**CHAPTER 3**

**SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT, BUREAUCRACY, AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE MODERN ORGANIZATION**

1. The Emergence of the Modern Organization
   1. The Employee
      1. Wage slavery – term used in mid-1800s to describe working for someone else
      2. Employee – the term was originally only used for railroad workers. Although it became common in the late 1800s, it was not a positive term even then.
      3. In Foucault’s terms, the “employee” as a subject position was created, as was the “manager”
   2. Industrialization
      1. Mass population of workers helped make industrialization possible. In Britain and other parts of Europe, “Enclosure” laws forced people to sell their labor to others. In the U.S., the large number of immigrants provided a ready supply of labor.
      2. Technological changes allowed for the mass production of goods as well as a transportation system that could move those goods.
      3. Railway transportation created a shift in the human perception of reality.
   3. Time
      1. Shift from task-time (time shaped by the demands of the task) to clock-time (time defined and dictated by the clock).
      2. Time became something that was spent – a form of currency.
      3. Once employers were able to pay workers for the hours they spent at the job, they could try to extract as much labor as possible during that time.
      4. Today, time is still connected to issues of power. The more power one has, the less one is tied to clock-time.
2. Scientific Management
   1. Division of labor
      1. Adam Smith provides a famous analysis of division of labor over 200 years ago in The Wealth of Nations.
      2. Two forms: *social division* (divides society into different occupations) and *manufacturing division* (skills to make a product are not embodied in a single worker but are divided among many).
   2. Frederick Taylor
      1. Taylor’s theory of scientific management was the first attempt to theorize and thus systematize the management of workers.
      2. Taylor saw systematic soldiering (deliberate restriction by workers of output) as the central problem in the workplace.
      3. Taylor’s 4 basic principles of scientific management.
         1. Scientific job design
         2. Scientific selection and training of individual workers
         3. Cooperation between management and workers
         4. Equal division of work between the management and workers
      4. Taylor saw scientific management as a moral issue.
         1. Progressive ideology of the time connected efficiency and social harmony.
      5. Taylor viewed the most important aspect of communication to be the clear transmission of information (discourse of representation).
   3. Frank and Lillian Gilbreth
      1. This husband and wife team also applied scientific principles to work but argued that managers should focus on motion instead of time.
         1. They studied workers’ movements by breaking them down into basic units (Therbligs).
         2. The goal was to then redesign work tasks to eliminate any unnecessary movements, thereby increasing efficiency and reducing worker fatigue.
      2. The Gilbreths also believed that worker satisfaction was important to productivity.
         1. Worker job satisfaction was to be achieved through matching individuals to jobs and involving employees in decision-making.
         2. The Gilbreths seemed to have a genuine concern for workers and balked at Taylor’s system, which they viewed as treating workers simply as bodies.
      3. Lillian Gilbreth became an expert in the application of scientific management principles in the home.
         1. She advised women on how to increase their efficiency in the home, for instance, rearranging kitchen appliances to eliminate unnecessary motion.
         2. Her work reframed the morality of the home by showing that scientific methods and modernization led to healthier, and thus more moral, homes.
   4. Critical assessment of Scientific Management
      1. Workers under Taylor’s system were increasingly being deskilled and lost control over how work got done.
      2. Taylor viewed the individual worker as his unit of analysis, ignoring the social aspects of work.
      3. Taylor viewed workers as motivated exclusively by economic incentives.
      4. Taylor proposed that all of society should utilize the rationality of scientific management, elevating it to a moral system.
      5. Taylor’s view of communication was limited, seeing communication purely as transmission of information, especially from manager to worker.
   5. Legacy of Scientific Management
      1. Scientific management did not disappear because it fell out of favor; it disappeared because it became so widely accepted that it was taken for granted.
      2. The fast food industry, customer service industry, and others provide current examples of efficient, routinized systems of control that are based on the principles of scientific management.
      3. Taylor’s principles affect our personal lives through self-help materials that tell us how to lead more “efficient” lives.
3. Bureaucratic Theory
   1. Max Weber
      1. Weber was a sociologist and philosopher. His interest in organizations was part of a larger interest in the social, political, and economic processes of civilization.
      2. Weber was interested in how forms of authority were changing in the emergence of a modern, capitalist state.
   2. Weber’s Types of Authority
      1. Charismatic Authority – Authority is derived from special powers.
      2. Traditional Authority – Authority is derived from tradition and custom.
      3. Rational-Legal Authority – Authority is derived from a system of rational and impersonal rules. This form is the foundation for the bureaucratic model.
   3. Bureaucratic model
      1. The features of a bureaucracy include: a hierarchically organized chain of command, a system of impersonal rules, written regulations, clearly defined division of labor, norms of impersonality, written documentation and the storage of information.
      2. Weber proposed that bureaucracy was the superior form of authority.
   4. Critique of Bureaucracy and “Rationalization”
      1. Weber recognized the negative consequences of the rationalization process – the process by which everything becomes subject to planning.
         1. Everyone becomes imprisoned in the “iron cage of bureaucracy” – a rationalized world that is calculable but not necessarily fulfilling.
         2. Rationalization can undermine our sense of enchantment and community, limiting the richness of life.
         3. An instrumental worldview leads people to adopt a “means-ends” approach to their environments.
   5. Legacy of Bureaucracy
      1. George Ritzer shows how rationalization subjects us to controlled, predictable, calculated experiences that pervade everyday life and lead to “disenchantment.”
      2. Current examples of rationalization include “theme” restaurants (rationalized uniqueness) and the “conduit” model of education (efficient production of graduates with marketable skill sets).
      3. The legacy of bureaucracy is not all bad. Although it can be inflexible, it is an essential part of organizational society, providing accountability and stability.
4. Conclusion – Comparing Scientific Management and Bureaucracy
   1. Both have deeply impacted our conception of organizations.
   2. Taylor’s writings are prescriptive while Weber’s are descriptive.
   3. Taylor’s work focuses on the “micro-level” (the individual worker, the individual task); Weber focuses on the “macro-level” (society).
   4. Taylor equates science with truth, and morality, through his belief in “one best way;” Weber is more skeptical about the eventualities of science and rationality.
   5. Taylor and Weber have similar views on communication (transmission of information); however, Weber also goes a step further by examining how a particular value system helps order the world in a particular way (another function of communication).