



The Social Organization of Work

FIFTH EDITION

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Intercompany Linkages	376
<i>Interlocking Directorates</i>	376
<i>The Role of Banks</i>	376
<i>Outsourcing</i>	377
The Small-Firm Sector	378
<i>Satellites, Loyal Opposition, and Free Agents</i>	378
<i>The Creation of New Jobs</i>	379
<i>Economic Revitalization</i>	380

16 Globalization 384

Theories of Industrial Development	385
<i>Emergence of an Integrated Global Economy</i>	388
The World Economy Today	391
<i>The Role of Multinational Corporations</i>	391
<i>Slowed Growth in the Industrialized Nations</i>	393
<i>The End of U.S. Economic Dominance</i>	394
<i>Protectionism, Free Trade, and Fair Trade</i>	395
<i>Trading Blocks: Regional Solutions to Lagging Growth</i>	396
<i>Combined and Uneven Development in Less Developed Nations</i>	397
<i>Rising Stars</i>	399
Differing Work Practices Around the Globe	399
<i>Least Developed Nations</i>	399
<i>Developing Nations</i>	400
<i>State-Regulated Capitalism</i>	401
<i>German Codetermination</i>	402
<i>Scandinavian Autonomous Work Groups</i>	403
<i>Work Hours Across the Western Industrialized Nations</i>	404
<i>Macroplanning in Japan</i>	405
<i>The Four Little Tigers</i>	408
<i>China</i>	409
<i>Eastern Europe and Russia</i>	410
<i>Competing Organizational Forms</i>	411
<i>International Labor Solidarity</i>	412

17 The Future of Work 417

Pivotal Work Trends	418
<i>Computer Technology</i>	418
<i>An Integrated World Economy</i>	419

<i>Labor Force Diversity</i>	419
Work in the Twenty-First Century	420
<i>The Innovative Sector</i>	420
<i>The Marginal Sector</i>	427
Working Toward a Brighter Future	431
<i>Increasing Innovation</i>	431
<i>Reducing Marginal Employment</i>	433
<i>Expanding Leisure</i>	433
<i>Public Goods and Reduced Consumption Lifestyles</i>	434
APPENDIX	437
GLOSSARY	447
REFERENCES	459
INDEX	487



The Future of Work

The media provide mounting evidence of “time poverty,” overwork, and a squeeze on time. Nationwide, people report their leisure time has declined by as much as one third since the early 1970s. Predictably, they are spending less time on the basics, like sleeping and eating. Parents are devoting less attention to their children. Stress is on the rise, partly owing to the “balancing act” of reconciling the demands of work and family life.

The experts were unable to predict or even see these trends. I suspect they were blinded by the power of technology—seduced by futuristic visions of automated factories effortlessly churning out products.... To understand why forty years of increasing productivity have failed to liberate us from work, [it is necessary] to abandon a naive faith in technological potential and analyze the social, economic, and political context in which technology is put to use.
(SCHOR, 1991, *THE OVERWORKED AMERICAN*, PP. 5–6)

Changes of great significance are occurring in the nature and organization of work. For the first time in history, we can meaningfully speak of a global workplace. Telecommunication networks link distant worksites. Night shifts in North America communicate instantaneously with morning shifts in Europe and with afternoon shifts in Asia. Multinational corporations link production sites around the world with little regard for geographic or political boundaries.

It is tempting to view these transformations in terms of technological change alone. But each aspect of change—new technologies, new work organizations, and a new workforce—has its own unique dynamics. Innovations in the organization of

work, such as the assembly line, have historically contributed at least as much to productivity as have mechanical inventions.

It is also tempting to view these changes as beyond the control of the average person. Even highly successful workers may feel helpless in the face of “world competition” or “the system.” The welfare of workers and of all of us depends on who controls the nature and direction of change. Workers around the world are deeply involved in this process and are far from powerless. **Workers’ power** is based on their knowledge of the technology and the product and on their collective organizations, such as unions and professional associations.

The difficulty—for workers and analysts alike—is anticipating the consequences of these changes in the nature of work. All changes have multiple effects. Some are likely to be benign; others not so benign. In this chapter, we examine three master trends that are of crucial importance in determining the nature of work in the twenty-first century. Based on these trends, we project the possibility of a future society in which there is an increasing divide between a highly innovative and productive sector and a marginal sector. The emergence of such a divided society is a possibility but not a certainty. Therefore, we also discuss mechanisms for increasing innovation and reducing marginality.

PIVOTAL WORK TRENDS

The beginning decades of the twenty-first century are witnessing many important changes in the nature of work. Three trends are particularly important: (1) the spread of microprocessor technology throughout the workplace, (2) increased competition in the world economy, and (3) the completion of the movement of women into paid labor and increased immigration of people in search of work. In this section, we review each of these trends and discuss how they are shaping the nature of work in the twenty-first century.

Computer Technology

During the twentieth century, advances in technology and organization greatly increased productivity in manufacturing. Initially, these advances involved a finer division of labor into more and more minute tasks and eventually the organization of jobs along moving assembly lines. New technologies in the twenty-first century involve the use of automated

machines, computer-controlled robotics, and automated information processing. These electronic technologies are having an impact on an even broader range of industries and occupations than did the mass-production technologies of the twentieth century.

On the positive side, computer technologies have increased productivity and created skilled jobs. They have also shortened the time needed to develop new products. Thus, the pace of change has increased, giving rise to potentially faster economic growth. Microprocessor technologies have also encouraged greater employee participation, which is required to ensure the successful use of sophisticated technologies. On the negative side, new technologies have created new stresses because of the de-skilling of some workers, the displacement of others, and the electronic monitoring of many others.

In sum, the accelerated pace of technological change associated with the extensive use of microprocessors has created rapid change in the workplace and in workplace relations. These changes have destabilized older patterns of work and relationships

among workers and between workers and managers. Technology by itself, however, does not determine the direction of these changes. Other factors are equally important for determining changes in the nature of work.

An Integrated World Economy

An integrated world economy emerged following the devastation of the Second World War (see Chapter 16). Today, this integrated world economy includes tremendous diversity among nations. Countries vary in their level of industrialization and in how they are integrated into the global economy. Some are dependent suppliers of raw materials or partially finished components to more industrialized nations; others are autonomous producers of finished goods and services.

Recent developments in the world economy have greatly increased competition. After the Second World War, Japan and the European nations rebuilt with newer, more modern factories and re-entered the world market. Many developing nations have also industrialized and have become important producers of manufactured goods. For example, South Korea now sells cars in the American market—something undreamed of twenty years ago. In addition, much of the work in low-wage, labor-intensive industries is now performed in less developed nations—further intensifying the competitive pressure on workers in the industrialized countries.

Thus, changes in the world economy have also contributed to increased change and flux in the workplace. Increased international competition has heightened threats to the jobs of workers in the industrialized nations. Greater competitive pressures require organizational change and innovation for economic survival.

Similar technological, organizational, and market forces have caused a convergence between capitalist and socialist nations. Formerly socialist nations today incorporate market forces to a significant degree in their economies. And the most successful capitalist nations have moved toward greater economic planning (Kenworthy, 2004). Such planning includes targeting specific industries for expansion,

identifying the training needs of the labor force for these industries, and developing programs to meet these needs. The next stage of industrial society will transcend the distinction between capitalism and socialism. Other distinctions, however, are becoming more salient—such as those between more innovative and less innovative industrial systems and those between the developed global North and the less developed global South.

Labor Force Diversity

Women have always worked. However, the transformation of their work into paid labor outside the home occurred somewhat later for women than it did for men, and it is still continuing today. The decline of high fertility and the reduction of child-rearing duties have been crucial in this process. In addition, employment opportunities have expanded in areas that have traditionally employed female workers, especially in clerical and service occupations. In combination, these factors have resulted in a rapid increase in the proportion of female workers in the labor force. This process has had tremendous consequences for the family. It can no longer be assumed that women will remain at home for child-care and home-tending duties. It would be incorrect, however, to assume that women's and men's paid jobs are similar. Women are still segregated by occupation and industry, and they are much more likely than men to be part-time and part-year workers.

Immigration is increasing throughout the world as people leave low-employment and low-wage nations in the search for economic opportunity. Major flows include immigration to North America from Central America, South America, and Asia, immigration from India to the oil-rich Middle East, and immigration from North Africa and Central Asia (e.g., Turkey) to Europe. These major flows are supplemented by regional flows such as from Malaysia to Singapore, from South Korea to Japan, and from Guatemala and Honduras to Mexico. These migrants bring new skills and much ambition to their new home nations. Assimilating new migrants into the host culture and avoiding the creation of a

permanent underclass, however, remain important challenges for many receiving nations.

Since the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and related legislation, female and minority workers in the United States have made important strides in the workplace as well as in other spheres of society. Opportunities for female and minority workers have increased significantly. Full equality, however, is still far away. For minority workers, centuries of oppression have become embedded in inequalities of class, wealth, and neighborhood that make it difficult for many to take advantage of increased opportunities. Resentments against newcomers can also limit opportunities for new migrants and create barriers to success. Similarly, continuing assumptions on the part of both men and women that home and child-care duties should fall more on women's shoulders make it challenging for many women to take advantage of increased opportunities. In addition, for female, minority, and immigrant workers, blatant and subtle forms of prejudice and discrimination continue to create barriers. Fully incorporating and taking advantage of a diverse labor force remains a challenge for organizations and for society.

WORK IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Technological change, increased world market competition, and the increased proportion of women and minority workers in the labor force are major changes that will determine the nature of work in the future. So, what will work be like in the twenty-first century? Although the future is difficult to predict, it appears likely that the economy will be characterized by two very different employment sectors. In one, which we call the **innovative sector**, the response to heightened international competition and technological change will be the development of technological and organizational innovations leading to increased productivity. In the innovative sector, technological and organizational innovation will be continuous, jobs will be reasonably secure, pay will be adequate, job conditions will be more or less

pleasant, and, perhaps most importantly, workers will have an increased say in determining the conditions of their work.

In the other sector, which we call the **marginal sector**, employers will respond to heightened international competition and technological change by constantly pressing down on labor costs through reducing wages and benefits. In the marginal sector, innovation will be slow, jobs will be insecure, pay will be low, and conditions will be unpleasant and even hazardous. The organizing principle of the marginal sector will be to achieve economic viability by driving down wages rather than by promoting technical and organizational innovation. Workers will have little say in determining the conditions of their employment or the policies of their organizations. Female and minority workers will likely be disproportionately employed in the marginal sector. Thus, we do not believe—as some have proposed—that work will disappear in the high-technology future (Rifkin, 2004). Rather, work is here to stay, but the nature of work appears to be diverging between two increasingly distinct sectors of employment.

In this section, we discuss the reasons for a divergence between these two distinct ways of organizing work and the characteristics of work in each sector. Box 17.1 depicts the three trends in work that we have described and possible future scenarios to which these trends may lead.

The Innovative Sector

What factors encourage the growth of an innovative sector? On what basis do we project its continued and increasing importance? The growth of innovation results from the development of microprocessor technologies that facilitate such innovation, from increased international competition that demands it in order to protect profits and jobs, from increasingly educated labor forces, and from the expanding movement toward sustainable development (Blue-stone and Harrison, 2000). Many recent workplace innovations can be understood as attempts to use new technologies to adapt to increased competition and to the need for sustainability through utilizing a

high-skill labor force and more efficient technologies. Another impetus toward workplace innovations has been the desire to reduce the inefficiencies of bureaucratic and hierarchical arrangements of work (Vallas, 2006). In this latter sense, workplace relations in the innovative sector can be better described as **postbureaucratic** rather than as postindustrial. Because human beings are central to the process of production, innovations in the social organization of work will continue to be at least as important for the success of this sector as technological innovations.

The defining characteristics of work in the innovative sector are increased worker education and participation. Increased worker education and participation create the conditions for continuous learning and continual job redesign (Appelbaum et al., 2000). Continual **job redesign** will be necessary because of the pace of technological change and the highly competitive and rapidly changing global economy. The specific ways in which jobs will be redesigned are impossible to predict in great detail because they will be unique to each setting and each technology. However, some general principles are relatively clear (Kenworthy, 2004).

The Centrality of Participation Workers hold the power to make organizational and technological advances succeed or fail through formal and informal **employee participation**. Some observations by industrial sociologist Robert Guest provide a good example of the importance of employee input. Guest was a visitor at a steel mill in the process of making a major technological change. A new steel process was delayed for six months because of differences between the company and the union on the incentive plan that would distribute part of the benefits of the new technology to the workers. After the incentive question was finally settled, Guest got a call from a worker and was told that he would see something interesting if he came down to the mill at the start of the midnight shift. Guest reports the following events:

At precisely midnight a loud klaxon sounded. The lead man raised his arm and in a loud voice called out, "Let 'er roll!"

The red hot billets spit out of the helical rolls at a speed I have never seen before. There were no delays or breakdowns on the shift, and within a month capacity had gone up over twenty percent. (Guest, 1987, p. 5)

The moral of the story is that workers hold the key to the success of programs of technological and organizational redesign. To engage workers' fullest abilities requires that they have a piece of the action—not just a share of profits but a share in decision-making. The sectors of the economy that succeed in introducing effective job redesign will be the sectors that include a leading role for employee participation at every stage of production.

Work Groups One important form of employee participation occurs through small work groups—typically of eight to twelve workers—who are given collective responsibility for a task. Work groups offer an important venue for employee participation, although they often limit the topics of discussion to product quality or to minor aspects of the work environment. Many college students work in settings that have some aspects of team organization or that at least claim team organization by calling employees "associates" or "partners." Work groups can be an important source of innovation (O'Reilly and Pfeffer, 2000). They can also be important for improving the **quality of work life**. However, as we will see, they can also be used by management to intensify work and heighten pressures on the job.

Team systems of production based on significant degrees of self-management by work groups have become increasingly important in contemporary organizations. Team-based production systems, however, actually have a long history in the workplace. Miners, seafarers, and other skilled trades have long relied on teams to coordinate work in situations involving complex, difficult, or dangerous tasks.

The increased importance of teams in the modern workplace reflects many forces, including increased skill demands associated with sophisticated technologies, new management theories about how best to organize production, and

Box 17.1 A Crystal Cube of the Workplace



Social scientists do not have crystal balls and cannot predict the future. They can, however, examine trends and describe what might happen if certain trends continue. Throughout this book, we have tried to identify trends that may affect the workplace of the future. Three master trends that we have discussed are the role of technology and organization in the workplace, the competitive climate, and the changing composition of the labor force. These three trends may combine in many ways to produce many possible outcomes.

The cube in Figure A shows how the three master trends might interact. Imagine North American jobs right now as centered somewhere in the middle. A choice to use organization and technology in a way that increases the utilization of workers' skills would represent a shift to the left; a choice to use organization and technology to simplify or eliminate jobs would represent a shift to the right. Similarly, if increased productivity alleviates the competitive threat to North American industry, jobs would shift downward in the cube. As we have noted, women and members of minority groups will come to be a larger proportion of the labor force, but whether their labor power is fully utilized depends on the types of jobs available to them. A "nearer" point in the three-dimensional space represents greater access for female and minority workers to full-time, year-round jobs in preferred occupations and industries. It is possible that women and minorities could be less adequately utilized than they are today; this is the "farther" end of the third dimension.

These options could, of course, be combined in many, many ways, but there are two points in our hypothetical space that we wish to discuss further. One is Point I on the figure; at this point, technology and organization are used to complement workers' skills, competitive threats are addressed by productivity increases, and women and minorities move closer to equality. Even if most jobs in North America fail to move toward this point, some jobs will probably approach Point I. In this chapter, we refer to such jobs as comprising the innovative sector.

On the other hand, organization and technology maybe used to de-skill or to eliminate jobs, especially in response to competitive pressure. Under such conditions, pressures will persist to use women and members of minority groups as reserve workers, calling them up for part-time or seasonal work as needed or paying them low wages to undercut the wage demands of higher-paid workers. These conditions are represented schematically as Point II in the diagram. Even if most jobs do not move toward Point II, some jobs will. In this chapter, we refer to such jobs as representing the marginal sector.

It is difficult to predict with any accuracy the relative size of the marginal sector and the innovative sector. Most jobs will probably still lie somewhere between these extremes. But there are reasons to think that these two sectors will represent significant numbers of jobs in the twenty-first century. It is useful to discuss these possibilities as best-case and worst-case scenarios representing endpoints in the master trends we have identified.

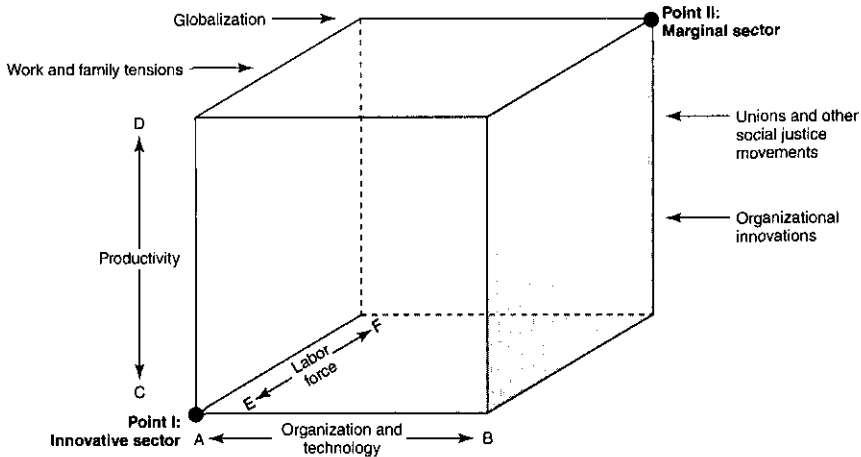
worker demands for increased voice at the workplace (Bills, 2004).

Japanese companies and their affiliates around the world have led the way toward increased utilization of team-based production systems. Under Japanese team production systems, employees organized in Quality Control Circles are expected to be ever vigilant for opportunities to work more effectively by identifying and eliminating underutilization of time and resources.

An important underpinning of Japanese Quality Control Circles and other initiatives to improve

productivity and increase quality has been the tying of the employee to the company through lifetime employment and through finely graded systems of seniority-based pay (Dore, 2001). The tying of the employee and the firm together in a lifelong partnership encourages workers to use their skills to improve productivity and thus ensure the firm's future.

Other researchers note, however, that Japanese workers are not necessarily enthusiastic about involvement in team-based production (Mehri, 2005). Rather, they see participation in Quality Control Circles and related team activities as a



Organization and technology:

- A. They are used to increase productivity by complementing the abilities of skilled workers.
- B. They are used to replace workers and deskill jobs.

Productivity:

- C. Innovation and productivity increase.
- D. Productivity stagnates.

Labor force:

- E. Women and minority groups approach equity with majority men.
- F. Women and minority groups disproportionately occupy low-wage and part-time jobs.

FIGURE A Three Master Trends in the Workplace

requirement for the economic success of their enterprise. Japanese workers thus participate in problem-solving activities with honesty and candor but generally not with great enthusiasm or a sense of personal gratification.

In many workplaces, Japanese-style teams have been associated with work intensification, increased pressures for production, employee monitoring of peers, and antiunion campaigns (Kono and Clegg, 2001). It is also a mistake to assume that managers and supervisors disappear in team production settings. Under Japanese team-based systems, frontline supervisors continue to play an active role in controlling

and evaluating workers. In many ways, workers are more tightly controlled in team settings than in traditional supervisory settings. The power of the supervisor is not removed; rather, it is extended through allocating additional supervisory functions to the team as a whole.

Team organizations of work are today well-established as a source of innovation, creativity, and heightened productivity (Smith, 2001). When combined with a plan that allows workers a share in the benefits of their heightened efforts, they can be a powerful tool for organizational success. Box 17.2 describes the team organization and working

Box 17.2 Success Through Participation

Powered by brilliant engineers, mathematicians, and technological visionaries, Google Inc. ferociously pushes the limits of everything it undertakes.... Their goal: to organize all the world's information and make it universally accessible....

Despite its growing head count of more than 4,000 employees worldwide, Google maintains the pace of innovation . . . by continuing to work in teams of three to five, no matter how big the undertaking.... Google has also created a new kind of work environment. It serves three free meals a day to employees (known as Googlers) so that they can remain on-site and spend more time working. It gives them free on-site medical and dental care and haircuts, as well as washers and dryers. It charters buses with wireless Web access between San Francisco and Silicon Valley so

employees can toil en route to the office. To encourage innovation, it gives employees one day a week to work on anything that interests them.

To eliminate the distinction between work and play—and to keep the Googlers happy at the Googleplex—they have volleyball, foosball, puzzles, free drinks and snacks, vibrating massage chairs, and a culture encouraging Googlers to bring their dogs to work. (No cats allowed.)

Meanwhile, the Googlers spend countless hours tweaking Google's hardware and software to reliably deliver search results in a fraction of a second.

SOURCE: David A. Vise, 2005, "What Lurks in Its Soul?" *The Washington Post*, November 13, p. B1. Copyright 2005, Washington Post Writers Group. Reprinted with permission.

environment of Google—one of the most important Internet companies in the world.

Codetermination and Joint Union-Management Programs Worker participation can also occur through formal consultation with workers at every level of the organization—from the shop floor to the boardroom. In Western Europe, various forms of employee participation are widespread. These forms include the workers' councils in Germany—which act as an autonomous board to review management policy—and technology stewards in Norway—who review and advise on technological change.

Additional forms of participation occur through joint union-management initiated programs. **Joint union-management programs** are based on explicit collectively negotiated agreements between unions and management to jointly sponsor programs that include employee involvement. In the United Kingdom, such programs are relatively commonplace across a wide range of industries (Biagi, 2002). In North America, such programs are concentrated in the automobile and telecommunications industries (Cutcher-Gershenfeld and Ford, 2005). Other well-established programs exist in steel, construction, and the public sector. The key focus of many of these programs is on

improved worker training to meet the challenges of automation and global competition.

In joint union-management programs, the issues to be discussed are not necessarily restricted to management-defined agendas. Workers in the automobile industry have successfully bargained for various forms of accelerated training under joint union-management programs and voice a great deal of satisfaction with these programs (Cutcher, Gershenfeld & Ford, 2005). In these programs, workers receive additional training as part of an exchange for their greater involvement in the workplace and their increased contributions to productivity. The programs can involve supplemental training both on and off company time. Joint union-management programs thus typically include a consideration of employees and their rights and interests rather than focusing solely on production related issues as is typical, for example, of Japanese Quality Control Circles.

Workers in joint union-management programs are also increasingly included in purchasing and sales trips previously reserved for management and sales personnel. Workers provide valuable hands-on information in negotiations to secure the best components and new technologies. They also work directly with customers to learn how to improve

quality and meet customer needs. The new knowledge and flexibility generated by such programs provide workers with opportunities to develop better relationships with their coworkers and with workers up and down the production chain. The opportunities provided by joint programs thus encourage employees to construct their organizational roles more actively. This active orientation generates new roles and new ideas that are often missing when work roles are unilaterally mandated by management. In general, workers have been very enthusiastic about joint union-management programs and about participating in decision-making processes historically reserved for management (Ferraro et al., 2005).

The bilateral nature of joint initiatives provides a legitimacy to these programs that is sometimes missing when programs are initiated unilaterally by management. This legitimacy has been identified as a significant foundation for the success of joint union-management programs in stimulating productivity and improving working conditions. The initiatives emerging from joint union-management programs are also often more complementary with the public purpose than unilateral management initiatives because they include a focus on the preservation of employment and on the quality of employment as well as on increased profits (Cutcher-Gershenfeld and Ford, 2005).

Employee Ownership An additional type of employee participation is based on **employee ownership**. Worker ownership can be either total or partial through **employee stock ownership plans (ESOPs)**. In 2000, 13 million U.S. workers—or about 10 percent of the labor force—participated in ESOPs (Census, 2006).

Employee ownership generally results in improved productivity and improved employee satisfaction (Appelbaum et al., 2000). The underlying reason for these improvements is that worker-owned enterprises are simply more concerned with the well-being of their employees than organizations owned by outside shareholders. They are able to solicit high levels of worker involvement and participation because of the genuine overlap between the

goals of the enterprise and those of the employees (Rothschild, 2000). Improved communication, teamwork, and participation are important underpinnings for the success of worker-owned enterprises. The greatest participation occurs in worker-owned cooperatives in which workers not only own the firm but also actively manage its day-to-day affairs (Logue and Yates, 2001).

Worker buyouts of existing companies have often been initiated in an effort to preserve jobs. Worker-owner enterprises thus often face precarious circumstances because of external factors. Worker ownership often results from an employee buyout of a plant in a last-ditch effort to save the plant and the jobs it represents. In such situations, market forces may already be working against the enterprise. The market niche it serves may be shrinking or its technology and equipment may be outdated. Employee buyouts thus often face a precarious future because of the circumstances of their birth (Logue and Yates, 2001). Worker ownership offers no necessary panacea to troubled firms, but even tested in this harsh environment, it has had a good record of success. The story of an employee-owned and a highly successful ceramics factory in Argentina is presented in Box 17.3.

Job Security An essential foundation for all forms of heightened employee participation is **job security**. Without job guarantees—both on paper and in a history of commitment—workers are reluctant to give their best efforts to increasing productivity. This reluctance is especially strong in areas of active technological change, where the possibility of displacement for large numbers of workers is very real. Only when there is a strong commitment by the organization to maintain employment levels will workers give their full support to overcoming the inevitable problems associated with technological and organizational innovations. Loyalty by the company to its employees is thus an essential precondition for the realization of the full benefits of employee participation.

Training Training programs for employees are essential if they are to have the knowledge necessary to take a leading role in a more innovative

Box 17.3 Another World is Possible: The Ceramics of Zanon



The workers of a ceramics factory who took control of the company and have been functioning as a cooperative for four years now, demonstrate that even working for a large, high-tech business, it is possible to create another life.... Zanon is Argentina's most important ceramics factory, covering almost twenty acres and utilizing the latest technology.

[Following a company proposal to drastically downsize], in March of 2002, 220 of the 330 workers decided to occupy the factory and began production under worker control.... From the point of view of production, the development of Zanon under the ownership of its workers has been a success: at the moment they are producing 300,000 square meters of tile, exceeding previous production levels, and they expect to reach 400,000 square meters in the near future.... One notable difference between Zanon and other businesses recovered by their employees is its relationship with the community. The factory has . . . started making a countless number of donations: to hospitals, schools, nursing homes, soup kitchens for the general public and for children, to indigenous groups and groups with disabilities, firefighters, and the Red Cross....

The differences between the current and previous managements are striking. A former employee recalls,

"We were not allowed to leave or go to the bathroom. The pathways were marked out with different colors.... Back then, the kiln operators had to wear red clothes, electricians green, and so forth. That way, they could tell if someone from another sector was somewhere they weren't supposed to be. It was like a jail." The managers were on the upper floor, in offices with glass windows so they could keep watch....

Once a month the factory calls a day-long meeting in which every member participates. It covers all topics—from the type of footgear necessary for each section, to the purchases they will make, and external actions of *solidarity in which they will participate*. "The social, political, and production aspects are all discussed. For each point, we have a specific order that we go in, and we will not adjourn the meeting until every last issue is agreed upon," recount the workers. This way of functioning—democratic, participatory, and horizontal—requires a lot of energy: "It is exhausting, but it is productive because you find solutions to all of the problems, debating them with everyone. It is worse to let time go by because everyone ends up with doubts."

SOURCE: Raúl Zibechi, 2006, "Another World is Possible: The Ceramics of Zanon." Silver City, NM: International Relations Center. <http://www.americas.irc-online.org/am/3078.html>. Reprinted by permission.

workplace (Bills, 2004). **Worker education** programs have grown dramatically in the twenty-first century in community colleges and training institutions around the country. Community colleges provide flexible course sequences tailored to the needs of local industry. In addition, there has been increased interest in expanding traditional apprenticeship programs for the skilled trades. This interest has been sparked by unfavorable comparisons between the U.S. system of apprenticeship and the more developed German system, which many observers credit with making German products world renowned for their quality (Streeck and Thelen, 2005). In-house training programs have also been expanding as employers and unions seek to expand the skills of workers as a means of increasing productivity, saving jobs, and increasing profits. Such programs create an environment for **continuous learning** for an organization's workforce.

Distributing Profits A final key to successful job redesign is the development of mechanisms for distributing some of the profits of innovation back to workers (McHugh, Cutcher-Gershenfeld & Bridge, 2005). The redistribution of profits is important for maintaining worker enthusiasm and commitment. The most innovative organizations are aware of this and have developed various means to redistribute increased earnings to workers. These include higher pay, production bonuses, and profit sharing.

The increased attention to workers' needs in innovative organizations may result in an improvement in women's relative position in this sector. Because of reduced discrimination and less traditional career choices on the part of women, female workers may increasingly move into traditionally male-typed jobs, which are more likely to be in the innovative sector. The greater flexibility of

women in their career choices as a result of lessened child-rearing duties may further facilitate these trends (England, Allison & Wu, 2007).

Barriers to Innovative Job Redesign Job redesign also faces certain barriers that may limit its effectiveness. Chief among these is the problem of limited commitment by large corporations to their workers. Employee participation programs in the United States have often been superficial and have been accused of being more window dressing than substance (Vallas, 2006). U.S. corporations have often acted as if proclaiming their allegiance to employee participation somehow constitutes an adequate solution to lagging productivity and to lack of management loyalty and commitment to their employees. Developing programs that actually incorporate workers in active roles at all levels of decision-making and becoming committed to the long-term interests of employees requires more than just a public relations announcement. In addition, large organizations may experiment with job redesign in one plant with great success only to cancel the experiment because of changes in organizational strategy initiated from the top (Rothschild, 2000).

A second potential point of conflict can arise because increased employee participation often reduces the need for managers by incorporating managerial and supervisory activities within shop-floor groups. Employees may even be asked to evaluate their manager's performance. These changes may threaten the jobs of supervisors and middle-level managers and may stimulate resistance on their part (Smith, 2001). When combined with agendas of corporate restructuring and theories of "lean production" that stress downsizing, job redesign programs put middle managers at significant risk of being laid off. Middle-level managers are well-positioned to either facilitate job redesign programs or to sabotage them through subtle noncompliance and other tactics that workers themselves occasionally use with great effectiveness. (Recall our discussion in Chapter 3 of the resistance strategies used by alienated workers.)

The ways in which employee participation can be incorporated into job redesign and technological

innovation are extremely diverse. In this chapter, we have described some of the forms of employee participation. The major forms of employee participation are presented in Figure 17.1 along with the corresponding issues that are open to negotiation at the various levels of employee participation. At one extreme, workers are involved only in decisions about how to improve product quality and efficiency. At the other extreme, they are involved in investment decisions about when and where to build new factories and what new endeavors to pursue. Workers have shown themselves able to participate effectively in decisions about their own working conditions, in decisions about the production process, and in decisions about investment (Logue and Yates, 2001). All these forms of employee participation are important, all have been proven to be effective in some circumstances, and all have problems. No one form or level of participation is right for all circumstances. In industries with rapidly changing technologies, employee participation in job design may be most important. In industries with rapidly changing market situations, employee participation in investment decisions may be essential for continued economic viability.

The persistence of enthusiasm for employee participation and job redesign demonstrates that these programs are here to stay. Such programs are precursors to new systems of industrial relations that will characterize a significant share of employment positions in the twenty-first century.

The Marginal Sector

In the economy of the twenty-first century, it is also likely that a large sector of marginal employment will exist. The existence of such a sector alongside a highly innovative sector with increased employee participation suggests a more divergent economic structure in the next century. Why might a marginal sector grow in the future? Driving down wages is one possible response of organizations to competition. By cutting wages, enterprises can remain competitive—at least for a time. In sectors where technological change is slow, such as

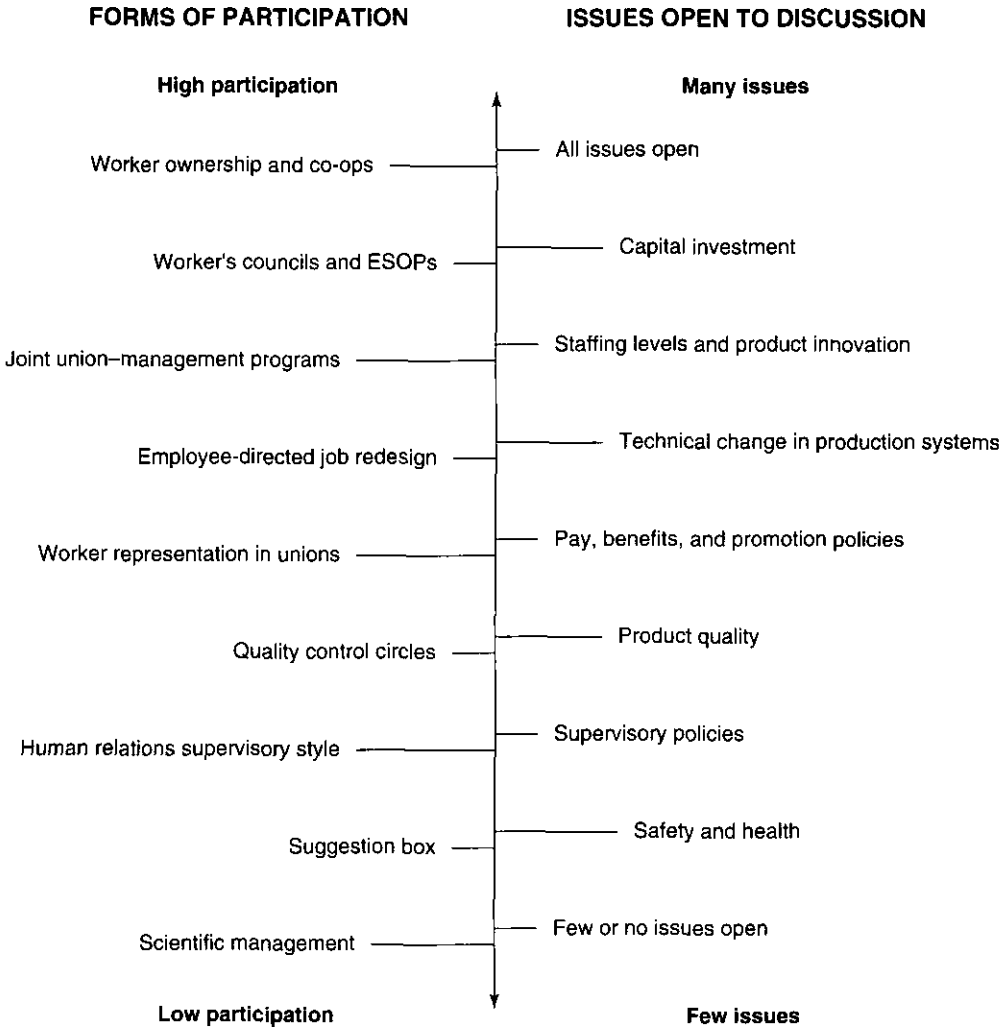


FIGURE 17.1 An Employee Participation Continuum

services, such a strategy may appear more attractive than strategies for increasing productivity.

Low Pay and Few Benefits An increase in the marginal sector would cause an intensification of current social problems. Workers in this sector would have reduced buying power, thus limiting the demand for the goods produced by other workers and slowing the growth of the economy as a whole. The growth of marginalized jobs is deeply implicated in increasing inequality in the United

States over recent decades (Gottschalk and Danziger, 2005). Continued expansion of the marginal sector would further increase poverty and homelessness.

What will work be like in the marginal sector of the future? Based on the characteristics of the current marginal sector, which we explored in Chapter 14, we can anticipate that many aspects of long-term, stable employment will be missing. Pay will be low, and part-time and temporary work will be common. This sector will be typified by extensive subcontracting and frequent use of temporary

workers (Tilly, 2004). Employers will have little interest in or commitment to employees. Probationary periods of employment with reduced rights will also be common. Two-tier pay scales with lower pay for newer employees might be used to bring in lower wage levels, with senior employees on the higher scale being rapidly phased out. Workers in the informal economy of unreported (and untaxed) work will also be part of this expanded marginal sector. Basic benefits and employment security are largely missing from the marginal employment sector.

Modern Sweatshops Some aspects of work in the marginal sector of the twenty-first century will be similar to work in the factories of the early nineteenth-century Industrial Revolution described in Chapter 1—but with some new twists. There will be fewer safeguards against hazardous working conditions than in the innovative sector. Enthusiastic commitment to work will be rare. Discontent, subtle forms of noncompliance, and even sabotage will be relatively common. Many workers in this sector will be underemployed, and many others will experience periodic unemployment as temporary jobs come and go. Young people will have a particularly hard time locating permanent jobs and may spend an increasing portion of their work lives in marginal employment. Similarly, disregard of minimum wage restrictions and fair time and hours standards will be all too common. Mandatory drug testing, electronic surveillance, and other forms of monitoring may be widespread. Workers in the marginal sector will represent a transient **underclass**. It is an unfortunate but realistic projection that such an underclass may be a sizable component of the North American workforce in the twenty-first century (Wilson, 2009).

An Absence of Employer Commitment In what parts of the economy will marginal employment grow? Marginal jobs, with unilateral managerial control and without the benefits of employee participation, are most likely to occur in settings that are not unionized and that are technologically stagnant (Clawson, 2003). In these industries, employees lack sufficient bargaining strength to

demand participation in managerial decisions, and technological and market forces allow low-wage strategies to replace high-productivity strategies. The marginal sector is thus likely to grow in the absence of organized worker power and where there is limited competition based on technological change or foreign producers. Service industries, such as restaurants, and retail trade provide examples of such situations. It is also possible that the marginal sector will grow where advanced technology is used to reduce the need for skilled workers.

Without technologically or market-based competition, there is little reason to initiate job redesign and employee participation. Without organized worker power, there is often inadequate reason for managers to respond to heightened competition with workplace innovation rather than with lower wages and reduced **employer commitment** to workers. In situations where either condition is absent, it is likely that marginal jobs will increase. Such situations may represent a sizable or even majority share of new employment positions in the economy of the twenty-first century. Indeed, if the trend continues for new areas of job growth to be outside traditional union strongholds and outside the traditional professions, elements of marginality may typify many areas of new employment. In areas of growing employment, such as services and microprocessor manufacturing, marginality can be expected to increase. Box 17.4 describes a hypothetical marginal job of the future.

Continuing Disadvantages for Female and Minority Workers How will female and minority workers fare in the economy of the twenty-first century? This question is difficult to answer. The recent past has seen improvements in employment conditions for female workers, but the situation for minority workers has been more mixed. If women's earnings continue to advance against men's earnings—due to reduced discrimination in hiring and promotion and less traditional occupational choices by women—the prognosis for the future of women's employment is relatively good (England, Allison & Wu, 2007). If minority workers continue to make occupational advances into fields previously

Box 17.4 A Marginal-Employment Scenario

It had snowed all night, but the snow-jets had not yet cleared the lot. No matter, thought Debra as she braked her bike. Like most other parking lots built in the 1990s, this one was too big. *Way too big*, she thought, *for my bike*. If today was typical, hers would be the only vehicle parked there through the ten-hour shift. Marge Henry's little van was there now, but it was nearly shift-change time. Debra eased her right leg over the bike and into the ankle-deep snow. This was no time to slip and break something: the company had already cut back the health benefits to the government-required minimum, and Debra had nothing extra for the 50 percent coinsurance.

The snow muffled all sounds; it was almost as quiet here in the parking lot as it would be inside. The winter sun was nearly up over the horizon, and Debra looked over her shoulder at the lightening gray clouds in the east. In the winter she saw the sun only on Sunday. Her suntan, like her marriage, was a casualty of the company's shift policy. Ten hours a day, six days a week, take it or leave it. Many, many would take it if she left it. Certainly poor Jim. It was hard having an unemployed husband. It *had been* hard, she corrected herself. She pulled off a mitten and pushed her thumb against the glass for print recognition.

As the glass doors rolled back, she stepped across the laser beam on the threshold. It was easier than punching a clock but unrelenting in its accounting of her time. All personal areas of the shop had been fenced in with laser beams, so any "nonproductive" time was deducted from your paycheck. No tolerance, she thought wryly, if you had morning sickness, a touch of the "bug," or just too much spicy food last night. That was one reason for showing up a little early—it gave you a cushion of time if you needed an extra stop in the personal room. She crossed the corridor to the control room and pressed her thumb against another print-reader. Marge, she knew, would be locked inside. The company kept tight security, mainly for the sake of the robots (which were expensive).

"Any problems, Marge?" Debra asked.

"Number thirty-two is acting up again. Quiet night otherwise."

Marge crossed the laser beam to the dressing room and sat down to pull on her snow boots. She resented Debra. Both women worked ten hours a day, but Marge worked the night shift, and so she received only minimum wage. Debra made ten cents an hour more. Education had nothing to do with it; both jobs

dominated by whites, the prognosis for minority employment is reasonably good. However, any remaining prejudices and discrimination against women, minorities, and migrants will result in their disproportionate representation in the marginal work sector of the twenty-first century. If the burden for child care continues to fall disproportionately on women and if the divorce rate continues at a high level or even increases, then poverty associated with family dissolution will continue to plague many women and will seriously constrain their employment options. Similarly, the re-emergence and growth of a black underclass reminds us that even if some minority workers have made progress in recent decades, many others have been left behind (Wilson, 2009).

Increased immigrant populations in many industrialized nations have added to the possibilities for sharply divided societies. New immigrants gen-

erally assimilate into a society within a few generations, but "guest worker" programs in Europe have contributed to the creation of a seemingly permanent underclass of workers without the benefits of full citizenship rights (see Chapter 16). Similar programs are also periodically discussed in the United States—seemingly without full appreciation of their implications for creating a permanent underclass.

We have predicted the emergence of an increasingly divided economy and society with large innovative and marginal sectors. Such a bifurcation could result in today's industrialized nations having class structures that more closely resemble those of less developed nations with extreme inequality between the rich and the poor. Social and political forces—many of which are outside the scope of this book—will influence the relative size of these two employment sectors. Similarly, the relative representation of minority groups and

required a degree in robotics. The difference, the company claimed, was in the volume of work. This warehouse filled orders for toys—or rather, its forty-five robots did. The orders came in on the electronic LINCOM, and the robots located the proper storage bin, selected the proper number of boxes, issued address tags, and loaded the boxes into huge shipping containers. Twice a day, trucks came to pick up these containers. During the day shift, orders came in from across the United States and Canada, a few from Mexico. During the night shift, most of the orders came from Europe, Japan, and Africa. Although the toy market was growing there (in inverse proportion, it seemed, to declining birthrates), the volume of night business was much lower. Ample reason, according to the company, for Marge's paycheck to be a dollar less every day than Debra's even though the same forty-five robots needed routine and preventive maintenance, and there were still occasional foul-ups.

Then there was the matter of the swing shift. Between 6 P.M. and 10 P.M. a young college graduate came in to work the short evening shift. It was so hard for new graduates to find jobs these days that some companies viewed these little part-time jobs as favors

they did the worker, not as jobs that required a pay-check. This company paid an honorarium—half of minimum wage—for the decided advantage of gaining work experience. The evening shift wasn't all that easy, either, what with the boom in the Pacific Basin.

Marge was ready to leave. Debra saw her out, then checked the security system. The LINCOM was already humming, and she saw two more robots move off to fetch toys. Thirty-two was idle and would bear watching. As she punched up the maintenance record on thirty-two, she saw the reflection of a blue light blinking overhead. The blue light was the "spy in the sky," the electronic monitoring device that ensured that employees did not alleviate their boredom with transistor videos, personal message units, or other distractions. She was glad that someone, somewhere, knew she was here, even if only to check up on her. The workday had begun, but except for the humming of the LINCOM and the soft whir of the robots' wheels, you might never have known.

SOURCE: Adapted from Teresa A. Sullivan, 1989, "Women and Minority Workers in the New Economy: Optimistic, Pessimistic, and Mixed Scenarios." *Work and Occupations* 16, 4(November): 393-395. Used by permission of Sage Publications, Inc.

women in each sector will be contingent on the ability of these groups to further reduce discrimination through mass movements and legislative agendas. Nevertheless, there are many relevant factors that will influence the relative development of these two sectors that we *can* consider.

WORKING TOWARD A BRIGHTER FUTURE

The emergence of an economy divided between innovative and marginal sectors is not inevitable. The problem before society is how to increase the size of the innovative sector and how to decrease the size and diminish the negative consequences of the marginal sector. How might these goals be achieved?

Increasing Innovation

What conditions foster innovative job redesign and employee participation? Workers in industrially advanced nations today are more highly educated than ever before in history. They are also more interested in safety and health issues, in sustainable development, and in more interesting and fulfilling work. They have come to have high expectations about the satisfactions and rewards that work can provide. These expectations are perhaps the most important precondition for the growth of a highly innovative sector based on heightened participation and continuous learning.

Organizational and Market Imperatives Not all industries, however, are equally likely to pursue a strategy of workplace innovation. Innovation has tended to emerge when "both labor and management perceive a necessity for technological innovation; . . .

and workers have the bargaining strength to demand participation in managerial decision making” (Cornfield, 1987, p. 333). When these conditions are missing, innovation is unlikely to occur, and work practices will more closely resemble those of the mass-production industries of the past or those of the marginal sector.

Intensified competition also provides an impetus to workplace innovation. Labor and management do not typically cooperate unless competitive pressures force them to do so. Without these pressures, they will be more likely to pursue their separate goals by engaging in adversarial bargaining over their respective shares of the economic pie.

Increased Worker Power An important precondition for innovation is that workers have sufficient power to demand participation and innovation. When workers are unable to demand participation, managers may favor a strategy of reducing wages, benefits, and job security in order to remain competitive rather than following the more uncertain, complex, and demanding route of workplace innovation. In the long run, however, the option of remaining competitive by reducing wages may be unrealistic in many industries (even ignoring the ethical hazards involved in such a strategy). As a result, there is reason to hope that a significant portion of organizations in industrially advanced societies will opt for workplace innovation. Professional, semiprofessional, and craft workers are in particularly good positions to leverage their scarce skills into higher levels of participation, thus setting the stage for productivity-enhancing innovations in these sectors.

The Role of Unions Employee participation is most likely to take place in unionized firms. The concepts of direct employee participation and cooperation with management, however, are to some extent antithetical to traditional union approaches to industrial relations. On topics ranging from work rules to grievance procedures, unions have increased workers’ rights by negotiating explicit rules and ensuring their enforcement. This approach has often translated into a formalistic and

legalistic approach to workplace issues—exactly the sort of approach that can be stifling to innovation (Diamond and Freeman, 2002).

Unions have also been cautious in advocating innovative workplace changes because they fear that altering the status quo may undermine their ability to deliver the package of benefits and protections that have been their traditional offering to workers. To survive in innovative settings, however, unions will have to stop reacting to changing circumstances and begin to take an active role in developing proposals for increasing productivity. In the past, union leaders have often dismissed employee participation as “a ruse to increase productivity and cut jobs” (Vallas, 2006). Continuing to dismiss employee participation in this manner will undermine the role of unions in the workplace of the future. The emergence of joint labor-management groups at various levels of the organization is necessary to increase productivity in rapidly changing and highly competitive industries. If the innovative sector is to grow and prosper, it will have to include the unionized industries, but unions will have to change to accommodate and promote innovation (Fantasia and Voss, 2004). These changes are threatening to established union practices in many ways. Unions in the industrially advanced European nations, however, have taken a leading role in promoting increased employee participation. Unions and employee participation are not inherently antithetical; indeed, they may be dependent on each other (Hodson, 2010).

Education and Training Educating the workforce for innovation will require an increased commitment not only to college education but also to **vocational education** and to ongoing **retraining** for workers already in the labor force. Many European nations have instituted programs for midcareer retraining. Observers credit a substantial part of these countries’ economic vitality to such programs. North Americans must move beyond retraining programs designed to address the needs of the currently unemployed. Such programs include the Comprehensive Employment Training Act and Job Training Partnership Act. Although these programs are an important safeguard

for workers otherwise destined for work in the marginal sector, they are largely inadequate for training the highly skilled labor force necessary for the innovative sector (Bills, 2004). Besides providing college for the middle classes and job training for the unemployed, North America must provide its existing skilled workers with the education and continuing training necessary to compete effectively in the global economy.

Workplace Experimentation Increased **workplace experimentation** is also needed to stimulate the growth of an innovative sector. Successful job redesign comes only from experimentation. It cannot be fully specified in abstract formulas—it requires a constant process of review and change. Unfortunately, sustained programs of experimentation in job redesign and employee participation are not widespread in the United States and Canada.

To increase the innovative sector, the preconditions for its existence must be broadened. These preconditions include workplace experimentation, increased worker power, and technological innovation. Greater worker power can come about either on an individual basis; through increased education, training, and professional development; or on a collective basis through increased representation in unions and professional associations. Encouraging education and unions fosters the growth of an innovative sector and decreases the prevalence of marginality. The impetus for these changes must come from workers, unions, and professional associations. Reforms of this sort are unlikely to occur unless workers and their organizations demand them (Diamond and Freeman, 2002).

Reducing Marginal Employment

Besides supporting workers' abilities to demand technological innovation and competitiveness and providing a labor force educated to meet the challenge of innovation, society can also set up roadblocks against encroaching marginality. These roadblocks could include an increased minimum wage, restrictions on mergers and plant closings, and standardization of tax, labor, and environmental

laws across the country so states are not forced to compete with one another by offering companies the most minimal employment standards (Malecki, 2004). In many cases, higher minimum wages have been shown to have significant positive effects on employment stability and the acquisition of additional training without substantial negative effects on new hiring (Rodgers and Rubery, 2003). Roadblocks to capital flight would keep capital at home and in place where it can be used to foster innovation and increased productivity as preferred responses to competitive pressures. Programs encouraging worker buyouts, ESOPs, and cooperatives can also reduce marginality. Banks could be encouraged to lessen their resistance to extending needed credit to worker-owned enterprises (Logue and Yates, 2001).

Expanded worker training programs are important not only for facilitating the spread of innovation but also for reducing marginal employment. The need for such programs is increased by the heightened pace of technological change. Fewer and fewer workers can expect to work at just one job throughout their careers. With more rapid job changes, improved job placement and matching services also become increasingly important if jobs are to be filled by qualified applicants, if workers' abilities are to be used effectively, and if workers are to avoid periods of marginality. Employment of the labor force at nearer its full potential would increase productivity and reduce welfare expenses immensely.

Reducing the marginal aspects of available jobs would help lessen underemployment, unstable employment, and blocked mobility. In conjunction with education and training programs and the expansion of the innovative sector, a reduction of marginal employment positions would facilitate the incorporation of all Americans in the mainstream of society. The success of such agendas will also depend on the vigorous enforcement of laws protecting the rights of workers.

Expanding Leisure

Expanded leisure hours could also make an important contribution to improving the quality of work life and distributing available employment.

The average hours worked per week dropped from near seventy in 1850 to about forty by the 1930s. Starting in the 1970s, however, this trend began to reverse. Fully employed U.S. workers found that their workweek increased by about 5 percent between 1970 and 2000. Simultaneously, paid holidays and vacation days fell by 15 percent (Schor, 2003). This change occurred concurrently with rising unemployment; in the twenty-first century, full-time work has become harder to get. Reducing the hours of work would be an effective way to distribute available employment in a period of rapidly increasing productivity and technological change. Reduced hours of work would also help prevent polarization of society between those with too much work and those with inadequate work or no work at all (Hunnicut, 2003).

A related possibility is that people will combine work, leisure, and education throughout their lives rather than completing education before starting work and saving their leisure years for retirement. As we discussed in Chapter 5, such a pattern would deviate from the so-called normative career pattern. A career pattern with greater integration of work, education, and leisure would include periodic breaks for retraining and renewal—breaks that would be extremely important for sustaining an innovative spirit in workers. Lifestyles that allow for a greater integration of work, education, and leisure across the life cycle would also help resolve the dilemma of fewer workers being needed in core industries as technologically based advances in productivity continue to accumulate.

Public Goods and Reduced Consumption Lifestyles

Over the history of industrial society, the provision of “public goods” has increased. **Public goods** are products or services to which the citizens or residents of a society are entitled without direct payment or at a nominal fee. Such public goods include education, clean air, public parks, libraries, Social Security retirement income, and, increasingly,

health care. If the provision of public goods expands, workers who remain in the marginal sector of employment will at least be spared some of the most debilitating consequences of poverty and marginality. The provision of public goods can thus be an important preventive against the reproduction of a marginal sector. The provision of public goods also creates jobs, providing additional escape routes from marginality. Alternatively, if such services are provided only privately as parts of benefit packages restricted to the innovative sector or on a fee-for-service basis, many in society will have to do without them.

In particular, extremely high health care costs restrict the expansion of the innovative sector and limit employment growth in general. High health-care benefit costs become part of the expenses of businesses significantly reducing the competitiveness of many American businesses. Providing health care as a public good or otherwise constraining rising costs in health care could be a powerful incentive to economic growth and innovation.

Greater provision of public goods also provides an alternative to the “work and spend” treadmill that traps many Americans in a high-work, high-consumption, and high-debt lifestyle. Average consumption expenditures for Americans have doubled in the last thirty years from \$11,171 to \$22,152 (Schor, 2003). The effort of earning this much money, shopping to spend it, and then tending these goods leaves many middle-income Americans too exhausted to enjoy life. Worse, for many, high consumption patterns result in excessive debt, leading to bankruptcy and severe disruptions of personal and family lifestyles (Sullivan, Warren & Westbrook, 2000).

The provision of public goods and the training of workers for employment in the innovative sector are among the most important strategies for avoiding a deeply class-divided society in the twenty-first century and for providing a better quality of life for all. Whether we pursue such agendas as a society depends on the importance we attach to the creation of a just and inclusive society (Ackerman, 2000).

SUMMARY

The rapidly changing economic, technological, and organizational realities of today's global economy are setting the stage for the world of work in the twenty-first century. Alternative scenarios are available, but the choice among them depends on political and social actions we take today. The dilemmas described in this book can be resolved in a positive manner. Workers and other members of society can pressure organizations to respond to competition by increasing innovation rather than by cutting wages and fostering marginality. They can also pressure labor unions and other workers' associations to adapt to the new conditions of a competitive environment and to provide leadership in the areas of technology, organizational innovation, and employee training. Finally, we can all pressure the government to enact laws and programs that will foster innovation, job creation, employee involvement, expanded leisure, and a

better quality of life for all. Significant advances on all these dimensions are needed if we are to avoid an increasingly divided society in the twenty-first century.

Industrial societies have the capacity to constantly increase productivity through technological and organizational innovation. This capacity has never been greater than it is today. This very capacity, though, creates the dilemma of how to distribute available work when more and more goods and services can be produced by fewer and fewer workers. These, then, are the central challenges of contemporary industrial society: How do we continue to increase productivity? How do we distribute available work? And how do we distribute the goods and services produced? The manner in which we resolve these dilemmas will determine the political, social, and economic landscape of the twenty-first century.

KEY CONCEPTS

continuous learning	expanded leisure	marginal sector	vocational education
employee ownership	innovative sector	postbureaucratic	worker education
employee participation	job redesign	public goods	workers' power
employee stock ownership plans (ESOPs)	job security	quality of work life	workplace experimentation
employer commitment	joint union-management programs	retraining	
		underclass	

QUESTIONS FOR THOUGHT

1. Consider your chosen (or likely) field of work. Identify one way in which you think each of the factors of technological change, increased world competition, and changing labor force composition might influence the nature of your work and career.
2. What developments—other than those discussed in this chapter—do you think will significantly influence the nature of work and society in the future? (Hint: Environment? Population? Immigration? Something else?)

3. What factors might continue to channel female and minority workers into the marginal sector in the twenty-first century? Do you think women will gain full equality in the workplace and in society? Will minorities gain equality? Why or why not?
4. To what extent do you think the United States will be successful in expanding the innovative sector? What factors are likely to play a leading role in the success or failure of this expansion?
5. How optimistic are you about the possibilities for reducing marginality in the twenty-first century? What might be some of the consequences of failing to address the issue of marginality?

MULTIMEDIA RESOURCES

Print

- John de Graaf (editor). 2003. *Take Back Your Time*. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler. Provocative essays on overwork, leisure, and the quality of life.
- Eileen Appelbaum, Thomas Bailey, Peter Berg, and Arne L. Kalleberg. 2000. *Manufacturing Advantage: Why High-Performance Work Systems Pay Off*. Ithaca, NY: Industrial and Labor Relations Press. A systematic analysis of work systems involving greater employee involvement and their benefits for productivity and enhanced worker well-being.
- James R. Barker. 1999. *The Discipline of Teamwork: Participation and Concertive Control*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. An ethnographic account of the use of a team-based approach to increase productivity. Reveals both the benefits and the pitfalls of teamwork.

Internet

- Employee Involvement Association. www.eianet.org. Dedicated to promoting workplace change through employee involvement.
- Team Builders Plus. www.teambuildersplus.com. A commercial site for those involved in developing, managing, or working in self-directed teams. Many resources and examples provided.
- Ohio Employee Ownership Center. www.oeockent.org. Devoted to helping employees plan and manage the transition to employee ownership. Extensive links.
- Canadian Government Human Resources Department. www.hrsdc.gc.ca/eng/home.shtml. Workplace innovations support site with great links.

RECOMMENDED FILM

- Gattaca* (1997). In a future that may not be far away, genetic modification creates humans without disease or imperfections. The unmodified are discriminated against and relegated to menial labor. Rated PG-13 for brief violent images, language, and some sexuality. 106 minutes.