Sociology of Work, Industry and Organizations (socy-322)

<div align="center">

Chapter One

</div>

Introduction
1.1 Origin and Historical Development
An interest in industrialization and in the evolving pattern of work and employment in industrial enterprises can be traced back to the first emergence of sociology as a distinct discipline, an emergence which represented a response to the industrial and democratic 'revolution' in Europe. There are insights and theoretical formulations in the works of the 'founding fathers' of the subject which continue research to the present day. Fore example, the works of Marx, Durkheim and Weber were all informed and fundamentally shaped by a reflection on work and economic life.

Karl Marx
His writing combined an interest in the macro forces and historical trends work with an attempt to map in detail micro social interaction at the level of the shop floor. Marx's personal life was a difficult struggle. When a paper what he had written was suppressed, he moved to France. In Paris, he met F.Engels, with whom he formed a lifelong friendship. They lived at a time when European and North American economic life was increasingly being dominated by the factory rather than the farm.
In 1847, Marx and his friend attended secret meetings in London, which was held by an illegal coalition of labor unions knows as the Communist League. The following year, they prepared a platform called **The Communist Manifesto**, in which they argued that the masses of people who have no resources other than their labor (proletariat) should unite to fight for the overthrow of capitalist societies. In the words of Marx and Engels:

```
The history of all hitherto existing society is the
history of class struggles...The proletariats have nothing
to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.
WORKING MEN OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE!
```

In Marx's analysis, society was fundamentally divided between classes that clash in pursuit of their own class interests. During his investigation of the industrial societies of his time such as Germany, England and the United States, he saw the factory as the center of conflict between the exploiters (the owners of the means of production) and the exploited (the workers).

Emile Durkheim
His main interest was the consequences of work in modern societies. In his view, the growing of division of labor in industrial societies as workers became much more specialized in their tasks led to what he called anomie. Anomie refers to the loss of direction that a society feels when social control of individual behavior has become ineffective. The state of anomie occurs when people have lost their sense of purpose or direction, often during a time of profound social change. In a period of anomie, people are so confused and unable to cope with the new social environment that they resort to taking their own lives.
His interest in the shift from mechanical to organic social forms is rooted in an analysis of the changing nature of the division of labor in modern society.

Max Weber
His interest in the area was very broad; examining questions of the division of labor, bureaucracy and occupational identity. In particular, his ideas on rationality provide an overarching analysis of changes in the workplace and the wider industrial society.

The sociology of work, industry and organization has held a vital place within the development of contemporary sociology. In many ways, studies of work and industry, alongside class analysis, came to define the discipline during its expansionary phase from the 1930s to the 60s.Though the field was flourishing field in the United States during the 1930s and 1940s, it was later largely absorbed in to the study of complex organizations.

In Britain, Industrial sociology came in the post world war II era emerging out of wartime research in to industrial production and the recognition of important of 'social influences' and shop floor culture. Supported by funding from the British Government as well as from American Conditional Aid Money, early studies sought to promote 'industrial efficiency' as part of the post war planning process.

1.2 Scope and Subject Matter
Industrial sociology is one of the oldest fields of sociology. It aims at the applications of sociological methods and theories to the study of one segment of the society i.e. the study of the social relations in the economic.
In economics, production is merely mechanical process (understanding the nature of supply and demand).But in sociology; it is embedded with crucial social relationships.
  Work and how it is organized and experienced is central to the traditional concerns of sociology; a discipline which developed to provide a critical understanding of the industrial capitalist society. In spite of this, there has never emerged an integrated industrial sociology or sociology of work.
The basic frames of industrial sociology, major foundation of industrial sociology, is based on the assumption that work as a basic human phenomena or as a basic human production activity is essentially a social/cooperative understanding .Work is a very important for sociology and vice versa. Work is essentially human production activity and it is packed with those social process and factors, which were central to sociology as the scientific discipline at the beginning.
Phenomena such as:

Exploitation and conflict versus cooperation;
Excessive Division of Labor;
Exploitation, power, authority, and domination on the one hand   and resistance on the other;
Human self-actualization versus alienation;
Social stratification versus class-consciousness
The condition of life chances
These are all the conditions that make up the work set.

Human self-actualization (from Marx's perspective) means that the position in which humans reach who they would be. Life chances are defined as the extent to which individual and group have the chance of sharing the variable and scarce economic and cultural resources of the society which determine human welfare, access to food, shelter, wealth, education etc.

   Sociologist interested in work have tended to specialize and to concentrate on four major substantive areas of study in industrial sociology. These are;

1. Work: Its nature and meaning
   - The work experiences
   - Values at work
   - Work orientations
   - Work and non-work relationships
   - Gender and work
2. Occupation
   - Occupational structure and types
   - Class and Occupation
   - Division of labor, the structure and chains
   - Proffesionalization

3. Work Organization(Sociology of Organization)
   - The Issue of Bureaucratization of work
   - Technology and Job Design
   - Distribution of Power and Authority
   - Organizational cultures

4. Employment and Industrial Relations
   - Conflicts and cooperations in work
   - Individual and group adjustments to work situations
   - The issues of trade unions of labor movement and sanctions

1.3 The Rationality of Industrial Sociology in Developing Countries

Industrial Organizations dominate industrial societies. Industrial Sociology first emerged in the western countries as a scientific discipline to understand the industrialization process and its impact. Sociologists started to study industrial sociology because there were grave consequences on the working class people. As the result, lots of industrial conflicts were started to be observed.

To what extent is, however, industrial sociology relevant in the context of developing countries such as Ethiopia where the whole system is characterized by low level of industry, and where the majority of the population is engaged in small scale fragmented work as peasant agriculture, which is characterized by low level of formal sectoral employments. Because of these factors, some people argue that industrial sociology is simply an irrelevant 'imported kind' of academic exercise with no local reality to reflect. But there are several major justifications for the study of industrial sociology in the developing countries. Some of them are discussed as follow:

1. Industrialization by its very nature is not limited to one specific period and society. It is a more or less global phenomena and only a relative aspect in time respect. Otherwise it is globally spread and has global impacts. It is a dynamic process. Developing countries including African countries are in the process of Industrialization. Therefore, we can apply the tools of sociological analysis to study the emerging economic structure and problems associated with the small scale industrialization.

2. Industrialization, however, small in scale, tends to cause the existing social order to change and new social forces, new social relation, and new problems to emerge.

- New social forces; like the emergence of workers, managers, industrial entrepreneurs and etc. These social forces or elements can have a significant social and political impact on the society and its members. This is partly because the heavy concentration of sub groups in industrial science. For example, In Africa the so-called labor unions (those working in factories, mines, railway lines etc) played a great role in the independence movement.

- New social relations; such as the relation between the factory system and the family system. Questions can be raised as; how and to what extent women in the industrial workplace are coping up with dual responsibility of-full time factory employment and motherhood(domestic and husband responsibility)? Has the ideology or cultural nature of 'women's place in the home' change in the face of women's fulltime employment outside the home? How and to what extent are the newly migrant industrial workers solving the actual problem of adjustments to the rigid organization discipline and factory work?

3. Developing countries even if largely agrarian are surrounded and influence by conditions of life daily created by changes in the industrialized work.

Reading materials

1 Watson, Tony J. 1995. *Sociology, Work and Industry*. 3rd edition. Routledge, London and New York.
2 Krahn, Harvey J. and Graham S. Lowe. Work Industry and Canadian Society. Third Edition. International Thomson Publishing, Ontario.
3 Thomson, Paul and David McHugh. 1995. *Work Organizations: A Critical Organization*. Second Edition. MACMILLAN, London.
4 Tausky, Curt. 1996. *Work and Society: An Introduction to Industrial Sociology.* Second Edition. F. E. Peacock Publishers, Illionis.

Chapter Two
Major Theoretical Strands in Industrial Sociology

<u>Introduction</u>

A variety of different theoretical perspectives and methodological preferences is available to the sociological analysis of work and industry. The following are the major theoretical strands which are explained more in detail later on:

- Managerial-Psychologistic theory
- Durkheim system (Mayo's human relation) theory
- Weberian social Action theory
- Marxian and Neo-Marxian theory and
- Interactionist theory

Organization started from the days of family-from the small scale business until they gave to mass production which required some sort of arrangements to maximize effectiveness and efficiency. The search for greater effectiveness and efficiency in organizations gave rise to the classical theory, more appropriately called Scientific Management. Here, workers were seen as motivated by economic rewards and the organization was characterized by a clearly defined division of labor with highly specialized personal and by a distinct hierarchy of authority.

Another school of thought emerged partly as a reaction to scientific management is known as the Human Relations. Unlike the scientific management, the human relations emphasized the emotional, unplanned non-rational elements in organizational behavior. It discovered the importance of friendship and social groups of workers for the organization. It also pointed out that the importance of leadership and emotional communication and participation. From this observation, the concept of informal organization was developed.

The third tradition in organizational thinking combined the two concepts of formal and informal organization and gave a more complete and integrative picture of the organization. This tradition is known as the Structuralist Approach.

2.1 Managerial-Psychologistic Strands

2.1.1 Scientific Management; Taylorism

Scientific management is a kind of movement (ideological or intellectual) about industrial organization, which emerged at the turn of the 19th century, especially the United States. The advocator and systematizer of what he called Scientific Management (and other's frequently call Taylorism) was Frederick Winslow Taylor (1856-1917), an American engineer and industrial consultant. But why did this school of thought emerge in the U.S in the 19th century?

Background Conditions

The historical context of scientific management was characterized by new development in the world of industry at the end of the 19th century. We can summarize the background in to two general aspects.

1. New development in the industry
   - Increase mechanization (new technology and machine); for example; the development of assembly line made a progress towards in the end of the 19th century.

- The expansion of the industry; large-scale industrial establishment emerged for the first time.
- Growing technical division of labor in the industry.

2. Despite all these changes in the industry, industrial workshop was largely in the hands of the workers; usually skilled workers and foremen (they are organizers of the ordinary labor).In addition, industrial enterprises were still being managed and controlled in more or less traditional ways by families and individuals. There was no separation between owners (industrial enterprises) and managers. The owners managed the enterprise.

Taylor, therefore, argued that these conditions were incompatible with the new changes and developments of industry. In other words, he argued that the development of industry has reached a critical stage, but the industry is still being managed and controlled in the rational ways. Therefore, Taylorism has identified its mission as to rationalize (a trend in social change whereby traditional or magical criteria of action are replaced by technical, calculative o scientific criteria) the organizational industry on the basis of scientific method in order to increase efficiency, productivity and ultimately profitability.

Taylor stated that "the principal objective of management should be to secure the maximum prosperity for the employer compelled with the maximum prosperity of each employee"

Scientific management combined a study of the physical capabilities of a worker in time and motion studies and an economic approach which views man as driven by the fear of hunger and the search for profit.   According to Taylor, the central doctrine of this approach is that," If material rewards are closely related to work efforts, the worker will respond with the maximum performance he is capable of."

Taylor's Principles of Industrial Organization

1. The scientific analysis by the management of all tasks, which are undertaken in industrial workshops to make them as efficient as possible.

The workers themselves should not control the work tasks. The management should undertake a detailed study of each task through employing, for example, the so-called 'time and motion' study to arrive at the maximum efficiency.

Traditionally, skilled workers or foremen used to assign workers tasks. There was no detailed study or that amount of time and materials a certain task needed.

2. The design of job/task by the management to achieved maximum technical division of labor through advanced job fragmentation or subdivision, which is called deskilling i.e. reducing the amount of skill necessary to undertake a certain task.

The advantages of increasing technical division of labor are: -
  - De-skilling (the process of losing skills)
  - Reduction labor cost
  - It enables to remove the control of production process from the hands of the manual workers
  - Higher efficiency and productivity

De-skilling; industrial mechanization Verses handcraft

Usually in/under handicraft production, there are master craftsmen who control the whole production process from the beginning to an end. This implies that a great deal of skill is in the hands of the craftsmen. It is considered as a highly creative production process. It included thinking and implementation. The craftsman controls the whole process. The speed and organization, as compared with the modern factory system where mechanization is the central element (machined driven by inanimate power), and where there is a technical division of labor, is less advanced.

Technical division of labor means each component is divided in to several minor components. In more sophisticated and extreme cases, for example, a worker may concentrate through out his life on certain part of the production process. In such circumstances, the level of skill is reduced while de-skilled and therefore the machine tends to determine the speed and organization of production.

3. The separation of planning of worker from its implementation; and conception from execution.

In other words, the scientific management advocated that the intellectual or mental aspects including planning, designing, and coordination of work should be the task of the management. And the manuals work should be left to workers. Workers are not supposed to think about the work but just should be concerned about the manual work.

4. The use of incentive payment both to stabilize and intensify work effort. For example, through piece-rate system.
5. The conduct of management-workers relationship at an arm's-length based on minimum interaction model of industrial organization.

According to some indications, **Taylorism is a 'no-nonsense' doctrine. Informal, humanistic, and emotional issues are not necessary in industrial relation**. Taylorism is aimed at rationalization of industry organization. In summery, Taylorism is intended to achieve two major transformations in the industrial work.

A. The removal of skills and organizational autonomy (independence) and control from the activity of lower level of employee especially manual workers, and,
B. The establishment of management as a distinctive role from ownership with a set of functions associated with planning, coordination, organizations and control of the industrial production process.

Four great underlying principles of management are:

1. To develop science for each elements of a man's work that replaces the old rules-of-thumb method.

Scientifically investigating the amount of work to be done by a suitable worker under optimum conditions will allow managers to know what expect from workers and the workers what is expected of them on a daily basis.

2. To scientifically select, train, teach and develop the workmen. The management should ensure that the workmen possess the required physical and intellectual qualities.
3. Management should constantly and intimately cooperate with the men to ensure that all the works are being done in accordance with principles of the science which has been developed.
4. There must be almost equal division of work and responsibilities between the management and workmen. The management takes over all works for which they are better fitted than the workmen.

Significance and important of Taylor's principles of industrial Sociology

1. It provided an important legitimization for the establishment of management in the early days of the so-called 'management revolution'.
2. It established the central philosophy of work in industrial organization, which in one way or another dominated the industrial organization to this day.

Fundamental Assumptions of Taylorism

Basically the fundamental assumptions of Taylorism are summarized as **economism, psychologism, and instrumentalism**. The critics of Taylorism argue that Tyalorism view industrial worker as an 'economic animal', self-seeking, non-social individual who prefers the management to do the job related to thinking. This is a well know problem in economics and is known as "homoeconmicus" which has long basis in classical and non- classical economics. It is a model of theory, which assumes some kind of human nature, which emphasized isolated individuals, whose behavior, and actions are governed by rational calculation of selfish interest (Individuals have a kind of selfish, egoistic interest in material assets). Taylorism as a model applied "homoeconomicus" to analyze workers behavior and thier motivation.

Taylor believed that monatory or financial consideration determined workers behavior and motivation. This assumption is more or less related to the idea of psychologism.

Psychologism refers to the tendency to explain behavior mainly in terms of the psychological characteristics of individuals. In one-way or another, the problem is that such approach posits permanent human nature.

The economic instrumentalist assumption of Taylorism could be seen by the following quotation of Taylor. He coined the term 'soldering' by which he meant the natural instinct of men to take it easy. That is, unless human beings are driven by a certain forces, they have a tendency to be lazy. He argued that this tendency combined with people economic interest and the failure of managers to design and work on a scientific basis lead worker to get together and 'rationally conspire' to hold production down. Workers would always try to maximize their income without putting much effort.

Taylor's students, the human engineers, searched for the physical limits of the human performance, put in terms of loads, pace and fatigue. Fore example, they studied how many hours and at what speed a worker could carry loads of 50 Pounds.
Fatigue was viewed exclusively as muscular or physiological phenomena. Efforts were made to find motions that were less fatiguing and there fore allowed the same human body to carryout more work with the same degree of fatigue in a given time unit.

The following are some typical propositions of Scientific Management
1. The two hands should begin and complete their motions simultaneously.
2. Smooth continuous motions of the hands are preferable to zig-zag or street line motions moving sudden and sharp changes in direction.
3. Proper illumination increase productivity and
4. There should be a definite and fixed place for all tools and materials

And they suggested payment to be made to the worker in the closest possible association with output. The principles of this payment are;
a. Payment should be made on merit of performance and no other criteria
b. The time unit should be as small as possible. Monthly salaries are highly undesirable. Wage paid by the hours are better. But the ideal situation is piece-work wages in which payment is directly dependent on the actual amount of work accomplished.

The central Problem Taylorism
There is what is called **Work Group Production Norms** (WGPNs), which is characterized as the nightmare of Taylor. WGPNs refers to the tendency of individual work group to informally and systematically control and restrict outputs on the basis of their assumption of a 'fair days work' and enforce group norms on any fellow worker who deviate by over producing or under producing.

Over producers are characterized as rate-busters while those who do not work or those who under work are characterized as chisellers. New workers are socialized to these norms through discouragements not to go through the formal work system. Taylor's principles are geared towards the destroying of informal work group, for example, through the issue of incentive payments.

Critics of the Scientific Management are summarized as follow:
1. The scientific management claimed that there is no conflict between the management and the workmen;
2. It viewed the organization from a highly managerial standpoint (managerial bias);
3. It assumed that what is good from management was also good for the workmen; and
4. It argued that hard and efficient labor will in the end pay-off from both groups by increasing the effectiveness of the organization.

Classical Organization Theory

A classical illustration of the significance of division of labor was given by **Adam Smith** in his description of manufacturing of pins. The division of labor that Smith first noted in 1776 became the basis of a theory of organizational after a century. The classical organizational approach argued that 'the more a particular job can be broken down in to its simplest component parts, the more specialized and consequently the more skilled a worker can become in carrying out his part of the job. The more skilled the worker became in fulfilling his particular job, the more efficient the whole production system will be.'

The division of labor has to be balanced by units of control. The tasks have to be broken up in to components by a central authority in line with a central plan of action; the efforts of each work unit need to be supervised; and the various job efforts leading to the final product have to be coordinated. Since each supervisor has a limited number of subordinates, he can effectively control. It is necessary to appoint a number of first line supervision, and following that a second line supervision and so on up. The number of subordinates controlled by one supervisor define his 'span of control', what results in a pyramidal control leading up to the top executive.

Most classical scholars argue that work in the organization should be specialized according to the following four basic principles:
1. Specialization should be by purpose of the task. Workers who perform similar goals or sub-goals with the organization should be attached to the same organizational division;
2. All work based on a particular process should be grouped together; since they must share a special fund of knowledge and requires the use of similar skills or procedures;
3. Specialization should be according to the types of clientele. All work directed to serve a specific groups of clients is placed in one division; and
4. Jobs performed in the same geographical area should be placed in one division. Different types of jobs may fall in the same division as long as they are carried out in the same place.

Although this theory has many critical ideas concerning on the organizational effectiveness and efficiency, it is critized for its vagueness, difficulty to apply and incompatibility with one another.

The Durkheim system strand (or the Mayo's 'The Human Relation Approach')
We can discuss the human relations school of thought in terms of the following three points;
    1. Studies and rise of human relationsits,
     2. The main proposition of the human relationsits, and
     3. Limitations /criticisms of the human relationsits,

The Human relation school of thought in industrial sociology

Basically, the human relation perspective raised in industrial sociology is or has been heavily influenced by the Durkheim's approach. Durkheim did not study industrial sociology as a specific discipline. But he had developed basic approaches, which are used in the study of industrial sociology. His ideas of division of labor, social integration or solidarity; his concern with anomie; and his system of thinking or structural functionalism in the analysis of social relation were applied in the study of industrial sociology.

The human relation approach emerged as a reaction to the classical approach (against the scientific management perspective; Taylorism) as the Scientific management perspective sees humans as having only a mechanical nature. It focused on elements of the organization which the classical approach thought were insignificant. The founder of this school was Elton Mayo (1880-1949).The research that he directed showed the importance of groups in affecting the behavior of individuals at work.

This school of thought is an interdisciplinary social science field of study. It is a sustained interaction between the different fields of social sciences like sociology, psychology and social anthropology. It is the first recognizable school of taught in industrial sociology.

Mayo and his associates discovered that:

- The amount of work carried out by a worker, and thereby the organization level of efficiency is not determined by his physical capacity but by its social capacity i.e. the social satisfaction workers are likely to get within an organization;
- The non-economic rewards play a central role in determines the motivation and happiness of the worker. His production is importantly influenced by his relations with other workers and by his personal problems inside and outside of the manufacturing;
- The highest specialization is by no means the most efficient form of division of labor. A good deal of research and experience since Mayo's day leads us to believe that extreme functional specialization results in lower productivity and lower moral. In a number of cases, it has been found that both moral and productivity have been raised by job enlargement and by allowing the worker to jobs from time to time; and
- Workers do not react to management and its norms and rewards as individuals but as members of informal groups.

Above all, this school of thought emphasized the role of communication, participation and leadership. The insights were dominated by several experiments.

1. The Hawthorne studies and the rise of the human relationsits

The Hawthorne studies played an important role in the human relations study. It refers to a series of empirical investigations conducted in the 1920's in the Hawthorne manufacturing plants (electrical groups producing industry) in Chicago, USA. The significance of the Hawthorne studies in not because of the quality and objectivity of the results. The methods and findings of the study were criticized by other scientists. The significance of the Hawthorne studies is related to two factors.

a. The sustained or series nature of the research intervention. It employs a mulity-diciplinary social science methods and theories in the investigation of the actual industry process. In the words of Paul Thompson, the courtship between social sciences and industry became a formal engagement. Before the Hawthorne studies there were little empirical investigation of the industry process.

b. The interpretation of the result of the Hawthorne study became the core of the human relations school of thought and later of the managerial practice.

The Hawthorne study showed two aspects;
- Experimental tests, and
- Survey

The experimental test involves a wide range of changes in the working conditions on a sample of workers (change in the workshop illuminations lighting, variation of the length of working hours, variation in provision of refreshments group bones, etc.)

The discovery of the significance of social factors became the major finding of the hawthrone studies. The six workers in this experiment had became a social group in which there was intense interaction and cooperation, formal practices, values, norms and social relationships giving the group high cohesion, and the communication system between the researchers and the workers was extremely effective. Mayo's generalization was that, Work satisfaction depends to a large extent on the informal social pattern of the work group-where norms of cooperativeness and high output are established because of a leading of importance; physical conditions have little impact.

The following are the major findings and conclusions of the hawthrone experiments:

1. The level of production is set by social norms not by physiological capacities

2. Non-economic rewards and sanctions significantly affect the behavior of the workers and largely limit the effect of economic incentive plans. Rewards and sanctions were particularly powerful and both were symbolic rather than material. Workers who produced significantly more or less than the socially determined norm would loose the affect and respect of their coworkers and friends. All the workers in the working room clearly preferred maintaining good relations with their friends to making more money.

3. Often workers do not act or react as individual but as members of groups. Each individual doesn't feel free to set up for himself a production quota; it was set and enforced by the group. Workers who deviated significantly in either direction from the group norms were penalized by their coworkers. Individual behavior is accounted in the group.

The management from the human relations perspective school, can not deal with individual workers as if they were isolated atoms; it must deal with them as member of work groups, subject to the influence of these groups.

4. The importance of leadership for setting enforcing group norms and the difference between formal and informal leadership. Scientific management tended to assume that the foreman and the supervisors will provide the sole leadership of the workers, at least in regard to the matters concerning production.

5. The human relations approach emphasized the importance of communication between the ranks, of explaining to the lower participant the reason why particular course of action is taken; the importance of participation in decision making in which lower ranks share in the decisions made by higher ranks, particularly in matters that affect them directly; and the virtues of democratic leadership which not only is highly communicative and encourages participation but is also just, non arbitrary and concerned with the problems of workers, not just those of work.

2. The main proposition of the human relationsits

1. *The important of workers attitudes, emotions and sentiments in the industrial organization;* Mayo argued that the carries out investigations have revealed the importance of the need of workers for rewarding and satisfying work place interaction and cooperation and this corresponds with the output and productivity needs of the management. The significance of

the workers attitude should be taken into account in developing supervising techniques. Mayo has also argued the problem of management-workers relationship can be attributed to the failure to recognize the emotions and sentiment of the workers.

2. *The important of informal groups in the industry*
Form the observations and experiments undertaken in Hawthorne; mayo concluded that informal groups play as much important roles as the formal organizational structures. Unlike Taylorism, he argued that rather than suppressing informal groups through harsh control mechanisms, the management should cultivate and harness or exploit informal work groups towards the fulfillment of its own objectives.

3. The Theory of the social man
Mayo was determined to develop a general theory of work behavior and organization. The key element of this general theory is the idea of the social man. This idea partly emerged from the critique of Taylorism which Mayo himself called a rabble hypothesis and which he attributed to Taylor fro assuming that workers behavior is determined by rational calculation of material selfish interests. The idea of the social man precedes form the assumption that he major human need is for social solidarity, which can be satisfied through group association. Mayo emphasized the essentially cooperative nature of the individual's enterprises and the desire of workers for cooperative activity if their attitudes, emotions and sentiments are taken care of. So Mayo emphasized the role of the management to use the formal structures to intervene in the informal in order to nature cooperation and harmony. He also emphasized a control kind of participation by workers (a limited kind of industrial democracy), enlightened supervisors, good communication, teamwork, and social skilled leadership.

In summery, we can argue that a broader and older theoretical tradition in sociology especially in that of industrial sociobiology underlies Mayoism. It has been argued that Mayo and his followers hands a life long obsession with social harmony, which they brought to the study of the industry. This idea of social harmony is based on Durkeimain model of society in which equilibrium and stability should be the natural order of society, while structural division and conflicts are viewed as pathological state of affairs. Mayo was worried about what he called 'extensive maladjustment of out times'. So the mission or task, which Mayo and his followers was to recreate a sense of community solidarity in the industry.

3. Limitations and/or Criticisms of the Hunan Relatiolsits

a. The tendency to over emphasize integration and consensus within the industrial organization at the expense of given attention to undertaking conflict and fundamental differences in interest.
b. The human relations approach tends to see industrial relations from the point of view of a management or other dominant interest groups. The human relation approaches is still biased towards the dominant interest groups.

Although in the surface, the scientific management and the human relations seem to be opposed to each other. They, however, share an underling managerial bias. They are profoundly interested on how to control (in the case of Tylorism) and how to adjust (in the case of Mayorism) workers to the imperatives of industrial profitability. Their only difference is the means through which they try to achieve their objective. Taylorism proposed the hard way a more authoritarian control oriented a technical and industrial approach, while Mayosim recommended the soft way; enhancing the social dimension.

Summary of Scientific Management and Human Relations Approaches

Scientific management and human relations are in many ways diametrically opposed, factors one school saw as critical and crucial the other hardly consider it and the variable on viewed central the other largely ignored.

The two schools however had one element in common: neither do have so many basic contradiction or insoluble dilemmas in the relationship between the organization's gust for rationality and the human search for happiness. Scientific management assumed that the most efficient organization would also be the most satisfying one, since it would be maximizing both productivity and the workers' payment. Since the worker was viewed as an economic man seeking to maximize his income and since it was assumed that he was satisfied with his share of the corporate income, the implicit belief was maintained that what is best for the organization is best for the workers and vice-versa.

According to the human relations approach, it was assumed that the most satisfying organization would be the most efficient. It is suggested that the workers wouldn't be happy in the cold, formal, rational organization that satisfied only their economic needs.

The human relations school did not believe that management should be able to establish an organization that would keep the workers satisfied by simply allocating labor and authority in the most efficient way as determined by the intrinsic nature of the task. Management should encourage the development of social groups on the job and provide them with democratic, participatory and communicative leadership. The human relations school of thought holds that it is necessary to relate work and the organizational structure to the social needs of the employees, because, in this way, by making employees happy, the organization would attain their full cooperation and effort and this increase its efficiency.

Two key related concepts that have emerged from the Scientific Management and Human Relations schools have remained central to organizational studies. These are the concepts of formal and informal organizations. The former derived from the set of factors considered crucial by scientific management and the later from those stressed by human relations.

2.3 Weber-Social Action Strand

This general perspective or strand refers to an approach in industrial sociology, which are influenced much by Weber's work. Some of theoretical works relevant to industrial sociology include;

1. The notion of social action in the analysis of work and work related behavior and attitude. The general weberian social action perspective has been specifically applied in industrial sociology through an approach known as work orientation. The application of Weberain social action perspective in industrial sociology, simply implies that w e have to take in to account the meaning (intention. Motives and values) the actors (workers, owners, mangers) attach to their action in work and work settings. Rather than the industrial sociologist imposing his or her own explanations, he has to take into account the point of views of the actors themselves. So the task of the industrial sociologist must be interpretive in understating. We should not try to impose our own preconceived ideas upon our subjects and in addition, the external or the non-work environment (the family, the community etc. Should be taken into account in the study of the attitudes and behavior of the workers.

2. The study of work organization; Weber's influence through the analysis of work an industrial organization directly relates to his analysis of bureaucracy and the bureaucratization of the industrial production.

2. *Marxian and Neo-Marxian strand*

Underling the ideas of Karl Marx is an assumption about the nature of human beings. This is the assumption that human beings achieve the fullness of their humanity through their labor. It is through labor-an essentially social process that the human world is created. This is the basic of Marx's materialism. However, the conditions under which the labor is performed make a crucial difference to the extent to which the human being is fulfilled. Under capitalism the workers are forced into an unequal relationship with the owner of capital, to whom they sell their labor power. The relationship is unequal, since the owner of capital always has sufficient means of subsistence whether production goes a head or not whilst wage workers are dependent on work being available to them. Furthermore, the employer requires workers to do to meet their own needs; that is the capitalist extract the surplus value and in this way exploits the workers. Work within capitalist context does not allow the workers creative ability they have inside to come out and benefit them.

Social division of labor is endemic feature of all society through history. But according to Marx, technical division of labor is endemic and peculiar feature of the capitalist society.

4.1. The Neo –Marxian Labor process Approach

The greatest impact of the ideas of Marx on modern industrial sociobiology came through the use of Marx's idea of the labor process out of which a distinctive and critical Neo-Marxist perspective known as the labor process approaches emerged in the 1970's.

The labor process simply refers to the process of production, which the labor power is applied to raw material and machinery to produce commodities. The labor from the teem work for production reflect the Marxist view that it is labor, which creates all values, and the conventional terms such as work tends to disguise or obscure this fact. The scholar who played a key role in the revival and e establishments of the neo-Marxist labor process approach in industrial sociology is Harry Bravermasn. His major work is entitled as labor and Monopoly capital; the degradation of work in the 20th century 1974.

His work has led to lots of empirical research, debate and criticisms in reaching the labor process by different scholars. The labor process approach mainly but not exclusively focuses on tow issues.

1. The problem of de-skilled and the degradation of labor
2. Managerial strategies of control

4.2. The Labor process Approach

The Braver man's Thesis

We can say that the 1st or actual thesis or the core argument advanced by Bracerman is that the 20the century has been a period of an ever-increasing managerial control over workers in the labor process in the further degradation of work/ labor. Rather than being enriched and enhanced, work has been very much degraded in the 20th century.

Secondly, following Marx, Bracerman argued that the labor process in the capitalist societies should be viewed as determined by capitalist social.

A. *Management and Talorism*

According to Braverman, management itself is a general means of control of the labor process. For Example, Braverman defined the idea of managements as 'The activity conducted for the purpose of control with in the modern corporation. In mainstream or conversional management studies and organizational theories, the main function of managements is usually depicted as to be planning, coordinating, decision making and etc. For Braverman, however, the main function of management is the control of the labor process in the interest of capital and profitability.

Braverman in addition, identified Taylorism as the over all instrument (practical as well as ideological) of capitalist control over the labor process. Braverman simply defined Taylorism as the science of how best to control alienated labor.

B. Technical Division of Labor

In the 20th century as compared to the 18th and 19th century, the technical division of labor in the industry has reached a high and unpr4ecedented level. Braverman argued that the advanced technical division of labor has created a detailed worker. This is because by requiring the worker to use a small portion of their skills and abilities, the technical division of labor not only breaks down the work process but also the dismember workers as well. By forcing workers to engage in repetitive task, it mutilates the workers of their creative natural abilities. According to Braverman, in addition to increasing productivity and reducing the labor cost, the technical division of labor increases the control of management over the work process. This is because it is easier to control a worker perforating specified and repetitive activities then workers employing a wide range of craft skills.

C. Mechanization the application of Sciences and technology in the Industry

Braverman argues that in the context of advanced technical division of labor and mechanization, skills is built into the machine itself rather than in the workers. He also argues that instead of controlling the work process, the workers come to be controlled by the machine. In addition, it far easier for the management of controls the machines than to control human workers (relations of production). And not as product of technological organization, factor and efficiency which have their own requirements irrespective of the forms of ownership.

The dynamic of control

According to Braverman , the most important and specific characteristic of the capitalist labor process is the transformation of labor into commodity. This is a thesis, which emanated from Marx. In other words when capital purchases labor, it has only a potential or capacity to work. The capitalist but labor power or the potential labor to ensue profitable production, capital must organize the conditions under which labor operates to its own advantage but the workers pursue their own interests for job security, higher rewards, better working conditions and satisfying work and in the process developing their own counter organizations and strategies of resistance through informal measures such as, job control (try to limit the speed of factory production) restriction of outputs as well as more formal collective actions such as work stoppage, strikes etc.

So Braverman views phenomena like informal work group Production Norms and restriction of outputs not as irrational behavior rooted in human nature but as rational forms of resistance by workers against control and domination by capitalist.

To resolve this highly contradictory problem and because they are under competitive pressure from other firms to cut costs and raise productivity, employers seek to control the condition under which work or production takes place. Competitions between the enterprise and the conflicts within the employment relationship create a dynamic process, which compels employers to constantly recognize production and devise tighter strategies or mechanisms of control of the production process.

He made it clear that he was not criticizing science and technology and even the social division of labor as such. But simply the way they are applied under capitalist production as weapons of domination in the creation, perpetuation and deepening of the gulf between the classes in the capitalist society. He said that in the hands of the capitalist, science and technology and division of labor have been used systemically to rob work of its craft heritage without providing anything to take its place.

Proletarianization of No- manual Occupation

In addition to his attempt to revive Marx's general and original work on the capitalist labor process, he had made his own distinctive contribution to extend the labor process approach to sector other

than manufacturing industrial. He argues that the capitalist labor process and the related imperatives of human control, rationalization, technical division of labor and de-skilling have been extended in the 20th century to the white collar occupations (service sector activities).

He gave us the example of a clerical work. Previously, clerical workers were considers to constitute a group different from manual industrial workers by such things and tier career prospect (security of employment, promotion, and etc). But Braverman argues that clerical workers have been subject to the same process of control and de-skilling and as a result it has become difficult to differentiate between the factory and factory life office. For Braverman Tyalorism is impending in such office. For example, one area is the specialization process. The mental and manual aspects of white collar activities are being separated. So there is a tendency for office managers and office technicians to perform the mental work while the line clerical workers do little more than manual task such as typing, filling and etc. In addition, clerical tasks have been scientifically studied, simplified, routinized and standardize. This is a process going on in large chains of, for example, banks, supermarkets and fast food. Even some aspects of the mechanization of the office are becoming more and more common. Primarily thought, for example, even in the computer related equipments the mental aspect is done by the computer engineers. Therefore, for Braverman the labor process approach can be extended to other areas other areas other than industrial work where it originally emerged.

Limitations and Criticism of the Labor Process Approach
1. **Criticism of the managerial strategies of control**

The labor process, as core of productivity and the management of work and workers, remains to be the most important aspect of modern enterprises in economic production as a whole. In this respect, the neo-.Marxist focus on the labor process might be appropriate. However, critics argued that the labor process does not encompass all aspects. It would be misleading for any theory to be based on the assumption that managerial activists were only based on the control of labor neglecting such important areas as sell and marketing, financial control and etc. in other words, manager and employers have so many areas of problems in addition to the control of labor in the production process. So it is argued that the lobar process approach is only a partial contribution to the understanding of worker and work relationships.

More importantly, Braverman and his followers may have over estimated the tightening of managerial control and exaggerated the effectiveness of Taylorism as a mechanism of control. In other words, he tended to underestimate the problematic and uneven nature of control influenced by factory such as workers hostility and reactance. Control is not absolute and cannot be absolute. It is a contested kind of relationship. So the view of management as omnipotent or all powerful and monolithic or homogenous and capable of imposing control over the labor process is a highly controversial thesis.

2. *Critique of the Deskilling Thesis*

Braverman tended to argue that the 20th century has been predominantly a period of steady process of deskilling. However, although the process of deskilling is wide spread in many sector of the industry, critics argue that Braverman's view of a uniform process of deskilling is misleading. So it is argued that, technological innovations and mechanization and even automation in the Industrial do not always and necessarily lead to de-skilling. There is rather uneven and contradictory process of deskilling re- skilling of new operations depending on the nature of technology and the type of industry.

3. *Criticism of class relations on determinants of labor process*

Here Braverman's central argument is that control and deskilling are the outcomes of capitalist relations of productions and not the function of efficiency, technology, productivity or other. In other words, class relationships determine the nature of the technical division of labor, technology and the organization. Critics argue that class relationships do not necessarily determine these processes. In support of their argument, they indicated the case of states of socialist countries such as the former U.S.S.R., where despite the elimination of capitalist relations and the institution of state ownership of industry, the same tendency towards tighter control managerial hierarchy, technical division of labor and mechanization were applied to a large scale.

Chapter Three

3. Work and It's Nature

3.1 Meaning and definition of work

> ***Work*** **is the carrying out of tasks which enable people to make a living with in the environment in which they find themselves.**

The above relatively uncomplicated definition makes the concept of work appear easy to define, but in reality it is not. **Keith Grint** (1991) claims no unambiguous or objective definition of work is possible. He examines a number of definitions to illustrate this point:

1. First, he considers whether work can be seen as '*that which ensures individual and societal survival by engaging with nature*'. One problem with this definition is that many activities commonly regarded as work — for example, writing thriller books! — may not be seen as essential or necessary for a society's survival.
2. Grint argues that work cannot be defined simply as *employment*. Many activities in which people are employed are also done by people who are not employed. Examples include washing-up, ironing, child minding, car maintenance, decorating and breastfeeding.
3. Grint denies that work can be defined as something *we have to do whether we like it or not*. Eating and drinking come into this category but are not usually seen as work.
4. Work cannot be seen as *none-leisure activities*. Activities which are leisure for some may be work for others, such as playing football. In any case, work and leisure take place simultaneously and be hard to separate. A couple of beers for a manager with an important client may combine work and leisure. In some societies work and leisure run together in nearly all activities.

It is thus sensible to see that work is ***socially defined***: any definition has to be specific to a particular society at a particular time. Grint says: 'Work, then, in its physical features and its linguistic descriptions is socially constructed…there are aspects of social activities which we construe as work and this embodies social organization.'

In some cases activities are seen as work depends upon whose interpretation of the activity carries the most weight. For instance, some people might clearly define housework as work, but others do not.

It is important to recognize that the meaning which work has for people in any particular setting and at any particular time is influenced by a wide range of factors (Ioyce 1987). We can nevertheless note some broad patterns of difference which have existed historically:

- The ***ancient Greeks*** regarded the most desirable and the only 'good' life as one of leisure. Work, in the sense of supplying the basic necessities of life, was a degrading activity which was to be allocated to the lowest groups within the social order and, especially to slaves. Slavery was the social device which enabled the Greeks to maintain their view of work as something to be avoided by a full human being: what human beings 'shared with all other forms of animal life was not considered to be human'.

- The **Romans** tended to follow the Greek view; the Hebrews viewed work as unpleasant drudgery which could nevertheless play a role of expiating sin and recovering a degree of spiritual dignity.
- **Early Christianity** also modified the relatively extreme Greek view and recognized that work might make one healthy and divert one from sinful thoughts and habits. Leading thinkers of the Catholic Church, such as Aquinas, were influenced by the Greek view but a doctrine did emerge which gave a role for work in the Christian scheme whereby it was seen as a penance arising from the fall and original sin. It also contributed to the virtue of obedience but was by no means seen as noble, rewarding or satisfying; 'its very endlessness and tedium were spiritually valuable in that it contributed to Christian.
- The Reformation and the emergence of **Protestant Christianity** saw work coming to be treated positively within western cultures. With Luther we see the suggestion that work can itself be a way of serving God. What we must note here is that it established the all—important idea that one's work was a 'calling' of equivalent value to that of a religious vocation which had previously involved a turning of one's back on the mundane and a movement 'upwards' towards virtue and other-worldliness.
- With the growth of **modern industrial capitalism** we see the work ethic spreading further and wider. The modern work ethic makes work the essential prerequisite of personal and social advancement, of prestige, of virtue and of self-fulfillment.

Dimensions of Work

The Personal Dimension of Work

Work has a personal dimension, in defining one's psyche and creating a self-image. This personal dimension certainly has a strong hold on all persons, in market and in non-market societies.

The Social Dimension of Work

Work also has a social dimension: it concerns social relations as much as material fabrications. Western scholars recognize the central importance of the social relational aspect of work. Much of the behavior of work is explainable at the collective level. Individual self-interest is dampened by what could be called the behavioral modalities of work, ranging from norms to etiquette. Such a view long held in economic anthropology is also found in the writings in socioeconomics. Cross-culturally compared, not every social relation is work, but work is at least a potential aspect of any social relation. Walter Goldschmidt analyzes particular social dimensions of work cross-culturally for tribal and agrarian peoples. Work has institutions and patterned social regularities and arrangements that may be considered as its social structures. These structures are sometimes so large and complex that they are beyond the social relational ken of the average person, but they control his or her work nevertheless. Invar Berg discusses these social structures of work at three analytic levels. In industrial society with its thin ties of kinship and community, work provides opportunities for *humanly needed socializing*. These interactions with coworkers include exchanging positive affect for both work and non-work experiences, **having a "sounding board" for voicing private concerns, releasing tensions before a supportive audience, and having membership in an in-group of intimate persons—a surrogate tribal "us,"** socially bonded by links of work instead of kinship.

The Temporal Dimension of Work

Through the ages, every human society has been structured around work in its dimensions of time as well as social relations. Accurate minutely divided time reckoning is a hallmark of industrial society. To coordinate and facilitate industrial work including transportation, standard time zones and daylight savings time had to be created. For industrial processes, timing to the microsecond became necessary. Without a precise and invariable reckoning for the fourth dimension, time, the three dimensions of space could not be used efficiently enough for the evolution of the technologically advanced societies of the late nineteenth century. For effectiveness, work in industrial society must be timed in a variety of modes such as frequency, synchronization, and duration. A needed piece of material must arrive by a particular time; an event must occur in the correct sequence; and a process must be of an exact duration. Without timings of these kinds, work becomes dysfunctionally independent instead of functionally interdependent.

Timing is necessary not just for creating goods and services but also for planning them. Without timing of work, terminal dysfunction would undermine industrial society. It is no accident that one of the purposes of public school is to enculture children to be as regular as clockwork regarding their timed events and tasks.

Work Orientations and Worker Behavior

Orientation to work refers to *the meaning attached by individuals to their work which predisposes them both to think and act in particular ways with regard to that work.* The study of orientations to work has developed only recently and is especially associated with research carried out in the late 1960s and 1970s by John H. Goldthorpe, David Lockwood, and their colleagues and students. Logically, however, it deserves priority, being concerned with the values, purposes, expectations, and sentiments the workers bring to the work situation.

The notion of orientation to work is used to investigate the various ways in which different individuals and groups approach their work and it takes as its starting point a fundamental distinction which was implicit in much of the thinking discussed above: a distinction between *work meanings in which work offers intrinsic satisfactions to people and meanings which recognize only extrinsic satisfactions.* From this dichotomy we can set up two extreme ideal types of work meaning and suggest a continuum along which people's actual positions can be located as suggested in Figure 3.1.

Unfortunately, this essentially binary way of looking at what work means to people has encouraged an 'either/or' type of debate. Much discussion of work attitudes and work motivation has centered upon the question of whether people generally are *intrinsically or extrinsically oriented towards their work*. It is therefore frequently debated whether, on the one hand, people generally go to work 'just for the money' or 'basically for company' or, on the other hand, they primarily want 'job satisfaction' or self-fulfillment. But this is simplistic and industrial sociologists have developed the concept of work orientation to go beyond this and to show how people's approach to their work typically includes mixtures of these basic inclinations whilst nevertheless containing specific leanings in one or other of these general directions. And the concept has been employed to help explain the factors, both individual and structural, which influence people's attitudes and behavior with regard to their work.
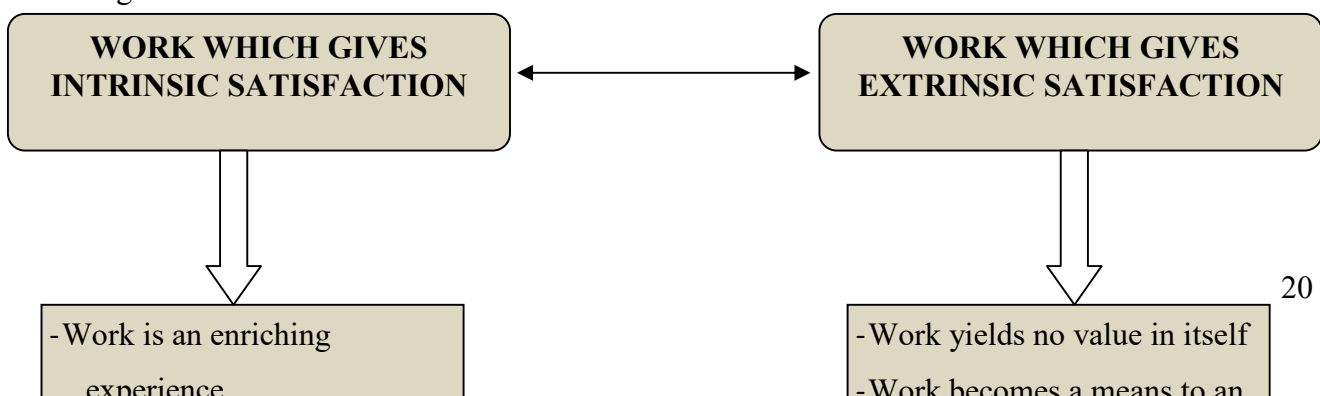
WORK WHICH GIVES INTRINSIC SATISFACTION	←→	WORK WHICH GIVES EXTRINSIC SATISFACTION

20

-Work is an enriching experience

-Work yields no value in itself
-Work becomes a means to an

Figure 3.1. Meanings of Work: A continuum

> *The work orientation perspective takes the employee's own definition of the situation as an 'initial basis for the explanation of their social behavior and relationships'(Goldthorpe, Lockwood et al. 1908).*

This approach has the great strength of encouraging us to recognize the variety of meaning that work can have for employees. Whilst accepting that all work in industrial societies has an Instrumental basis, Goldthorpe, Lockwood et al. suggest that a typology of work orientations can nevertheless be offered. These are indicated in Figure 2.2.We see here the following orientations:

- An **instrumental** orientation associated with the study's affluent manual workers.
- A **bureaucratic** orientation reflecting patterns found among white- collar employees.
- A **solidaristic** orientation inferred from the authors' understanding of more 'traditional' working-class employment situations like coalmining and shipbuilding.
.

Entry to Work and Employment Relationships
Entry to work; choice and opportunity structure
1. Voluntaristic-agency perspective
2. Structural-determinism perspective

What are the factors and process, which determine or influence the type of work or occupation in to which people enter?

1. Voluntaristic-agency perspective

This perspective emphasizes on people's choice in selecting and entering a particular occupational stream. It is a kind of individualistic as well as psychologistic approach/explanation of occupational choice. It tries to focus in individuals' efforts, abilities, aspirations, motivations, ambitions etc. But the question is do really people choose the work they enter in to? The Structural-determinism perspective theorists have a totally different way of looking in this regard.

2. Structural-determinism perspective

According to this perspective, people's occupational work positions are determined by structural or external forces/factors. For most people the type of job they enter into is not really a matter of choice, but largely a matter of fitting in to whatever jobs are available given the qualification which one's class and educational background has labeled him/her to attain. According to the structural perspective, the structural factors play a major role in the occupational structure.

Factors Individual Approach and Entry to Work Influencing

Non-work structural factors	Individuals Approaching	Work Related Structural factors
Social class, gender, age, family, education, race/ethnicity, medical, peer pressure	1. Resources, skills, abilities, even physique(objective) 2.Motivation, ambition, aspirations etc(subjective)	Labor market, Occupational structure.

Employment Relationship and the Implicit Contract

Implicit contract is the tacit understanding between the employer and the employee about what they will put into the job and the reward and benefits for which these will be exchanged. Implicit contract are what we may call sociologically the pre or non-contractual basis of formal contract without which formal written contract are written. In some instances, these informal contracts have more importance because the mutual expectations formed between employees or employers function like actual contracts as far as their effectiveness or consequences are concerned.

Elements of Implicit contract

THE EMPLOYEE WITH
a. Resources, skills, Knowledge, Physique etc
b. Motivations, expectations and interests
   (Influenced by class, education family gender
    Race, etc)

THE EMPLOYER WITH
a. Resources, capital
b. motives, expectation
   (influenced by state of markets,
    sources of funding e.t.c)

EMPLOYEE INPUT	EMPLOYMEE REWARD

Physical effort Mental application Impairment(fatigue etc) Surrender of autonomy and acceptance of control by employer of his agents	Wage/salary and fringe benefits Fulfillment or job satisfaction Opportunity to fulfill personal values Social rewards security power and status potential advancement

Dynamic of Implicit contract

They are never fixed for the simple reason that they are not formal and not fully stable for expectations change in time. The stability of the implicit contract tends to be undermined by two factors pushing in different direction. These are:

1. The push towards increased efficiency, loyalty to the employer, discipline, enforced cooperation and etc.
2. The tendency towards resistance, challenge, and collective actions on the part of the employee against the employer's demands.

Variability of Implicit contract

This refers to the tendency in which different implicit as well as explicit contracts are made in different types of occupations and especially at different levels of occupations within a work setting. In other words, individuals located in different position in the hierarchal patterns of positions in the society are likely to make different kinds of implicit contract with employers. Implicit contract are not therefore uniform.

Types of occupation	Types of employment	Employee-employer relationship	Task involved	Types of effort	Types of contract	Level of rewards
Managerial/Administrative	Diffuse	High trust	Discretion	Mental/conception	Responsible autonomy	High
Manual/Industrial	Restricted/ specific	Low trust	Prescription	Manual/execution	direct	Low

THE STRUCTURING OF WORK; BASIC PRINCIPLES

There are two basic principles in the organization and patterning of work;

1. The occupational principle; this principle refers to the structuring of work on the basic of the type work people undertake. Examples include managing a business, teaching at a university, or driving a lorry. Here, we concentrate on the social implications of the existence, within society, of groups of people regularly doing the same or similar tasks. Implications could be drawn for the society as a whole; i.e., social structure, processes

occupational group becomes a collectivity; and for individuals as members of the occupational groups.

2. The administration/ bureaucratic principle: this principle refers to the structuring of work on bureaucratic of formal organizational basis. In this approach, the emphasis is on the way in which work tasks are conceived and designed in the light of certain agencies (groups or individuals, state or private) who then select and recruit, pay, coordinate and control the efforts of others to carryout the tasks.

Occupations and the division of labor
1. definition of occupational structure
2. the social-structural location of occupations, social class and occupations
3. the dual labor market/labor market segmentation
4. professions, professionalization and occupational strategies

4.5.1 Definition of occupation and occupation structure

Before defining occupation, we have to not whether any work activity is to be regarded as one depends in part on the people undertaking the activity, the work it self (a kind of self-definition) and the wider public (a kind of public definition). Accordingly, occupation can be defined as engagement on a regular basis on part the whole range of work tasks, identified under a particular title or heading by both those undertaking the tasks and by the wider public. This conception is broader than simple paid employment because membership in an occupation may involve independence and autonomy from an employer (whether state or private).

 In contrast to the term organizational, which refer to the internal pattering of work organization, industrial sociologist, to identify and study patterning in occupations, use the concept of occupational structure. Or we can formally define occupational structure as the pattern is society, which is created by the distribution of the labor force across the range of existing types of work or occupations.

Occupational structure can be conceptualized in two main respects;

I.   Horizontal Structure

The horizontal occupational structure involves dividing the workforce in to different sectors without implications of hierarchy or rank in terms of status or income … for sociologists such kind of occupational structure is a kind or meaningless as it does not say any thing about social issues.

II.   Vertical Structure/ Hierarchical Pattern

The hierarchical or vertical structuring is important for industrial sociologists for obvious reasons that people occupation can be a key indicator of their position in the structure, including for example, their, their social status, prestige, life chances (well-being) etc.

The study of occupational structure involves classifying occupation horizontal, vertically or a mixture of both. The categories or calcification can then be used in various ways for analytical purposes;

➢ To identify and examine the number of people covered by different occupations, sectors and socio-economics groups.
➢ To study the mobility of people between different occupational categories within and among generations
➢ To study the characteristics of people in various occupations and occupational positions in terms of such criteria as gender, ethnicity, race, age, e t c. and especially the way the occupational Pattern change over time.

These various analytical purposes of occupational structure are central to the understanding of social structure and process of change occurring at the individual grope or society level (for example the rise of new occupations can be taken as part of social structure).

4.5.2 The social structural location of occupation, social class and occupation

There are different approaches sociology to the analyses of social class and how social class relates to people's occupation and work the various modern approaches of analyses in industrial sociology are basically derived from and are elaborations of the views of the two major figures in sociology Marx and Weber.

Marx; class and occupation

Marx simply denied or rejected the importance of occupation or even in came as the basis of social class division in modern industrial society. Mark's basic model is a dual class model of society in which he analyzed social classes in relation to the ownership of the means of production or capital, not to occupation.

So according to Marx's dual-class model, he divided the modern industrial capitalist society in to those who owned property (regardless of their occupation) and those who are property-less. He recognized the existence of groups and strata which don't fit the dual class model framework such as, fore example, the small property owners, self-employed artisans, and shopkeepers and peasants and service sector workers. However, he suggested that these strata where kind of hangovers or leftovers of pre-capitalist system, which would eventually disappear with the maturation of the capitalist system.

Generally, Marx predicted three interrelated process with regard to the dynamic of social class and occupation. These are characterized as the 3ps;
- ➢ proletarianization
- ➢ Pauperization
- ➢ Polarization

<u>Proletarianization</u>

> The idea that comes from the word proletariat and it refers to the process by which parts of the population in the middle strata become effectively absorbed in to the working class because of the dynamics of the system itself. These groups would move downwards mostly and upwards occasionally. In other words, Marx predicted that the dynamics of the capitalist system occupying the middle positions would eventually be proletarianzed.

<u>Pauperization</u>

Marx also protected that the exploitation and degradation of labor or work was much that workers will be increasingly and absolutely impoverished under capitalism.

<u>Polarization</u>

Marx predicted that the division of the population and the society in to two extremely opposite or polar groups; economically, politically and ideologically divided.

This generally argues that the Marx's predictions including the 3p have felled to materialize. These is because of the industrial capitalist society has moved on in a different directions adding money complexes to its occupational and class structure. It has proved to be very flexible more dynamic and more unpredictable.

1. The expansion of the middle occupation class categories;

Rather than shrinking and disappearing the middle occupational and class sector has expanded enormously in the 20 century contradicting Marx prediction of proletarialization and polarization moreover the traditional working class was it impoverished in absolute terms. And also the absolute

sizes of the working class as percentage of the working population have declined partly because of the expansion of the service sector.

2. The rise or the emergence in the 20th century the so-called the joint stock share companies and the separation of ownership of industry or capital and control or management of business;

The importance of this phenomenon is that it has made ownership or non-ownership of property such an illusive and broad or invisible category that it has become difficult to distinguish between groups with different economic positions outside of the ownership of property (example managers and woks). The question, for example here is to which group or class do managers belong? On the one hand, they do not formally own the industrials property so they can not be classified as the capitalist class in the strict sense. On the other hand, although they are salaried employees, they don't belong to the manual working class. Where do we put them if we follow the Marxist dual class model? Weber provides an answer.

Weber; Market Capacity and Life Chances

Weber classified the population in to classes according to economic deference arising from market capacity leading to different life chances. According to Weber, property ownership is one source of market capacity and one source of class. However, he argued that skills and education formed another resource of market capacity and hence one source of class. In other words, skill and education, which are scarce on the market, command high rewards and also constitutes a separate class. Accordingly, Weber distinguished or identified four major classes;

- The propertied class
- The traditional petty bourgeoisie
- The intellectual, administrative, professional class.
- The working class

Weber insisted that we couldn't put the intellectual and the propertied to the name class. He said that this would be very simplistic.

The important point here is that social and occupational analysis has moved closer and closer to the weberian approach than the Marxian approach. The weberian approach closely relates to occupation, which is the dominant approach in industrial sociology today. Following the weberian approach, social class today at list in industrial capitalist societies is mainly defined by the criteria of market and work situation.

1. Market situation; refers to the rewards people can command based on their resources. These rewards include salary (income), security of employment, opportunities for promotion, etc.
2. Work situation; refers to the characteristics associated with the occupation such as the nature of the tasks or the jobs, the structure of technology, etc.

Occupational and class structure in developing counties

The existing models of Occupational and class structures are mainly derived from the context of the developed countries. To what extent these models reflect the realities in the developing countries?

1. The various element and categories of occupational and socio-economic categories of the models of the developed countries are also are found in developed countries although the size and composition of the occupational and the class structure varies form country to country to country. For example, in India there are huge middle occupational and socio-economic categories of administrative, managerial, professional and technical population. This population may be as large as the population of the united sates. However, there is also a contrast, which involves a large rural peasant population and large informal sector in India.

2. In the African context, it is agued that the occupational and socio-economic categories are not yet well developed or well structured and they are not well institutionalized. So there is an underdevelopment of occupational class structure especially in African countries.

   Argument for the Underdevelopment of Occupational and Class Structure in Developing Countries;

   1. The low level of industrialization, the low level of division of labor and the low level of economic development indicate the underdevelopment of the occupational and social structure. This doesn't mean that, however, that occupational and class analysis can't be applied in the African countries or developing countries. It has to be critically modified, though.
   2. The peasantry as occupation ; the peasantry dose not appear in the various modals of the developed countries because the peasantry as a significant socio-economic and occupational category has effectively disappeared in the process of industrialization and capitalist development and replaced by industrial agriculture. But in the context of the developing countries the majority of the population can be classified under the peasant category.

3. The informal sector; in the context of the developing countries, this sector takes significant proportion of the urban working force. Here the question is where do we place these diverse informal sector activities in the occupational and Class structure. They are also found in developed countries but they do not appear in these kinds of elegant classifications.
4. Multiple Occupations; many people in the developing countries simultaneously and /or separately engage in different types of activities (farming, some wage labor, some trading, etc) which makes classification of people into different occupation and class structures very difficult.

4.5.3 Occupations

Occupations are categories of jobs that involve similar activities at different work sites (Reskin and Padavic, 1994). When we meet someone for the first time, the conversation is likely to touch on work. Because occupations signal approximate education level, income, and status, discovering another's occupation allows us to estimate the chances of a relationship. People group occupations into categories that they associate with images about the persons in these categories. One such system of grouping which became the basis for official data collection was developed by **Dr. Alba Edwards** of the U.S. Census Bureau, who constructed a classification system of six broad categories, organized on the principle of socioeconomic commonalties within categories and differences between them. He used the following occupational divisions:
1. Professionals.
2. Proprietors, managers, and officials.
3. Clerks and kindred workers.
4. Skilled workers and foremen.
5. Semiskilled workers.
6. Unskilled workers.

The US Census Bureau, with some adjustments to reduce Edwards' six categories to four, used his scheme until 1980. It was then changed to a somewhat different six—category system. The list below shows the later classification with specifics:
1. White-collar workers

     a. Professional and technical
     b. Managers and officials
     c. Clerical workers
     d. Sales workers
2. Blue-collar workers
     a. Foreman and skilled workers
     b. Semiskilled workers
     c. Non-farm laborers
3. Service workers
     a. Private household workers
     b. Other service workers
4. Farm workers
     a. Farmers and farm managers
     b. Farm laborers and foremen

Since the turn of the 21st century, **white-collar** jobs have *continually increased* in the west. However, since World War II, the trend has been just the *opposite* for **blue-collar** work. More than one-fourth of the entire labor force would be semiskilled workers or laborers if the U.S. economy had the same mix of work today as it did in 1950. The expansion of some white-collar jobs generated better opportunities, but others did not—jobs in professional-technical and managers-officials categories provide more advantages than those in clerical or sales work. The growth of service workers' jobs provides mixed opportunities.

The service workers category includes a diversity of jobs, many at the lowest levels of an occupational cluster. In food services, for instance, waitresses, waiters, dishwashers, and cooks are considered service workers, but bakers are counted as skilled workers, and foodservice supervisors are classified as managers. In health services, practical nurses and attendants are included as service workers, while registered nurses are in the professional-technical category. Also among service workers are firefighters, police and detectives, barbers and beauticians, guards, door-keepers, watchmen, porters, and janitors. Many of these are low-skill, minimum-wage occupations. Overall, then, changes in the distribution of occupations indicate favorable openings for people who can take advantage of growth in the high-education, high-skill sectors (professional, managerial, and technical jobs), and less favorable consequences for others.

4.5.4 Professions

What occupations are professions? Although sociologists do not always agree on exactly which occupations are professions, they do agree that the number of people categorized as "professionals" has grown dramatically since World War II. According to sociologist Steven Brint (1994), the contemporary professional middle class includes most doctors, natural scientists, engineers, computer scientists, certified public accountants, economists, social scientists, psychotherapists, lawyers, policy experts of various sorts, professors, at least some journalists and editors, some clergy, and some artists and writers.

4.5.4.1 Characteristics of Professions

Professions are high status, knowledge-based occupations that have five major characteristics (Freidson, 1970, 1986; Larson, 1977):

1. Abstract, specialized knowledge. Professionals have abstract, specialized knowledge of their field, based on formal education and interaction with colleagues. Education provides the credentials, skills, and training that allow professionals to have job opportunities and to assume positions of authority within organizations (Brint, 1994).
2. Autonomy. Professionals are autonomous in that they can rely on their own judgment in selecting the relevant knowledge or the appropriate technique for dealing with a problem. Consequently, they expect patients, clients, or students to respect that autonomy.
3. Self-regulation. In exchange for autonomy, professionals theoretically are self-regulating. All professions have licensing, accreditation, and regulatory associations that set professional standards and that require members to adhere to a code of ethics as a form of public accountability.
4. Authority. Because of their authority, professionals expect compliance with their directions and advice. Their authority is based on mastery of the body of specialized knowledge and on their profession's autonomy: professionals do not expect the client to argue about the professional advice rendered. Professionals also have authority over persons in subordinate occupations; for example, doctors control much of the work of nurses and others in the health-care field.
5. Altruism. Ideally, professional's have concern for others. The term Altruism implies some degree of self-sacrifice whereby professionals go beyond self-interest or personal comfort so that they can help a patient or client (Hodson and Sullivan, 1990). Professionals also have a responsibility to protect and enhance their knowledge and to use it for the public interest.

Below are the characteristics of a profession, as defined by three different sources. In each case, the characteristics have been summarized. For a fuller description, go to each of the three sources in the Reference Collection.

Encyclopedia of Sociology. NY: Macmillan, 1992. p 1554

1. Esoteric knowledge.
2. Autonomy on the job.
3. Authority over clients.
4. Altruistic.
5. Underlying these four characteristics is a fifth: the public must recognize the occupation as a profession.

Concise Oxford Dictionary of Sociology. NY: Oxford, 1994. p. 419.

1. Central regulatory body.
2. Code of conduct.
3. Careful management of knowledge.
4. Control of numbers in profession.

Encyclopedia of Education. NY: Macmillan, 1971. p. 432.

1. An essential social function is performed.
2. Lengthy period of training and experience is required to enter the profession.
3. Practictioners are service oriented (altruistic).
4. There is official recognition of professional status by the government.
5. The nature of service rendered makes the clients incapable of appraising it.
6. There are standards of competence.

4.6 Other Aspects of the World of Work

People who are unemployed but looking for work are part of the labor force. But there are also the underemployed-part-time or temporary workers who would prefer full-time work and those whose jobs do not measure up to their capabilities. Part-timers, temporary workers, and a group called independent contractors are considered part of the growing contingent workforce.

4.6.2 Unemployment

Unemployment may be **seasonal** (some occupations, such as construction or picking crops, require workers for only part of a year), **cyclical** (ups and downs that result from periodic economic fluctuations), or **frictional or structural** (Bronfenbrenner, Sichel, and Gardner, 1987).
Frictional unemployment refers to short-term unemployment after quitting or losing a job and before finding another. Economists suggest that due to frictional and seasonal causes, an unemployment rate of around 6 percent is normal, even in good times.
Most ominous is structural unemployment, the long-term or permanent job losses resulting from technological or market changes that affect an industry. Older workers are especially at risk, since they may find it difficult to learn new skills or to find other employment.
Structural unemployment occurs when jobs are available and there are workers seeking employment but the workers do not match the jobs. There are two main types of structural unemployment: regional and sectoral.

1. **Regional unemployment** exists where unemployed workers do not live in the areas where suitable vacancies are available. In the second half of the l980s as unemployment fell, it became difficult to fill some vacancies in southeast England because of labour shortages in that region, despite high unemployment in other parts of Britain.
2. **Sectoral unemployment** exists when the unemployed lack the appropriate skills or qualifications to fill vacancies. As old industries decline and new ones develop, some workers are left with obsolete skills. In Britain, workers in such industries as textiles, coalmining, shipbuilding and iron and steel, who have been made redundant, have found it difficult to find work which matches their skills.

Cyclical unemployment: Both frictional and structural unemployment occur when vacancies are available for the unemployed. Although these types of unemployment accounted for some of the unemployment during recent decades, clearly they could not account for it all. The number of unemployed far exceeded the number of vacancies: the supply of labour exceeded the demand or workers by employers. Such a situation is sometimes called cyclical unemployment.

All economies experience fluctuations, with periods of depression and boom following one another. These economic cycles may be short term, with minor fluctuations over four- to six—year periods, or they may be long term. For example, the British economy experienced a major depression in the 1930s, which was followed by a postwar economic boom in the 1950s and 1960s, which in turn was followed by recession in the 1970s and l980s. The early l990s saw a recession, while economic growth returned in the late 1990s.

Measuring Unemployment

The measurement of unemployment is based on the following three criteria that must be satisfied simultaneously; **"without work"**, **"currently available for work"** and **"seeking work''** (ILO, 1983).The standard definition of unemployment that is based on the "seeking work" criterion refers to take specific steps in specified period to seek paid employment or self employment. The specific steps may include registration at a public or private employment exchange, application to employers, checking at worksites, farms, factory gates, market or other assembly places, placing or answering newspaper advertisements, seeking assistance of friends or relatives, looking for land, building, machinery or equipment to establish own enterprise, arranging for financial resources, applying for work permits and licenses, etc. However, in situations where the conventional means of seeking work are of limited relevance, where the labour market is largely unorganized or of limited scope, where labour absorption is, at the time inadequate or where the labour force is largely self-employed, the above standard definition of unemployment with its emphasis on seeking work criterion might be restrictive and might not fully capture the prevailing employment situations in many developing countries including Ethiopia. Hence, the

International Standards introduced provisions, which allows for the relaxation of the seeking work criterion in certain situations. The provisions are two types, namely; partial relaxation and complete relaxation. Following the recommendations of the International Standard and reviewing the prevailing national situation, the 2005 National Labour Force Survey introduced a provision to capture the different forms of unemployment using the above alternative measurements. The treatment of the two options in the survey is described as follows.

Under partial relaxation, the definition of unemployment includes discouraged job seekers in addition to persons satisfying the standard definition. Discouraged job seekers are those who want a job but did not take any active step to search for work because they believe that they cannot find one.

Under the completely relaxed definition, unemployment includes persons without work and those who are available for work, including those who were or were not seeking work. That is, the seeking work criterion is completely relaxed and unemployment is based on the "without work" and "availability" criterion only. The availability in this situation is tested by asking the willingness to take up work for wage or salary in locally prevailing terms, or readiness to undertake self-employment activity, given the necessary resources and facilities.

(CSA, 2006: 43-44) Report On the 2005 National Labour Force Survey

---

4.6.3   Underemployment and the Contingent Workforce

Underemployment refers to workers who have part-time jobs (officially counted as less than 35 hours a week) but who prefer full-time employment, temporary workers who want stable work, or persons with jobs for which they are overqualified (a teacher working as a teacher's aide, for instance). Underemployment thus means workers are not fully utilized.

The *contingent workforce* includes part—time and temporary workers and independent contractors. Temporary workers may be hired directly by a firm or assigned to jobs by a temporary help agency.

These agencies match workers with employers, pay the workers, and may offer them benefits (though there are often hurdles to qualifying for them). Independent contractors make their own arrangements directly with an employer who needs an employee. Independent contractors are self-employed and must make their own payments for unemployment insurance, Social Security, and health insurance. Whether assigned by an agency or hired directly as a temp or an independent contractor, such employment is unstable and dependent on employers' short—term needs. The concept of a contingent workforce thus is characterized by loose ties between workers and employers.

Especially in recent years, the use of temporary or contract workers has become more attractive to employers, due to stiffer competition and concerns about fixed costs. Temporary workers and independent contractors can easily be added or shed. They can handle workload fluctuations, meet seasonal demands, undertake special projects, fill in for vacancies and buffer the regular workforce if downturns occur (Carre, 1992). Contingent workers are available for all sorts of assignments, from production to professional and administrative tasks, and they are found in all industries. Contingent workers offer another advantage: They are frequently less costly than regular workers. Temporary employees—whether hired from an agency or directly—are often ineligible under the law for unemployment compensation. This insurance is costly to employers, who also do not need to offer temporary workers other benefits their regular workers might have, such as medical insurance and retirement plans. Independent contractors must individually reach agreements with prospective employers, who may be reluctant to provide such benefits. For the employer, therefore, hiring contingent workers may seem a wise plan, but damaging results have also been observed (Carre, 1992). Temporary workers form bonds with a company; they have no commitment to its future success. Immediate labor cost savings may handicap long-term productivity gains.

4.7 Work Outcomes

Work outcomes are the consequences of working, the glue that attaches people to their work. The following list gives some idea of the range of outcomes for workers:

1. Without work, the hours may drag by; work prevents a feeling of drift, aimlessness.
2. Work provides a culturally approved means of obtaining income.
3. Work is a basis for being the head of one's household or a partner in supporting the family.
4. The content of work may be experienced as pleasing.
5. A job's features (prestige, income), or simply holding a job, may raise one's self—esteem.

4.8 Sexual Division of Work: Women and Work

There is the conventional image which is still important about the sexual division of labor which places women in the domestic domain and men in the public domain. The domestic domain is usually viewed as associated with roles and activities centering on the household or child rearing. The public domain is assumed to extend beyond the domestic or household group and involving activities as production, political ritual or religious activities and the like. In other worlds, the domestic sphere is equated with household labor which is often undervalued and considered non-productive because it doesn't generate directly surplus value or cash income.

However, the fact is that the division of labor along domestic versus public domain has been significantly modified in the industrial conditions as more and more women are employed outside of home in the paid wage employment.

Factors behind the expansion of women's participation in the labor force
   1. Demand Factors

a. The growth or expansion of routine, on-manual services oriented activities: a metaphor that 'food in to refrigerator, women in to the factory' indicates the trend that food production, processing, distribution has moved of the home and entered the external sphere. Food processing is now a huge/complex agro-food business. Traditionally, this was done at home. What women are doing outside is more or less related to what they've been doing at home.

b. The increasing interest among employers in hiring part-time employees to match fluctuations in work flow and the fact that part-time workers are often less well-protected by employment legislations, collective agreements and therefore are cheaper to hire and easier to dismiss. The argument here is that part-time jobs are suitable for women because it flexible enabling them to handle their domestic and outside home activities easily.

c. Inadequate supply of male labor as a result of the Second World War and the expansion of the economy. When men were on the war fronts, more and more women were created with an opportunity to work in industries to meet the increasing demand.

2. Supply Factors
   a. Fertility rate has declined that gave women more opportunity to work outside of home.
   b. The gradual crossing of the old culture, social value systems which have insisted that women's place is in the home.
   c. Increase qualification of women especially via educational system which increased aspirations for professional work outside of the home.
   d. The desire to increase family income through the so-called 'double income' to lead a decent life in the modern world.

The Interlocking of domestic work and formal employment

The formal employment of women part reflected the domestic gender division of labor, which gives man and women different roles, responsibilities and unequal share of analysis and explanation of gender inequality outside of home.

Logically, we might expect a shift towards to the men and women sharing domestic work more and more equally as a result of the increased level of employment of married women and mothers outside of the home. In the 1950s and 60s, there was optimism that there was a tendency towards egalitarian arrangements at least in the industrialized countries in sharing domestic work between men and women. However, most research studies indicated that the domestic division of labor based on sex continues to be unequal. In other words, the growth and expansion of women's paid employment outside of the home has not significantly changed the domestic division of labor because women continue to shoulder the greater burden of domestic work and this is called 'double shift', one shift at work and the second shift at home. This is true in almost all countries, developing and developed, and across all social classes despite some variations. We can argue that women's attitude and orientation to work is heavily influenced by their domestic responsibilities and as a result industrial sociologists argue that women have some distinctive orientations to work or employment.

Over the last century, the issue of women in the workplace has been a confused one. ***Early in the 20th century***, few women participated in the labor force in the US. A woman's place was at home, taking care of the family and managing the domestic world. It was seen as unfit for women to be in certain professions, and most women did not work, other than going about their daily chores around the house. ***The Great Depression*** magnified this fact, as unemployment reached its highest levels in history women, more than ever, stayed home to look after their husbands who now found themselves without work. ***World War II*** brought *a complete reversal to this trend*. Productivity

boomed and the men left their homes, some to work, most to join the war effort. Women, in large masses for the first time, also hit the labor market. Nicknamed "Rosie the Riveter", these women worked at manufacturing plants and at other technological industries that had previously seen only male employees. With the men off at war, these companies needed women to fill their shoes, and women streamed into the business. Since then, they have not looked back, as women employment in the labor force grew steadily in the four decades after World War II. It was not until very recently that female employment growth rates have leveled out.

Just after World War II the civilian labor force participation for women was a paltry 32%. Today, however, some six decades later that rate has climbed in excess of 70%. For four solid decades after the war, this rate increased at an astounding rate. Early in the 1990s, however, this rate leveled off. This brought about much speculation as to whether or not women were thus starting to leave the labor force and, if so, what the causes of that might be. In order to look at this hypothesis more closely, we first need to break down the women in the labor force by age: 16-24 year olds, 25-34 year olds, 35-44 year olds, 45-54 year olds, and 55+ years. In the mid 1940's, 35-44 year olds were engaged in the labor force more than any other age group. In the late 1980s and into the early 1990s, this was still the case. Over the last 25 years, however, the younger age groups have exploded onto the work scene, drastically shooting up from a percentage (of women that age in the labor force) of 40 percent in 1970 to nearly 75 percent in the early 1990s. Until the 1970's, a graph of female participation rates in the labor force would look like an "M", with a large dip coming between the early 20's until the later-child bearing years, the mid 30's. However, with all age groups now actively participating in the labor force, that graph now looks like an upside down "U".

In the early 1990s participation rates of women abruptly flattened out. Initially much thought was given to the fact that more mothers were exiting the labor force temporarily in order to look after their children or become homemakers. Thus analysts turned to specific age groups. They found that there was a significant drop off in labor force participation rates of women ages 16-24. Historically, rates of this age group did follow business cycles, so why the sudden change? The explanation was that more females that age were enrolling in schools. School enrollment between 1987 and 1993 increased nearly 28 percent, and women in school were less likely to be employed in the labor force. Other age groups continued their slightly upward trend, with the only exception being the 16-24 year olds. One explanation as to why these women decided to attend school rather than remain in the labor force is the recession of the early 1990s. There was a recessionary job market, so the younger, less stable women chose to go back to school rather than seek alternate employment.

Since the early 1990s, however, the growth of women entering the labor force has resumed. The makeup of the group of women in the labor force has been influenced more recently than ever before on family structure. In the last ten years, mothers have accounted for most of the rise in women's overall labor force rate. For mothers with children between the ages of 6 and 17, an astonishing 77 percent are in the labor force. With children under 6, this percentage understandably dips to 62 points, but both largely higher than a decade ago. For mothers with infants less than a year old, the percentage entering the labor force has grown nearly 20 percent over the last decade. This trend is a strong reflection of today's societal norms: working for pay is an integral part of many women's lives, as opposed to early in the 20th century when housework was the norm.

The 1996 Welfare Reform Bill passed by Congress had an effect on poor and single mothers in the workplace. By trying to move women from welfare to work, the bill encouraged these women to find jobs, thus entering the labor force. Additionally, the real wages of met earning lower incomes

has remained stagnant or even slightly fallen in recent years. The cost of a wife sitting around the house and taking care of the children has risen, so the wives have much more incentive, and need, now to go out and earn on their own. This, in turn, also puts pressure on single mothers to go out and work as well. These women do not necessarily work full-time year-round, but their entrance into the marketplace is a positive for not only them but the women's movement in general. It has gotten to the point, however, that marriage and children (except a pre-school aged child, where mothers tend to stay at home or work minimal hours) now have little effect on whether a not a woman works, and for how long she works. This is the societal norm, although access to other income (e.g. husband's earnings, single vs. married woman) still has a large effect on a woman's employment options. Women now spend a couple of hours more in the workplace per day than they do caring for their children as opposed to 20 years ago, yet many mothers are still not committed to full-time year-round employment.

Throughout the entire 20th century, women's wages have constantly lagged behind men's wages. If a woman and mad were both hired to do the same task, the man would be paid more than the women. That has been and continues to be the trend in the American capitalist state. One explanation has always been that the men are not only more qualified at the jobs but more efficient. Thus, the argument goes, they should be paid at a higher premium. Today, however, the wage gap is still existent, and very few would find that argument valid. **So why do women still earn less than men, and why are women often discriminated against in the workplace?**

When a child enters a family, it is the woman who, much more often than not, stays at home and cares for the new baby. When the woman exits the labor force, she does not gain the seniority that she would have otherwise gotten had there been no child. When women return to the labor force, they are less likely to receive on the job training, and thus less like to increase their productivity and thus level of pay. The absence from the work force, even if only for several months to take care of a newborn child, can depreciate the job skills of women, so when they return back to work they are not as sharp and take some time to regain pre-birth efficiency in the office. Knowing this, employers are less likely to hire women who are in their prime years for giving birth. This also stands for women applying for new jobs; if they left the labor force once before for a child, chances are good that they might do it again. An employer will see this and thus shy away from hiring the woman, instead perhaps deferring to a man who would remain at work. Employers may even view those who do not take time away from work as more dedicated than women who do, regardless of the reason, and this could be reflected in reduced promotion possibilities, different job assignments, and other actions that could have salary implications. This is certainly not fair to women: it is not their fault that they are biologically the ones who give birth and must frequently look after the children. Regardless, the trend is that those women who do take time off from work often are overlooked for more competitive jobs and receive less pay.

We have just established that women are now in the labor force more than ever before. But now that they are working, what kinds of jobs are they doing? In private industry, the breakdown of women compared to men is interesting. In 2000 there were 44 million workers in private industry in the United States, 23.5 million of which were male, 20.5 million female. A more specific breakdown, however, shows some astounding differences. There were twice as many male officials and managers than there were females (3 million as opposed to 1.5 million). Officials and managers are described as "occupations requiring administrative and managerial personnel who set broad policies, exercise overall responsibility for execution of these policies, etc." Yet the number of workers defined as 'professionals' gives females the numeric advantage, 3.6 million to 3.4 million.

Professionals are described as "occupations requiring either college graduation or experience of such kind." Thus even though the women labor force tends to be slightly more educated than the male labor force, it is the males who, by a 2:1 ratio, are in managerial and authoritative positions!

In other generic fields, there is also a stark contrast between males and females. Women outnumber men by roughly a 3:2 ratio in sales, and for office and clerical workers in private industry in the United States in 2000; there were over 5 million females and only slightly over 1 million males. This is no doubt a stereotype, the female secretary or clerical workers, but according to these statistics this stereotype seems to hold true. What reasons are there that so many more females are attracted to, or rather hold, secretarial jobs? There are many. On the flip side, however, there were six times as many male craft workers (skilled labor) than there were female craft workers in 2000. Perhaps females are not attracted to the demanding physical labor of such jobs, much the way males do not like clerical tasks. Historically, males have been overwhelmingly dominant in the field of physical labor. When some women were forced to work in factories for personal financial reasons, they were often despised and treated unequally. This, I am sure, led many females to be extremely not attracted to such professions. Likewise, females have always dominant as office secretaries and the like. Back when women first entered the labor force, these were often the only types of jobs available so they took them. Today, women still flock to these clerical jobs.

Looking at more specific job fields, these same general observations seem to hold true. In the field of **engineering and management services, male office officials and managers greatly outweigh female managers**. There are more than twice as many male technicians as female technicians, and over 12 times as many male skilled laborers than female skilled laborers. However, the number of female clerical workers is more than four times that of male clerical workers. Even male operatives (semiskilled workers) outnumber by three times the number of female operatives. These numbers show overwhelmingly that the technical aspect of engineering is enjoyed more by males, while the women are still confined to the office. In the field of legal services, females outnumber males by a 1.7:1 ration. Nearly two thirds of all females in this profession, however, are in fact office and clerical workers. Male professionals outnumber female professionals by a wide margin, and the trend shown in the general population holds true here, too. In the field of computers and office equipment, twice as many males as females hold jobs in this area. As usual, the number of female clerical workers greatly outweighs the number of male clerical workers. It comes as no surprise that, in the field of computers, male professionals, technicians, and skilled laborers greatly outweighs the number of female workers in these areas. The same trends can be seen in other areas such as communications. One profession bucking this trend, however, can be found in hospitals. Women hospital employees outnumber male hospital employees by more than a 3:1 margin. Additionally, the number of female officials and managers, professionals, and technicians outweigh the numbers for the males, not just in raw numbers but also in terms of percentages. Males, however, still comprise the vast majority of skilled laborers in this area. It is nice to see, however, an area that goes against the general trend.

Even though women seem to be dominant in a few fields of work and very scattered throughout many others, this is a change from a couple generations ago when most women were not even in the labor force. For women, this fact is definitely a step in the positive direction. Most women now hold jobs in the workplace, and are sustaining them for longer amounts of time than ever before. The next step is for women to immerse themselves in all fields of the labor force, rather than just concentrating on a selective few. This brings responsibility to males, too, to allow for women to reach the upper echelons of the labor force. In a labor force that has been historically dominated by

males, this proves to be an intriguing situation over the next decade as more and more women aspire to the officials and managers that they are not today.

*4.9 Labor Force Participation in Ethiopia (*Based on the 2005 National Labour Force Survey)

4.9.1 The Economically Active Population

This section presents the size of the economically active and non-active population as measured based on usual and current status approaches. Economic activity rate, which is also called the participation rate of a population, is also presented along with the size of economically active population. The economic activity rates are good indicator about the economic condition of an area at a given period of time. The rate is computed as the percentage of the economically active population over the total of the active and the inactive population.

Usual Status Approach

The size of the active and non-active population during both the last twelve months (usual status approach) and the last seven days (current status approach) along with the corresponding activity rates are presented in Summary Table 4.1-4.2. Accordingly, the size of the active population of the country in the usual status approach showed 32,158,392. The data, thus, resulted in an activity rate of 78.4 percent. With regard to the difference by sex, the activity rate of males is found to be higher (86.1 percent) than their female counterparts (71.2 percent).

The usual activity rate is also broken down by some background variables (see Summary Table 4.1). The activity rate by place of residence shows noticeable difference between rural and urban areas (82.6 percent in rural compared to that of 57.7 percent in urban areas). The usual activity rates for the literate and illiterate populations were 72.1 and 82.2 percent, respectively. The literate showed lower activity rate than the illiterate because part of the former group might be students who stay in school and cannot be engaged or furnish their labour for production of goods and services. As can be seen from the table, at country level, non-migrants seem to have higher activity rates (79.4 percent) than the migrants (65.2 percent). Looking the activity rates of regions in the last twelve months, the highest was reported for Amhara region (81.5 percent), while Gambella Region has shown the least participation rate (44.3 percent) compared to other regions. In all regions, economic participation rate of the males is higher than that of the females. The difference in activity rate between males and female is highest in Affar Region.

Current Status Approach

According to this survey, the total labour force of the country as measured using current status approach is estimated to be 33,069,793. This gives an activity rate of 80.7 percent. As in the case of usual approach, economic participation rate of the males is higher (86.8 percent) than that of the females (74.9 percent).

Regarding the relationship between broad age group and activity rate, studies depict a curvilinear association. That is, low participation rate at lower age groups (10-19 years) and old age group (65 and over) and high participation rate in the productive age group (25-64 years). Higher proportion of male than females tends to join the labor force at all age groups. The higher involvement of females in the housekeeping activities, which is considered to be non-productive, may be accountable for the lesser activity rates among them.

4.9.2   Level and Distribution of Unemployment

The survey result reveals that in March 2005 there were 1,653,685 unemployed persons, out of whom males were 427,915 and females were 1,225,770. This means that the rate of unemployment in the current status approach for urban areas of the country is 20.6 percent.
Unemployment rate for rural areas is only 2.6 percent. Unemployment rate for the male and female are 13.7 and 27.2 percent, respectively. This indicates unemployment is more of a problem for females than males.

Unemployment rate by age group is relatively found to be higher for the age groups 15-49 years, ranging from 1.8 percent to 7.7 percent. The youth population aged 15-24 years recorded the highest unemployment rate (7.7 percent) during the reference period. The rates for females are higher than that of males at all age groups.

According to the data in the Summary Table 6.1, the overall unemployment rate for literate persons (7.8 percent) is higher than that of illiterate (3.5 percent). Among the literate group, the rate of unemployment was relatively higher among those who completed general education (28.8 percent) closely followed by those who do not completed general education (23.2 percent). The above phenomenon is more pronounced among the females than males. The incidence of unemployment was relatively lower for those with non-formal education (2.9 percent) and holders of Grade 1-8 (5.9 percent).

Many statistics show that the size of economically active and unemployed population of regions in the 2005 NLFS. The result depicts that unemployment rate is highest in Addis Ababa City Administration (31.2 percent) followed by Gambella Region (25.6 percent) and Dire Dawa Administrative Council (23.9 percent) Whereas the unemployment rate for SNNP, Amhara and Oromia regions are found to be lowest.
The highest discrepancy between female unemployment rate (22.8 and 18.0 percentage point) are observed in Gambella and Dire Dawa Administrative Council.

In 1994 Population and Housing Census, the urban unemployment rate was 22 percent and then increased to 26.4 percent in 1999 (CSA, 1997, 2000). The unemployment rate as registered in the Urban Biannual Employment and Unemployment surveys of October 2003 and April 2004 were 26.2 percent and 22.9 percent, respectively. In the March 2005 NLFS survey, the rate has declined to 20.6 percent. Decline in unemployment could occur either due to creation of jobs or shift from unemployment to inactive status.

Chapter Four

Sociology of Industry

4.10 Industrialization and the Industrial Process

What is industrialization?

- A process that transforms agrarian and handicraft-centered economies into economies distinguished by industry and machine manufacture
- The change in social and economic organization resulting from the replacement of hand tools by machine and power tools and the development of large-scale industrial production: applied to this development in England from about 1760 and to later changes in other countries
- the major technological, socioeconomic and cultural change in the late 18th and early 19th century that began in Britain and spread throughout the world
- A massive increase in production, and related acceleration of transportation, communication and sales capacities. The heart of this increase was new technology, particularly technology based on coal or waterpower instead of human or animal power.

4.10.2 Industrial Revolution

Industrial revolution is widespread replacement of manual labor by machines that began in Britain in the 18th century. The Industrial Revolution was the result of many fundamental, interrelated changes that transformed agricultural economies into industrial ones. The most immediate changes were **in the nature of production**: **what was produced, as well as where and how.** Goods that had traditionally been made in the home or in small workshops began to be manufactured in the factory. Productivity and technical efficiency grew dramatically, in part through the systematic application of scientific and practical knowledge to the manufacturing process. Efficiency was also enhanced when large groups of business enterprises were located within a limited area. The Industrial Revolution led to the growth of cities as people moved from rural areas into urban communities in search of work.

The changes brought by the Industrial Revolution overturned not only traditional economies, but also whole societies. Economic changes caused far-reaching social changes, **including the movement of people to cities, the availability of a greater variety of material goods, and new ways of doing business.**

The Industrial Revolution began in Great Britain during the last half of the 18th century and spread through regions of Europe and to the United States during the following century. In the 20th century industrialization on a wide scale extended to parts of Asia and the Pacific Rim. Today mechanized production and modern economic growth continue to spread to new areas of the world, and much of humankind has yet to experience the changes typical of the Industrial Revolution.

The Industrial Revolution is called a revolution **because it changed society both significantly and rapidly.** Over the course of human history, there has been only one other group of changes as significant as the Industrial Revolution. This is what is called **the Neolithic Revolution**, which took place in the later part of the Stone Age. In the Neolithic Revolution, people moved from social systems based on hunting and gathering to much more complex communities that depended on agriculture and the domestication of animals. This led to the rise of permanent settlements and, eventually, urban civilizations. The Industrial Revolution brought a shift from the agricultural societies created during the Neolithic Revolution to modern industrial societies.

The social changes brought about by the Industrial Revolution were significant. As economic activities in many communities moved from agriculture to manufacturing, production shifted from its traditional locations in the home and the small workshop to factories. Large portions of the population relocated from the countryside to the towns and cities where manufacturing centers were found. The overall amount of goods and services produced expanded dramatically, and the proportion of capital invested per worker grew. New groups of investors, businesspeople, and managers took financial risks and reaped great rewards.

4.10.3 Preconditions for Industrialization

The industrial revolution depended on the coming together of a range of basics in addition to **capital - resources, manpower, food, entrepreneurs, markets, and ideological support**. Capital alone was not enough, but it was the key factor. It was needed in particular to exploit the resources - the raw materials and energy - without which industrial development could not take place. And it was needed also to support a workforce paid in cash, not kind; to invest in food production to feed and maintain that workforce; and to develop and maintain an infrastructure of transport and communications, and of educational and, more gradually, welfare systems. Entrepreneurs also played a vital role: the ability to recognize the possibilities of industrial development, to organize the resources and manpower, and, perhaps above all, to risk the necessary capital, was crucial. Similarly, the prevailing ideology and the political structures needed to be supportive by being open to innovation and change, at best encouraging, at worst not obstructive. Last and by no means least, markets needed to be developed and expanded, both at home and overseas.

4.10.3.1 Why Britain?

The Industrial Revolution began in Great Britain because **social, political, and legal conditions there were particularly favorable to change.** Property rights, such as those for patents on mechanical improvements, were well established. More importantly, the predictable, stable rule of law in Britain meant that monarchs and aristocrats were less likely to arbitrarily seize earnings or impose taxes than they were in many other countries. As a result, earnings were safer, and ambitious businesspeople could gain wealth, social prestige, and power more easily than could people on the European continent. These factors encouraged risk taking and investment in new business ventures, both crucial to economic growths.

In addition, Great Britain's government pursued a relatively hands-off economic policy. This free-market approach was made popular through Scottish philosopher and economist Adam Smith and his book The Wealth of Nations (1776). The hands-off policy permitted fresh methods and ideas to flourish with little interference or regulation.

Britain's nurturing social and political setting encouraged the changes that began in a few trades to spread to others. Gradually the new ways of production transformed more and more parts of the British economy, although older methods continued in many industries. Several industries played key roles in Britain's industrialization. Iron and steel manufacture, the production of steam engines, and textiles were all powerful influences, as was the rise of a machine-building sector able to spread mechanization to other parts of the economy.

4.10.4 Some Consequences

The Industrial Revolution had considerable impact upon the nature of work. It significantly changed the daily lives of ordinary men, women, and children in the regions where it took root and grew.

4.10.4.1 Growth of Cities

One of the most obvious changes to people's lives was that more people moved into the urban areas where factories were located. Many of the agricultural laborers who left villages were forced to move. Beginning in the early 18th century, more people in rural areas were competing for fewer jobs. The rural population had risen sharply as new sources of food became available, and death rates declined due to fewer plagues and wars. At the same time, many small farms disappeared. This was partly because new enclosure laws required farmers to put fences or hedges around their fields to prevent common grazing on the land. Some small farmers who could not afford to enclose their fields had to sell out to larger landholders and search for work elsewhere. These factors combined to provide a ready work force for the new industries.

New manufacturing towns and cities grew dramatically. Many of these cities were close to the coalfields that supplied fuel to the factories. Factories had to be close to sources of power because power could not be distributed very far. In preindustrial England, more than three-quarters of the population lived in small villages. By the mid-19th century, however, the country had made history by becoming the first nation with half its population in cities. By 1850 millions of British people lived in crowded, grim industrial cities.

4.10.4.2 Effects on Labor

The movement of people away from agriculture and into industrial cities brought great stresses to many people in the labor force. Women in households who had earned income from spinning found the new factories taking away their source of income. Traditional handloom weavers could no longer compete with the mechanized production of cloth. Skilled laborers sometimes lost their jobs as new machines replaced them.

In the factories, people had to work long hours under harsh conditions, often with few rewards. Factory owners and managers paid the minimum amount necessary for a work force, often recruiting women and children to tend the machines because they could be hired for very low wages. The nature of work changed as a result of division of labor, an idea important to the Industrial Revolution that called for dividing the production process into basic, individual tasks. Each worker would then perform one task, rather than a single worker doing the entire job. Such division of labor greatly improved productivity, but many of the simplified factory jobs were repetitive and boring. Workers also had to labor for many hours, often more than 12 hours a day, sometimes more than 14, and people worked six days a week. Factory workers faced strict rules and close supervision by managers and overseers. The clock ruled life in the mills.

By about the 1820s, income levels for most workers began to improve, and people adjusted to the different circumstances and conditions. By that time, Britain had changed forever. The economy was expanding at a rate that was more than twice the pace at which it had grown before the Industrial Revolution. Although vast differences existed between the rich and the poor, most of the population enjoyed some of the fruits of economic growth. The widespread poverty and constant threat of mass starvation that had haunted the preindustrial age lessened in industrial Britain. Although the overall health and material conditions of the populace clearly improved, critics continued to point to urban crowding and the harsh working conditions for many in the mills.

4.11 Industrial Development in Africa: A Brief Introduction

The performance of Africa's industrial sector, in terms of growth and structural change, has been poor relative to other regions. Between 1980 and 1986, manufacturing value added **(MVA)** growth

in SSA averaged 0.3 per cent, compared to 5.9 per cent in all developing countries and 7.7 per cent per annum in Southeast Asia (Riddell, 1990, pp. 10-15). The rate of growth of manufacturing value added in Africa has decelerated, from 5.1 per cent during 1975-85 to 3.5 per cent during 1985-90, while Southeast Asia enjoyed growth rates of 7.7 per cent and 8.8 per cent in the same periods (UNIDO, 1993). In terms of structural change, industry in SSA has remained more dominated by traditional and technologically simple consumer goods industries than industry in other regions.

A similar state-led developing programme was pursued in virtually all the Third World countries during the Cold War, including the socialist ones, but especially in Sub-Saharan Africa after the decolonisation period. The primary scope of those projects was to achieve self-sufficiency through the local production of previously imported goods, the mechanisation of agriculture and the spread of education and health care. However, all those experiences failed bitterly due to lack of realism: most countries didn't have a pre-industrial bourgeoisie able to carry on a capitalistic development or even a stable and peaceful state. Those aborted experiences left huge debts toward western countries and fueled public corruption.

4.12 Industrial Development in Ethiopia: A Brief Introduction

4.12.2.1   Industrial Development Policy
The manufacturing industry in Ethiopia has been characterized by a low-level development. Manufacturing includes small-scale industries and handicrafts, which accounts for about 14% of the total GDP. With respect to employment, both contribute about 3% of the country's total employment in 1996. The sector is characterized by the production of consumption goods such as food, textile and beverages. This sector account for more than 50% of gross value productions an value added. On the other hand, the basic metal and engineering industries, which are commonly called industrializing industries are characterized by a low level of development.

To enhance development, the government of Ethiopia issued a new economic policy in November 1991, which is aimed at reorienting the economy along the path of the free market.

Ethiopia's industrial development is based on overall development strategy of the country that is Agricultural Led Industrialization (ADLI), which aims at achieving an optimum utilization of the country's resource endowment such as human and material resources. The strategy is argued to harmonize two industrial variants, i.e. import substitution industrialization (I.S.I) and export oriented industrialization (E.O.I). In other words ADLI emphasizes on a gradual shift from I.S.I to E.O.I based on the promotion of agro-processing industries.

Some of the major objectives of ADLI listed in its documents are to:
1. Bring about a structural shift in the economy in favor of industry
2. Promote inter-and intra-sectional linkages
3. Develop domestic technology capability for the production,
4. Create a sound base for the transfer, adaptation and development of technology ,
5. Develop and achieve international competitiveness in the areas of clear comparative advantages in industrial exports ,
6. Promote the use of labor-intensive technology and of local resources ,
7. Promote a balanced regional development,

4.12.2.2   Industrial Development Strategy

To achieve the above objectives, an industrial strategy has been formulated. Its major elements are as follows:

1. Create and develop appropriate institutions to promote industrialization.

a) Promote an efficient utilization of existing support institutions and encourage their expansion and development in both public and private sectors.
b) Establish extension services to promote Small and Medium Industries (SMIS) and rural industries as well as informal and micro-enterprises in the various regions of the country expand and upgrade them a basis continues.
c) Encourage private investors; promote cooperation between private and public activities and the mobilization of resources for industrial development.

2. Create a favorable environment for industrial development.

a) Support the development of Small and medium i9ndustries and local private capital
b) Promote a diversified industrial structure

3. Promote inter-and intra-sectional linkages

a) Utilize various policy instruments and incentive systems to promote inter and sectoral linkages, utilize labor-intensive technologies and local sources.
b) Promote development of basic industries with multiplier effects,
    - Establishing an appropriate institutional framework;
    - Encouraging private investment, both domestic and foreign and
    - Encouraging public investment where private-sector investments prove inadequate to over bottlenecks.
c) Encourage the development of agro-industries through the utilization of various policy instruments and incentive system.
d) Promote the exploration and exploitation of industrial resources.

4. Create an appropriate financial environment

a) Encourage to establishment of financial institutions that can address the needs of rural cottage industries, informal and micro-enterprises in different regions.
b) Encourage the development of informal financial institutions for participation in investment activities.

5. Promote a balanced regional industrial development

a) Expand infrastructure services for the development of industry
b) Create public awareness in the various regions regarding the need for industrial development
c) Utilize various policy measures and incentive systems to promote resource-based SMI in all regions.

6. Establish a close coordination between industry and other sectors of the economy, especially agriculture and mining:

a) Introduce various incentives mechanisms for the production of industrial raw materials
b) Promote private-sector investment in agriculture and mining to be complemented by public sector investment where the private sector is inadequate

c) Assist and enhance the development of all forms of infrastructure.

7. Develop infrastructure

a) Improve the efficiency of existing infrastructure facilities
b) Under take extensive public investment for the development of roads, energy, communications and water supply
c) Promote the development of basic rural infrastructure through community participation in all regions to complement public investment
d) Encourage the production of materials necessary for the development of the infrastructure

8. Promote industrial exports.

a) Effectively utilize existing industrial export potentials and diversify industrial exports
b) Introduce various policy instruments and incentive systems to maximize foreign exchange earnings
c) Ensure an internationally competitive industrial sector, especially in areas of comparative advantage in the long run.
d) Create a favorable environment for the development of industrial export

9. Develop a national technological capability by enhancing the development of transfer of technology and appropriate information in research and development system.

a) Strengthen national capability for the transfe5r and adaptation of technology and promote the diffusion and development of technology.
b) Promote and coordinate research and development (R&D) activates between vocational and high-level technical training institutions
c) Promote technological adaptation and innovation by introducing appropriate legal and incentive mechanisms.

4.13 Industrial Relations

Industrial relations basically refer to the activities and institutions associated with the relation ship between managers, employers and a group of collectivity organizes workers or employees. In its broadest sense, the study of industrial relations focuses on the relation ship between workers and their organization; employees and organization as well as state institution concerned with labor and

industrial relations. There fore, issues of cooperation and conflict; control and resistance; accommodation and adjustment are the central focus of industrial relations or analyses.

1. understanding conflict and cooperation; analytical frameworks in industrial sociology
2. adjustment, defense and resistance
3. the mobilization of interests and institution in industrial relations

5.1. Understanding conflict and cooperation; analytical framework in industrial sociology

We can identify three major analytical frameworks in the study of industrial relations of cooperation and conflict

1. the unitary framework

This perspective is based on a number of assumptions, arguments about the nature of industrial relations:

A, it assumes fundamentally common interests between all groups operating in the work place or in the organization. In other words, the employing organization is seen as being based on the community of interests.

B, it assumes that the management is the best qualified to decide upon how those common interests have to be defined and pursued.

Generally, there is an implicit assumption that opposition or challenge by employee is viewed as a kind of an irrational tendency and industrial collective action on part of employees viewed as generally misguided and perhaps the out come of agitation by the so-called trouble makers or politically motivated individuals. Such a perspective is popular among officials, politician and employers. It provided an important mechanism of de-legitimizing workers oppositions and challenges suggesting that such activities by workers are the outcome of the sectoral greed or some kind of subversive political action.

Limitation of the unitary framework approach

The fundamental problem in the unitary perspective is that it tries to understand industrial relations and work organizations on the assumption that there are no fundamental difference and conflict of interests between employers and employees managers and workers, producers and consumers. It is simply a crude kind of simplistic conceptualization of work organizations.

2. the pluralist perspective

This perspective first and foremost recognizes the existence of different and

4.13.2 Labour Unions

Labor unions are association of workers that seeks to improve the economic and social well-being of its members through group action. A labor union represents its members in negotiations with an employer over all aspects of an employment contract, including wages and working conditions. These contract negotiations are known as collective bargaining. By giving workers a united voice, a union can often negotiate higher wages, shorter hours, and better fringe benefits (such as insurance and pension plans) than individual workers can negotiate on their own.

4.13.2.1   The development of unions

Industrial conflict between workers and employers in the first half of the nineteenth century was frequently only semi—organized. Where there was confrontation, workers would quite often leave their places of employment and form crowds in the streets; they would make their grievances known through their unruly behavior or by engaging in violence against the authorities. Workers in

some parts of France in the late nineteenth century retained the practice of threatening disliked employers with hanging! The use of the strike, which is now associated with organized bargaining between workers and management, developed slowly and sporadically. The Combination Acts passed in Britain in 1799 and 1800 made the meeting of organized workers' groups illegal, and banned popular demonstrations. The Acts were repealed some twenty years later, when it became apparent that stimulated more public disturbances than they suppressed. Membership of trade unions grew and trade unionism soon became a mass movements. Union activity was legalized in the last quarter of the nineteen century, after which membership increased to cover 60 per cent of manual workers in Britain by 1920.

At the turn of the century, there was little direct connection between the existence of unions and the tendency to strike. Most early strikes were spontaneous, in the sense that they were not called by any organizations of workers. A report of the US Commissioner of Labor in 1907 showed that about half of all the strikes at the time were not initiated by by unions (Ross 1954). Much the same was probably true for Britain. This situation had changed by the end of World War One, since when the proportion of strikes occurring among non-unionized workers has become small.

The development of the union movement has varied considerably between countries, as has the influence of the unions over workers, employers and government. In Britain and the Unite States unions have been established for longer than in most European states. The German unions, for example, were largely destroy by Nazis in the 1930s, and set up afresh after World War Two, where as main development of the French union movement did not start until the 1930s, when the freedom to organize unions and negotiate collective labour contracts was formally recognized.

4.13.2.2 Why do unions exist?

Although their levels of membership and the extent of their power vary widely, union organizations exist in all Western countries and many other countries. Countries legally recognize the right of workers to strike in pursuit of economic objectives. Why have unions become basic features of modern societies? Why does union—management conflict seem to be a more or less ever-present feature of industrial settings?

Some have proposed that unions are effectively a version of guilds — associations of people working in the same trade—reassembled in the context of modern industry. This interpretation might help us understand why unions often emerged first among craft workers but does not explain why they have been so consistently associated with wage bargaining and industrial conflict. A more sound explanation must look to the fact that unions developed to protect the material interests of workers in industrial settings which bring them together, creating solidarity, but in which they hold very little formal power.

In the early development of modern industry, workers in most countries were without political rights and had little influence over the conditions of work in which they found themselves. Unions developed in the first instance as means of redressing the imbalance of power between workers and employers. Whereas workers had little power as individuals, through collective organization their influence was considerably increased. An employer can do without the labour of any particular worker, but not without that of all or most of the workers in a plant. Unions were originally mainly

'defensive' organizations, providing the means whereby workers could counter the overwhelming power over their lives which employers enjoyed.

4.13.2.3 Recent developments

Unions themselves, of course, have altered over the years. Some have become very large and, as permanent organizations, have become bureaucratized. Unions are staffed by full-time officials, who may themselves have little direct experience of the conditions under which members work. The activities and views of union leaders can thus be quite distant from those of the members they represent. Shop-groups sometimes find themselves in conflict with the strategies of their own unions. Most unions have not been successful in recruiting a high level of women workers. Although some have initiated campaigns to increase their female membership, many have in the past discouraged women from joining.

In current times, unions in Western countries are facing a threat from connected sets of changes: high levels of unemployment, which weakens the unions' bargaining position; the decline of the older manufacturing industries, in which the union presence has traditionally been strong;   and the increasing intensity of international competition, particularly from Asian countries, where wages are often lower than in the in the United States; and several European countries, including, France, Germany and Denmark, rightist governments came to power in the 1970s and 1980s, mostly determined to limit what they thought as excessive union influence in industry.

In the United States, the unions face a crisis of even greater dimensions their counterparts in most European countries. Union-protected conditions and wages have been eroded in several major industries over the past fifteen years. Workers in the road transport, steel and car industries have all accepted lower wages than those previously negotiated. The unions came out second-best in several major strikes.

Decline in union membership and influence is something of a general phenomenon in the industrialized countries, and is not to be explained wholly in terms of political pressure applied by rightist government against the unions. Unions usually become weakened during periods when unemployment is high, as has been the case for a considerable time in many Western countries. Trends towards more flexible production tend to diminish the force of unionism, which flourishes more extensively where there are many people working together in large factories

4.13.2.4 Labor Unions in Ethiopia: *A Historical Perspective*

The 1955 constitution guaranteed the right to form workers' associations. However, it was not until 1962 that the Ethiopian government issued the Labor Relations Decree, which authorized trade unions. In April 1963, the imperial authorities recognized the Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions (CELU), which represented twenty-two industrial labor groups. By 1973 CELU had 167 affiliates with approximately 80,000 members, which represented only about 30 percent of all eligible workers.

CELU never evolved into a national federation of unions. Instead, it remained an association of labor groups organized at the local level. The absence of a national constituency, coupled with other problems such as corruption, embezzlement, election fraud, ethnic and regional discrimination, and inadequate finances, prevented CELU from challenging the status quo in the industrial sector. Nevertheless, CELU sponsored several labor protests and strikes during the first decade of its existence. After 1972 CELU became more militant as drought and famine caused the death of up to

200,000 people. The government responded by using force to crush labor protests, strikes, and demonstrations.

Although many of its members supported the overthrow of Haile Selassie, CELU was the first labor organization to reject the military junta and to demand the creation of a people's government. On May 19, 1975, the Derg temporarily closed CELU headquarters on the grounds that the union needed to be reorganized. Furthermore, the military authorities asserted that workers should elect their future leaders according to the aims and objectives of Ethiopian socialism. This order did not rescind traditional workers' rights, such as the right to organize freely, to strike, and to bargain collectively over wages and working conditions. Rather, it sought to control the political activities of the CELU leadership. As expected, CELU rejected these actions and continued to demand democratic changes and civilian rights. In January 1977, the Derg replaced CELU (abolished December 1975) with the All-Ethiopia Trade Union (AETU). The AETU had 1,341 local chapters, known as workers' associations, with a total membership of 287,000. The new union thus was twice as large as CELU had ever been. The government maintained that the AETU's purpose was to educate workers about the need to contribute their share to national development by increasing productivity and building socialism.

In l978 the government replaced the AETU executive committee after charging it with political sabotage, abuse of authority, and failure to abide by the rules of democratic centralism. In l982 a further restructuring of the AETU occurred when Addis Ababa issued the Trade Unions' Organization Proclamation. An uncompromising MarxistLeninist document, this proclamation emphasized the need "to enable workers to discharge their historical responsibility in building the national economy by handling with care the instruments of production as their produce, and by enhancing the production and proper distribution of goods and services." A series of meetings and elections culminated in a national congress in June l982, at which the government replaced the leadership of the AETU. In l986 the government relabeled the AETU the Ethiopia Trade Union (ETU).

In l983/84 the AETU claimed a membership of 3l3, 434. The organization included nine industrial groups, the largest of which was manufacturing, which had accounted for 29.2 percent of the membership in l982/83, followed by agriculture, forestry, and fishing with 26.6 percent, services with l5.l percent, transportation with 8.l percent, construction with 8.0 percent, trade with 6.2 percent, utilities with 3.7 percent, finance with 2.4 percent, and mining with 0.7 percent. A total of 35.6 percent of the members lived in Addis Ababa and another l8.0 percent in Shewa. Eritrea and Tigray accounted for no more than 7.5 percent of the total membership. By the late 1980s, the AETU had failed to regain the activist reputation its predecessors had won in the 1970s. According to one observer, this political quiescence probably indicated that the government had successfully co-opted the trade unions.

4.13.3 Industrial Conflicts

4.13.3.1   Strikes
What is a strike? The answer is by no means obvious or easy to formulate. For example, can we distinguish between a strike and a short stoppage of work? In the strike statistics of many countries an attempt made to do so, by only counting as strikes stoppages lasting more   than a specific time (like half a day), or where more than a certain number workers are involved.

On the whole it seems preferable to define 'strike' in a reasonably narrow sense, or else the term loses all precision. We can define a strike as **a temporary stoppage of work by a group of employees in order express a grievance or enforce a demand** (Hyman 1984). All the components of this definition are important in separating strikes from other forms of opposition and conflict. A strike is *temporary*, since workers intend to return to the same job with the same employer; where workers quit altogether, the term is not appropriate. As *a stoppage of work*, strike is distinguishable from an overtime ban or 'going slow'. A *group* of workers has to be involved, because a strike refers to a collective action, not the response of one individual worker. The fact that those acted against are *employers* serves to separate strikes from protests such may be conducted by tenants or students. Finally, a strike involves seeking to make known a grievance or press a demand; workers who are absent solely to attend a sports event cannot be said to be on strike.

### 4.13.3.2	Lockouts

Strikes represent only one aspect or type of conflict in which workers and management may become involved. Other closely related expressions of organized conflict are *lock-outs*. Lockout is shutting down, as of an industrial plant, and withdrawal of employment from a body of workers who refuse to accede to the employer's conditions. The lockout is to be distinguished from the strike on the ground that in the lockout it is the employer who directly causes the stoppage of operations, and in the strike the initiative lies with the employees. The lockout may not be used by an employer to defeat the employees' right to join a union or to abrogate the employer's duty to bargain collectively in good faith.

Other manifestations of industrial conflict include *output restrictions*, clashes in contract negotiation, and other less organized expressions of conflict such as high labour turnover, absenteeism and interference with production machinery.

Chapter Five: **Sociology of Organization**

Introduction

Organizations are important entities in the lives of people. Most societies are organizational societies. Organizational sophistication varies from society to society. In contrast to earlier societies modern societies has placed a high moral value on rationality, effectiveness and rationality.

Modern society depends largely on organization as the most rational and efficient form of social grouping. By coordinating a large number of human actions, the organization creates a powerful tool. It combines its personnel with its resources, mixing together leaders, experts, workers, machines and raw materials. At the same time it continuously evaluates how it is performing its tasks and tries to adjust it self accordingly in order to achieve its goals. No matter how simple or complex they are, organizations can not exist without humans. Organizations and humans are interdependent.

1.1 Definition:

Various writers have forwarded definitions of organizations at different times. The following are some of them:

David Sills 1962): *"an organization consists of a number of people, formally joined together and usually assigned specific functions for the purpose of achieving a stated goal."*(In this definition people, formal organization, Specific function, stated goal are the main components.)

Herbert Hicks and C.Ray Gullet: *"An organization is a structured process in which people interact for objectives. These individuals have an impact upon the decision making process with in the organization."*

Arthur G.Bedeian: "when *we speak of organizations we refer to a consciously coordinated and deliberately structured social entity composed of sets of persons with established patterns of interaction possessing relatively identifiable boundaries and existing on a relatively continuous basis, having been developed to achieve a specific goal or goals."*

All organizations created by humans are essentially social in character. An organization is thus a social system, a set of components which relates in the accomplishment of some purposes.

When we refer to an organizations as a social system we refer to the interactions with the environment in which they are located, and their activities carried out to achieve specific goals.

- o Inputs- when creating organization things to consider include inputs-location, facilities, etc. organizations being systems require inputs from the environment. They have close relationships with their environment and are usually located near their inputs.

- o The human and non-human resources that have entered the organization are combined and acted upon before they become outputs.

- o The output goes back to the environment where it is distributed beyond the local environment.

Organizations are divided in to formal; and informal

1. Formal organizations: generally refers to the organizational pattern designed by management, the blueprint of a clearly defined division of labor with a highly specialized personnel and a distinct hierarchy of authority.

2. Informal organization: refers to the social relations that develop among the staff or workers above and beyond the formal one determined by the organizations. It also refers to the actual organizational relations that evolved as a result of the interaction between the organizational designs and the pressures of interpersonal relations among the participants.

1.2   Characteristics and Attributes of organizations

Organizations are generally accepted as social units or human groupings, which are deliberately constructed and reconstructed to seek specific goals. Organizations are regarded as instruments or means of attaining specific goals.

By nature, an organization is simply an instrument which integrates and structures material and human resources and direct those towards the goal desired to be achieved. Examples include: churches, hospitals, businesses and industrial firms, educational institutions, military institutions, prisons, political parties, labor unions etc.

Organizations have three major attributes

1. *Division of labor, power and communication responsibilities.*

2. *The presence of one or more power centers which control the coordinated efforts of the organization and direct them towards its goals*. These power enters also continuously review the organizations performance and repattern its structure whenever necessary so as to increase its efficiency.

3. *Substitution of personnel*: unsatisfactory persons can be removed and others assigned their tasks. The organization can also recombine its personnel through transfer and promotion. Organizations are much more in control of their destiny than any other social grouping.

1.3 common features of organizations:

1. *formality* – all organizations are supposed to have a clearly formulated set of goals, policies, procedures, rules and regulations that define appropriate behavior for its members.

2. *hierarchy*- refers to arranging things in terms of their importance or authority. Organizations are arranged in a pyramidal form which clearly defines the authority of the people at all their levels.

3. *size/complexity*- the number of people that an organization employ determines the size and complexity of the organization. If an organization has a large number of employees, departments and sections it is said to be large as well as complex. It is usually the case that organizations employ large number of people there by creating an impersonal environment.

4. *duration*- there is no limited duration for the existence of organizations, they are established for an unknown period of time, with the exception of some which are established for a limited duration due to limited activities.

N.B after achieving the goal for which they are established, organizations may continue to achieve new goals, goals set up in the process of achieving the original goal.

1.4 The elements of organizations

1. Social structure*:* social structure refers to the patterned or regularized aspects of the relationship existing among participants in an organization. the social structure of any human grouping can be analytically separated in to three components:

   a. normative structure: this component includes values, norms and role expectations. briefly, values are the criteria employed in selecting the goals of behavior; norms are the generalized rules governing behavior that specify, in particular; appropriate means for pursuing goals; and roles are expectations for or evaluative standards employed in assessing the behavior of occupants of a specific social position. A social position is simply a location in a system of social relationship.

   b. Cultural –cognitive structure: the beliefs and understandings that participants share about the nature of their situation and interests. This symbolic order provides a framework- of schemas, models, recipes for action-that helps participants to interpret and collectively make sense of their world.

   c. The behavioral structure: this component focuses on actual behavior rather than on normative prescriptions or cognitive patterns guiding behavior. Homans's well-known classification of social behavior in to activities, interactions and sentiments suggests the types of elements that constitute the behavioral structure.

2. participants-social actors:

Organizational participants are those individuals who, in return for a variety of inducements, make contributions to the organization. All individuals participate in more than one organization(recall that, by definition, organizations are specialized in their purposes) and the extent and intensiveness of their involvement may vary greatly.
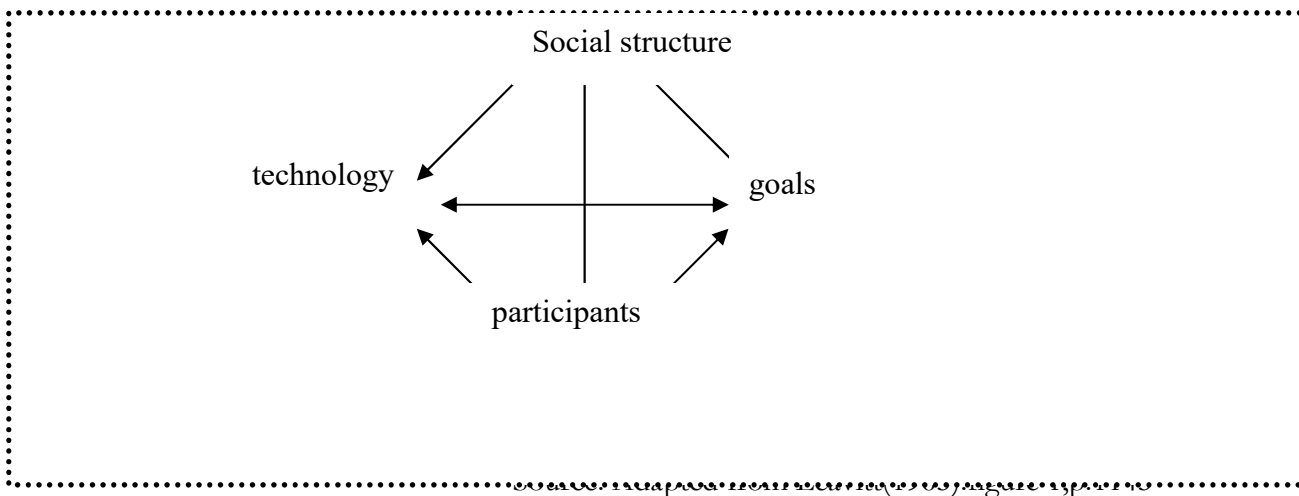
3. Goals:

For most analysts, goals constitute a central [point of reference in the study of organizations. Goals are tentatively defined as conceptions of desired ends-ends that participants attempt to achieve through their performance of task activities. So defined, goals clearly involve both cultural-cognitive and normative elements, but they are a sufficiently important aspect of organizations as to merit separate attention.

4. Technology: to focus on the technology of organization is to view the organization as a place where some type of work is done, as a location where energy is applied to the transformation of materials, as a mechanism for transforming inputs in to outputs. The technology of an organization is often partially embedded in machines and mechanical equipment but also comprises the technical knowledge and skills of participants.

5. environment: every organization exists in a specific physical, technological, cultural and social environment to which it must adapt. No organization is self- sufficient; all depend for survival on the types of relations they establish with the larger systems of which they are part.

Environment

4.2 perspectives *on organizations*

organizations as rational systems:

- from the rational system perspective, organizations are instruments designed to attain specific goals. How blunt or fine an instrument they are depends on many factors that are summarized by the concept of rationality of structure. The term rationality in this context is used in the narrow sense of technical or functional rationality (Mannheim, 1950.trans:53) and refers to the extent to which a series of actions is organized in such a way as to lead to predetermined goals with maximum efficiency. Thus, rationality refers not to the selection of goals but to their implementation.

From the standpoint of the rational system perspective, the behavior of organizations Is viewed as actions performed by purposeful and coordinated agents. The key features of organizations emphasized by rational system theorists are the very characteristics identified as distinguishing organizations from other types of collectivities. Rational system theorists stress goal specificity and formalization because each of the se elements makes an important contribution to the rationality of organizational action.

Formalization entails a system of abstraction that, to be of value, should be cognitively adequate-sufficiently accurate and complete to guide action-communicable-transmissible to and transparent to users-and contain an improvement trajectory that enables correction overtime.(stinchcombe,2001). Formalization may also be viewed as an attempt to make more explicit and visible the structure of relationships among a set of roles and the principles that govern behavior in the system. It enables participants or observers to diagram the social structures and the work flows, allowing them to depict these relationships and processed with the possibility of consciously manipulating them-designing and redesigning the division of responsibilities, the flow of information or materials, or the ways in which participants report to one another.

From the rational system perspective, structural arrangements with in organizations are conceived as tools deliberately designed to achieve the efficient realization of ends.

2.1.1 The classical approach

The classical approach is divided in to two: classical motivational theory & classical organizational theory

A. The classical motivational theory:

Taylor's scientific management:: The major contributor to the motivational theory was Frederick W. Taylor(1856-1917) Taylor was the founder of the movement known as scientific management. In his book entitled "scientific management" he states that the principal object of management should be to secure the maximum prosperity for the employer coupled with the maximum prosperity of each employee.

- the classical approach claimed that there is no conflict between man and organization.

- It viewed the organization from a highly managerial stand point.

- It assumed that what is good for the management is good for the workers.

- It argued that hard and efficient labor will in the end payoff for both groups by increasing the effectiveness of the organization.

Scientific management combines:

i) a study of the physical capabilities of a worker in time and motion studies.

ii) an economic approach viewing man as driven by the fear of hunger and the search for profit.

The four principles that Taylor outlined:

1. *to develop a science for each element of a man's work, which replaces the old rule-of-thumb method. This refers to scientifically investigating the amount of work to be done by a suitable worker under optimal conditions.*

2. *to scientifically select, train, teach and develop the workman. This ensures that the workman possesses the required physical and intellectual qualities.*

3. *management should constantly and intimately cooperate with the men so as to ensure that all the work is being done in accordance with the principles of the science which has been developed.*

   - Here Taylor refers supervision and not cooperation as such

4. *there is an almost equal division of work and responsibility between the management and the work men. The management took over all work for which they are better fitted than the workmen i.e. the specification and verification of the methods of the job and the continuous supervision of the worker doing it.*

   - Taylor thought that the management and the workers have different capabilities being biased towards the former.

Taylor's students known as human engineers, searched for the physical limits of human performance put in terms of loads, pace and fatigue. For example they studied how many hours and at what speed a worker could carry loads of 50 pounds. Fatigue was viewed exclusively as a muscular or physiological phenomenon. Efforts were made to find motions that were less fatiguing and therefore allowed the same human body to carry out more work with the same degree of fatigue in a given time limit. The following are some typical propositions of scientific management.

1. The two hands should begin and complete their motions simultaneously.

2. smooth, continuous motions of the hands are preferable to zigzag or straight line motions involving sudden and sharp changes in direction.

3. proper illumination increases productivity.

4. there should be a definite and fixed place for all, the tools and materials.

Payment, it was suggested should be made to the worker in close possible association with output. The principles of this system are:

A. payment should be on merit of importance and no other criteria

B. the time unit should be as small as possible. Monthly salaries are highly undesirable, wages paid by the hour are better, but the ideal situation is piecework wages in which payment is directly dependent on the actual amount of work accomplished.

B. classical organizational theory:

A classic illustration of the significance division of labor was given by Adam Smith, in his description of modern manufacturing of pins. Smith noted that a worker by himself might produce 20 pins a day. But by breaking down the task in to many simple operations, he stated that he had seen 10 workers produced 48,000 pins a day. the division of labor that smith first noted in 1776 become the basis of a theory of organizational efficiency over a hundred years later.

The classical approach rests firmly on the assumption that the more a particular job can be broken down in to its simplest component parts the more specialized and consequently the more skilled a worker can become in carrying out his part of the job. The more skilled the worker becomes in his particular job the more efficient the whole production system will be.

The division of labor has to be balanced by a unity of control. The tasks have to be broken up in to components by a central authority in line with a central plan of action the efforts of each work unit need to be supervised, and the various job efforts leading to the final product had to be coordinated. Since each supervisor has a limited number of subordinate he/she can effectively control, it is necessary to appoint a number of first line. Supervisors and following that second line supervision supervisors and so on up. The number of subordinates controlled by one superior defines high span of control resulting in a pyramid of control leading up to the top executive.

Most classical writers agree that work in the organization should be specialized according to the following four basic principles:

1. Specialization should be by purpose of the task worker who serves similar goals or sub-goals in the organization should be attached to the same organizational division.

2. All work based on a particular process should be moved together since it must share a special fund of knowledge and requires the use of similar skills or procedures.

3. Specialization should be according to type of clientele. All work directed to serve a specific group of clients has to be placed in one division.

4. Jobs performed in the same geographical area should be placed together. Different types of jobs may fall in the same division as long as they are carried out in the same place.

These principles have been severely criticized because they are difficult to apply to a specific organization; they are sometimes incompatible with one another and vague/unclear.

2.1.2 Fayol's administrative theory

- Henry Fayol (A French industrialist)

- Emphasized management functions and attempted to generate broad administrative principles that would serve as guidelines for the rationalization of organizational activities.

- Whereas the scientific management follows "bottom up" approach the administrative management theorists worked to rationalize the organization from the "top down".

There is considerable consensus on the importance of two types of activities among administrative management theorists these are: *coordination* and *specialization*

a. The major principles developed to guide coordination activities include:

1. *The scalar principle-* which emphasizes the hierarchical organizational form in which all participants are linked in to a single pyramidal structure of control relations.

2. *The unity-of –command principle* – specifying that no organizational participants should receive orders from more than one superior.

3. *The span-of-control principle -* which emphasizes that no superior should have more subordinates than can be effectively overseen.

4. *The exception principle -* which proposes that all routine matters be handled by subordinates leaving superiors free to deal with exceptional situations to which existing rules are inapplicable?

b. specialization issues include decisions both about how various activities are to be distributed among organizational positions and about how such positions can most effectively be grouped in to work units or departments. Among the principles espoused to guide these types of decisions are:

1.   The departmentalization principle - This maintains that activities should be grouped so as to combine homogeneous or related activities with in the same organizational unit. homogeneity might be based on *similarity of purpose* (activities contributing to the same sub goal for e.g. Marketing) process (activities requiring similar operations for e.g. Computer programming) clientele (activities performed on the same set of recipients – for example, a medical team organized around the care of a specific group of patients) or *place* (for example, services provided to individuals in a given geographical territory).

2.   The line-staff principle – in which "line" activities, those directly concerned with achieving organizational goals, are, distinguished from "staff" activities, consisting of advice, service, or support. Staff units are to be segregated from the scalar organization of power and made responsible and subordinate to appropriate line units.

We can observe the following which are implicit in the principles:

-   Heavy emphasis on formalization

-   Careful specification of work activities and concern for their grouping and coordination is the hallmark of the formalized structure.

Influential participants in this theory include: Mooney and Reiley, Gulick and Urwick

Organizations as natural systems

Whereas the rational system theorists conceive of organizations as collectivities deliberately constructed to seek specific goals, natural system advocates emphasize that organizations are first and foremost, collectivities. While the rational system perspective stresses those features of organizations that distinguish them from other types of social groups, the natural system theorists remind us that these distinguishing characteristics are not their only characteristics(Gouldner;1959:406). Indeed, they are not the most important characteristics. Rational system theorists emphasized much on goal specificity and formalization as characteristics differentiating organizations from other collectivities. Natural system theorists generally acknowledge the existence of these attributes, but argue that other characteristics -characteristics shared with all social groups-are of greater significance. Where as the rational model focuses on features of organizations that distinguish them from other social groupings, the natural system model emphasizes commonalities among organizations and other systems. The natural system theorists do not deny that organizations have distinctive features, but they argue that these are overshadowed by the more generic systems and processes shared by all social collectivities. thus, the

specific output goals of organizations are often undermined or distorted by energies devoted to the pursuit of system goals, chief among which is the concern to survive. The formal aspects of organizational structure that receive so much interest from the rational systems analysts are treated as faded backdrops for the "real" informal structures, imbuied with human frailties and agency. More generally, whereas the rational system model stresses the normative structure of organizations, the natural system model places great emphasis on the behavioral structure. And where the rational, system perspective stresses the importance of organizational structure over individuals interests and capabilities the natural system perspective reverses these priorities-so much so that Bennis labels this orientation as one portraying " people with out organizations

Most of the early theorists who shaped the natural system perspective embrace a functional model of analysis, although they vary considerably in hoe explicitly and how fully they pursue its development.

Both rational and natural system theorists tend to embrace a substantialist conception of organizations: organizations are viewed as things or entities(whether mechanistic or organic).

Natural and rational system theorists base their approach on differing assumptions about human nature; the interests that guide and the factors that motivate behavior in organizations. Natural system theorists posit a more expansive, social and motivationally complex actor than do rational system analysts. Also theorists from the two schools hold differing conceptions of the actual and the proper relation of individual participants to organizations. Rational system theorists argue that only a subset of behaviors of participants are relevant to the organization. natural system theorists expand the definition of organizationally relevant behavior to include a broader range of an individual's activities and attitudes. they do so on two grounds:

a. such behaviors have an impact on the task behavior of participants and hence are empirically relevant to an understanding of organizational behavior; and

b. organizations as social contexts affect the participants wellbeing a situation that has normative significance to any one concerned with bettering the human condition.

Many natural system theorists point to the dysfunctions arising from the partial inclusion of participants and argue, partly on moral grounds, that organizations should take more responsibility for the well-being of the "whole person"

Rational system theorists insist that rational-legal structures developed in part out of efforts to place limits on the demands superiors could make on their subordinates. The development of formal role definitions-definitions of the limits of a participant's obligations-was an important step in increasing and protecting the freedom of individual. Whether the organization's purview should incorporate more or fewer facets of the lives of its participants is a basic philosophical difference separating the two perspectives.

Further, the two approaches are characterized by quite divergent views of the fundamental nature of social systems. These differences are reflected in the contrasting imagery and metaphors employed by the two schools. For the mechanistic model of structure of rational system perspective, the natural system substitutes an organic model. Rational systems are designed, but natural systems evolve; the former develop by conscious design, the latter by natural growth; rational systems are characterized by calculation, natural systems by spontaneity.

2.2.1   The human relations approach

The human relations approach emerged as a reaction to the classical approach it focused on elements of the organization which the classical approach thought a very minor. The father of this school was Elton mayo (1880-1949). The research that he directed showed the importance of groups in affecting the behavior of individuals at work.

Mayo and his associates discovered that:

1. the amount of work carried out by workers and thereby the organizations level of efficiency is not determined by his physical capability but by his social capacity. Social capacity-the satisfaction workers are likely to get with in an organization

2. non-economic rewards play a central role in determining the motivation and happiness of the worker.

3. the highest specialization is by no means the most efficient form of division of labor

4. workers do not react to management and its norms and rewards as individuals but as members of groups.

This school above all emphasizes the role of communications, participation and leadership. These insights were documented by several experiments.

Physical versus social determinants of output:

The first of these studies was conducted at the western electric companies Hawthorne works in Chicago (1927-1932) these series of studies have come to be known as the hawthorn studies.

Prior to the entry of Mayo's team an inquiry had been made by a number of engineers, including Roethlisbergrer and Dickson in to the effect of illumination on the worker and his work. This was done to test the scientific management theory which predicated that better illumination would result in increased productivity. Two groups of works had been isolated and the lighting conditions for one group had been varied and for the other held constant. No significant differences input were found between the two,. Infact whatever was done to the lighting production grew in both groups.

As this point the research team directed by mayo took over. The first stage of their research is known as the replay assembly test room six female workers were segregated in order to observe the effect on output various changes in the conditions of work. During five years of various change were introduced and a continues record of output was kept. Following the research on illumination the investigators tested the effect of rest breaks on productions. Rest breaks of varying length and spacing shorter working hours. refreshments, altogether a total of ten different changes were introduced. Before putting the changes into effect, the investigators spent a lot of time discussing them with the workers. Communication between the workers and the research team was very full and open through out the experimental period. The rate of production should a fairly consistent and general increase. However it was not related to increases in the rest breaks, since at the end of the experiment when the longer fatiguing workday was resorted, production continued to be higher in the experimental group than the general factory rate. The explanation eventually given was that increased production was the result of the changes social situation of the workers, modifications in their level of psychological satisfaction and new patterns of social interaction brought about by putting then in to the experiment room and the special attentions involved.

The discovery of the significant of social factors become the major finding of the Hawthorns studies. The six workers had become a social group in which these was intense interaction and cooperation's informal practices values, norms and social relationships giving the group high cohesion and the communication system between the researchers and workers was extremely effective.

Mayo's generalization was that work satisfaction depends to a large extent of the informal social patters of the work group. Where norms of cooperativeness and high output are established because of a feeling of importance, physical conditions have little impact.

The crucial break through in research came with the famous bank wiring room experiment involving the wiring of switch boards this experiment called in to question virtually all the assumptions of scientific management. When this experiment was set up the researchers were already aware that workers groups made in effectual the individual and group pieces work pay system which management set up. The workers were producing far less than they ware physically capable of they were fallowing a social norm enforced by their coworkers, which define the proper amount of production rather that trying to fill the quota management engineers thought they could achieve. The phrase "artificial restriction of output" was coined by the observers of this phenomenon to contrast it with the "natural output" that was physically possible.

A group of fourteen workers was set up as a work unit in a separate room in which they were closely observed for six months. Their job was to wire telephone switchboard called banks, which required some individual work and some group cooperation. The workers were paid individuals hourly rates based on their individuals average output plus a bonus that was determined by the average group output.

In line with Taylor's theories on incentives the managerial assumptions were that the men would work as hard as they could since the harder they worked the more hourly pay they would receive, that they will strive to cooperate and coordinate their efforts since this would further increase their income by increasing group productivity.

In practice the men set a norm of the "proper days work" which was for each man to wire two complete sets of requirement each day. Following are the major findings and conclusions of Hawthorne experiments.

Major findings and conclusions

1. The level of production is set by social norms, not by physiological capacities.

2. non-economic rewards and sanctions significantly affect the behavior of the workers and largely limit the effect of economic incentive plans. rewards and sanctions were particularly powerful and both were symbolic rather than material. workers who produced significantly more or less than the socially determined lost the affection of coworkers and friends. All the workers in the wire room clearly preferred maintaining amicable relations with their friends to making more money.

3. often workers do not react as individuals but as members of groups. Each individual did not feel free to set up for himself a production quota; it was set and enforced by the groups. Workers who deviate significantly in either direction from the group norms were penalized by their co-workers. Individual behavior is anchored in the group. A person who will resist to change his behavior as an individual will often change it quite readily if the group of which he is a member changes its behavior. the human relations school concluded that management can not deal with individual workers as if they were isolated atoms, it must deal with them as members of work group subject to the influence of these groups.

4. the importance of leadership for setting and enforcing group norms and the difference between formal and informal leadership. scientific management tended to assume the foreman and supervisors would provide the sole leadership of the workers, at least in matters in regard to matters concerning production. In the bank wiring room study one of the workers clearly emerged as an informal leader in the group. He was the best liked man in the room and the one who best embodied the norms of this group. More than any one close his advice was solicited, and to this

extent he had the most control over the behavior of his group. He was admired and to certain extent the spokes man of the group to other personnel in the factory. In short he helped the workers to function as a social group. The supervisor did not exert a great deal of influence on the work group. Infact, he was under considerable pressure to conform to the norms of the group of which he was supposed to be in charge.

5. the human relations approach emphasized the importance of communication between the ranks of explaining t the lower participants the reasons why a particular course of action is taken, the importance of participation in decision making in which lower ranks share in the decisions made by higher ranks, particularly in matters that affect the m directly, and the virtues of democratic leadership which is highly communicative, encourages participation, and his concern with the problems of workers and not the problems of work.

Conclusion:

Scientific management and human relations were in many ways extremely opposed to each other. The factors one school saw as critical and crucial the other hardly considered and the variables one viewed as central the other largely ignored. The two schools however, had one element in common neither saw any basic contradiction or insoluble dilemma in the relationship between the organizations quest for rationality and the human search for happiness.

Scientific management assumed that the most efficient organizations would also be the most satisfying one since it would maximize both productivity and the workers pay since the worker was viewed as an economic man seeking to maximize his income, and it was assumed that he was satisfied with his shrew of the corporate income the implicit belief was maintained that what is best for the organization is best for the workers and vice versa.

The human relation approach assumed that the most satisfying organization would be the most efficient. it was suggested that the workers would not be happy in the called formal rational organization that satisfied only their economic needs. The human relations school did not believe that management would be able to establish an organization that would keep the workers satisfied simply by allocating labor and authority in the most efficient away as determined by the intrinsic nature of the task. They did not view the problem of worker satisfaction and productivity as unsolvable. Management has to be enlightened and certain steps taken such as encouraging the development of social groups on the job and providing them with democratic, participating and communicative leadership. Once the real nature of the workers needs and their informal group life and organizations are understood, nothing prevents management from making the organizational life a happy one.

More over the human relations school thought that it is necessary to relate work and the organizational structure to the social needs of the employees because in this way by making the employee happy the organization would obtain their full cooperation and effort and thus increase its efficiency.

Two key related concepts that have emerged from scientific management and human relations school remained central to organizational studies. The concept of formal and informal organization. The former drives from the set of factors considered crucial by scientific management and the later from those stressed by human relations.

2.3 Organizations as open systems:

  The open system perspective emerged as part of the intellectual ferment following world war II, although its roots are much older.

The open system perspective developed later than the rational and open system views, but it has gained adherents rapidly and has profoundly altered our conception of organizations and their central features and processes.

The open system view of organizational structure stresses the complexity and variability of the individual parts- both individual participants and subgroups-as well as the looseness of connections among them. Parts are viewed as capable of semi-autonomous action; many parts are viewed as, at best, loosely coupled to other parts. Further in human organizations, as Boulding emphasizes, the system is "multiphalous" : many heads are present to receive information, make decisions, direct action.

Individuals and subgroups form and leave coalitions. Coordination and control become problematic. also, system boundaries are seen as amorphous and transitory; the assignment of actors or actions either to the organization or to the environment often seems arbitrary and varies depending on what aspects of systematic functioning is under consideration.

Open system scholars abandon the self-action conception of organization in favor of more interactive or process definitions. also, evolutionary theory introduced to support studies of change, as new elements are introduced, selected or rejected, and retained. The cultural-cognitive dimension of social life looms large in the open systems perspective: great attention is devoted to information flows and sense-making activities. Organizations create, but also, appropriate knowledge, know how, and meaning from their environments. In this and other ways, the interdependence of the organization and its environment is receives primary attention in the open system perspective. Rather than overlooking the environment as tends to be true of most early rational and natural system theories, or viewing it as alien and hostile, as is true of some early theories, the open system perspective stresses the reciprocal ties that bind and relate the organization with those elements and flows that surround and penetrate it. The environment is perceived to be the ultimate source of materials, energy, and information, all of which are vital to the continuation of the system. Indeed, the environment is seen to be the source of order it self.

2.3.1 Contingency theory

Paul Lawrence and Jay Lorsch(1967) coined the label "contingency theory"

Jay Galbraith(1973:2) states succinctly two assumptions underlying contingency theory:

- There is no one best way to organize; however
- Any way of organizing is not equally effective

The first assumption challenges the conventional wisdom of those administrative theorists who sought to develop general principles applicable to organizations in all times and places. Such a quest not only overlooks the vast diversity of existing organizational forms but also fails to recognize the great variety of tasks undertaken by organizations.

The second assumption challenges the view, held by early economists developing the theory of the firm, that organizational structure is irrelevant to organizational performance.

A third assumption can be formulated to represent the position of the contingency theorist;

- The best way to organize depends on the nature of the environment to which the organization relates.

As a branch of systems design, contingency theory emphasized that design decisions depend-are contingent-on environment conditions.

Contingency theory is guided by the general orienting hypothesis that organizations whose internal features best fit the demands of their environments will achieve the best adaptation.

2.4 combining the perspectives: The Structuralist approach

The structuralist approach is a synthesis of the classical or formal school and the human relations or informal school. It draws on the work of max Weber and to a large degree that of Carl Marx. However, its major dialogue has been with the human relation approach and its foundations are best understood through examination of the criticism it raised against these schools. The structuralist school suggested that the human relations approach did not provide full view of the organization and that its partial view favors management and misleads the workers. It is in exploring the harmony view of the human relations writers that the structuralist writers first recognized fully the organizational dilemma the inevitable strengthen which can be reduced but not eliminated, between organizational needs and personal needs. The structuralists see the organization as a large complex social unit in which many social groups interact. While these groups share interests, they have other incompatible interests. The various groups might cooperate in some spheres and compete in other but they hardly are or become one big happy family as human relations writers often imply.

Two groups with in the organization whose interests frequently come in to conflict are management and the workers. This is largely because managements effort to get workers to work is basically alienating to the worker. There are many ways to make labor more pleasant, but none to make it satisfying in any absolute sense.

Karl Marx(1818-1883)

According to Marx the modern factory worker is alienated from his work since he owns neither the means of production nor the product of his labor, specialization has fragmented production so that each worker's labor has become repetious, monotonous and lacks opportunity for creativity and self expression. The worker has little conception of the whole work process or his contribution to it, his work is meaningless. He has little control over the time at which his work starts and stops or over the pace at which it is carried out.

Max Weber(1864-1920)

Weber added that this basic estrangement exists not only between the worker and the means of production but also between the soldier and the means of warfare and scientist and the means of enquiry, etc.. this is not just a legal question of ownership, but rather that with ownership goes the right to control and that goes that he who provides the means also define their use. They are implying all employees of all organizations are frustrated and unhappy since they can not determine what use their efforts will be put since they do not own the instrument necessary to carry out independently the work that needs to be done. The human relations approach has indicated some ways in which the resulting frustrations might be reduced but the structuralists insist that there are sharp limits on the degree for which this can be achieved. The development of social groups on the job might make the worker's day more pleasant but it does not make his task any less repetious or uncreative. Similar rotation lessens the problem of monotony but does not change its basic nature since rotation is limited by the scope of the alternative jobs available, which are all similar in their dull, routine, and meaningless nature. Workers it is suggested, spend much of their working day in a semiconscious state, dreaming about their major source of satisfaction, the post workday.

By providing an unrealistic happy picture by viewing the factory as a family rather than as a power struggle among groups with some conflicting interests as well as some shared ones, and by seeing it as a

major source of human satisfaction rather than alienation human relations cover up the realities of work life.

Structuralists object to the underplaying of the importance of material rewards. They accepted however the human relations insight in to the significance of social rewards in industry but they criticized the way in which these insights were put in those instances in which management tried by granting them in expensive symbols of prestige and affection instead of an increase in wages. Industrial conflict is viewed by many social scientists of the older generation and by most human relation writers as basically undesirable. The human relations experts seek to promote industrial harmony. the structuralists however point to the many important social functions of conflict., including its positive contributions for the organizational system itself and object to any artificial covering up of conflict. The expression of conflict allows genuine difference of interest and beliefs to emerge whose confrontation may lead tom a test of power and adjustment of organizational system to the real situation and ultimately to organizational peace. If covered up, conflict and alienation will seek other outlets such as withdrawal or increase in accident which eventually are disadvantageous to both workers and organization.

Major criticisms

1.   *formal and informal organization*: the major analytical criticism of the human relation approach is that it tends to focus on a narrow range of variables and studies them with out taking others in to account. The human relations people tend to devote much attention to informal relations among workers and between workers and supervisors, but little attention is given to the formal ones or to the articulation of formal relationships with in formal ones. There was little systematic effort to relate the two sets of factors, and this has been mainly a contribution of the structuralist school.

2.   *the scope of informal groups*: many human relations studies have pointed to the existence of informal groups in industry and to their psychological and sociological significance especially in view of the disintegration of social life outside the factory under the impact of industrialization. But there are very few human relations studies which ask how common such informal work groups are, how rare of the job groups are, and what their relative importance actually is. The structuralists in their organizational research found that informal work groups are not so common and the majority of workers do not belong to any. Mayo and many of his associates expected the atomization of society as a result of industrialization.

Industrialization they thought would lead to disintegration of traditional social groups such as the family, village community and religious groups. They predicted the disappearances of the intermediary bodies between the state and the individual as mass society evolved. Therefore, they saw the machine of the new social unit, the factory, as providing a new home and a place of the emotional security for the isolated individual. Management was expected to provide the needed social and emotional shelters and in return it would be rewarded with a devoted hard working and satisfied labor force. Infact, the traditional social groups did decline in importance, scope and degree of integration. The typical modern family smaller in size, less stable and socially less prominent than the traditional one. And many rural communities and religious groups have similarly declined. But most of these groups have not disappeared.

3.   the organization and its environment

the typical human relations study approaches the informal work group in the factory and sometimes the factory as a whole, as an island to be studied, the way anthropologists study a self-contained tribe. However increasing attention is being paid to the process and the environment that affect the organization, and to the processes with in the organization that affects its relations with the

environment such as contacts with clients, interaction among organizations and between organizations, and higher power structures such as the government.

4. *material and social reward*

The structuralists view the scientific management and human relations approaches to rewards as segmental. In the structuralist tradition the study of both is combined. The significance of social rewards of affection and esteem has been demonstrated beyond doubt. Everything that is included under status symbols is important in the life of any organization. however, although social rewards have been proven to be important in organizations, this does not reduce the importance of material rewards.

5. *factories ,churches, prisons and schools*

while human relations and scientific management focused almost exclusively on organizations such as factories, bands and insurance companies the structuralist approach broadened the scope of organizational analysis to include a large variety of organizations. therefore, not only have the contributions of the two carrier approaches being incorporated in the structuralist approach, but additional factors not previously studied are considered and the full range of organizations discovered. In general organizational analysis has broadened its concerns to include:

1. both formal and informal elements of the organization and their articulation

2. the scope of informal groups and the relations between such groups inside and outside the organization

3. both lower and higher ranks

4. both social and material rewards and their effects on each other

5. the interaction between the organization and its environment

6. both work and non-work organizations

Etzioni's structuralist model

Amitai Etzioni(1964) has proposed a "structuralist" approach as a synthesis of the classical(rational) schools and the human relations(natural)schools.

Etzioni does not regard Weber as a prime contributor to the classical approach but rather, together with Marx, as a theorist who attempted to synthesize the insights of the rational and natural system arguments. Marx and Weber both believed that regardless of the best efforts of managers and workers, their economic and social interests are inevitably in conflict. Marx viewed factory workers as alienated from their work since they owned neither the means of production nor the product of their labor. Weber generalized this assertion, noting that soldiers in modern armies did not own their weapons, nor did research scientists own their equipment and supplies. In this sense, all employees, unless they are also owners, are alienated from their labor. Both Marx and Weber viewed control as central to the concept of organizations.

Etzioni shares this conception and argues that both rational and natural system theorists have important and different, things to say about control systems with in organizations.

Rational system theorists contribute to the analysis of control by focusing attention on the differential distribution of power among organizational positions, as represented in the formal hierarchy. Natural system theorists make their contribution by insisting that naked power only alienates, that power must be acceptable to subordinates if control attempts are to be effective.

Weber, according to Etzioni; combined both of these points of view in his examination of the various forms of domination on the one hand, and of the basis on which it is seen to be legitimate by participants in the system on the other.

In addition to combining the rational and natural system perspectives in the analysis of the central issue of power, Etzioni proposes that his structuralist model gives equal attention to formal and informal structures, and in particular to the relations between them. It also attends to both social and material rewards and their interrelation and to the interaction of the organization with its environment.

In sum, the structuralist model suggests that the rational and the natural system perspectives are complementary. Each view represents a partial truth. If the perspectives aim at times to conflict, this is because the organizational elements to which they point sometimes conflict.

The recognition of the inevitability of such conflicts is an important part of the "whole" truth about organizations.

chapter three: *Bureaucracy and its structure:*

although in ordinary usage the term bureaucracy suggests a certain rigidity and redtape, it had a somewhat different meaning to sociologists.

Robert K. Merton (1969) defined bureaucracy as " a formal, rationally organized social structure which clearly defined patterns of activity in which ideally every series of actions is functionally related to the purposes of the organization"

Max Weber, the German sociologist, provided the first detail study of the nature and origins of bureaucracy.

Weber's model of bureaucracy-an ideal type

Weber bureaucracy as the most efficient form of social organization for the administration of work. Weber studied examples of bureaucracy throughout history and noted the elements that they had in common. Weber's model of bureaucracy is an ideal type, which is a simplified exaggerated model of reality used to illustrate a concept. When Weber presented his ideal type of bureaucracy he combined in to one those characteristics that could be found in one form or another in a variety of organizations. Weber outlines six characteristics of bureaucracies.

1. *a clear cut division of labor:*

 activities of a bureaucracy are broken down in to clearly defined limited tasks which are attached to formally defined positions or status in the organization. this permits degrees of expertise.

2. *hierarchical delegation of power and responsibility:*

each lower office is under the control and supervision of a higher one thereby leaving no office uncontrolled.

Each position in the bureaucracy given sufficient power so that the individual who occupied it can be assigned work adequately and also consult subordinates to follow instructions. Such power must be limited to what is necessary to meet the requirement of the position.

3. *rules and regulations*

the rights and responsibilities attached to various positions are stated clearly in writing and governs the behavior of individuals who occupy them. in this way, all members of the organization know what is expected of them and each person can be held accountable for his/her behavior.

4.impartiality

the organization's written rules and regulations apply equally to all its members. No exceptions are made because of social or psychological differences among individuals. Also people occupy positions in the bureaucracy only because they are assigned according to formal procedures. These positions belong to the organization itself, they can not be the personal property of those who occupy them.

5.   employment based on technical qualifications

people are hired because they have the ability and skills to do the job, not because they have personal contacts with in the company. Advancement is based on how well a person does the job. Promotions and job security go to those who are most competent.

6.   distinction between public and private

spheres a clear distinction is made between the employees personal lives and their working lives.

Although many bureaucracies strive at the organizational level to attain the goals that Weber proposed most do not achieve them on the practical level. Weber was very much concerned with the distribution of power among the organizational positions in the bureaucratic structure, in order to understand Weber's ideas about bureaucracy we have to look at them in the more general context of his theory of domination/authority which led him to characterize organizations in terms of the authority relations with in them. This emerged from a basic concern with why individuals obeyed commands. Weber defines power as the possibility of imposing ones will upon the behavior of other persons. But more specifically he is interested in a special type of power relationship which he calls domination/legitimate authority.

Domination: refers to a power relationship in which the ruler, the person who imposes his will on others, believes he has a right to the exercise of power and the ruled consider it is their duty to obey his orders. therefore, in this kind of established authority you always find a number of beliefs which legitimize the exercise of power in the eyes of both the leaders and the led. this beliefs about the legitimating of power are very important because they determine the stability of systems of domination and also show the basic differences between such systems. Weber distinguished between organizational types according to the way in which authority is legitimized

Weber's three pure types of legitimate authority/domination

1.   Charismatic domination: is based on the personal qualities of the leader.

Weber used the Greek word charisma to mean any quality of the individual's personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. This is the position of the prophet, messiah or hero whose organization consist of himself and a set of disciples; the disciples have the job of mediating between the leader and the masses. Under such type of domination the administrative apparatus is very loose and unstable because the basis of authority is in the characteristics of one person.

The question of succession always arises when the leader dies and the authority has to be passed on. typically in political and religious organizations, the movement splits with the various disciples claiming to be the true heirs to the charismatic leader there by causing a problem. even if the leader himself nominates his successor he will not necessarily be accepted it is unlikely that another charismatic leader will present himself, and so the organization must lose its charismatic form becoming one of the

remaining type. If the succession becomes hereditary, the organization becomes traditional in form, if the succession is determined by rules, a bureaucratic organization develops.

2.   traditional domination/authority: in this case the legitimization of power comes from the belief in the eternal past, in the rightness and appropriateness of the traditional way of doing things. the traditional greatest arbiter in such a system is custom i.e. the extent of the leader's authority is fixed by custom. The actual organizational form under a traditional authority can take one of two patterns.

a.   *patrimonial form of traditional domination*: where officials are personal servants who   are dependant on the leader for remuneration

b. *feudal*: here the officials have a greater degree of autonomy with their own sources of income and a traditional relational relationship of loyalty towards the leader. Though, Weber's examples are historical his insight is equally applicable to modern organization. managerial positions are often handed down from father to son as firms establish their own dynasties based on kinship rather than expertise. Similar ways of doing things in many organizations are justified in terms of always having being done that way rather than on the basis of a rational analysis.

3. *Rational legal domination*: Weber sees this as the dominant institution of modern society. The system is called rational because the means are designed to achieve certain specific goals i.e the organization is like a redesigned machine with a certain function to perform and every part of the machine works for the attainment of the maximum performance of that function. It is legal because authority is exercised by means of a system of rules and procedures through the office which an individual occupies at a particular time. The people obey the laws because they believe that these rulers enacted by a proper procedure, a procedure considered by the ruler and the ruled as correct. Moreover the ruler is considered as a superior who has come to hold a position by legal procedures. It is by virtue of his position that he exercises power with in the limits set by legally sanctioned rules for such organizations Weber used the name bureaucracy. in common usage bureaucracy is synonymous with inefficiency, an emphasis on red tape and excessive writing and recording. To be specific, it is identified with inefficient public administration. But in terms of his own definition, Weber states that bureaucratic organization is technically the most efficient form of organization possible. The reason for the efficiency of bureaucracy lies in its

Organizational form. Bureaucracies represent the final stage in depersonalization. In such organizations there is a series of officials each of whose roles is circumcised by a written definition of authority. these officials are arranged in a hierarchy each successive step embracing, all those beneath it.

There in a bureau for the safe keeping of all written records and files because an important of the rationality of a system is that information is written down. A clear separation is made between personal and business affairs. There is a contractual method of appointment in terms of technical qualifications for office. In such organizations authority is based in the office and commands are obeyed because the rules state that it is within the competence of a particular office to issue such commands. Also important is the stress on the appointment of experts. One of the signs of a developing bureaucracy is the growth of professional managers and an increase in the number of specialist experts with their own departments.

Chapter four: *Organizational goals*

Organizations are social units, which pursues specific goals. Their very reason of existence is the service of these goals. The goals of organizations serve many functions such as:

1. they provide orientation by depicting a future state of affairs which the organization strives to realize there by setting down guideline for organizations activity.

2. goals constitute a source of legitimacy which justifies the activities of an organization and indeed its very existence.

3. goals serve as standard by which members of an organization and outsiders can assess the success of the organization i.e. its effectiveness and efficiency

Although organizations are originally established to formed, organizations may acquire their own needs that sometimes become masters of the organization. In such instances organization reduce the service of their initial goals in order to satisfy their acquired needs, rather than adjust the service of their acquired needs to that of their goals. Sometimes organizations may even abandon their initial goals and pursue new ones more suited to the organization, in this case, it is said that the organizational goal has become the servant of the organization rather than its master.

4.1 The nature of organizational goals

An organizational goal is a desired state of affairs that the organization attempts to realize. the organization may or may not be able to bring about this desired image of the future. But if the goal is reached, it stops being a siding image for the organizational and is assimilated to the organization or to its environment.

Whose image of the future does the organization pursue? That of top executives? The board of directors? The majority of the members? The organizational goal is that future state of affairs which the organization as a collectivity is trying to bring about it is in part affected by the goals of the top executives, those of the board of directors and those of the rank and file.

How does one determine what the goal of an organization is? In part the members or participants of the organization may act as informants we may interview executives and employees of various departments to establish what they see as the organization's goals. Here we must be careful to distinguish between their personal goals and organizational goals. The participants should be specifically asked what they see as the organizational goal, as distinct from their own from those which they think the organization ought to pursue. We may also get relevant information by studying minutes of the board meetings and by examining other documents of the organization we can also analyze the division of labor of the organization its flow of work and its allocation of resources as reflected in its budget. One can observe the direction of efforts, manpower and material resources to determine the actual organization's orientation to the future state of affairs.

There are at least two reasons why the head of an organization may say that the organization is seeking certain goals that infact differ from the one it actually pursues

1.The head may be unaware of the discrepancy, the true situation is hidden from him.

2. Organizational leaders consciously express goals that differ from those actually pursued. This is because such covering up will serve the goals the organization actually pursues.

Real goals: the real goals of the organization are those future states forwards with the organizations means and the major organizational commitment of the participants are directed, and have clear priority.

How goals are set

Virtually all organizations have a formal, explicitly recognized, sometimes legally specified organ for setting the initial goals and for their amendments. Organizational goals Are established in different manners by different organizations. In some organizations goals are set formally by a vote of

stakeholders. In others, by the vote of the members, still others by small member of trustees; and in a few by an individual who owns and runs the organization.

In practice goals are set b in a complicated power play involving various individuals and groups with in and with out the organization and by reference to values that govern behavior in general and the specific behavior of the relevant individuals and groups in a particular society. There are many factors that enter into the struggle to determine an organizations goal or goals:

1. Organizational departments or divisions often play a prominent role in the process.

2. Personalities are another important determinants. When a strong leader has established himself in the key positions of president or executive director it is strongly difficult to push through an organizational strategy to which he objects.

3. an important role is played by environmental forces. Most organizations are less autonomous than first seems to be the case.

4.2 Effectiveness, efficiency and the danger of over measurement

Organizations are constructed to be the most effective and efficient social units. The actual effectiveness of a specific organization is determined by the degree to which it realizes its goals. The efficiency of an organization is measured by the amount of resources used to produce a unit of output. Output is usually those related to but not identical with the organizational goals. The unit of output is a measurable quantity of whatever the organization may be producing. It is important to note that while efficiency and effectiveness tend to go hand in hand they do not always do. An efficient company might make no profits perhaps because of a declining market, and an inefficient one may return a high profit because of a rising market. Moreover, over concerned with effectiveness might require a large variety of activities.

Measuring effectiveness and efficiency raises several major problems. When an organization has a goal that is limited and concrete it is comparatively easy to measure effectiveness. If however the organizational goal is a continuous one measurement becomes more difficult. Finally, when we come to organization whose output is not material, statements about effectiveness are extremely difficult to validate.

The same problem applies to measuring efficiency and such related concepts as output, productivity and cost. For example, it is possible to determine how much it costs to make a car in one factory as against another. But when it comes to comparing the efficiency of two hospitals or of two schools the concept becomes considerably more vague, one hospital school or church is more efficient than another only if it produces the same product at a lower cost, and this sameness is a very difficult task to establish.

Most organizations, under pressure to be rational are eager to measure their efficiency. However, the very effort the desire to establish how an organization is doing and finding ways of improvement often has undesired effects from the point of view of the organizational goals. Frequent measuring can distort the organizational efforts because some aspects of its output are more measurable than the others. Frequent measuring tends to encourage overproduction of highly measurable items and neglect of the less measurable ones.

The problem of over measuring become greater when it is impossible or impractical to quantify them central substantive output of an organization and when at the same time some exterior aspects of the product which are superficially related to its substance are readily measurable.

There is no complete solution to this problem. Attributing too much importance to some indicators of organizational success and not enough to others may lead to considerable distortion of the organizational goals and undermine the very efficiency and effectiveness that the organization seeks. Using measures of several aspects of the product, and stressing those features that come closest to the organizational goal reduces the problem of measuring organizational success.

4.3 Displacement of goals

This severe type of organizational distortion was first explored by the German sociologist Robert Michels. It arises when an organization displaces its goal i.e. substitutes for its legitimate goal some other goal for which it was not created for which resource were not allocated to it, and which it is not known to serve.

The mildest and most common form of displacement is the process by which an organization reverses the priority between its goals and means in a way that makes the means a goal and a goal a means. The most common means that is displaced is the organization itself.

Organizations are instruments; they are created to serve one or more specific goals. But in the process of forming them of granting them recourses, and of recruiting personnel, interest groups are formed which are frequently concerned more with preserving and building up the organization it self than in helping it to serve its initial purpose in short, these interest groups use the organizational goals as means to their own goals.

Michel's book " political parties" (1959) credited with the first extensive description and analysis of goal displacement. He studied socialist parties and labor unions before WWI

The goals of the socialist parties were

- To bring about socialist revolution
- To establish democracies in authoritarian countries.

In its effort to serve these goals the socialist movement created parties and unionist organizations. The organizations demanded leadership but the leaders soon developed interests in maintaining their positions since loss of their organizational positions would have forced the leaders to return to manual labor to a life of low prestige, low income and without the psychological gratification of leadership. Michels showed that the leaders were for these reasons careful to establish themselves firmly in office.

Through control over the means of communication of the organization the established leaders strive to secure positions. In this process, which Michels referred to as the iron of oligarchy, the organizations democratic goals were subverted.

S.D Clark studied then salvation Army in Canada, which originated in Britain in 1865and had the goals,

 - welfare services to those in need

- evangelical works

To illustrate goal displacement

Robert Merton discusses another major source of goal displacement. Merton claims that goal displacement does not occur at the top of the organization but in its very body, and it is not only occurs in voluntary association but in public and private bureaucracies.

Merton suggested that bureaucracy has certain effects on its member's personalities that it encourages the tendencies to adhere rigidly to rules and regulations for their own sake. We see that this may occur even when the organization formally or informally encourages flexibility in the application of the rules as part of its policy and in line with its goals. Instead of making procedures means to the organizations goal, workers make them ends in themselves.

Adherence to the organizations policy has become the organizational goal of the bureaucrat.

4.4 Goal succession, multiplication and expansion

Goal succession is the tendency of organizations to find new goals when the old ones have been realized or can not be attained.

-David sills " the volunteers" he studied the Foundation for Infantile Paralysis whose goal was to recruit public support for the medical research needed to fight polio.

- to achieve that goal it took them two decades after achieving the goal(finding a polio vaccine) the organization became unemployed. But rather than disbanding, the organization set up new goals, i.e. to combat arthritis and breath defect. The previous goal was succeeded by the new one. Clear cut cases of goal succession are rare because most organizations do not reach their goals in any definite way, and because many of those who do achieve their goals are dissolved.

More common is the succession of goals when the service of the old one is highly unsuccessful leaving the organization to find a new goal to serve if it is to survive. It is even more common for an organization in such a situation to set additional goals or expand the scope of old ones.

e.g. the Red Cross initial goal was to provide relief during war and other great calamities. But instead of waiting for war and great calamities it set out to work public health in addition to the original goal.

4.5 Multipurpose organizations:

There are many organizations, which since simultaneously and legitimately serve two or more goals. Some add additional goals to original ones, but many organizations were originally formed to serve more than one goal at a time. In the field of scholarship there are more organizations that combine teaching with research than there are organizations that are primarily devoted to teaching. While some hospitals are almost exclusively places where ill people are treated, many hospitals also serve as training grounds for the medical profession, and a few are also research centers. Most contemporary religious organizations combine a social with a spiritual goal. it appears that many multipurpose organizations tend to serve each of their goals separately and all of them together more efficiently and effectively than single purpose organization of the same category. For instance most high quality hospitals serve three purposes: treatment, research and teaching while the hospitals which only cure are generally lower in the quality of medical care they offer.

4.6 Goal models and system models

The goal model approach defines success as a complete or at least a substantial realization of the organizational goal. Low effectiveness is a general characteristic of organizations. Since goals, as symbolic units, are ideals that are more attractive than the reality that the organization attains, the organization can almost always be reported to be a failure. But goal model approach is not the only means of evaluating organizational success. Rather than comparing existing organizations to ideals of what they might be, we may assess their performance relative to one another. For example, we would not simply say that practically all organizations are oligarchic; we would rather try to determine which ones are more or which are less oligarchic than others. The comparative analysis of organizations suggests an alternative approach that we refer to as the system model.

Chapter Six: Oligarchy, Robert Michels

Introduction

One of the earliest and most influential analyses of how participants seek to preserve an organization even at the sacrifice of the goals for which it was originally established is that provided by Robert Michels. This work is most famous for its formulation of 'the iron law of oligarchy' that equates the process by which complex administrative work is carried out in an organization with the transfer of power from rank-and-file members to small coteries of leaders.

His analysis of the changes that occurred in the largest socialist party in Europe, Germany's socialist Democratic Party, is rightly regarded as a classic. The leaders of the party continued to give lip service to its revolutionary objectives, but over time became increasingly conservative, reluctant to risk the gains they had achieved or to endanger the party, which was their source of strength. Michels concludes:

> *Thus, from a means organization becomes an end. To the institutions and qualities which at the onset were destined simply to ensure the good working of the party machine, a greater importance comes ultimately to be attached than to the productivity of the machine. Henceforward the sole occupation is to avoid anything which may clog the machinery.*

Michel's analysis points to the importance of power and conflict processes in organizations: if the interests of the rank-and-file members diverge from those of the leaders, the former are likely to be sacrificed.

The Need For Organizations

Democracy is inconceivable with out organization. Few words will suffice to demonstrate this proposition. Organizations are the only means for the creation of a collective will, be the claims economic or be they political. Organization, based as it is upon the principle of least effort, that is to say, upon the greatest possible economy of energy, is the weapon of the weak in their struggle with the strong.

The chances of success in any struggle will depend upon the degree to which this struggle is carried out upon the basis of solidarity between individuals whose interests are identical. In objecting, therefore, to the individualist anarchists that nothing could please the employers better than the dispersion of the forces of the workers, the socialists, the most fanatical of all the partisans of the idea of organizations, enunciate an argument which harmonizes well with the results of scientific study of the nature of parties.

We live in a time in which the idea of cooperation has become so firmly established that even millionaires perceive the necessity of common action. It is easy to understand, then, that organization has become a vital principle of the working class. The refusal of the worker to participate in the collective life of his class cannot fail to entail disastrous consequences. In respect of culture and of economic, physical, and physiological conditions, the proletarian is the weakest element of our society. In fact, the isolated member of the working classes is defenseless in the hands of those who are economically stronger. It is only by combination to form a structural aggregate that the proletarians can acquire the faculty of political resistance and attain to a social dignity. The importance and the influence of the working class are directly proportional to its numerical strength. But for the representation of the

numerical strength organization and coordination are indispensable. The principle of organizations is an absolutely essential condition for the political struggle of the masses.

Yet this politically necessary principle of organization, while it overcomes that disorganization of forces that would be favorable to the adversary, brings other dangers in its train. Organization is, in fact, the source from which the conservative currents flow over the plain of democracy, occasioning their disastrous floods and rendering the plain unrecognizable.

Government By The Masses

It is obvious that such a gigantic number of persons belonging to a unitary organization cannot do any practical work upon a system of direct discussion. The regular holding of deliberative assemblies of a thousand members encounters the gravest difficulties in respect of room and distance; while from the topographical point of view such an assembly would become altogether impossible if the members numbered ten thousand. Even if we imagined the means of communication to become much better than those which now exist, how would it be possible to assemble such a multitude in a given place, at a stated time, and with the frequency demanded by the exigencies of party life? In addition must be considered the physiological impossibility even for the most powerful orator of making him self heard by a crowd of ten thousand persons. There are, however, other persons of a technical and administrative character, which render impossible the direct self-government of large groups. If peter wrongs Paul, it is out of the question that all the other citizens should hasten to the spot to undertake a personal examination of the matter in dispute, and to take the part of Paul against peter. By parity of reasoning, in the modern Democratic Party, it is impossible for the collectivity to undertake the direct settlement of all the controversies that may arise.

Hence the needs for delegation, for the system in which delegates represent the mass and carry out its will. Even in groups sincerely animated with the democratic spirit, current business, the preparation and the carrying out of the most important actions, is necessarily left in the hands of individuals. It is well known that the impossibility for the people to exercise a legislative power directly in popular assemblies led the democratic idealists of Spain to demand, as the least of evils, a system of popular representation and a parliamentary state.

Originally the chief is merely the servant of the mass. The organization is based up on the absolute equality of all its members. Equality is here understood in its most general sense, as an equality of like men. in many countries, as an idealist Italy (and in certain regions in Germany where socialist movement is still in its infancy), equality is manifested, among other ways, by mutual use of the familiar "thou," which is played by the most poorly paid wage-laborer addressing the most distinguished intellectual. The generic conception of equality is, however, gradually replaced by the idea of equality among comrades belonging to the same organization, all whose members enjoy the same rights. The democratic principle aims at guaranteeing to all an equal influence and an equal participation in the regulation of the common interests. All are electors, all are eligible for office. The fundamental pustule of the *Declaration des Droits de l 'Homme* finds its theoretical application. All the offices are filled by election. The officials, executive organs of general will, play a merely subordinate part, always dependent upon the collectivity. And can be deprived of their office at any moment. The mass of the party is omnipotent.

At the outset, the attempt is made to depart as little as possible from pure democracy by subordinating the delegates altogether to the will of the mass by tying them hand and foot. In the early days the movement of the Italian agricultural work the chief of the league required a majority of four fifths of

the votes to secure election. When dispute arose with the employers about wages, the representative of the organization, before undertaking negotiations, had to be furnished with a written authority, authorized by the signature of every member of the corporation.

All the accounts of this body were open to the examination of the members at any time. There were two reasons for this. First of all, the desire was to avoid the spread of mistrust through the mass, "this poison which gradually destroys even the strongest organism." In the second place, this usage allowed each one of the members to learn bookkeeping, and to acquire such a general knowledge of the working of the corporation as to enable him at any time to take over leadership. It is obvious that democracy in this sense is applicable only on a very small scale. At the infancy of the English labor movement, many of the trade unions, the delegates were either appointed in rotation from among all members, or were chosen by lot. Gradually, however, the delegate's duties become more complicated; some individual ability becomes essential, a certain oratorical gift, and a considerable amount of objective knowledge. It thus becomes impossible to trust to blind chance, to the fortune of alphabetic succession, or to the order of priority, in the choice of a delegation whose members must posses certain peculiar personal aptitudes if they are to discharge their mission to the general advantage.

Such were the methods which prevailed in the early days of the labor movement to enable the masses to participate in party and trade-union administration. Today they are failing into disuse, and in the development of the modern political aggregate there is a tendency to shorten and stereotype the process which transforms the led into a leader_ a process which has hitherto developed by the natural course of events. Here and there voices make themselves heard demanding a sort of official consecration for the leaders, insisting that it is necessary to constitute a class of professional politicians, of approved and registered experts in political life.

Ferdinand Tonnies advocates that the party should institute regular examinations for the nomination of socialist parliamentary candidates, and for the appointment of party secretaries. Heinrich Herkner goes even further. He contends that the great trade unions cannot long maintain their existence if they persist in entrusting the management of their affairs to persons drawn from the rank-and-file, who have risen to command stage by stage solely in consequence of practical aptitudes acquired in the service of the organization. He refers to, in this connection, to the unions that are controlled by the employers, whose officials are for the most part university men. He foresees that in the near future all the labor organizations will be forced to abandon proletarian exclusiveness, and in the choice o their officials to give the preference to persons of an education that is superior alike in economic, legal, technical, and commercial respects.

Even today, the candidates for the secretary ship of a trade union are subject to examination as to their knowledge of legal matters and their capacity as letter-writers. The socialist organizations engaged in political action also directly undertake the training of their own officials. Everywhere there are coming into existence "nurseries" for the rapid supply of officials possessing a certain amount of "scientific culture". Since 1906 there has existed in Berlin a party school in which courses of instruction are given for the training of those who wish to take office in the socialist party or in trade unions.

It is undeniable that all these educational institutions for the officials of the party and of the labor organizations tend, above all, towards the artificial creation of elite of the working class, of a caste of cadets composed of persons who aspire to the command of the proletarian rank and file. With out wishing it, there is thus affected a continuous enlargement of the gulf which divide the leaders from the masses.

The technical specialization that inevitably results from all extensive organization renders necessary what is called expert leadership. Consequently the power of determination comes to be considered one of the specific attributes of leadership, and is gradually withdrawn from the masses to be concentrated in the hands of the leaders alone. Thus the leaders, who were at first no more than the executive organs of the collective will, soon emancipate themselves from the mass and become independent of its control.

Organization implies the tendency to oligarchy. In every organization, whether it be a political party, a professional union, or any other association of the kind, the aristocratic tendency manifests itself very clearly. The mechanism of the organization, while conferring a solidity of structure, induces serious changes in the organized mass, completely inverting the respective position of the leaders and the led. As a result of organization, every party or professional union becomes divided into a minority of directors and a majority of directed.

It has been remarked that in the lower stages of civilization tyranny is dominant. Democracy cannot come into existence until there is attained a subsequent and more highly developed stage of social life. Freedoms and privileges, and among these latter the privilege of taking part in the direction of public affairs, are at first restricted to the few. Recent times have been characterized by the gradual extension of these privileges to a widening circle. This is what we know as the era of democracy. But if we pass from the sphere of the state to the sphere of party, we may observe that as democracy continues to develop, a backwash sets in. with the advance of organization, democracy tends to decline.
Democratic evolution has a parabolic course. At the present time, at any rate as far as party life is concerned, democracy is in the descending phase. It may be enunciated as a general rule that the increase in the power of the leaders is directly proportional with the extension of the organization. In the various parties and labor organizations of different countries the influence of the leaders is mainly determined (apart from racial and individual grounds) by the varying development of organization. Where organization is stronger, we find that there is a lesser degree of applied democracy.

Every solidly constructed organization, whether it is a democratic state, a political party, or a league of proletarians for the resistance of economic oppression, presents a soil eminently favorable for the differentiation of organs and of functions. The more extended and the more ramified the official apparatus of the organization, the greater the number of its members, the fuller its treasury, and the more widely circulated its press, the less efficient becomes the direct control exercised by the rank and file, and the more is this control replaced by the increasing power of committees. Even in parties we find that it becomes more and more general to refer all important questions to committees which debate *in camera*.

As organization develops, not only do the tasks of the administration become more difficult and more complicated, but, further, its duties become enlarged and specialized to such a degree that it is no longer possible to take them all in at a single glance. In a rapidly progressive movement, it is not only the growth in the number of duties, but also the higher the quality of these, which imposes a more extensive differentiation of function. Nominally, and according to the letter of the rules, all the acts of the leaders are subject to the ever vigilant criticism of the rank and file. In theory the leader is merely an employee bound by the instruction he receives. He has to carry out the orders of he masses, of which he is no more than the executive organ. But in actual fact, as the organization increases in size, this control becomes purely fictitious. The members have to give up the idea of themselves conducting or even supervising the whole administration, and are compelled to hand these tasks over to trustworthy persons especially nominated for the purpose, to salaried officials. The rank and file must content

themselves with summary reports, and with the appointment of occasional special committees of inquiry.

Yet this does not derive from any special change in the rules of the organization. It is by very necessity that a simple employee gradually becomes a 'leader'. Acquiring a freedom of action which he ought not posses. The chief then becomes accustomed to dispatch important business on his own responsibility, and to decide various questions relating to the life of the party with out any attempt to consult the rank and file. It is obvious that democratic control thus undergoes a progressive diminution, and is ultimately reduced to an infinitesimal minimum.

It is indisputable that the oligarchic and bureaucratic tendency of party organization is a matter of technical and practical necessity. It is the inevitable product of the very principle of organization. Not even the most radical wing of the various socialist parties raises any objection to this retrogressive evolution, the contention being that democracy is only a form of organization and that where it ceases to be possible to harmonize democracy with organization, it is better to abandon the former than the latter. Organization, since it is the only means of attaining the ends of socialism, is considered to comprise with in itself the revolutionary content of the party, and this essential content must never be sacrificed for the sake of form.

In short, for democracy the first appearance of professional leadership marks the beginning of the end, and this, above all, an account of the logical impossibility of the "representative" system, whether in parliamentary life or in party delegation.

The Establishment Of A Customary Right To The Office Of Delegates

One who holds the office of delegate acquires a moral right to that office, and delegates remain in office unless removed by extraordinary circumstances or in obedience to rules observed with exceptional strictness. An election made for a definite purpose becomes a life incumbency. Custom becomes a right. One who has, for a certain time, held the office of delegates ends by regarding that office as his property. If refused reinstatement he threatens reprisals (the threat of resignation being the least serious among these) which will tend to saw confusion among his comrades, and this confusion will continue until he is victorious.

Whenever an obstacle is encountered, the leaders are apt to offer to resign, professing that they are weary of office, but really aiming to show to the dissentients the indispensability of their own leadership. This thing has happened more than once in the history of the Italian Socialist party. It often happens that the socialist members of parliament find themselves in disagreement with the majority of the party upon some questions of importance, such as that of the opportune ness of a general strike; or in the party congresses they may wish to record their votes in opposition to the views of their respective branches. It is easy for them to get their own way and to silence their opponents by threatening to resign. If necessary, they go still further, and actually resign their seats, appealing to the electors as the only authority competent to decide the question in dispute. In such cases they are nearly always re-elected, and thus attain to an incontestable position of power.

Such actions have a fine democratic air, and yet hardly serve to conceal the dictatorial spirit of those who perform them. The leader who asks for a vote of confidence is in appearance submitting to the judgment of his followers, but in reality he throws into the scale the entire weight of his own indispensability, real or supposed, and thus commonly forces submission to his will. The leaders are extremely careful never to admit that the true aim of their threat to resign is the reinforcement of their power over the rank and file. They declare, on the contrary, that their conduct is determined by the purest democratic spirit, that it is a striking proof of heir fineness of feeling, of their sense of personal

dignity, and of their deference for the mass. Yet if we really look into the matter we cannot fail to see that, whether they desire it or not, their action is an oligarchic demonstration, the manifestation of a tendency to enfranchise themselves from the control of the rank and file. Such resignations, even if not dictated by a self-seeking policy, but offered solely in order to prevent differences of opinion between the leaders and the mass, and in order to maintain the necessary harmony of views, always have their practical outcome the subjection of the mass to the authority of the leader.

The Need For Leadership Felt By The Mass

The same thing happens in party life as it happens in the state. In both, the demand for monetary supplies is upon a coercive foundation, but the electoral system has not established sanction. An electoral right exists, but not electoral duty. Until this duty is superimposed upon the right, it appears probable that a small minority will continue to avail itself of the right which the majority voluntarily renounces, and that the minority will always dictate laws for the indifferent an apathetic mass. The consequence is that, in the political groupings of democracy, the participation in party life has an echeloned aspect. The extensive base consists of the great mass of electors; upon this is superimposed the enormously smaller mass of enrolled members of the local branch of the party, numbering perhaps one tenth or even as few as one thirtieth of the electors; above this, again, comes the much smaller number of members who regularly attend meetings; next comes the group of officials of the party; and highest of all, consisting in part of the same individuals as the last group, come the half dozen or so members of the executive committee. Effective power is her in inverse ratio to the number of those who exercise it. Thus practical democracy is represented by the following diagram.

Though it grumbles occasionally, the majority is really delighted to find persons who will take the trouble to look after their affairs. In the mass, and even in the organized mass of the labor parties, there is an immense need for direction and guidance. This need is accompanied by a genuine cult for the leaders, who were regarded as heroes.

Accessory Qualities Requisite To Leadership

Those who aspire to leadership in the labor organizations fully recognize the importance of the oratorical art. The prestige acquired by the orator in the minds of the crowd is almost unlimited. What the masses appreciate above all are oratorical gifts as such, beauty and strength of voice, suppleness of mind, badinage; whilst the content of the speech is of quite secondary importance. A spouter who, as if bitten by a tarantula, rushes hither and thither to speak to the people, is apt to be regarded as a zealous and active comrade, whereas one who, speaking little but working much, does valuable service for the party, is regarded with disdain, and considered but an incomplete socialist.

Unquestionably, the fascination exercised by the beauty of a sonorous eloquence is often, for the masses, no more than the prelude to a long series of disillusionments, either because the speaker's practical activities bear no proportion to his oratorical abilities, or simply because he is a person of altogether common character. In most cases, However, the masses, intoxicated by the speaker's powers, are hypnotized to such a degree that for long periods to come they see in him a magnified image of their own ego. Their admiration and enthusiasm for the orator are, in ultimate analysis, no more than admiration and enthusiasm for their own personalities, and these sentiments are fostered by the orator in that he undertakes to speak and to act in the name of the mass, in the name, that is, of every individual. In responding to the appeal of the great orator, the mass is unconsciously influenced by its own egoism.

Numerous and varied are the personal qualities thanks to which certain individuals succeed in ruling the masses. These qualities, which may be considered as specific qualities of leadership, are not necessarily all assembled in every leader. Among them, the chief is the force of will which reduces to obedience

less powerful wills. Next in importance come the following: a wider extent of knowledge which impresses the members of the leader's environment; a catonian strength of conviction, a force of ideas often verging on fanaticism, and which arouses the respect of the masses by its very intensity; self-sufficiency, even if accompanied by arrogant pride, so long as the leader knows how to make the crowd share his own pride in himself; in exceptional cases, finally, goodness of heart and disinterestedness, qualities which recall in the minds of the crowd the figure of Christ, and reawaken religious sentiments which are decayed but not extinct.

Superiority Of Leaders

The democratic masses are compelled to submit to a restriction of their own wills when they are forced to give their leaders an authority which is in the long run destructive to the very principle of democracy. The leader's principal source of power is found in his indispensability. One who is indispensable has in his power all the lords and masters of the earth. The history of the working class parties continually furnishes instances in which the leader has been in flagrant contradiction with the fundamental principles of the movement, but in which the rank and file have not been able to make up their minds to draw the logical consequences of the conflict, because they feel that they cannot get along without the leader, and cannot dispense with the qualities he has acquired in virtue of the very position to which they have themselves elevated him, and because they do not see their way to find an adequate substitute. Numerous are the parliamentary orators and the trade-union leaders who are in opposition to the rank and file at once theoretically and practically, and who, none the less, continue to think and to act tranquilly on behalf of the rank and file. These latter, disconcerted and uneasy, look on at the behavior of the "great men", but seldom dare to throw off their authority and to give them their dismissal.

The Struggle Between The Leaders And The Masses

With the institution of leadership there simultaneously begins, owing to the long tenure of office, the transformation of the leaders into a closed caste. There is no indication whatever that the power possessed by the oligarchy in party life is likely to be overthrown with in an appreciable time. The independence of the leaders increases concurrently with their indispensability. Nay more, the influence which they exercise and the financial security of their position become more and more fascinating to the masses, stimulating the ambition of all the more talented elements to enter the privileged bureaucracy of the labor movement. Thus the rank and file does take action in conflict with the wishes of the chiefs; this is almost always the outcome of a misunderstanding.

It cannot be denied that the masses revolt from time to time, but their revolts are always suppresses. It is only when the dominant classes struck by sudden blindness, pursue a policy which strains social relationships to the breaking-point, that the party masses appear actively on the stage of history and overthrow the power of the oligarchies. Every autonomous movement of the masses signifies a profound discordance with the will of the leaders. Apart from the transient interruptions, the natural and normal development of the organization will impress upon the most revolutionary of parties an indelible stamp of conservatism.

When there is a struggle between the leaders and the masses, the former are always victorious if only they remain united. At least it rarely happens that the masses succeed in disembarrassing themselves of one of their leaders.

Conclusion

Michel's summarizes his central argument that oligarchy tendencies to shift power from the majority and place it in the hands of an elite minority are built into the very structure of organization. They are an unintended consequence of organization.

He points specifically to the division of functions, which creates specialized knowledge; to the hierarchy of offices, which fosters and legitimates the uneven distribution of information and decision making privileges; and to the structure of incentives, which encourages officials to remain in office but discourages rank-and-file members from involvement in the day to day business of the party. Michel's theoretical formulation emphasizes the internal factors giving rise to oligarchic processes. However, his account of the development of the Socialist Democratic Party places an equal importance on the organization's relation with its environment. Leaders emphasized the need to present a unified front. Internal disagreement and dissent were viewed as a luxury to be forgone until the party came to power; and leaders were reluctant to engage in any activity that might weaken the strength of the organization in relation to its external environment. Michels thus poses the following dilemma: a party or a union must build a strong organization and ensure its survival to achieve its objectives, yet preoccupation with such organizational problems leads to the surrender of these very objectives.