

BOOK REVIEWS

Stewart Clegg and David Dunkerley, *Organization, Class and Control*, Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980, 614 pp. \$40.00 (cloth), \$20.00 (paper).

This book is unique in both its scope and approach to organizations. Unlike most books on organizations, a broad theoretical thrust exists within the text using concepts from classical sociological theory, organizational and managerial theory. Although the authors present a Marxian perspective they do not stray from the traditional literature. In fact, the majority of the book is a critique of this literature. Clegg and Dunkerley view the sociology of organizations from a historical perspective and maintain that in the past the "sociology of organizations lacked an adequate theoretical object for its analyses" (1). This theoretical object is control of the labor process, with capital accumulation and the world economy as crucial factors that influence organizational development. In contrast to many books on organizations, the authors reject the Weberian notion that specific types of organizations are a "part of the general rationalization of the world" (2). In its place is a Marxian perspective that sees organizations as "intimately connected with the rise of capital accumulation" (2). Their main thesis is "that both technology and organization structure have developed subordinate to the needs of capital accumulation" (5). The authors critically evaluate the contributions of Comte, Saint-Simon, Spencer, Durkheim, Marx, and Weber to organization theory. In addition they examine the massive body of literature on organizational sociology and analyze power and class as essential aspects of organizations while presenting a political-economic model of organizations.

For review purposes the book can be divided into four major sections. The first section prepares the reader for the overall perspective developed throughout the book and includes chapters one and two. Here the authors discuss the classical social theorists' positions on organizations beginning with Comte

and ending with Marx and Weber. Clegg and Dunkerley maintain that Comte developed an ideological base for what was later to be termed managerialism. Comte felt that the "industrial bourgeoisie" (industrialists, managers, and financiers) should play a decisive role in the organization of industrial society. The glorification of this group reached its zenith in the writing of Herbert Spencer who proposed that capitalism had already achieved perfection, and articulated the ideology of "the survival of the fittest," which received wide support by corporate directors and popularized organizational analysis. While Spencer viewed the market as a source of order and mutual dependence in industrial society, Durkheim argued that, based purely on the market, no stable social order was possible. Durkheim rejected Spencerian and Comtean evolutionism that placed the market at the focal point of social organization, and argued that non-market phenomena (the moral community) must regulate exchange to maintain social solidarity. This places Durkheim in a more critical sociological paradigm.

Unlike Spencer and Comte who glorified the organization of industrial society Durkheim was critical of capitalist organization and defined pathological components of the division of labor. At this point the authors use Durkheim to prepare the reader for the Marxian analysis employed throughout the text. They argue Durkheim's position has fundamental similarities to Marx. Both opposed "analytic individualism" and "asserted the historical and social determination of the individual" (29). However, while Durkheim viewed conflict as a pathological aberration within the division of labor, Marx saw conflict in the form of class antagonism as inherent in capitalist organization. The authors agree with Marx and maintain that "these antagonisms can be veiled or made opaque through economic, political or ideological intervention on the part of one class interest, against another" (58). Throughout the book they argue that "organizational theory is such an intervention" (58), and reject the Weberian notion that "modernity is the working out of the idea of rationality in the world" (55). Clegg and Dunkerley adhere to the Marxian position that "this rationality is itself

rooted in the specific organizational structures of the capitalist mode of production" (55).

Relying heavily on Marglin's (1974) analysis, the authors suggest that "the particular forms technological change took were shaped and determined by factory organization" (64). This places rationality as a defining feature of capitalist organization. They argue that "it is perhaps the greatest achievement of the actual emergence of the modern 'rational' form of organization that it now no longer needs the ideological legitimation of anything extraneous to its own process; it has become such an ideology in its own right" (64).

The second and largest section includes chapters three through eight. Here the authors analyze the notions of Lenin and Gramsci, and the traditional managerial and organization literature. They discuss early managerial strategies and argue that the rise of scientific management appeared because of the problems labor posed for capital. The turn of the century was characterized by a merger wave, and the creation of large corporations and an increase in the organic composition of capital. To maximize output scientific management principles were instituted to increase human efficiency. The internal contradiction of scientific management is the failure to recognize that humans are not "fueled" solely by money. The Human Relations School attempted to fill the gap. The main success of this school of thought was to engender control through a "highly developed ideological apparatus of normative control, of hegemony, for the management of organizations" (135). In the remainder of this section Clegg and Dunkerley analyze the various theories of organizations. They are particularly critical of systems theory, especially Parsons (1956), which reifies "the organization's 'goal' as a thing-in-itself, rather than either an ongoing consensus between members . . . or . . . the capacity of management to impose its hegemony on the members of the organization" (209).

Section three includes chapters nine through twelve and focuses on the more recent issues in organization theory (technology, the environment, people, power and class). Here the authors again provide a detailed review of the literature, focusing on organizations as mechanisms of control, and they develop

their definition of power that is central to their overall analysis. In contrast to the Parsonian position, which views organizational goals as independent of the economy, the authors argue that organizational control is a "sedimented structure of selection rules dealing with one system: the world system" (482). Managerial strategies, organizational goals, and the selection of technologies are all designed to control the labor process to ensure capitalist domination. Conventional definitions of power conceal capitalist domination by ignoring the maintenance of the class structure and social relations within the organization. The notion of power as merely delegated does not specify how the rules governing organizational behavior have developed and serves "the ideological function of preserving the structural framework of social relations" (455). Power must be conceptualized as "the ability to exercise control over resources" (476), and is exercised through managerial decisions and the implementation of technology as a consequence of class conflict and the needs of the wider capitalist system.

The final section presents a political-economic model of organizations. The vital role of the state as a mechanism of hegemonic domination in late capitalism is viewed as a potential source of protection for the unpredictable operations of the market. The authors accurately argue that the state provides an extra-organizational source of hegemony, and is the battleground of labor and capital. The state provides financial support for management and business schools that "have become the institutional site for the reproduction of the contemporary dominant ideology of late capitalism" (537). These managerial strategies are applied to both the productive and nonproductive public organizations. According to the authors, this is one of the chief attributes of organization theory; it can analyze both types of organizations and evaluate their individual contributions to the labor process. By analyzing organizations on this level it is possible to determine how the rational set of rules applied to particular organizations are conditioned by the world economy and reproduce domination by the capitalist class. The authors encourage research that analyzes relations between economic

sectors and variations in the application of a rational mode of production. Although Clegg and Dunkerley argue this will provide a better understanding of the organizations' goals and contribute to organization theory, it should also benefit students of the world system.

In addition to the theoretical arguments developed, the authors analyze several important studies that have contributed to organization theory. These include the Hawthorne and Aston studies, Selzenick's study of the Tennessee Valley Authority, and Gramsci's workers' councils. The discussion of the workers' councils includes a rare treatment of the notions of the Italian industrialist Gino Olivette. Olivette observed that the institution of trade unions and scientific management ensured that the class struggle became more calm, civil, and orderly. He was the leading opponent to Gramsci's efforts, and attempted to legitimate factory organization and preserve the industrialist's hegemonic control.

It could be argued that Clegg and Dunkerley's theoretical perspective is too grandiose; that the goals and labor process within a particular organization are too removed from the world economy to make a substantial connection. On the other hand, an emphasis on the "totality" provides an analytic framework to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the world social-economic system and the roles of particular corporations in the capitalist system. Herein lies the uniqueness of Clegg and Dunkerley's approach to organizational analysis. By focusing first on multi-national corporations and their role in the world system, and then working toward the smaller companies we can better understand the overall logic of capital and how the goals of organizations are linked to that logic. This task may not be as colossal as it appears since mergers and oligopolies have created a corporate structure where many smaller companies are subsidiaries of the multi-nationals. From this perspective Clegg and Dunkerley's emphasis on the rationality of the capitalist system is very useful to locate the various economic subunits in the world system.

Similar to Clegg and Dunkerley, Burrell and Morgan (1979) also cover a massive amount of organizational literature. However,

unlike Burrell and Morgan who present four major paradigms for the study of organizations, the former present a single perspective. The multi-paradigm approach of Burrell and Morgan limits their ability to critically evaluate these various perspectives. On the other hand, Clegg and Dunkerley's strong commitment to organizations as an aspect of the labor process allows them to be more evaluative and critical of organization theory, and provides the reader with a more complete understanding of the literature.

This book should be useful to sociologists, political scientists, economists, and business schools. It is an outstanding piece of scholarship and is the most comprehensive analysis of organizations and organization theory available. The emphasis on capital accumulation, the labor process, and the use of historical data provides a solid foundation for the theoretical arguments presented in the concluding chapter. Although most of the data is from British sources with which American audiences may not be familiar, this book should complement their overall knowledge of organizations. Because of the breadth and depth of analysis this book should be useful to most students of organizations from the undergraduate to those familiar with current organizational literature.

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Paul B. Horton and Gerald R. Leslie, *The Sociology of Social Problems*, Seventh Edition. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1981, 672 pp. \$19.95 (cloth).

The field of social problems has been inundated with textbooks designed to present the reader with a massive body of data on numerous topics. The seventh edition of *The Sociology of Social Problems* is another addition to the collection of excessively long and underdeveloped social problems texts. Teachers of this subject, and students as well, are aware of the tremendous, if not impossible, task of attempting to study all of the specific problems presented in this type of text. In this most recent edition Horton and Leslie attempt to assess fifteen different social problems. The weakness of this approach is that limitations of space only permit a shallow analysis of the topics.

The nature and extent of each problem is presented along with a discussion of the problem's history. In addition, each problem is analyzed through three theoretical perspectives: social disorganization, value-conflict and personal deviation. A list of suggested readings follows each chapter and the work is concluded with name and subject indexes.

Part I consists of three chapters and is basically an introductory unit. The authors provide their definition of a social problem along with an explanation of the three theoretical perspectives and a discussion of how data should be interpreted. This section is much too long (76 pages) and could easily be reduced by condensing or eliminating some of the sections, particularly the sections on the fallacies of social problems, and attitudes and techniques of successful liars.

Part II, the longest section of the book, presents the fifteen social problems. By their own admission the authors arranged the chapters to present "traditional" social problems first before moving to more recent concerns. Two problems plague this scheme. First, the entire section is too long (518 pages). Most social problems texts divide the problems into three or four sections. The division permits greater ease in assigning readings and administering examinations. Second, the flow of the book is rather coarse because preceding and succeeding chapters