

will on its production side proceed, to organize every single one of its activities in relation to every other activity. That is the essence of the whole matter. That is the essence both of planning and of action in a shop. That is the essence of work analysis, of stores keeping, of the lay-out of equipment, of routing, of functionalizing and of costs flowing steadily and thirteen times a year into the profit and loss statement as a by-product of the management practice itself.

In such a process of organization all former standards are revalued, all precedents are fearlessly analyzed; no process which has been improved upon is retained a moment longer than is necessary smoothly to install the better process. The crafts and trades as we have known them are progressively broken up under this process; work is ever more and more specialized and the steady tendency throughout, because of the fact of this specialization, is to need at any particular point of any particular operation the thinking, judging human being less and less, so that the mechanically and easily-trained human being more and more is used, and more and more tends in his turn to give way to inanimate machinery. At the same time that this tendency is going on, the brain of the shop, as has been aptly said, is developing in the planning room until the shop is becoming as perfect an organization of relationships between brain and nerve and muscle as is the human body.

In itself all this is good and but the logical outcome of the introduction of machinery. It means lower unit costs and more wealth. Any force of society which attempts to turn back this progress, or halt, or even slow it up is contending with the inevitable. Such a factory as we have outlined is unquestionably the type of the major production method of the near future throughout the world under any form society may take.

#### Re-enter the Human Being.

So far we have no problem. But the moment that we substitute in the ideal factory which we have sketched the human being as he exists in the world today, we have our problem. People who have been no less pioneers and discoverers in the field of both general and social psychology than Mr. Taylor was in the mechanics of business organization, have found certain principles as basic as Mr. Taylor's and which spring from quite other roots. These equally fundamental principles center in this statement: the days of compulsion—the days of service without consent, are over. In tremendous areas compulsion still exists. We are still conscripted into the world. We are still in great areas of our lives the unconsulted objects of powerful forces. With all our magnificent engineering achievements and somewhat more slowly developing common sense, we are still individually and collectively the apparent sport of earthquake or lightning. When we have once decided to take passage, on the sea, we have, so to speak, enslaved ourselves to the possible storms at sea. But in all those areas of life wherein man deals with man, great breaches have been made in the ranks of compulsion. We find, however slowly and haltingly, through the decades a steadily increasing assertion of the right both of the individual and of the individual in groups to give his consent to that which from any other human quarter it is desired him to do.

Consent from the point of view of life in the factory has two main types: individual consent and group consent.

As to individual consent, in some cases it is of the type of the traveler who decides to take ship, abandoning at the factory gate, as the other does at the dock, the right of

being consulted by the management as the other does the right of being consulted by the captain. In other cases, continuous rights of consent are still retained.

As to group consent, it is of two kinds: the consent of the factory group by itself, and the consent of the factory group as a part of an inter-factory group.

The most casual study of the whole principle of consent will show that it always tends to strike its roots into wider and wider areas. It is the failure to recognize this principle, for example, which makes the present Rockefeller plan in Colorado a sociological joke and in the future, as in the past, likely to hold a sociological tragedy.

I think there will be little debate among any of us as to the general proposition that a free man—a consenting man—is the more desirable worker. Where we have broken down in imagination is in failing to realize that organized consent as well as individual consent is the basis of a more efficient group. We have been accustomed too much to think of democracy as almost necessarily a mere crude expression of untrained information through votes. Almost nothing has yet been attempted to build up a finer texture of democracy through self-training groups, constantly growing in strength through the consideration of scientifically accurate data.

Another error which we have lazily accepted as a failure of democracy is the idea of life as a fairly static thing. This error is clearest seen in the common statement that certain types of people, certain whole groups of people as well as certain individuals "are not worth any more." The reason they are not worth any more is largely because no adequate educational process has been tried. The theory is disproved by our immigrants when they are given the right chance. It is disproved in the tremendous progress the children in our schools make over the status of their parents. It is disproved above all by the absurd implication that human beings are less the field of the inventive organizer than machinery. More than any other one thing, life is an educational process and it is only when life is artificially restrained, artificially hampered, that, because the educational process is lacking, we wrongly think of life as static and of classes as efficiency castes.

The problem then is to combine, not through failure to come to grips and not through hostilities, but in constructively organized ways, the latest developments of efficiency in production with the latest developments of the science and art of democracy.

A primary standard then by which I should judge scientific management would be to consider whether or not the scientific manager and the student of social psychology, who, in shorter terms, might be called "the man of affairs," were jointly addressing themselves to the solution of this problem—the relation between efficiency and consent—in each particular industrial concern; and whether they were recognizing that the ultimate ideal will be the consent of the inter-factory group as the only one broad enough on which to build stable conditions of efficiency co-operatively with adequate safeguards to ensure that the human educational process shall not be turned back, stopped, or delayed any more than efficiency shall be turned back, stopped, or delayed. The educational problem is the fundamental problem of statesmanship and it is a minimum demand of that statesmanship that industry shall be a school of citizenship.

#### Conclusion.

Three points emerge clearly:

1. That craftsmanship in the old sense of the term is doomed:

2. That as craftsmanship can no longer furnish the base on which labor organization can grow, unionism, group action, will have to build itself up on a base as broad as the whole educative process itself instead of on the particular educative process of a particular craft. Even today the real strength of unionism is that unions are effective consumers' organizations with a primarily educational interest. As this fact gradually sifts through the minds of employers and managers they will gradually see that the most inefficient thing they can do is to fail to co-operate with such a great source of energy. The organizations of workers, on their side, can, when once that stand is taken, be counted on to consent to all that makes for efficiency. They will do this because in all legitimate enterprises—which are all enterprises where real service to the public is the test—the workers and the management will be equally concerned in perfecting the service. And at the same time, under constitutional industrial relations, they will contest the share in the management and the share of the product between themselves and with the consumer.

3. That the inter-relation of the forces we have outlined—the forces of efficiency and consent—is constantly taking place in the world today in all kinds of crude and unorganized ways. Here and there real elements of inter-organization between efficiency and consent appear. But for the most part the labor agreements in operation today are looked upon by employers as a necessary evil and by the workers as steps in their assertion of their rights as consumers and having little detailed relation to production processes. The beginnings of something far better than this are seen in the agreements in the garment trades wherein the manufacturers, the workers and the public are all represented as parties; and in certain kinds of organization which are being worked out in a few business concerns. There is still too little of real accomplishment in this direction to enable us to predicate with any certainty what the course of the development in details of organization will be by which efficiency and consent are made continuously revitalizing agents for each other.

Yet I believe that the point has been reached where it is profitable to attempt to gather together such experience as has been gained and relate it to the probable development of the next few decades.

With this purpose in view, I submit the accompanying chart.

This chart, it should be constantly borne in mind, is neither a dogmatic nor propagandist document. It is merely a working hypothesis by which to test out the facts of business as they occur daily at the desks of managers and at the trade union council tables, or in the occasional assemblages of unorganized labor. The whole aim of this discussion, as I see it, would be falsified if we deluded ourselves into believing that in any seeming array of facts, we had found the truth. The only unforgivable thing would be that we, as social scientists, neglect to take into consideration any facts of the moment connected with all the forces that do exist; the only thing that seems to me axiomatic is that when forces do exist, they are better when organized, trained, educated, developed and enlisted in an effective way—anything you like—rather than allowed to play among and upon us blindly.

The picture of these forces submitted in this chart may be summarily commented on, as follows. In every form of factory there are human forces at work which, whether they are organized or not, are of at least equal importance with the forces governing sales, production, and finance. These forces take the two aspects of relationship to a grow-

ing intelligence on the part of the managers and a growing intelligence on the part of the employees.

Where these forces are organized they may take the form shown on the chart under the personnel heading at the left end of the factory line and under the co-operative association heading shown at the right end of the factory line. The relation between efficiency and consent is provided for, in the form of organization shown, through the relationship between the research department of the education division, and the determining boards and wage boards. The research department is where plans of organization are worked out and where work analysis is done. The determining boards and wage boards, acting on the scientific facts put before them or the nearest approximation to such facts that can be obtained, sanction the findings in the name of the interests of all concerned.

The facts thus put by the research division before the determining boards and wage boards furnish the material for the whole structure of organization and become an inescapable factor at every debatable point. Thus, if appeal be taken from any findings of a determining board, or wage board, to the arbitration board shown on the chart, the case is necessarily considered in the light of the best available facts.

Related to the factory, sometimes by formal agreement and sometimes through the entirely unorganized relationships of its individual members, are the local and district unions, or even the mere incoherent thoughts and feelings of unorganized labor. As organization begins to take any shape at all, it begins to crystallize into some form of a shop-union council wherein the interests of the factory and of the local and district unions are to some extent formally organized. In such forms of organization as the garment trades, the shop union relationship has formally added to it the third relationship of the public.

The questions which come before such a shop-union council divide broadly into questions affecting the conditions of work and questions affecting pay. In the shop-union council's consideration of these questions, the findings of the determining boards and of the wage boards are before it so that here again the best available facts necessarily form the material of the discussion.

As to conditions of work, experience so far tends to show that all questions are arbitrable; namely, they are capable of being decided by an impartial third party on the basis of the facts presented.

Questions of pay, on the other hand, are still so unsupported by scientific basic facts as to be a matter of conciliation rather than of arbitration.

It will be seen in the chart that appeal lies from the shop arbitration board to either the shop union arbitration board or the shop union conciliation board.

At this point, it should be emphasized again that nothing on this chart indicates anything artificial in organization. The attempts that are going on, so far as the chart expresses them, are attempts to strengthen and make saner and sounder the organization of untamed forces which do exist.

This point should equally be borne in mind in the relation of the shop-union council as depicted on the chart to those natural forces which exist in society at large in a more or less unorganized state; namely, consumers' control, whether private or public, the national and international labor unions and manufacturers' associations. These present day forces of social and industrial organization are in their turn more or less crude expressions of three underlying forces shown to us by social psychology, which will