, pp. 118-136.

Jackman, N.R. (1957), "Collective protest in relocation centers", *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 63 No. 3, pp. 264-272.

Jacobsen, C. and House, R.J. (2001), "Dynamics of charismatic leadership: a process theory, simulation model, and tests", *Leadership Quarterly*, Vol. 12 No. 1, pp. 75-112.

Jones, N., Novicevic, M.M., Hayek, M. and Humphreys, J.H. (2012), "The first documents of emancipated African American management: the letters of Benjamin Montgomery (1865-1870)", *Journal of Management History*, Vol. 18 No. 1, pp. 46-60.

Kark, R. and Shamir, B. (2002), "The dual effect of transformational leadership: priming relational and collective selves and further effects on followers", in Avolio, B.J. and Yammarino, F.J. (Eds), *Transformational and Charismatic Leadership: The Road Ahead*, Elsevier Sciences, Oxford, pp. 67-91.

Kassing, J.W. and Avtgis, T.A. (1999), "Examining the relationship between organizational dissent and aggressive communication", *Management Communication Quarterly*, Vol. 13 No. 1, pp. 76-91.

Keeney, F. (1919), "Telegram to Cornwell", *Charleston Gazette*, November 1.

Kerr, C. and Siegel, A. (1954), "The interindustry propensity to strike – an international comparison", in Kornhauser, A., Dubin, R. and Ross, A.M. (Eds), *Industrial Conflict*, McGraw-Hill, New York, NY, pp. 189-212.

Ketola, T. (2006), "Corporate psychological defenses: an oil spill case", *Journal of Business Ethics*, Vol. 65 No. 2, pp. 149-161.

Kets de Vries, M.F.R. (1996), "The anatomy of the entrepreneur: clinical observations", *Human Relations*, Vol. 49 No. 7, pp. 853-883.

Kets de Vries, M.F.R. and Miller, D. (1985), "Narcissism and leadership: an object relations perspective", *Human Relations*, Vol. 38 No. 6, pp. 583-601.

Kilkeary, D. (n.d.), "The battle of Blair Mountain", Chaparral, available at: www.glendale.edu/chaparral/apr05/blair.htm (accessed 31 August 2011).

Kim, J., MacDuffie, J.P. and Pil, F.K. (2010), "Employee voice and organizational performance: team versus representative influence", *Human Relations*, Vol. 63 No. 3, pp. 371-394.

Kinder, C. (2005), *Last Mountain Dancer: Hard-earned Lessons in Love, Loss, and Honky-Tonk*, Da Capo Press, Cambridge, MA.

Klein, M. (1959), "Our adult world and its roots in infancy", *Human Relations*, Vol. 12 No. 4, pp. 291-303.

Kotter, J. (1990), *Force for Change: How Leadership Differs from Management*, Free Press, New York, NY.

Kouzes, J. and Posner, B. (2002), *Leadership Challenge*, Jossey-Bass, San Francisco, CA.

Lammers, C.J. (1969), "Strikes and mutinies: a comparative study of organizational conflicts between rulers and ruled", *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. 14 No. 4, pp. 558-572.

Land, C. (2007), "Flying the black flag: revolt, revolution, and the social organization of piracy in the 'golden age'", *Management and Organizational History*, Vol. 2 No. 2, pp. 169-192.

Levine, D. and Tyson, L. (1990), "Participation, productivity, and the firm's environment", in Blinder, A.S. (Ed.), *Paying for Productivity*, Brookings Institution, Washington, DC, pp. 183-244.

Lewis, R.L. (1993), "Appalachian restructuring in historical perspective: coal, culture and social change in West Virginia", *Urban Studies*, Vol. 30, pp. 299-308.

Lipset, S.M. and Wolin, S.S. (1965), *The Berkeley Student Revolt*, Anchor, New York, NY.

Mallinckrodt, B. and Leong, F.T.L. (1992), "The consequences of conflict between the venture capitalist and the entrepreneurial team in the United Kingdom from the perspective of the venture capitalist", *Journal of Business Venturing*, Vol. 17 No. 1, pp. 59-73.

Michelman, P. (2007), "Overcoming resistance to change", *Harvard Management Update*, Vol. 12 No. 7, pp. 3-4.

Morrison, E., Wheeler-Smith, S. and Kamdar, D. (2011), "Speaking up in groups: a cross-level study of group voice climate and voice", *Journal of Applied Psychology*, Vol. 96 No. 1, pp. 183-191.

Morrison, E.W. and Milliken, F.J. (2000), "Organizational silence: a barrier to change and development in a pluralistic world", *Academy of Management Review*, Vol. 25 No. 4, pp. 706-725.

Morrison, E.W. and Milliken, F.J. (2003), "Speaking up, remaining silent: the dynamics of silence in organizations", *Journal of Management Studies*, Vol. 10 No. 6, pp. 1353-1358.

Moxnes, P. (1999), "Deep roles: twelve primordial roles of mind and organization", *Human Relations*, Vol. 52 No. 11, pp. 1427-1444.

Mumford, M.D., Zaccaro, S.J., Harding, F.D., Jacobs, T.O. and Fleishman, E.A. (2000), "Leadership skills for a changing world: solving complex social problems", *Leadership Quarterly*, Vol. 11 No. 1, pp. 11-35.

Nienaber, H. (2010), "Conceptualization of management and leadership", *Management Decision*, Vol. 48 No. 5, pp. 661-675.

Novicevic, M., Harvey, M., Buckley, R., Brown, J.A. and Evans, R. (2006), "Authentic leadership: a historical perspective", *Journal of Leadership and Organizational Studies*, Vol. 13 No. 1, pp. 64-76.

Novicevic, M.M., Humphreys, J.H., Buckley, M.R., Cagle, C. and Roberts, F. (2011), "Effective leadership in unexpected places: a sociohistorical analysis of the Red Tops Dance Orchestra", *Business Horizons*, Vol. 54 No. 6, pp. 529-540.

NPR Staff (n.d.), "Coal reignites a mighty battle of labor history", available at: www.npr.org/ 2011/03/05/13403550/coal-reignites-a-mighty-battle-of-labor-history (accessed 22 September 2011).

Ordonez, L.D., Schweitzer, M.E., Galinsky, A.D. and Bazerman, M.H. (2009), "On good scholarship, goal setting, and scholars gone wild", *Academy of Management Perspectives*, Vol. 23 No. 3, pp. 82-87.

Pane Haden, S. and Cooke, J. (2012), "Is morale irrelevant? Tough economic times can lead to misguided perspectives", *MIT Sloan Management Review*, Vol. 53 No. 2, p. 96.

Perrow, C. (1984), *Normal Accidents*, Basic Books, New York, NY.

Preservation Alliance of West Virginia (PAWV) (n.d.), "Blair Mountain: the history of a confrontation", available at: www.pawv.oeg/news/blairhist.htm (accessed 22 September 2011).

Pringle, H. (2010), "Coal firms to strip-mine historic battlefield?", National Geographic Magazine, June 2, available at: http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2010/05/100520-science-environment-blair-mountain (accessed 22 September 2011).

Pyman, A., Cooper, B., Teicher, J. and Hollan, P. (2006), "A comparison of the effectiveness of employee voice arrangements in Australia", *Industrial Relations Journal*, Vol. 37 No. 5, pp. 543-559.

Redding, W.C. (1985), "Rocking boats, blowing whistles, and teaching speech communication", *Communication Education*, Vol. 34 No. 3, pp. 245-248.

Rhodes, L.W. (1981), "Chief Joseph's leadership within the nontreaty Nez Perce Indians, 1871-1885", *Dissertation Abstracts International*, Vol. 42 No. 5A, p. 2265.

Rosenthal, S.A. and Pittinsky, T.L. (2006), "Narcissistic leadership", *Leadership Quarterly*, Vol. 17 No. 6, pp. 617-633.

Rowley, J. (2002), "Using case studies in research", *Management Research News*, Vol. 25 No. 1, pp. 16-27.

Scarborough, H. and Burrell, G. (1996), "The axeman cometh: the changing roles and knowledges of middle managers", in Clegg, S. and Palmer, G. (Eds), *The Politics of Management Knowledge*, Sage, London, pp. 173-189.

Senge, P. (1999), *The Dance of Change: The Challenge of Sustaining Momentum in Learning Organisations*, Nicholas Brealy Publishing, London.

Shamir, B. (2011), "Leadership takes time: some implications of (not) taking time seriously in leadership research", *Leadership Quarterly*, Vol. 22 No. 2, pp. 307-315.

Shogan, R. (2004), *The Battle of Blair Mountain*, Westview Press, Boulder, CO.

Shrivastava, P. (1987), *Bhopal: Anatomy of a Crisis*, Ballinger, New York, NY.

Shulstad, R. (2009), "Perspectives on leadership and management", *Air and Space Power Journal*, Vol. 23, pp. 11-18.

Siggelkow, N. (2007), "Persuasion with case studies", *Academy of Management Journal*, Vol. 50 No. 1, pp. 20-24.

Smelser, N.J. (1962), *Theory of Collective Behavior*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Spencer, D.G. (1986), "Employee voice and employee retention", *Academy of Management Journal*, Vol. 29 No. 3, pp. 488-502.

Starbuck, W.H. and Milliken, F.J. (1988), "Challenger: fine-tuning the odds until something breaks", *Journal of Management Studies*, Vol. 25 No. 4, pp. 319-340.

Sveningsson, S. and Larsson, M. (2006), "Fantasies of leadership: identity work", *Leadership*, Vol. 2 No. 2, pp. 203-224.

Swain, G.T. (2009), *The Battle of Blair Mountain: Battle of the Rednecks*, Woodland Press, LLC, Chapmanville, WV.

Todd, O. (1997), *Albert Camus: A Life*, Caroll and Graf, New York, NY, trans. B. Ivry.

Tsoukas, H. (1989), "The validity of idiographic research explanations", *Academy of Management Review*, Vol. 14 No. 4, pp. 551-561.

Turner, B.A. (1978), *Man-Made Disasters*, Wykeham, London.

Van Dyne, L. and LePine, J.A. (1998), "Helping and voice extra-role behavior: evidence of construct and predictive validity", *Academy of Management Journal*, Vol. 41 No. 1, pp. 108-119.

Wade, J. (2007), "The great National Hurricane Center mutiny", *Risk Management Magazine*, p. 12.

Weick, K. (1988), "Enacted environments in crisis situations", *Journal of Management Studies*, Vol. 25 No. 3, pp. 205-317.

West Virginia Archives and History (WVAH) (n.d.), "West Virginia's Mine Wars", available at: www.wvculture.org/history/minewars.html (accessed 22 September 2011).

West Virginia Federationist (1920), "Hell turned loose in Mingo County", *West Virginia Federationist*, May 20.

Wren, D.A. (1994), *The Evolution of Management Thought*, John Wiley and Sons, New York, NY.

Corresponding author
John H. Humphreys can be contacted at: john_humphreys@tamu-commerce.edu