



eCOMMONS

Loyola University Chicago  
Loyola eCommons

---

Master's Theses

Theses and Dissertations

---

1973

## The Affective Economy

Geoffrey P. West  
*Loyola University Chicago*

Follow this and additional works at: [https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc\\_theses](https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_theses)

 Part of the [Sociology Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

West, Geoffrey P., "The Affective Economy" (1973). *Master's Theses*. 2765.  
[https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc\\_theses/2765](https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_theses/2765)

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses and Dissertations at Loyola eCommons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of Loyola eCommons. For more information, please contact [ecommons@luc.edu](mailto:ecommons@luc.edu).



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-No Derivative Works 3.0 License](#).  
Copyright © 1973 Geoffrey P. West

THE AFFECTIVE ECONOMY

by

Geoffrey West

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School  
of Loyola University in Partial Fulfilment of  
the Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Arts

July  
1973

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
	INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
I	THE AFFECTIVE ECONOMY .. . . .	3
II	THE CATEGORIC : AN ENGLISH HISTORIO- GRAPHY . . . . .	18
III	THE CORPORATE : RESPECTABLE "WORKER UNFREEDOM" . . . . .	32
	CONCLUSION . . . . .	46
	BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	57

## INTRODUCTION

It is our contention that there exists in individuals and hence in human groups, an affective economy, which each, by virtue of the limitations of their resources of emotional energy, has to rationalize in order that the virtually unlimited intensity and scope of social needs can be satisfied within the confines of a working life and beyond.

Our principal objective, the identification and explanation of this affective economy, implicitly demands that a broadly determinative relationship be sought between classical economic theory and human affective behaviour. Of critical importance, therefore, is the selection of a level of abstraction suitable for the inclusion of valid data.

In an overall sense, we are interested in the life style of lower socio-economic man, and the strong centrifugal pull which work commitments have on life cycles, social support, social reality and social identity, insofar as it affects opportunities to satisfy socially cultivated needs and the freedom to express varieties of human impulses. In essence, we want to fully understand and develop what Marx meant by the worker "pouring himself into the product".

Throughout the discussion there will be an examination of the categoric or corporate nature (after Hawley) of workplace organization in the two periods to be researched. Hence we will be concerned with primary groups and primary relationships insofar as they pertain to their potential to satisfy social needs.

The categoric nature of a work situation is exemplified in the crude factory conditions of industrial England in the 1820's-1840's, where individuals were by force of circumstance, largely unspecialized and re-

placeable, performing monotonous physical tasks with little new experience, and generally unable to interact meaningfully with their fellows, while subject to a great degree of worker "unfreedom".

The corporate situation evident in a contemporary setting, is contained in some Japanese industrial enterprises. Although worker "unfreedom" has taken on a new respectability, management is cultivating a new social milieu around the workplace. The emphasis is on family employment security, and social security generally; recognition of the individual's contribution; provision for worker's aesthetic and expressive needs; and releasing the incorporated family from concerns which would otherwise interfere with its working capacities. Specifically within the factory situation, synchronizing educational levels and achievements with promotion and suitable placement; the provision of job training schemes and incentives and improving the aesthetics of the working environment, have enabled the worker to at least partially reappropriate the potential to satisfy his needs and to ease the harshness of industrial life. Although the apparently altruistic motives of the management may be questioned, nevertheless, a qualitatively different working environment is in evidence.

No attempt will be made, however, to form a developmental theme in discussing either of the industrial settings and neither will there be a systematic and refined effort toward discussing primary group dynamics and their relationship to need satisfaction.

## CHAPTER I

### THE AFFECTIVE ECONOMY

Higher order abstractions of economic forces have for several generations been used to lay the groundwork for general theories of purposive action in human behaviour. Even Alfred Marshall, limited as he was by classical monetary theory, nevertheless associated the field of economics with the "study of mankind in the everyday business of life". Unlike major theorists since his death, Marshall saw the passage of time as being a factor central to inquiries as to how scarce resources could be used to satisfy the virtually unlimited wants and needs of human populations.

It is our contention that abstracted economic models can best explain the ways in which the socially cultivated needs of human individuals can be met, given the limited emotional output they can offer and that can be offered them, within the temporal constraints of a short lifetime on Earth. That is, of that affective economy which constitutes a person's life span, the unending depth, intensity and scope of his social needs is met with only limited emotional input or resources coming from his interaction with others over that time. The sometimes unbearable determinism of wealth and poverty, ignorance and education, night and day, celibacy and marriage, work and unemployment, and so on, have the effect of triangulating the individual into a matrix of imposing factors, within which he has only a limited autonomy.

Our concern is neither with the rational nor the irrational, in a Weberian sense, but with the non-rational affective element of human action. Parsons and others have suggested that this element would be the logical extension of his schema.

The use of the concept of economic man in transformation as a guide to human affective behaviour, is best pursued through an examination of the ways in which his face changed during the course of the explosive nineteenth century.

The late eighteenth century economic man of Ricardo and Bentham was little changed from Hobbes' view of human nature more than a century before. The emphasis was on competitive individualism and uncompromising rational action directed toward the satisfaction of unlimited and randomly independent needs and desires. The individual, therefore, was seen to be a utilitarian, constructing a world unto himself, and his relations with others were cultivated only insofar as they could be used as a means for achieving the gratification of his own desires. The polar extreme of this conception of man's cynical and relentless quest for the maximization of pleasure was embodied in the thought of the Hedonists, for whom Jeremy Bentham was a leading advocate.

The economic and social theories of the contemporaries Bentham and Ricardo were thus characteristically behavioural, since in the world of men the forces of nature were dominant and man was ruled by the environment. In response to man's determined multiplicity of needs and desires, each individual reacted in such a way as to seek only his own direct and immediate advantage and to delay gratification only when there was an advantage to be gained in exchange. Indeed, an image is fashioned of a society of discrete and competing individuals, engaged not in Hobbes' war of all against all but now residing competitively under the umbrella-like protection and non-interference of the state. It was Ricardo's conviction that only in a situation of free and frictionless competition could the interests of the individual and those of the community be never at variance. It must be

observed, however, that Ricardo's philosophy was clearly that of the manufacturing middle classes of contemporary England, which developed the factory system and which came to be the locus of prevalent societal values.

Between the culmination of radical utilitarian thought in the first two decades of the nineteenth century and the maturity of economic liberalism exemplified by Marshall's writings in the 1880's and 1890's, economic man came to be conceived as both increasingly rational and decidedly non-rational. Especially in his early work, Marshall (1961:6) emphasizes the "tendency of everyone to select the best means of attaining his ends" and recognizes the "free choice by each individual of that line of conduct which after careful deliberation seems to be the best suited for attaining his ends" (cf. Gide & Rist, 1948:650). Even at this stage, however, Marshall describes modal behaviour by predicating it upon the existence of deviations. His mature thought clearly shows the dualism of his attitude:

When we speak of the measurement of desire by the action to which it forms the incentive, it is not to be supposed that we assume every action to be deliberate, and the outcome of calculation. For in this, as in every other respect, economics takes man just as he is in ordinary life: and in ordinary life people do not weigh beforehand the results of every action, whether the impulses to it come from their higher nature or their lower nature (Marshall, 1961:201).

Although in both situations Marshall is talking about material economic behaviour, he destroys the monolithic tower of cold concrete rationalism which had stood for so long.

Another great contribution of Marshall's work was that it shattered the persistence of the rather naive idea that the ends of man are entirely random and independent. Clearly, some goals become means to other,

more distant goals; and the limited nature of one's resources requires that the satisfaction of unlimited wants involves a choice among alternatives, and that choice, ... whether calculated or spontaneous ... involves an implicit ordering of preferences. Ultimately, man's choice will depend upon the perceived amount of utility or satisfaction potential which alternative courses of action promise.

The importance of Marshall's concept of marginal utility was its assertion that after a certain point, when additional resources are applied to achieve one end, this application marginally decreases the utility which can be derived from that investment. When this point of marginal utility is reached, resources should be re-applied on alternative pursuit. This would increase utility, even if that utility would not increase more than proportionately with successive additions. The implications of this concept will be illustrated later. Meanwhile, the critical conclusion to be drawn from Marshall's position is that, despite their apparently limitless number, human ends and goals cannot be random and independent. Marshall, therefore, objected to the highly abstracted and analytically ideal nature of conventional economic man; rather, he favoured the modal type of "flesh and blood". As he observed, (Marshall, 1961:22) :

even the most purely business relations of life assume honesty and good faith; while many of them take for granted, if not generosity, at least the absence of meanness, and the pride which every honest man taken in acquitting himself well.

The passage clearly illustrates Marshall's schema of social and ethical "activities" adjusted to physiological wants and being generated by the latter as new socially cultivated wants in a civil society. Once again, the

desire to earn the approval, to avoid the contempt of those around one is a stimulus to action which often works with some sort of uniformity in any class of persons at a given time and place ...

(Marshall, 1961:23)

In fact, Marshall's economic man displays a well integrated matrix of rational and non-rational action, bridged by these formal business and informal social ethical obligations. The obligations varied from the necessity of honesty and fair dealing to

careful, systematic administration of (his) resources and powers and a clear realization of the probable exigencies which the future will bring

(Parsons, 1968:164)

Collectively, such action was supposed to contribute to the perfection of the free enterprise economy.

The bridging of rational and non-rational action is closely paralleled by what Weber (1964) has indicated as the movement from formal to substantive rationality; in substantive rationality certain contingencies emerge such that ethical practices and prevailing "conditions of action" have to be taken into account.

The immediate importance of Marshall's work for an understanding of affective behaviour is that it prompts three significant modifications in the utilitarian concept of economic man. First, socially cultivated needs (to be discussed later) are not only not mutually exclusive, but are in fact interdependent in some way (as Maslow (1954) has hypothesized). Second, consistent with the existence of physical goals or ends of greater or lesser importance and in accordance with the Principle of Marginal Utility, it is necessary to posit the presence of non-physical, socially cultivated emotional needs arranged in a similar fashion. Finally, Marshall explored the notion that there was something beyond strictly utilitarian interpersonal relationships, ampli-

fied by Parson's (1968:162) observation that there would seem to be not merely a separation of egoism and rationality in Marshall's thought but a reverse connection, with increasing rationality, man becomes less, rather than more, egoistic.

### The Factory As An Affective Environment

Given our intention to examine the specifically affective economy of the factory as a social system, what should be studied initially is the social reality of the system as it often appears to lower level operatives, given a certain level of awareness on their part.

Mayo (1960) has suggested that a feeling of self-estrangement often manifests itself in a factory situation, such that the worker becomes alienated from his "inner self" in the activity of work. This alienation is particularly experienced when the worker lacks any control over the work process and when a sense of purposeful connection to the enterprise is missing. As a consequence, the individual experiences "a kind of depersonalized detachment, rather than immediate involvement or engrossment in the job tasks" (Blauner 1964:26). Work, therefore, becomes primarily instrumental and is directed more toward present and future survival needs, rather than constituted as an end in itself. The worker, then, takes the role of a re-actor, rather than as an actor. In fact, Mayo goes so far as to claim that self-estranging work threatens a positive sense of selfhood, since it generates a damaging rather than an affirmative occupational identity.

A sense of powerlessness grips the worker when he perceives himself as an object being controlled and manipulated by other people or by systematic impersonality in the form of a machine. In either case, as Mayo

(1960:36) observes "he cannot assert himself as a subject to change or modify his domination". Once again, he reacts rather than acts; and he is directed, rather than being self-directed. The worker's powerlessness manifests itself in several ways. He has no power over the separation from ownership of the means of production and the finished products; he is unable to directly influence general management policies; he lacks control over the conditions of employment, in a direct sense; and finally, he has little influence over such things as the pace and configuration of the work process and the quality of the work done. In effect, then, the worker has not much control of the pressure to be placed upon him during the course of his working life, if he remains in this particular position.

Situations of powerlessness and self-estrangement in Mayo's terms are paralleled by an extension of Weber's (1964) concepts of the closed relationship and the appropriated advantage or right. As has been shown, a closed relationship between management and worker is one in which the worker is continually subject to the direction of the Manager, where right of appeal to a disinterested third party is virtually non-existent and where other externalities do not affect the relationship. In addition, if not formally, then at least in practicality, the management appropriates certain rights and alternatives of action open to the worker, both on and off the job.

Even after several parliamentary acts had somewhat mitigated the thoroughly abusive conditions of the English factory of the 1830's, labourers were still told how to dress; when and how to relax and eat their meals; what was permissible in free time on the job; and often without notice, told that they would be required to work overtime on penalty of dismissal. In addition, their behaviour off the job was also broadly determined, since

for many employees in the mid-nineteenth century drinking and smoking in public was prohibited and constituted ground for dismissal and regular church attendance was mandatory. Any intemperate behaviour, even though quite detached from the workplace, was considered simply unacceptable in a wide range of industrial operations (Gaskell, 1968; Dodd, 1968 and Engels, 1958).

However, of significant importance was the dependence of the worker on a particular factory and hence on a particular factory manager. During the first half of the last century in England, the urban drift was such that the labour supply was relatively elastic, and poor performance in one factory would greatly diminish the probability of employment in another, since replacements required little training and skill. The consequences were such that an individual, for all practical purposes, was occupationally and geographically immobile. Further, the factory management sometimes appropriated the workers right to freely dispose of his wages, by forcing the employee to live in company owned tenements and to purchase food and clothing at a company operated shop under the notorious trucking system (Engels, 1958:204). These conditions, of course, have undergone radical change in the span of a century, mainly due to the politicization of the labour force. Elements of the older system still persist, but on a particular rather than a universal basis.

In any case, a series of parliamentary acts and civic pressures culminated at the turn of the nineteenth century in the possibility of factory labour becoming on a wide scale active rather than reactive, and voluntaristically positive rather than instrumentally negative. It was now possible to look upon the workplace as having some propensity to satisfy needs other than those which were physiological, and to consider one's workmates as

being part of a "community" which had a certain identity of interests. Of equal importance, however, was that a personal resource ... time ... had been expropriated from the appropriator and had been given back to the individual worker. It was now not only that the person had to work for just eight hours, but more importantly, that he did not have to work for sixteen. Hence with the developments of unions, at least initially, an unbalanced relationship of "worker unfreedom" moved toward an equilibrium, putting work in a compromised perspective being held in check by monopolized positions on both sides.

Nevertheless, insofar as the meaninglessness, isolation and lack of spontaneity in the worker's life was concerned, Marx refused to admit that anything short of the common ownership of the means of production could engender co-operative industrial harmony. Alienation for him meant more than it did for Mayo, since it involved a radical change in the relations of production. According to Marxian theory; then, what constitutes the alienation of labour?

First, the fact that labour is external to the worker; that it does not belong to his essential being; that in his work he does not affirm himself but denies himself, does not feel content but unhappy, does not freely develop his physical and mental energy but mortifies his body and ruins his mind. The worker therefore only feels himself outside his work and in his work feels outside himself. He is at home when he is not working and when he is working, he is not at home. His labour is therefore not voluntary but coerced; it is forced labour. It is therefore not the satisfaction of a need; it is merely a means to satisfy needs external to it (Marx, 1969:99-100).

Private property, then, becomes the summary expression of alienated labour.

Marx's thesis that labour is external to the essence of man's being and its concomitants have not stood

attempts at empirical validation (Blauner, 1964; Mayo, 1960).

Insofar as collective ownership and management are concerned, Blauner (1964:18) considers that the ordinary worker does not want the additional responsibilities for such decisions as "what, for whom and how much to produce; how to design the product; what machinery to buy; how to distribute jobs; or how to organize the flow of work". In his view, only when these decisions adversely affect his immediate job and work load does the worker expect his labour organization to influence policy on his behalf. This does not mean that he necessarily views his role and those of others as being unrelated insofar as the satisfaction of affective needs is concerned. In fact, Mayo (1960:24) contends that "for many workers the plant as a whole is a community, a centre of belongingness and identification, which mitigates against feelings of isolation".

While it is obvious that uninteresting, repetitive work militates against the "free conscious activity in man's species character" (cf. Marx, 1969:101), nevertheless the deterministic relation in Marx's thinking of repetitive work with worker dissatisfaction and psychic exploitation has elicited numerous denials and qualifications.

Among them, Cathcart (1928:65) maintains that an occupation may be perfectly monotonous to one man, arousing only "hatred and disgust", whereas another may find it "soothing and suitable". Also, what may be monotonous one day may not be so the next: "It varies between individuals, and even from time to time in the same individual".

It is Mayo's contention that there are compensations in most industrial enterprises, if one sees them as constituting social systems in themselves, and also

sees the worker as a human actor in them. Even the impersonality of the machine can be broken down, as he notes (1960:36) that, "the adoption of particular machines by particular workers and their dislike of a temporary removal reveal an interest in the machines as such ...". The worker may be performing a repetitive task involving a limited number of movements but his emotional life may be quite varied; and if he fails to adjust to some of his superiors, peers and subordinates he may well find sympathy and support from others.

Finally, Blauner (1964) categorically states that work which is intrinsically uninteresting does not necessarily result in intense, or even mild dissatisfaction. It is his view that "the capacity of people to adapt to routine repetitive work is remarkable". His conclusion (1964:29) captures the pragmatic essence of the problem, and is central to the objects of this inquiry:

Self estranged workers are dissatisfied only when they have developed needs for control, initiative and meaning in work. The average manual worker and many white-collar employees may be satisfied with fairly steady jobs which are largely instrumental and non-involving, because they have not the need for responsibility and self-expression in work.

#### The Human Social Needs : A Closer Look

At this point, an attempt should be made to identify a consensus of scientific opinion, insofar as human affective needs are concerned. A comparison of the works of psychologist Abraham Maslow (1954), anthropologist Ralph Linton (1936) and sociologist W.I. Thomas (1966) has revealed close agreement on five dimensions of conative-affective needs.

The first and fundamental need is for safety and security of a long term nature. Maslow observes that gratification of this need would be latent in feelings

of "peace, protection, lack of danger and threat". In an industrial situation the conditions under which these needs could be met (apart from that of adequate remuneration), would be characterized by freedom from the arbitrary will of one's superiors, insofar as work pressure and abuse are concerned. The option of appealing to a relatively disinterested third party in case of dispute. The existence of universally applied normative rules regarding recruitment, promotion and working conditions. Finally, a situation in which a commonly recognized system of equitable rewards is operative, in accordance with norms of distributive justice and fair practice.

A second universal appears to be a need for response from other people, specifically, the need to be loved and the need to belong. The satisfaction of the latter need, which is of particular interest to us, is characterized by feelings of being one of a group, of "identification with group goals and triumphs, of acceptance of having a place" (Maslow, 1954:120). In a work situation, pertinent factors would include an at least agreeable formal and informal relationship with one's co-workers in general, but in particular, membership in an informal group of those who are perceived as peers. Among operative elements in this regard would be the existence of identical interests and complementary personalities in a situation of positive social exchange and social support.

The next consideration is that of the need for recognition, related to feelings of self-esteem, self-respect, self-reliance and self-confidence. Satisfaction would also be indicated by feelings of ability, achievement, competence and success. Although this, too, would be contingent upon the efficacy of formal and informal group relations in the factory, specific attention should be devoted to pride in work performed and knowledge that

one's contribution is important, perhaps even to the point of indispensability: where day to day operational goals are accepted and valued by the individual and by the group. At the same time, the worker must feel that he has some latitude and independence in the ways he approaches his fellows and his work, even to the extent that he can demonstrate some leadership in the informal group. If he simultaneously enjoys the leadership of the formal group, as a supervisor or foreman, the implicit legitimation of his position by his co-workers would, no doubt, add strength to his prestige and self-esteem, and feelings of self-reliance and relative autonomy.

Beyond this stage of realization lies the sometimes unapproachable needs for self-actualization and self-fulfilment, having to do with a "more complete development and fruition of one's resources and potentialities and consequent feelings of growth fitness and suitability" (Maslow, 1954:20). At this point the individual feels that he has found that job, for example, which best suits his particular talents and which deserves his commitment, commensurate with the abundant rewards it has to offer. He also feels that his past efforts have been clearly instrumental in placing him in this position ... perhaps on the basis of competitive merit but not necessarily.

Finally, the primarily conative desire for new experience is a floating factor which exists beside the others. It was Marshall's view that civilization brings with it a desire for variety for its own sake. Maslow characterizes it, however, by feelings of curiosity and the need of learning and understanding more and more. The conditions under which those needs could be met in the workplace would be such that the individual has a challenging variety in his working function, within a highly differentiated productive environment. At lower

levels in factory operations, this would necessitate the worker rationing his time between different jobs, on an hourly or a daily basis.

The affective needs enunciated by each theorist have been fused in Maslow's more elaborate hierarchical framework. The existence of a hierarchy is meant to show that, in general, a lower, more fundamental and less sophisticated need has to be partially gratified first, at least to the degree which allows the individual's psyche to be able to perceive and direct itself toward a higher need. Maslow thus maintained that basic physiological needs would have to be at least partially met before attention could be taken from the problem of simple organic survival and focussed on the physical and emotional safety and security of the individual, now that he was able to survive. This remains the case at the higher levels but now individual differences make predictability difficult, insofar as degrees of satisfaction as pre-conditions are concerned. Many people, for example, would expend a minimal amount of emotional energy in safety and security needs, favouring such factors as self-esteem and achievement. Maslow's thesis remains, however, that modalities in human affective behaviour would indicate that the gratification of each group of corresponding needs is a pre-condition to the gratification of its "immediate superior". It should be recognized, of course, that it was Maslow's contention that unless certain pre-conditions had been met, need satisfaction at whatever level would either be seriously disadvantaged or even impossible to secure. These conditions demand that there be justice, fairness, honesty and orderliness in the group and also that there be freedom to speak and to express oneself fully. One must also be able to investigate and to seek for information, as desired. In addition, it is necessary that a person

may do as he wishes as long as it does not interfere with the actions of others.

### Marshall and Maslow

It is at this juncture that Marshall's Principle of Marginal Utility, somewhat abstracted, and Maslow's hierarchy can be brought together and their relationship made explicit.

As has been shown, individuals require varying degrees of need satisfaction in different combinations. Each need constitutes an alternative in Marshall's schema. The expending of emotional energy or the direction of attention on any one need will result in increasing satisfaction at an increasing rate in the early stages. After a while the attraction of alternative needs into which the energy could be channelled is sufficient to result in a lessening of the emotional rewards which were originally sought. At that point, for example, the individual has amassed enough personal security to enable him to concentrate now on his need for self-esteem, and then on other needs. He could go on strengthening his security but it could mean that his additional emotional effort would not be rewarded in proportion, given his competing needs.

In the following two chapters, case histories of man in his affective economy will be analyzed with the concepts of unfreedom and dependence examined in two dimensions, using time as an independent variable and all within a framework of social identity, social reality and social support.

## CHAPTER II

### THE CATEGORIC : AN ENGLISH HISTORIOGRAPHY

The purpose of this chapter is to determine probable boundaries of the affective economy of factory workers in the crude conditions of industrial England in the period 1820 to 1850. Our intention is to outline those forces which fostered or militated against an individual's development, following a probe of the contemporary industrial environment and with a view to gauging overall potentialities for personal growth and maturation. There will be no conscious attempt made to add to the interminable detail of events which modern literature offers of the period in question.

#### The Factory and Social Reality

The new industrial textile towns springing up in England during the 1820's and 1830's were more like industrial settlements than communities; the few efforts at municipal planning that had occurred were almost incidental to the objectives of individual manufacturers. The strong centrifugal pull of the factory became the over-arching social force and invariably provided the fulcrum of social action during that time. Such was the magnitude of the urban drift that, for example, between 1820 and 1831, Lancashire added about 300,000 people to its registers, an increase of 27 per cent, while Manchester, alone, increased its population by a staggering 47 per cent in the same period (Smelser, 1959:193).

Although these newcomers came from diverse occupational and geographic backgrounds (to some degree), they shared certain fundamental common characteristics. Firstly, even if a self-employed spinner or hand loom weaver in the 1810's was able to offer his family a better standard of living than could an Irish agricultural worker

in the same period, nevertheless, when both became occupationally displaced and socially dislocated in the following decade, the demands of urban resettlement reduced their respective socio-economic statuses to much the same level. Obviously, the initial privations suffered by the Irish in having to migrate and settle in England became the source of much emotional distress.

Second, although the two respective levels of skill of the displaced Englishman and Irish emmigre applicable to factory textile work were initially quite disparate, the explosive appearance of mechanization generally, and the introduction of power looms specifically, vastly reduced the occupational distance between the two workers.

Finally, a common dependence upon a particular factory as a source of livelihood, interrelated with strictly limited opportunities for movement to another firm (let alone to another town or another occupation), contributed to the appearance of a vast, stagnant and categic body of population; which was relatively homogeneous and was forced along a common socio-economic dimension of financial and aesthetic poverty.

The implications of each of these common characteristics will be developed later, but meanwhile more of the immediate realities can be given to establish the quality of the industrial environment in the new towns.

Writing of the extent of poverty in the bulbous distortions of Manchester and Leeds in the 1830's and 1840's, Hobsbawm (1957:50) contends that about 40 per cent of the resident population lived at or below the poverty line. "i.e. at or below subsistence level or the prevailing definitions of this concept". He maintains that a further 15 per cent belonged to a 'favoured stratum' which was in a clear position to improve its real wages at almost all times. That is, the first group

lived in what amounted to a permanently glutted labour market, the second in one of permanent labour scarcity, except during bad slumps. The remainder of the labouring population was distributed between the two groups. It is the aggregated 85 per cent of largely unskilled factory operatives, including men, women and children, with which we are most concerned.

Before proceeding to isolate specific probable sources of emotional discontent and disruption, it is informative to view the positions of the contemporaries Gaskell and Dodd, physician and former factory operative, respectively, as they summarised the serious limitations imposed upon the normal growth and development of human individuals manifest in the factory system:

Nor can any wonder be felt that men should grow discontented and dissatisfied who labour fourteen to sixteen hours daily, and earn four to six shillings per week, and who see not the remotest probability that their condition will be improved. Upwards of a million of human beings are literally starving and the number is constantly on the increase, hand weaving being the only refuge for the adult labourer, since the spread of the factory system (Gaskell, 1968:Preface, p.V).

We see, ... , a few individuals who have accumulated great wealth by means of the factory system, and, on the other hand, hundreds of thousands of human beings huddled together in attics and cellars or crawling over the earth as if they did not belong to it. Maimed, mutilated, deformed, emaciated, ruined in health, their spirits broken, their mind and reasoning powers toppling from their seat, and many of them catching, like drowning men, at straws, to save themselves from what would be a happy release from their miserable situation (Dodd, 1968:63).

Chief among several structural economic factors which had far reaching social implications, including production bottlenecks associated with the spinning and weaving processes, was the periodic social disaster

occasioned by economic recession. In the textile manufacturing districts geared to the relatively unpredictable export market, production cutbacks involving dismissals or lay-offs invariably affected large numbers of people; since despite the mechanization explosion the existing factories were still labour intensive in comparison with modern counterparts. Taylor (1960:28) observes that

from the mid-1790's a new and less happy trend is apparent. War, inflation, and worsening terms of trade spell distress for all but limited sections of the working class.

More importantly, he surmises that

it is evident that by 1840 the material progress of half a century had not yet sufficed to insulate the working class against the worst effects of economic depression.

Gaskell (1968:IV) quotes an unnamed individual, a factory operative, and someone who recognised the precarious position in which he is placed:

I am a loyal man, strongly attached to the institutions of my country. I am a friend to the social order, and I shall never act upon any other principle myself; but I cannot think I ought tamely to submit to perish without a struggle; and I am confident, that, unless something be done to prevent it, any accidental cause, such as an advance in the price of provisions, or a deficiency of crops, must bring thousands of us to a premature grave.

It was the critical dependence of the worker upon his employer which guaranteed the persistence of numerous forms of arbitrary and abusive treatment of employees. Callous cruelty to children is legendary of this period, but more pernicious, in many ways, was the ability of the manufacturer to fine his workers substantial amounts for lateness, poor performance, and the like. Engels (1958:200), for example, cites the instance of individuals who, because they had arrived ten minutes late for work were

locked out of the factory until after breakfast (normal commencement being five or six a.m.) and lost a quarter of a day's pay, although he had actually missed only 2½ hours work out of twelve. The example illustrates once again, the arbitrary treatment of factory operatives consistent with the virtual and immoveable dependence which existed in the employee-employer relationship. Engels commented, apparently with some accuracy, that upon entering the factory, the worker lost all his rights. There was, in fact, for the vast majority of the factory population, no appeal whatsoever to a disinterested third party for the redress of grievances. At least until the late 1840's the several parliamentary acts which had been passed to alleviate the abusive conditions which existed, did not begin to have real effect. The factory thus represented, in fact if not theory, a self-sufficient legal sub-system, with the owner being the sole judge and executioner. The relationship of manufacturers with the local magistracy was such that the latter were expected to provide moral guidance for their employees in return for diligent and loyal work. A quasi-legal system evolved whereby employees who suddenly left their jobs could be forcefully returned, and where excessive physical abuse by machine or man came to be ignored. Consequently, the propriety of an employee being fined sixpence for talking, whistling or singing on the job was hardly open to question or appeal (Engels, 1958:202). Gaskell (1968: 294) alludes to the worse than feudal nature of the relationship, and, asking that the existence of a fixed population surrounding the factory be borne in mind, characterizes the situation as one of "little colonies" being "formed under the absolute government of the employer".

Both contemporary and modern accounts of factory conditions in the 1830's and 1840's are replete with the

extremely abusive circumstances under which men, women and children were virtually forced to work: the corporal punishment of children for poor performance; the record of countless loss of lives and limbs resulting from contact with dangerous machinery; and the unsanitary and disease-ridden environment of foul air, poor lighting and overcrowding. Most alarming was the fact that the manufacturer generally took no legal, moral or financial responsibility for sickness or even fatal accident in their establishments (particularly for unskilled employees). Such were their advantages in the labour market from which they had to choose and such was the anonymity of those whom they chose.

The worker and his family lived in rented rooms or cottages usually owned by the manufacturer; this housing apparently did not surpass in quality the conditions of the workplace, but constituted just another agency for profit. Engels (1958:122-23) pictured the situation in 1844 as follows:

... 350,000 workers in Manchester and the surrounding districts live in inferior, damp, dirty cottages; the streets are generally in a disgraceful state of filth and disrepair, and the layout of the dwellings reflects the greed of the builder for profits from the way in which ventilation is lacking. In a word, the workers' dwellings in Manchester are dirty, miserable and wholly lacking in comforts. In such houses only inhuman, degraded and unhealthy creatures would feel at home.

On viewing the house as a home, he goes on to say that being stripped of everything that might render it pleasant or delightful, it has, in consequence, no hold upon the affections. The labourer leaves it without regret-- he anticipates no joy on his return--he finds there nothing but want ...

In many instances the exploitation of the factory worker under the early industrial system was almost total:

not only in work and housing but in the little that had gone to the worker in wages also. It was obviously the aim of many of the manufacturers to have their workers under absolute control and available for their exclusive use at little or no expense to themselves. Hence the establishment of the notorious trucking system, which either forced the employee to take his wages in kind (e.g. coal, foodstuffs, etc.) or to spend them at the company store exclusively. Using a system of inflated cost and selling prices the manufacturer once again took advantage of his superior and virtually unassailable position, protected for some time by vested interest in municipal and national government. Gaskell (1968:306) saw evils such as the truck system as finally "reducing the labourers to a mere machine by destroying his personal independence" and by "cutting off his claim to self respect", thus degrading him to a condition of "mere slavery".

It is important to grasp not only the exploitation and physical harshness of the worker's existence terminating in his utter despair, but also the all pervasive sameness and monotony of everything. This factor will be examined later in dealing with the worker's social identity, but what is significant here is the idea that the operative was unable to institute any substantial change in his life and surroundings. He was so pre-occupied with attempting to gather together at least short term security for himself and his family that virtually anything else was beyond his reach. For example, a common lack of incentive in making even superficial improvements to the home not only followed loosened family ties and the greater economic independence of children from their parents but also from the knowledge that no credit would be gotten for them from the landlord/manufacturer. More importantly, it was quite common that families be shifted at any time. In addition, an

unexpected increase in rent could force the family to take in several boarders and the consequent overcrowding naturally tended to militate against pride in the home and family privacy. As will be shown later, mutual support under these conditions became competition and conflict.

Gaskell (1968:123) captures the effects of the workers' powerlessness and the impression that there is little to differentiate the factory and the home in terms of relief from the incessant toil and sameness of his surroundings:

His labour is continued so uninterruptedly, that whether it is morning or noon or night, he leaves the workshop or mill, and devours his watery meal with feelings of mental depression, exhaustion or wearisomeness, and he eagerly swallows a stimulus in the shape of spirits or beer, to supply, by its temporary exciting influence, the want of proper food on the one hand and of due relaxation on the other.

It was Engels' (1958:133) view that the division of labour had actually worsened the worker's situation, describing it as "brutalizing the effects of forced labour". He stated that under the conditions prevailing in 1844, the task of the worker was limited to insignificant and purely repetitive tasks which, because of its monotonous continuity, drives from the individual all inward and outward appearances of humanity.

In the late 1820's the widespread adoption of power looms, in the textile industries, was responsible for major changes in the basis of recruitment from the family unit to the factory. Functions that came to be associated with power loom weaving required more attention to detail, dexterity, care and patience than physical strength and endurance (Pinchbeck, 1969:185). In an attempt to offset the heavy capital overheads that accompanied the purchase of the new machinery, manu-

facturers turned to women and children for machine work. Many adult males were displaced from their jobs since they normally drew higher wages than their wives and children and because it was thought that men were more susceptible to the political agitations of the 1830's and 1840's which promised to end the feudal legacies of industry. Consequently, the rapid decline in wages and the decrease in status of the woolcombers, especially during the 1830's, ended with the father of the family looking to his wife and children for either total or partial support, if for instance, he could find only a sweeping and cleaning job at an income well below that of the others (Smelser, 1959:202-3).

#### The Factory And Social Identity

The change in familial relationships occasioned by the increased economic independence of wife and child and the serious loss in status that skilled weavers underwent both in the factory and at home was seen to be yet another of the disastrous consequences of the factory system. Time and time again it all ended in the breaking up of households, as will be seen in greater detail later.

However, it is during this period of the displacement of husbands and fathers that the manufacturer grew in status, relative to his position as moral guide, and he was increasingly viewed by middle class sympathizers of the working classes, as one who not only had the power to deliver the family unit from the detested factory system but was virtually obliged to do so. It becomes obvious when looking at contemporary statements and accounts, just how much some employees and employers idealized a benevolent feudal relationship between them e.g. if the husband became inoperative for some reason the lord/manufacturer would step in and take care of the family until the position had returned to normal. But

with few exceptions (notably those of Robert Owen and Dr. Ure) an exploitative relationship persisted, reaching its most piteous climax in fatal injury on the job with rapid replacement and no reflection. Such was the strength of the social identity of the adult male worker at the time compared with that of his master.

Although the prevailing values of the working classes at this time will be dealt with at greater length in a subsequent chapter, suffice it to say here that the high value placed upon financial and familial independence, personal responsibility and thrift, which were in part nourished by the activities of the Methodists in industrial towns, often became distorted into a 'get rich and get out' work ethic:

It offered him (the factory worker) one incentive and one incentive only, the hope of becoming rich. (And thereby guaranteeing long term security) (*italics mine*). For he lived in a world where it was easier for a man, starting poor, to become rich, than at any other time in history. This was the ruling fact of the time, and it created the atmosphere in which he lived (Hammond, 1929:223).

Even though those who came from working class origins and made substantial fortunes were relatively few, they clearly set a powerful example to the many who idealized their position. The working classes were beginning to have strong advocacy in government and members of their own ranks began to discover how many doors economic power generally, and money more specifically, could open. Riches also, (and perhaps more importantly to the worker) meant a chance to find both an individual identity in society and an escape, at will, from the stultifying and aesthetically poverty-stricken environment to which he was used. As Hammond (1929:224) notes, speaking of Manchester:

There are no public promenades, no avenues, no public gardens and no public common ... everything in the suburbs is closed against them, (the workers) (*italics mine*) everything is private property: in the midst of the beautiful scenery of England the operatives are like the Israelites of old, with the promised land before them, but forbidden to enter it.

### The Factories And Social Support

Repeatedly social commentators of the 1830's and 1840's cite the breaking up on households as the greatest misfortune and the most unfavourable change which had resulted from factory labour. The greater economic independence of children, at an early age, is mentioned specifically:

The subsequent possession of money with the bickerings that arise therefrom, alienate any spark of affection that might still be lingering in its breast for its parents, and when a mere infant, it establishes itself as an independent inmate of its paternal dwelling or seeks out lodging with other parties as the case may happen to be (Gaskell, 1968:68).

Mention has already been made of the loss in occupational and financial status often suffered by adult male workers during this period, and this factor undoubtedly contributed to the dissolving of social obligations which had previously existed. Moreover, the woman's commitment at the factory is universally cited as injurious to the child's development, since almost immediately after birth children were placed in the hands of other children or undesirables during the long working day, thus depriving them of the maternal support and discipline they needed. Subsequently entering the factory at the age of nine, the child was often seen merely as someone who could contribute more income to the increasingly less defineable household. Once in the

factory he was placed under the control of an overlooker or spinner, who, from a sense of duty to his employer or himself treated him "frequently with harshness, making no allowance for childish simplicity, bashfulness, delicacy or failings; and this is most fatal to self-esteem" (Gaskell, 1968:61). It is interesting to note Pinchbeck's (1969:1968) assertion in the context of the child's abuse by his fellow workers: "Much of the harshness and cruelty associated with early factory labour resulted from the fact that the spinner's work and remuneration depended largely on the activity and attention of their process, hence the treatment which many of them doled out to their assistants".

In summary, the state of the family came to be variously described as a 'heartless assemblage of separate and conflicting individuals' and 'a body of distinct individuals', "uninfluenced by the more gentle, the more noble, and the more humanized cares, aspirations and feelings, which could alone render them estimable as fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters" (Gaskell, 1968:66). Their existence was characterized as one of recklessness, improvidence and unnecessary poverty; starvation, drunkenness, parental cruelty and carelessness; filial disobedience, neglect of conjugal rights and the absence of all affection.

Beyond the situation of the family there was still little potential for personal growth and development. With the inflated labour pool of unskilled workers always open to the manufacturers and the relatively few skilled employees needed to supplement technological advance, the apprenticeship weaving system broke down in the 1830's and 1840's, leaving little alternative for the individual but to become an appendage of the machine. Neither was there much of a chance for mobility and self-development through formal education. Most social re-

formers and commentators of the period were more concerned with moral education (after the pattern of the Methodist Sunday schools) than with what they termed 'intellectual education': "The intention of educating the labouring community ought to be, and no doubt is, to increase the individual happiness of every separate member ; to elevate him in the scale of society; and to add to the harmony and contentment of the whole social union" (Gaskell, 1968:240). However Dodd (1968:63) commented --- speaking of Bolton, 1841 --- on what little provision there was for education of any kind in the industrial districts:

The education of the children, it would seem, does not occupy much of the care of the manufacturers, for out of forty factories in this place, I have not heard of a single instance of a school having been erected on the premises; the education clause in the Factories Regulations Act appears little better than a dead letter.

Engels (1958:124) added his voice to the others:

In relation to the size of the population, the educational facilities in England are negligible. These are very limited numbers of day schools open to working class children; they are of a poor standard and attract only a very few scholars. The teachers are retired workers or other unsuitable persons who, unable to earn a living in any other way, have turned to teaching as a last resort. The vast majority of these 'teachers' are themselves virtually uneducated and lack the moral qualities essential in a teacher. However, it was amply demonstrated that no human being whose time for twelve to sixteen hours per day is occupied by exertions for procuring a livelihood can devote himself to extend the sphere of his knowledge beyond some of its primary elements.

The numerous calls for manufacturers to provide schooling on their premises was symptomatic of a general consensus among the sympathetic middle classes that they should provide some leadership, since they had the

physical resources necessary and embodied the most valued social virtues, consistent with their past struggle for prominence. Moral responsibility was said to be with the employer because he chose the type of people with whom one had to work and mix socially and he, therefore, should provide inspiration and example.

In any case, despite the pleas of social reformers, the insecurity which Engels saw as a worse demoralizing agent than poverty persisted. In fact, Smelser (1959:225) has estimated that in the first forty years of the nineteenth century almost every workman expected to go to the workhouse at one time or another. He stated that the Poor Law of 1834, which reversed the policy of compensating distressed labourers by various kinds of outdoor relief, initiated a policy which refused them relief altogether, except in the detestable workhouse where they were separated from their wives and children, meanwhile adding little to their future prospects. In conclusion, Thompson (1964) characterizes the period of the Industrial Revolution as one where a moral rhetoric-- authentic, and deeply expressive of the workers' collective grievances and aspirations-- suddenly seemed grossly inadequate when applied to their personal relations.

In the following chapter, an attempt will be made to map the parameters of the affective economy of modern Japanese factory life, in order to lay the groundwork for our later effort to draw similarities and contrasts between the historical and the contemporary models.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE CORPORATE : RESPECTABLE "WORKER UNFREEDOM"

In order to gain an impression of how the factory can offer a rich affective environment, the following Japanese illustration has been included. It stands in sharp contrast to the English example, and represents a modal social system as did the former. It must be stressed, once again, that a developmental theme, as such, is not of interest to the author. Neither are cross-cultural comparisons of immediate importance.

#### Japanese Industry - An Open System

Industrialization in Japan came as the answer to a Pressing survival problem, especially in relation to a possible disintegration of internal organic structures. The necessity of not only accommodating cultural and social factors but actually applying them to the official and operative goals of the firm, has characterized Japanese industry and industrial relations.

Social, political and occupational life in Japan involved active membership in a series of groups which are universally recognized as being closely related and which reach their pinnacle in loyalty and devotion to the leader of the overall group, the Emperor. The Manager of the company, the Chief of the village council, and even the supervisory foreman have distinctly similar roles, in ways which will be elucidated later. In each situation, there is a clear and strong recognition of reciprocal obligations of the leader and the led, insofar as the continued effectiveness of the group is concerned. Specifically, it is a recognition of what the role of the group is vis à vis local and national, industrial and social conditions.

Hence Ballon's (1969:4) observation that "the

philosophical postulates of individualism have, at best, flimsy roots in Japanese culture".

Company identification with external social goals has sometimes resulted in strictly private institutions taking upon themselves attitudes and courses of action which would ordinarily, in most Western nations, be the province of a public institution (Ballon 1969:11). The consequent unclarity of differentiation between company and personal life is manifest in a paternalistic disposition which large firm managers adopt in relation to their employees. The successive incorporation of more and more family life under company auspices has tended to greatly increase the affective as well as the physical dependence of the worker upon his firm (Dore 1967:171-73).

However, even though national viability is dependent upon a broad sense of corporate responsibility, the basic cleavages in Japanese society also have their locus in group relations. The strong affective commitment of an individual to his group has not been conducive to the smooth integration of groups in the wider society, although it has been conducive to a very high degree of solidarity and confirmity within any single group (Nakanie 1970:87-104).

Just as an individual shares with others his family name, so a Japanese enterprise is identified by its affiliation with an industrial grouping. It is accorded a certain status directly related to the importance of its contribution to the national effort. The status conferred on particular workers in various strata of factory organization follows a similar pattern (Ballon 1969:11-12).

Informal working groups in the large firm, especially, have come to identify with the role of the industrial grouping to which their firm is a member, despite the organizational distance involved. Part of

their interest in larger issues is sustained by the company practice of formulating mutual social obligations in close association with governmental agencies. One way in which national goals are reflected in company policy is shown by the view prevalent in management strata that firms should strive to employ as many people as possible, thereby discharging their obligation toward the larger social group. The critical importance of a stable role and a secure status within the working group is paramount in Japanese industrial life (Ballon 1969:75-76).

Consequently, although an economic crisis would ordinarily demand that a number of workers be dismissed, factory management often takes the attitude that such disturbances should be borne by the firm as a whole, and is therefore reluctant to make individuals suffer for it. The issue is not only the worker's occupational security; perhaps most importantly, it is the challenge to his confidence, self-esteem and self-respect. The usual practice in such circumstances is to temporarily retire a proportion of the work force at half pay or better and to recall it when conditions have improved. The capacity of firms to implement such a course of action depends, of course, upon their size and capital foundation (Abegglen 1958:15).

There are, however, qualitative differences between small and large firms, which are defined as employing less than and more than 1,000 persons, respectively. The small firm in Japan typically employs between twenty and two hundred workers. It often exists as a subsidiary of a large firm in a relationship insightfully termed by several observers as a "parent-child relationship". Large firms actually account for less than twenty per cent of total industrial output but they have constituted the historical ideal. Thus, for example, the seniority principle (to be discussed later), is more deeply embedded

in their operations, since it originated, not with the rise of industrialization, but in the "formalistic tradition of the old ruling class of warriors" (Ballon 1969: 24).

Recruitment to the lower levels of factory operations is typically from rural areas and from those who have only recently completed three years of high school education. The employers consider these young recruits to be more stable than their urban counterparts and view them as more capable of being subject and responsive to management influence and paternalism. This recruitment policy accords with the primary concern of Japanese management, which is to mould a career man who will stay with the company throughout his working life and who will expect to reach his self-actualization through association with the firm. In return for the benevolence of management in providing the worker with social security and a rich emotional environment, a high level of loyalty and devotion is demanded. Over the past half century the prospect of a secure career employment has been accepted by the work force as an attractive inducement to enter into a position of "worker unfreedom" (after Weber, 1947). Coupled with a seniority based system, it has worked successfully to retain the best portion of the blue collar operatives (Abegglen 1958:36-38).

Essential to the development of a fully corporate ethos in company organization is the existence of numerous fringe benefits, which constitute a substantial part of the remuneration of Japanese factory workers. These benefits include company developed community housing for both single and married workers and the apparently adequate provision of other cultural, educational, athletic and medical facilities. One study (Takezawa 1969:2) has shown that the cost of fringe benefits per worker, including "opportunity losses" incurred by the "frozen"

investment in employee services, amounted to 100.3 per cent of the cash wages and salaries paid in one textile mill in 1966. Since the average monthly wage and salary was then 35,099 yen, the total cost to the company was almost 200 US dollars a month per worker.

In addition to the provisions of individual companies, recent governments have supplemented social security services, viewing them as essential public services of a high priority. The attitude of government, then, has reinforced the development and stability of careers at the factory operative level. The so-called docility and high work motivation of Japanese blue collar workers must thus be understood in the context of their career commitments; underwritten by a comprehensive social security.

#### The Factory And Social Reality

For the Japanese factory worker in a large established firm, company life extends considerably beyond the workplace; and even within the work setting the occupational role is not the only one in operation. The work group quite often serves as the play group as well, so that needs for achievement, self-esteem, competence and success are a function of the satisfactory assimilation of complementary roles in both the work and the leisure settings. In effect, striving for a secure and enhanced position for oneself in company life and the need for response and recognition by members of the work/play group are often contained within a twenty-four hour company cycle, year after year. Such is the nature of the lifetime commitment made by the worker and his family (Nakanie 1970:8-22).

The coincidence of the work and play groups largely follow the historical tendency of supervisors to gather together people of similar age and experience

and those who may have come from the same district and school. They may also have been inducted into the firm in the same year. These people can expect a similar progression in the firm, since the limited promotional opportunities at the lower levels are typically based on age and length of service, rather than on competitive merit: which would otherwise tend to be divisive in a small task oriented group (Abegglen 1958:36-37).

If workers are single they will probably live in close proximity in a company dormitory, eating together and sharing medical and recreational facilities. Since they will be paid in similar amounts the activities open to them will be broadly determined. If workers are married they will live in company apartment developments and have their rentals subsidized by the firm. They will also have access to a communal dining facility and shopping facilities, with special purchasing rights having been made available to them and their families. Extra allowance will be paid to the worker for the support of his family, in addition to the provision of general health insurance coverage and medical care. Very often the children of the family will attend a company school. If the worker is ill, he will receive a substantial stipend from the company until he is able to return to work. The firm assumes, then, total responsibility for the security of those who have committed themselves to its charge. Although, of course, in providing such service the management is interested primarily in a healthy and stable workforce of predictable strength, nevertheless, a subsidiary and related interest is in freeing the working man from concern over his present and future status. It is assumed by both parties that the individual's personal growth and self-development can and will be contained in corporate life (Abegglen 1958:47-70).

The high value placed upon work appears to be a

cultural universal in Japan. The pressures of society and the individual's formative development have taught him to regard work, almost unconsciously, as a highly favoured component of life. His participation in it has become a completely natural and spontaneous activity. It is through work in a group that a person's needs for achievement and self-respect can be realized and this realization is intrinsically linked to the fulfilment of group expectations and the acceptance of mutual obligations. The enhancement of group status in greater work performance also has the latent effect of adding to the status of its individual members. Group success is individual success. Because of this functional interdependence of working group members, persistent laziness and apathy draws no respect from fellow workers:

In the country, the peasant cultivates his field; in industry the worker fulfils the duty he has been assigned. There is a vital obligation on both sides. The field must feed the peasant and the peasant must cultivate the field; the firm must take care of its workers and its workers must serve the growth of the firm (Ballon 1969:49).

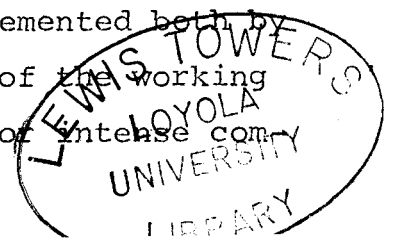
In general, the Japanese obligation to work for the group increases with age and with the heightened dependence of the worker on his company. As the worker gets older, both his wages and his promotional expectations increase, thus enhancing his potential work satisfaction and contributing to his self-actualization. Given the fact that the experiential value of the group member increases with age, which in turn, forges a closer identification with group goals, intensified feelings of self-esteem and belongingness are also generated in an environment of growing recognition and response (Dore 1967:101-105).

Since both the industrial and the social aspects of company life are so critically dependent upon the

efficacy of group dynamics, it has been necessary that accommodation and consensus be developed to a high order. Quite often authority boundaries are ill-defined and the locus of responsibility is sometimes difficult to identify, due to a multiplicity of overlapping levels of decision making. The prevailing attitude is that individuals should be protected from heavy criticism and that responsibility should be diffuse. The integrity of the group in consensus is paramount. Therefore, organizational decisions are normally worked out by the group in conference, ostensibly in the tradition of the village council and the clan meeting. The importance of each worker as a participant in the decision making process, in an atmosphere of free expression, is that it enables him to take the opportunity to reinforce his confidence and prestige. At the same time, he can play a supportive role in relation to other group members. Work now seems to take on a more spontaneous and democratic character (Abegglen 1958:84-85).

The ease with which groups are formed both on and off the job is reinforced by the caste system of induction and employment. At the lower levels of factory operations, workers are not hired to do any particular job, and they become more interested in a position that confers status than in a position achieved by occupational excellence. At the operative level job rotation and occupational diffuseness are emphasized. This system offers some escape from monotonous work and a chance to try something different; at the same time the system militates against the artificial barriers to functional interdependence which strict operational specialization could foster (Abegglen 1958:115).

Occupational diffuseness is complemented both by a relative homogeneity in the membership of the working group and by the redundancy of the need for intense com-



petitive individualism. Competition on an individual basis has a function in day to day group operations, but it is totally unrelated to physical rewards. Rather, competition is directed toward demonstrating the individual worker's loyalty and devotion to this supervisor, thus acknowledging his part of the mutual obligation (Dore (1967:165-171)).

It is the prevailing philosophy of management that every worker has some utility insofar as the operative goals of the firm are concerned. If, for example, a machine workman is thought to be unsuitable for a lifetime commitment to his particular group and function, he will be transferred to a position consistent with his abilities. As long as he has a conscientious attitude toward his work he will remain on good terms with both management and peers and will still be perceived to be contributing effectively to the work of the firm. The worker simply becomes a functioning member of another group and his sense of self-esteem may well remain intact (Abegglen 1958:87).

#### The Factory And Social Identity

Under the status ranking system in Japanese factories each individual is accorded a status which is differentiated from the status of others in the work force. Often --- especially in larger firms --- it is made implicit by the wearing of company uniforms and badges of rank. In fact, the somewhat para-military organization of some of these firms is accentuated by the existence of a company flag and anthem, which no doubt adds to the attractiveness of higher status positions and constitutes a significant factor in the intensity of aspiration among rank-and-file workers. The desire for increased status persists despite the limited possibilities of promotion for factory workers, compared with that

of the clerical and management echelons (Dore 1967:109-113).

The social identity of the worker at the lower levels of the organization is becoming increasingly distinguishable, since jobs assigned to younger workers are now more consistent with their natural abilities, rather than directly determined by their age and level of educational attainment. In addition, in recent years, with rising real wages, declining work hours, physically less tiring work and changing values, leisure has increased and dependence on the company has declined. What was a closed relationship between worker and management is beginning to open (Dore 1967:81-84).

Nevertheless, age continues to ensure some degree of respect and prestige within the working group and from management. Length of service and age, after all, are public information and hence have an objective, indisputable character.

The wage system, as well as ensuring some degree of protection from management discrimination, does promote worker solidarity by establishing an equitable definition of the scope and boundaries of wage differentiation. Although the wage system is undergoing change, the individual's occupational identity can still be broadly determined by his age and related length of experience. It is interesting to note that workers have been known to quit when they learned that others of the same age and with the same length of service received slightly higher increments. There is, however, an increasing emphasis in wage differentiation on technical competence and efficiency rather than on age and generalized experience. Hence, particularly the younger worker's identity is becoming more distinct and his individual contribution to the group effort more distinguishable.

Nevertheless, it should be observed that, in

terms of promotion, the Western system which involves greater responsibility and authority is not applicable under the Japanese system, which concerns itself with factors related to increased status within the group. In fact, the promotion of one individual is an affirmation of the strength and achievement of the group, whose world of concern is usually small and restricted (Dore 1967:106-7).

Apart from the prestige value of membership in a particular industrial grouping, it is often true that the older the firm in which the worker is employed, the greater tends to be the prestige associated with working in it. This differential prestige reinforces in the eyes of the Japanese the idea that it is not the occupation that counts but, more particularly, the place of work.

There is some recognition, in the approach of company management, of the identity of the family as a source of stability of the work force. Generally, though, the practice of husband and wife working in the same factory is not permitted. However, consistent with its professed responsibility for the welfare of the family, in toto, management often assists in the placement of other family members in nearby factories (Abegglen 1958:38).

Ordinarily, women are seriously disadvantaged in relation to lifetime commitment to the firm, and a career for them within any one company is highly unlikely. It is expected that after about seven years following high school studies, the woman will leave the firm, marry, and raise a family. Such is to be her fulfilment and self-actualization. Consequently, management is reluctant to place women in positions of superior responsibility; as a result, women are almost exclusively inducted into lower levels of factory operations. It is the rare

exception that a woman will rise above this status. There remains, however, the somewhat dubious consolation that women are now paid on an equal basis with men for individual work performed (Abegglen 1958:102-4).

### The Factory And Social Support

Quite apart from the obligations generated by the promise of a lifetime career in the firm, duties and expectations are also a function of the adoption and patronage systems of recruitment. It has been shown that approximately thirty per cent of yearly additions to the ranks of factory workers come about through "connections" of the prospective employee or his family with an official of the firm (Nakanie 1970:32).

In the case of adoption, more characteristic of a small firm and less frequently occurring than patronage, the company manager legally adopts destitute young men and women and makes them a part of his industrial family. In both cases, it is the duty of the new employee to repay the benevolence of his patron or guardian with loyalty and respect. In fact, those people who are inducted in this way are not officially differentiated from their fellow workers but they are, perhaps, less able to respond to the changes which other young workers in the cities would advocate (Abegglen 1958:137).

The persistence of corporate paternalism is related to the alienation experienced by some rural recruits who have come to an urban environment from a less sophisticated provincial setting. These people are lost in the impersonal city and naturally tend to orient themselves toward their employers and fellow workers in the nature of a family replacement. The company also provides a security of subsistence which the rural family can, perhaps, no longer provide (Dore 1967:171-73).

Insofar as permanent and temporary workers are

concerned, it is obvious that large companies definitely favour the former, to whom most of the fringe benefits associated with career employment are directed. Temporary workers, because of their inherent mobility patterns, have come to be regarded as neither full members of the working groups, nor of the leisure groups. Still, as much is expected of them as is expected of permanent workers. In addition, whereas the permanent worker cannot be dismissed in times of economic crisis, irrespective of the length of his employment contract, the temporary worker can be dismissed at any time (Abegglen 1958:22).

Promotion to the position of foreman means not only additional wages and release from the repetitive work routine, it also carries with it considerable status in relation to the status of one's co-workers. The viability of the foreman's position is critically dependent upon support from the work group over which he has control. The worth of the position lies in the higher status associated with the job, rather than with the opportunity to exercise power over one's subordinates. The intensity of individual competition in winning the favour of the foreman gives some indication of the efficacy of his position at any one time. It also reflects the overall informal and formal effectiveness of the group (Dore 1967:183-189).

It is characteristic of Japanese industrial operations that there exist vertical cliques, having been derived partly from recruitment from a common area and school, although at different educational levels. Hence factory workers come to be associated with supervisors and clerks and perhaps members of the management. Individuals in these cliques provide mutual assistance in case of an industrial dispute, greatly diminishing the necessity of organized industrial advocacy, even on a local basis.

Unionism, therefore, does not play the same role that it does in many Western nations. Generally speaking, the union's function in Japan is to see that national standards of conditions of work are observed by the factory management. Often, management and unions work together in cases of dispute. The skill of formal groups insofar as accommodation and consensus are concerned, together with the operation of vertical cliques in the factory, usually enable disputing parties to quickly resolve any minor conflicts of interest that might arise.

In the conclusion to follow, the broad affective parameters prevailing in the factory conditions just discussed, together with those alluded to in Chapter II, will be compared and analyzed from an a-historical perspective.

## CONCLUSION

Having had an overview of the nature of the two affective environments, it is necessary now that both be examined from an a-historical perspective as they impinge upon our reconstituted 'economic' or 'factory' man. For the purposes of clarity and parsimony the illustrations to be referred to will be designated as those of 'England' and 'Japan', respectively. The procedure will involve applying some of the theoretical considerations outlined in Chapter I to the areas of examination - beginning with what Maslow observed to be the first step in building a secure foundation for emotional self development.

### Pre-Conditions To Need Satisfaction

Upon application of Maslow's (1954) pre-conditions to both situations, an immediate disparity is seen to exist. Instead of justice, fairness, honesty and orderliness in England, we encounter quasi-legal arbitrary rule, partiality, exploitation and fraud, and chaotic social conditions. In contrast, the Japanese example makes mention of a diffuse responsibility taken for decisions, of objectified rules for recruitment, remuneration and promotion, and of a para-military orderliness characteristic of its larger factories.

Freedom of expression and investigation constitutes the remainder of the pre-conditions. In Japan, such freedom is accepted as fundamental to the caste approach to occupational and social life in industry. It is vital to the efficacy of group decision making, but more particularly, it allows the vertical cliques, mentioned previously, to operate to advantage. In England, however, the situation is quite different. Apart from the obstacles to free expression raised by the passing of parliamentary acts against union organisation, the feudal dependence of the worker upon his master under

conditions of exploitation and virtually absolute control makes the expression of free speech highly problematic in its advantages and decidedly dangerous in its costs.

From the point of discussion we move to the first and most fundamental of the affective needs whose satisfaction, in turn, serves as a pre-condition to the at least partial fulfilment of the more sophisticated needs which succeed it.

### The Need For Safety And Security

Unlike Japan, England does not even reach the preliminary step of building for man a strong foundation of long term physical safety and security from which he may attend to higher needs. There are microcosmic exceptions to this conclusion, of course, consistent with some of the relevant individual difference factors operating under factory conditions which have previously been outlined. However, it remains Maslow's thesis that under normal circumstances man must have some measure of safety and security before his attention is turned toward recognition, self-esteem, and so on. Further, as the individual moves up the hierarchy toward self-actualization, the base on which he stands needs to be periodically reinforced. However, the precarious and fluctuating socio-economic position of the English worker renders thoughts of his long term security as totally unrealistic and therefore virtually unobtainable; and personal safety defined in terms of freedom from danger and threat seems to lose all meaning in the often thoroughly hostile and menacing factory partnership of manager and machine.

The right of appeal to a disinterested third party complements criteria such as freedom from arbitrary will and the existence of universally applied rules and equitable rewards, when speaking of personal safety and security. Naturally, the question of the relative need

to appeal arises when comparing England to Japan and from the abusive conditions described in the former case, an answer appears to be indicated. There is no real opportunity to appeal to a disinterested party in England, because it appears that there are few disinterested parties. Government and the law reflects the vested interests of the architects of the factory system, especially since the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832, oddly enough. Combinations of workers for the purpose of the redress of grievances, either inside or outside the factory, are simply illegal: and few have any interest in antagonizing their employers, anyway. The employer-employee relationship in this instance is a closed relationship and it is one in which the workers' rights are appropriated from him. In England, therefore, the individual loses his right to the free disposal of his wages, he loses the right, in several instances, to resign and look elsewhere for a job: he loses that inordinate part of his lifetime devoted to factory labour, and he loses all equity, generally, in his position as man, citizen, consumer and worker.

Although Japan retains the formal right to appeal, manifest in the existence of union advocacy, disinterestedness is not critical to the settling of conflicting claims since the industrial system here does not, for the most part, view the management and worker roles as being either historically antagonistic or even the subjects of a useful distinction. The use of union pressure is a last resort and action on both sides is normally kept as localized as possible. Management, the union and the worker are each thought of as being part of an incorporated whole and therefore mutually dependent. Problems are thought to be temporary and can be easily and informally worked out. Hence the operation, once again, of the phenomenon of the vertical clique. In

summary, what is important is that the worker in Japan has his civil rights as employee and he has access to both formal and informal industrial advocacy to protect them.

In addition to his rights, the Japanese worker is seen to enjoy a comprehensive social security, and, in contrast to the English model, is protected as far as possible against the effects of economic externalities of depression and recession. From the data available, however, the question as to whether or not the incorporation of the Japanese into the factory system involves a relatively greater element of free choice cannot expect a conclusive answer: since the comparative patterns of rural displacement are in some ways similar. What remains significantly different is in the recognition of mutual obligations between employer and employee, which continues to be absent in England.

#### The Need For Response

Satisfaction of the need for response from others is predicated upon the existence of an identification with group efforts and goals and upon agreeable formal and informal relations with ones co-workers.

However, in England we see a situation where competitive and conflicting individualism both on and off the job takes the place of positive social exchange and social support. In Japan there is a strong identification with the company's goals, a recognition of its importance for the national effort, and, on a lower level, a recognition that group operations and group success require consistent mutual assistance and support. In addition, since the individual in Japan takes a relatively greater part in decision making and since he is also encouraged to realize his importance in the overall operations of the firm, the potential responsiveness

from others follows from the worker's position as actor rather than simply as reactor. Also, of course, the caste-like system of induction of people with similar educational backgrounds drawn from common locations, is said to put group formation and effectiveness at a great advantage. Those who are pulled into the English factory system, however, are of a much less homogeneous composition. They drift, through force of circumstance, from places scattered all over the British Isles, rather than being locally recruited in substantial numbers as in the case in Japan.

#### The Need For Recognition

An individual's need for recognition from his fellow workers is also based, in part, upon good formal and informal group relations. More particularly, though, the worker needs to know that he is making an important contribution to the group effort; as distinguished by his occupational excellence and efficiency or by wider social responsibilities, loyalty and conscientiousness, or both. Even if the mechanical and repetitive nature of the work involves the use of little skill, it is the knowledge that this worker has a responsible position in the group (reinforced by mutually accepted obligations) that sustains morale.

This is the case in Japan, where in return for his conscientiousness and loyalty the factory worker is guaranteed a position of status and security: even to the point of wearing badges of rank consistent with his age and related experience.

In England, however, the destruction of co-operative harmony following the reluctance of manufacturers in building more autonomous working groups composed of compatible individuals; together with the easy replacement of workers in the 1830's and 1840's -- served to dissolve many formal status differentials and to promote

the direct responsibility of each discrete individual to this master. This system not only increased the competitive hostility between workers whose functions were interdependent and complementary, but also militated against the worker's realization of his importance in the formation of the total product, and the realization of others.

Under these circumstances, therefore, it can hardly be maintained that in England, the remaining criteria for recognition can be met; that is, that the day to day operational goals of the firms are accepted and valued by the worker and that the individual has some latitude and independence in his work. These simply do not follow from a situation, for example, in which the inability to spend one's wages freely becomes yet another barrier toward personal independence and hence self-respect and self-esteem. Neither is there much emotional fulfilment to be had from unrelenting subordination to a machine and helplessness in effecting any significant circumstantial change.

#### The Need For Self-Actualization

The superficially intense desire for wealth which characterizes the aspirations of English workers follows from a recurrent wish to escape from a sterile and one dimensional existence. Such is the poverty of their store of security, response and recognition that for most, self-actualization is a fantasy. For those who have achieved some degree of occupational self-fulfilment at the very least, the position that is reached is one of a compromised and relative contentment won from a series of misfortunes in the past and anticipated trouble in the future. Living for today and attempting to forget tomorrow becomes the only manageable solution to the problem of seriously limited resources, both emotional and physical. And so, a career, as such, with all it's psychological concomitants, is meaningless to the point of

absurdity under these circumstances.

On the other hand, the Japanese commitment for life to a new career and industrial family, implicitly recognizes the element of self-actualization within a new social complex, since it involves the individual's personal development along numerous dimensions. The worker is well informed, at the time of his commitment, of just what he can expect in return for a lifetime's conscientiousness and loyalty. Apparently the offer is an attractive one and the expectations are high. However, it would be difficult to understand such enthusiasm outside a framework of justice, fair play and equity; and security, response and recognition. Self-actualization is a position which relatively few people reach and to many it may not either be as important as other social needs (consciously or unconsciously) or even able to be perceived. Nevertheless, from a psychological point of view, satisfaction of this need represents the ultimate in the self-development of man as a social being.

#### The Desire For New Experience

The desire for new experience and novelty is represented in the workplace as a "challenging variety" in his work function. Although the element of challenge is a quality difficult to measure with the data available, at least there is some variety in the Japanese workers' system of job rotation, facilitated by group flexibility and expertise. In addition to the amelioration of monotony and demoralizing regularity on the job, the heightened sophistication of the Japanese worker and his increasing purchasing power have given greater variety and depth to the cultural and social complexes in which he lives. These factors, together with the often occurring coincidence of work and play groups, has promoted a quality of spontaneity in the worker's life, both on and off the

job.

It is hardly necessary, though, to recount the observations of Engels, Dodd and Gaskell relating to the unending sameness of life outside the English factory. Inside it, the individual whose health is destroyed and whose morale no longer means anything, works under extreme pressure day after day for absurdly long hours at the same job whilst subject to criminal coercion and duress. The strictly functional nature of his life and surroundings, together with the high societal value placed upon sober industry, generally, reduces the man and his environment to monotonous sterility and an entirely predictable but wholly unattractive future.

#### Final Observations

Taking into consideration prevalent societal values as to acceptable social habits and given some cultural determinacy in levels of aspiration and expectation, the data available cannot validate Blauner's statement however, that: "Self-estranged workers are dissatisfied only when they have developed needs for control, initiative and meaning in work" (1964:29). The statement is at first glance, as perfectly obvious as it is tautological. The theme of this paper suggests that any limitations imposed upon the potential to satisfy less sophisticated and more fundamental needs may not permit the individual to seek these greater emotional rewards in the workplace. Further, in recognition of the host of individual differences, exceptions and contingencies that have previously been described, the qualification that different individuals seek their emotional fulfilment to varying degrees in a variety of theatres, must be made.

#### Cultural Influence and Levels of Analysis

Although they have not been always mentioned specifically in the preceding chapters, contemporary

ideological structures and prevailing cultural values obviously underly the text of what has been described. The importance of values as variables intervening between need states and drives and the potentialities to satisfy them is well recognized. Naturally, the high value placed upon subordination and sacrifice to the group in Japan stands in sharp contrast to an emphasis on personal independence and self-sufficiency in England. However, it must be stressed at this point that while recognizing the cultural disparities which exist, an examination of the relativities of subjective senses of freedom and deprivation with respect to the worker, does not necessarily follow immediately. Typically a sociological study with a psychological emphasis would concern itself with such matters. But a theoretical orientation which is concerned with boundaries and limitations on emotional resources and with the potential richness of different affective environments, interests itself in the direct relationship of absolute freedom or 'unfreedom' with the various needs stated. It does not deny the modifying influence of values on the intensity of needs stated. Nor does it deny their power to change the directions taken toward their satisfaction.

Rather, in absolute terms, and consistent with an emphatic sociological approach, the intention is to map those alternative courses of action and opportunity and those spheres of emotional involvement which are open or closed to 'factory man' in his two respective settings. From this preliminary level of analysis, implicitly drawing the boundaries of the problem, a psychologically biased study is indicated. Hence, the movement from a sociological to a psychological level of analysis, accompanied by data sufficiently precise to make worthwhile that transition, will facilitate the logical succession of study from 'absolute freedom' to 'subjective

freedom'; and will pave the way for in depth research into psychological relativities and cross-cultural intricacies.

#### Economic Models and Economic Reductionism

The primary impulse to approach the subject matter of the study in this way has followed our strong conviction that for too long the science of economics has been used to explain the purely rational aspects of human behaviour. We believe, for example, that the logical conclusion to Parson's series of observations in his "Structure of Social Action" should have been an explicit recognition of the non-rational economy of human action. Certainly, the theoretical orientations of those whom he discussed, in concert, seem to point in that direction. In any case, we find that certain theorists use economic principles unknowingly, as tends to be found in the wider community. Maslow's theory of a hierarchy of needs, for example, has been shown to rely on the principle of marginal utility even though there has never been an explicit recognition of this fact by the author of the theory. That principle is simply one of those self-evident truths which many of us from time to time are inclined to attribute to the workings of a universal law. It seems to operate irrespective of whether or not the product to be consumed is material or non-material, and intensive or extensive in its magnitude. Hence its ability to function in the abstract.

We feel, however, that some social theorists, particularly in the area of social exchange, have been over-zealous in their use of some economic principles which do not, in fact, function outside material existence and fall far short of the world of the abstract. It is an old scientific canon which stipulates that in preparing two or more series of facts for comparative evaluation, they must first be reduced to the same order and placed on a common denominator. Our contention is that

mistakes have been made in attempting to offer reduction-istic and materially based economic explanations to the non-material world while ignoring the fact that the subjects to be discussed are of a different order.

#### The Work Appraised

Our major intention has been to identify the affective economy and to determine its probable boundaries given the level of abstraction at which it operates. This has necessitated the construction of a behavioural model from economic man as he exists in modal form in classical socio-economic literature, and from modern theory as to the human social needs.

We conclude that the historical and contemporary material provided for analysis and illustration adequately verifies the thesis on which this attempt was based, and emphasizes the fundamental unity of the economic and social spheres of action.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abegglen, J.C.  
1958                      The Japanese Factory, Glencoe : The Free Press
- Ashton, T.S.  
1949                      "The Standard of Life of the Workers in England, 1790-1850". Journal of Economic History Supplement IX
- Ballon, R.F. (ed)  
1969                      The Japanese Employee, Tokyo : Sophia University Press
- Blauner, R.  
1964                      Alienation and Freedom, Chicago : University of Chicago Press
- Cathcart, E.P.  
1928                      The Human Factor in Industry, London : Oxford University Press
- Cole, R.E.  
1971                      Japanese Blue Collar, Los Angeles : University of California Press
- Dodd, William  
1968                      The Factory System Illustrated (Third edition) London : Frank Cass & Co Ltd
- Dore, R.P.  
1967                      Aspects of Social Change in Modern Japan, Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press
- Engels, Friedrich  
1958                      The Condition of the Working Class in England, Oxford : Basic Blackwell
- Gaskell, P.  
1968                      Artisans and Machinery, London : Frank Cass & Co Ltd (First edition 1936)
- Gide, C. &  
Rist, C.  
1948                      A History of Economic Doctrines, Boston : D.C. Heath & Co
- Hammond, J.L.  
1929-30                      "The Industrial Revolution and Discontent" Economic History Review Vol. 2
- Hammond J.L. & B.  
1920                      The Town Labourer (1760-1832), London : Longmans, Green & Co
- Haney, L.H.  
1949                      History of Economic Thought, New York : Macmillan & Co
- Hartwell, R.M.  
1961                      "The Rising Standard of Living in England", Economic History Review Vol. XII

- Hobsbawm, E.J.  
1957 "The British Standard of Living 1790-1850", Economic History Review Vol.X
- Kerr, C.  
1969 Marshall, Marx and Modern Times, London : Cambridge University Press
- Linton, R.  
1936 The Study of Man : An Introduction, New York : Appleton-Century
- Marsh, R.M. &  
Mannari, H.  
1971 "Lifetime Commitment in Japan", American Journal of Sociology Vol. 76
- Marshall, A.  
1961 Principles of Economics (Eighth Edition - London : Macmillan & Co
- Marx, K.  
1969 "Alienated Labour" in Burns, T. (Ed), Industrial Man, London : Penguin Books Ltd
- Maslow, A.H.  
1954 Motivation and Personality, New York : Harper
- Mayo, E.  
1960 The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization, New York : The Viking Press
- Nakanie, C.  
1970 Japanese Society, Los Angeles : University of California Press
- Parsons, T.  
1968 The Structure of Social Action, New York : The Free Press
- Pinchbeck, L.  
1930 Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution, London : Geo. Rutledge & Sons
- Sanderson, M.  
1967 "Education and the Factory in Industrial Lancashire, 1780-1840", Journal of Economic History Vol. 22
- Smelser, N.J.  
1959 Social Change in the Industrial Revolution, London : Routledge and Kegan Paul
- Sumiya, M.  
1966 "The Development of Japanese Labour Relations", Developing Economies Vol. 4
- Takezawa, S.  
1967 "The Blue Collar Worker in Japanese Industry", International Journal of Comparative Sociology Vol. 10

- Taylor, A.J.  
1960  
"Progress and Poverty in Britain  
1780-1850", History XLV (February)
- Thomas, W.I.  
1966  
On Social Organization and Social  
Personality, Chicago : University  
of Chicago Press
- Thompson, E.P.  
1964  
The Making of the English Working  
Class, New York : Pantheon Books
- Weber, M.  
1964  
The Theory of Social and Economic  
Organization, New York : The Free  
Press
- Wing, Charles  
1967  
The Evils of the Factory System,  
London : Frank Cass & Co. Ltd

APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Geoffrey West has been read and approved by members of the Department of Sociology.

The final copies have been examined by the Director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content and form.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

12-28-73

Date

Thomas H. Gammock  
Signature of Advisor