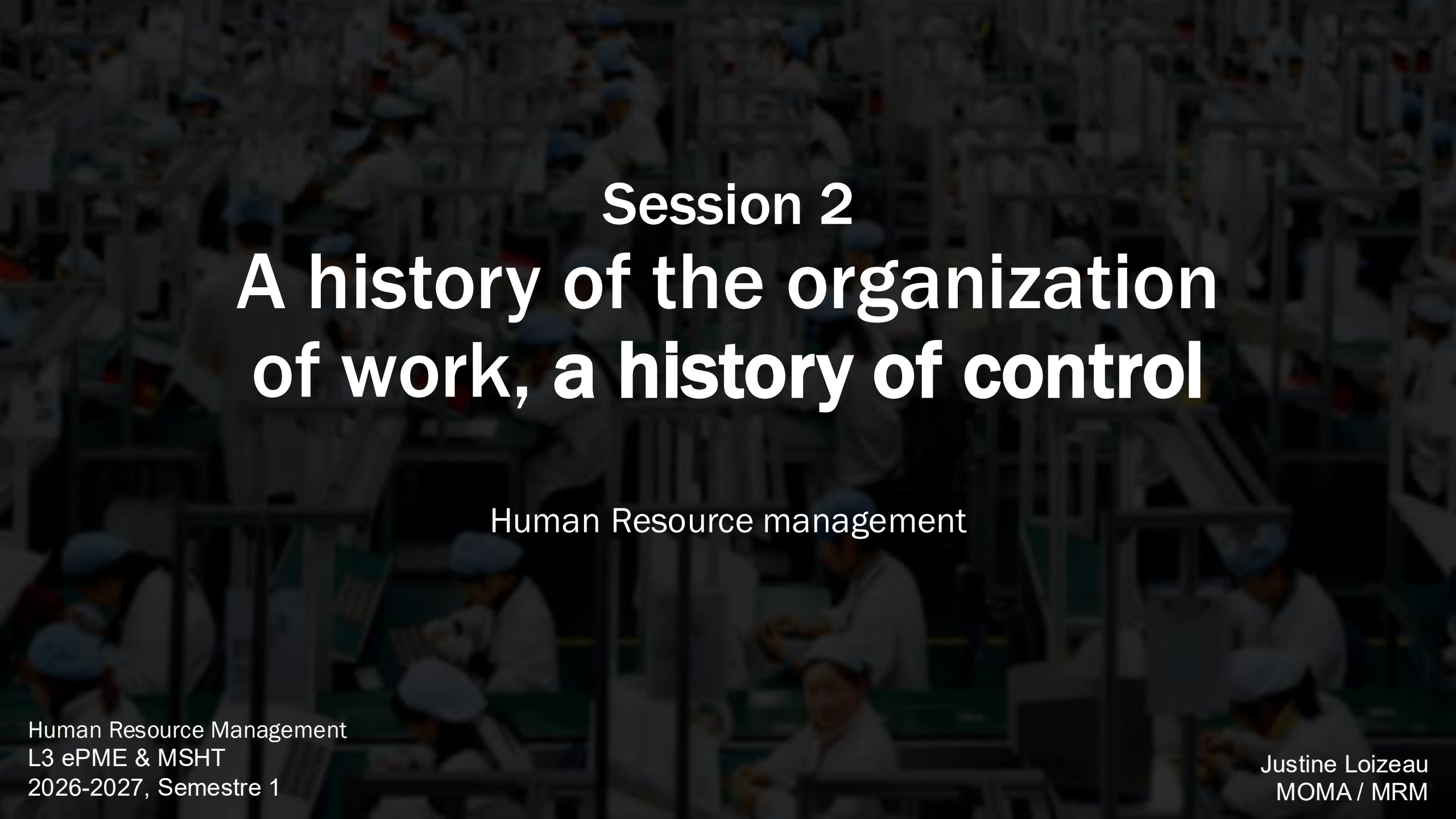


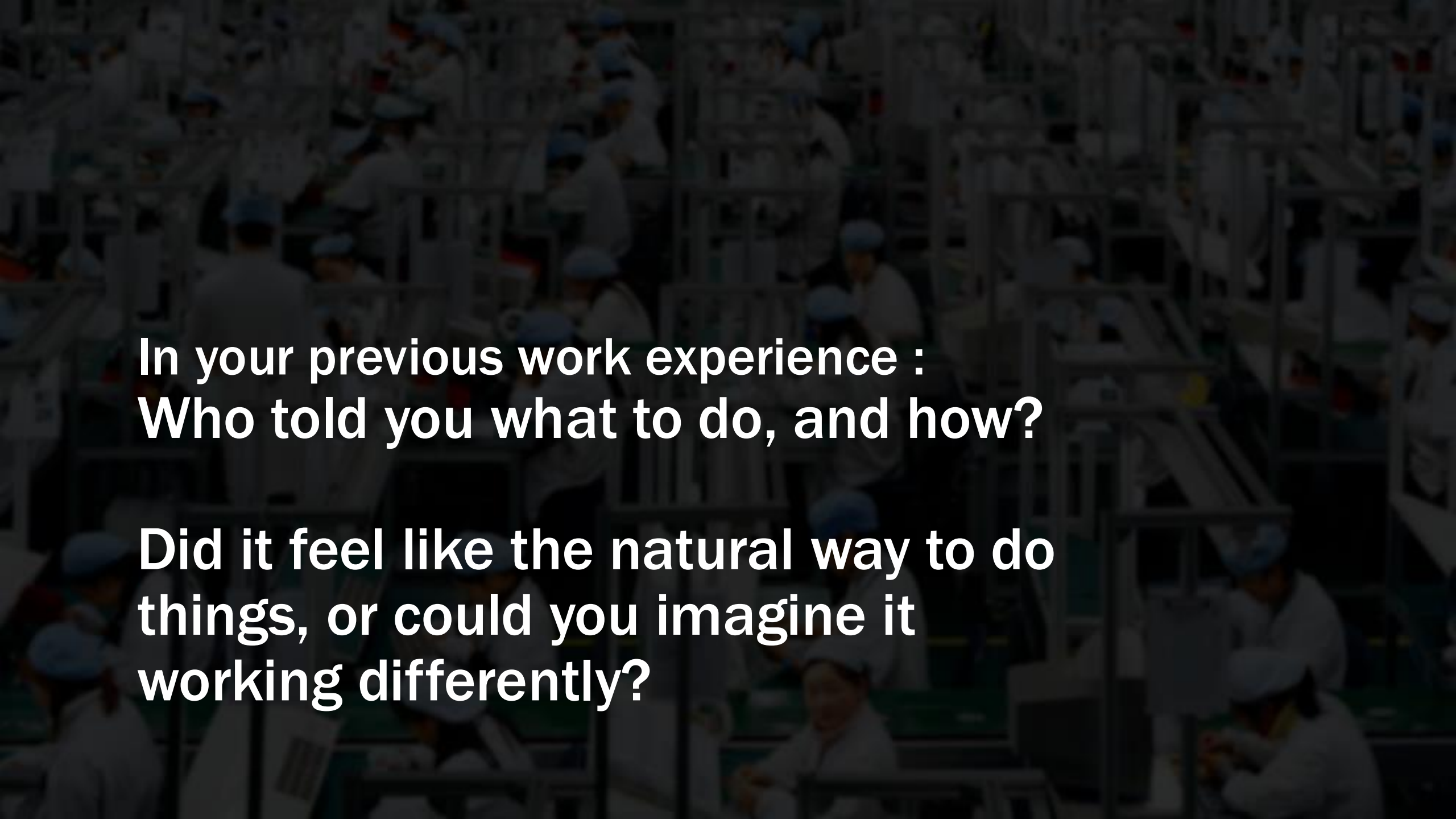


Session 2

A history of the organization of work, a history of control

Human Resource management





**In your previous work experience :
Who told you what to do, and how?**

**Did it feel like the natural way to do
things, or could you imagine it
working differently?**



The organization of work matters

Session 2: A history of the organization of work, a history of control

To contextualize is to place a practice back into its historical, social, economic and political context. This lets us see the links, the coherence between:

1. a **form of organization** (workshop, factory, bureaucracy..)
2. a **mode of control** (the foreman, the stopwatch, the indicator...)
3. the **practices of managing people**
4. a **conception of the human being at work**

Session 2: A history of the organization of work, a history of control

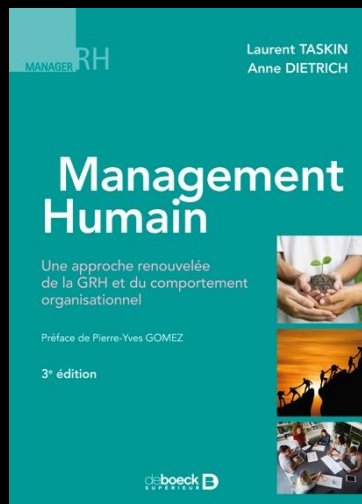
The reading grid = LOGIC = MATERIAL + SYMBOLIC

- **Material:** the concrete devices. Who decides? Who controls, and how? What degree of autonomy? What hierarchy?
- **Symbolic:** the declared objective, and what it is normal to expect of a worker. What Taskin calls the "effort convention".

=> From this follows a conception of the human being at work.

3. the chronology of the logics

Ancien Régime	1789 > 1849	1850 > 1896	1897 > 1944	1945 > 1975	1975 > 2000	2000 > ...
	First cycle	Second cycle	Third cycle	Fourth cycle		Fifth cycle
	First Industrial Revolution		Second Industrial Revolution		Third Industrial Revolution	

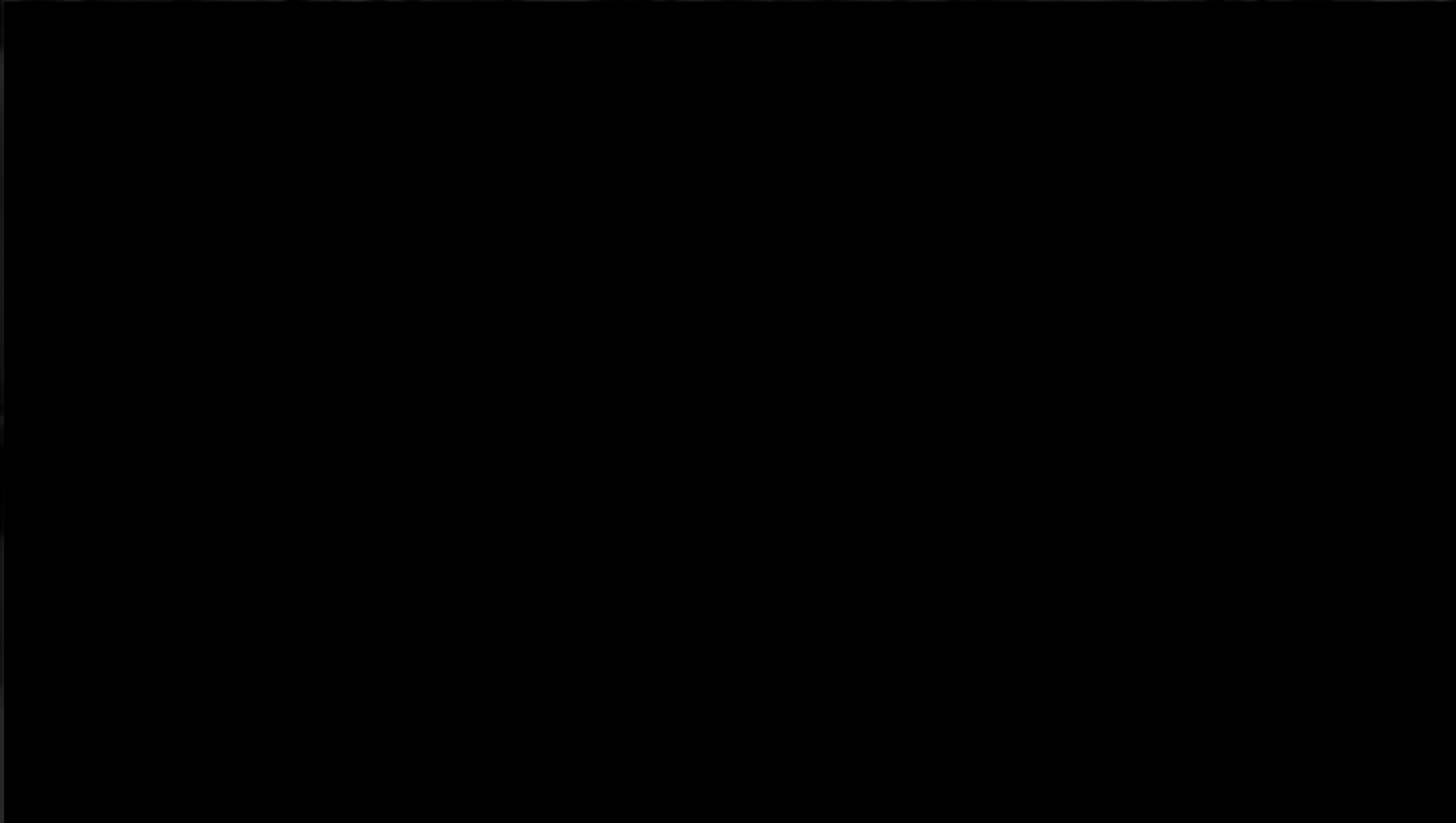


The Kondratiev Cycles & Industrial Revolutions



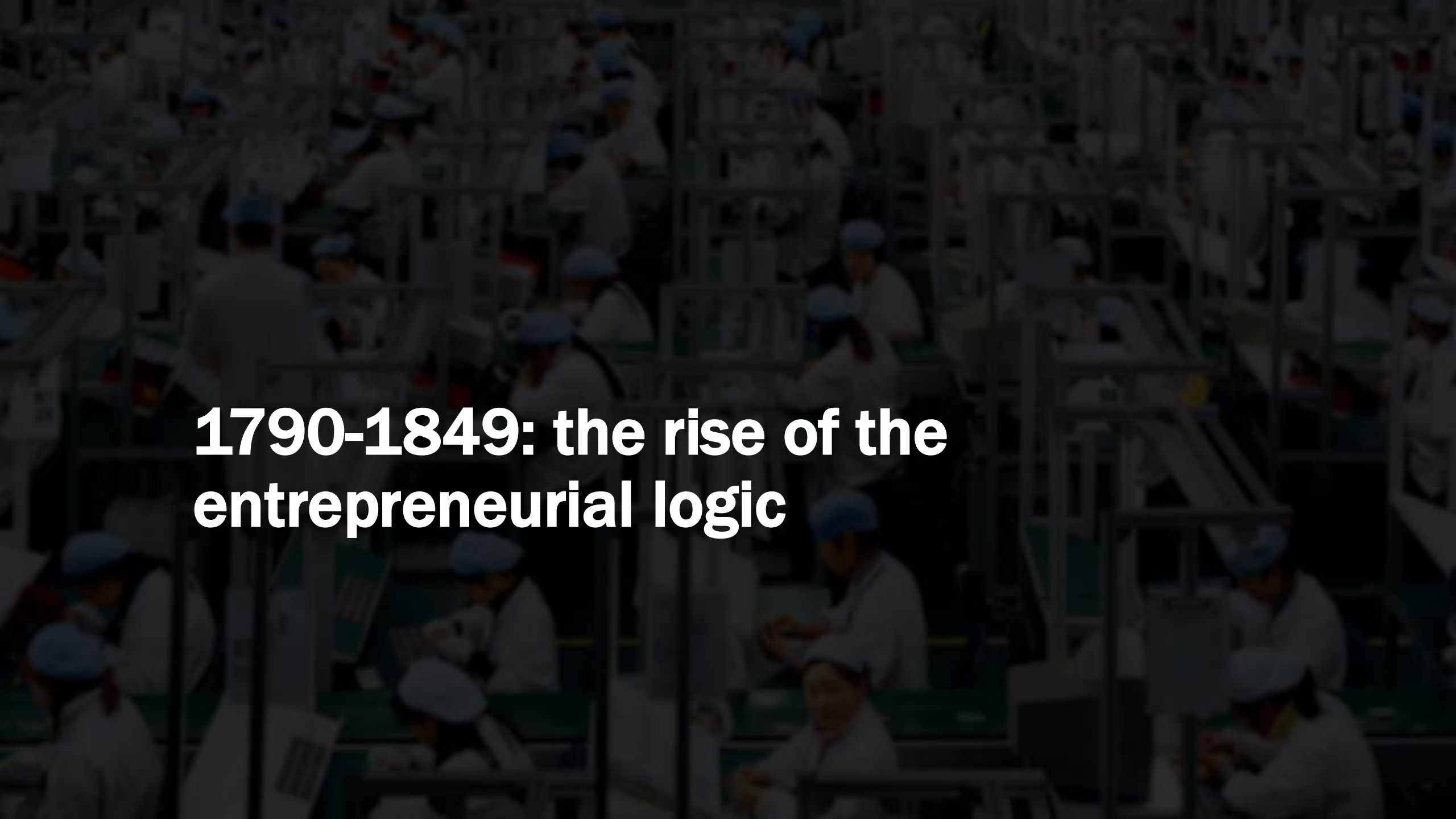
The professional logic — the Ancien Régime

The professional logic — the Ancien Régime



The professional logic — the Ancien Régime

- Context: the craft communities (guilds), regulated in the 17th century.
- Material:
 - very limited hierarchy (a single line of subordination: the master above the journeymen and apprentices). Power is in the hands of the experts.
 - Democratic governance: decisions are made collectively, among peers. Very high autonomy.
- Symbolic:
 - a member is expected to share their knowledge and to keep learning.
 - A strong professional ethic (what makes a good craftsman?), tied to a professional identity. Oaths, titles, ceremonies.
- Conception of the human: an expert, holder of knowledge.
- Legacy today: the regulated professions (doctors, lawyers), universities (distinct bodies, the thesis as a "masterpiece"), communities of practice, the compagnons du devoir.



1790-1849: the rise of the entrepreneurial logic

1790-1849: the rise of the entrepreneurial logic

- Context: Double revolution. Economic (steam engine, mechanization) and Political (French Revolution, 1789).
 - The guilds are abolished (d'Allarde decree and Le Chapelier law, 1791) → a labor market is created.
- Organization: the workshop. Small structure around an owner-boss. Few, versatile workers. The entrepreneur is boss and owner.
- Control: personalized, direct, arbitrary. One must please the boss to secure a livelihood.
 - Paternalism.



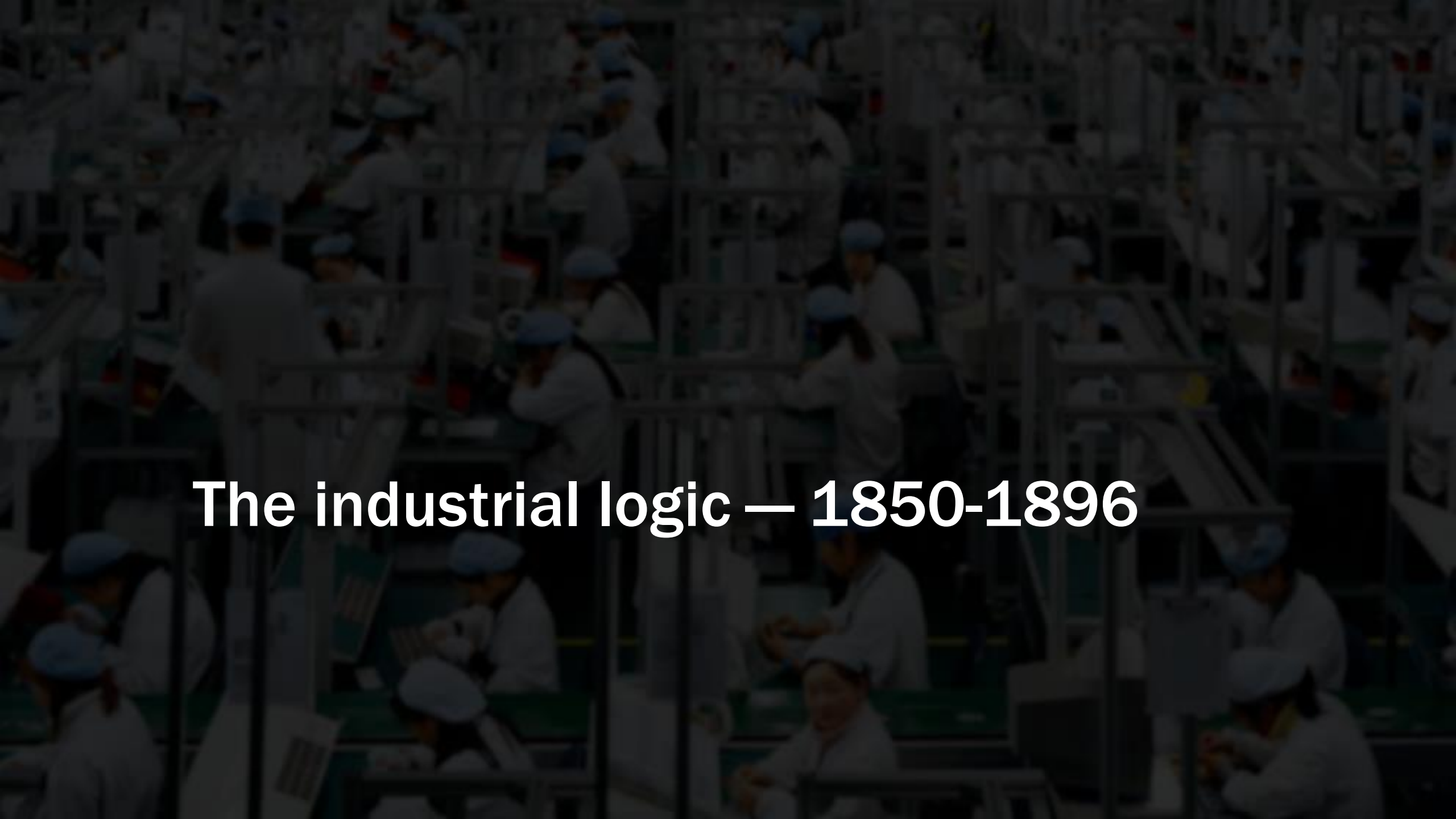
1790-1849: the rise of the entrepreneurial logic

Paternalism

- *"a system governing the relations between the employer and the employees in a company, in their totality. [...] It is born in the sphere of work, but aims to integrate — and therefore to protect — the man before, during and after: at the scale of the day, the week, the year, the life. »*
(Gueslin, 1992)
- Etymologically, « pater » = father). One bends to the boss's demands; in exchange, one obtains a livelihood.
- Typical behaviors : no delegation, everything flows up to the top, the base is deprived of responsibility, internal promotion is difficult.

1790-1849: the rise of the entrepreneurial logic

- **Material** : small size, versatility, all decisions in the hands of the owner-manager-founder, direct and personal control, low formalization.
- **Symbolic** : what is expected of a worker is that they fit into the owner's vision → a vision that may be social (giving people work), economic (making money) or achievement-oriented (innovating, building).
- **Conception of the human**: a craftsman.
- **What legacy today?**

The background image is a dark, high-contrast photograph of a crowded textile factory floor. Numerous workers, mostly women, are visible, wearing white uniforms and blue caps. They are working at long, narrow tables or looms, which are arranged in rows. The scene is dimly lit, with the primary light source coming from the workers' uniforms and the machinery, creating a somber and industrious atmosphere. The overall tone is dark, with the white uniforms providing a stark contrast.

The industrial logic — 1850-1896

The industrial logic — 1850-1896

- **Context:** after the famines of 1847-49, industrial boom (railways). Massive rural exodus. The isolated craftsman tips into the factory.
- **Organization :** the factory, large scale, low-skilled workforce.
 - Harsh conditions, heavy hours, work of women and children.
 - **Control:** the foreman —> personal, coercive, arbitrary power (but he is not an owner, unlike the workshop boss).



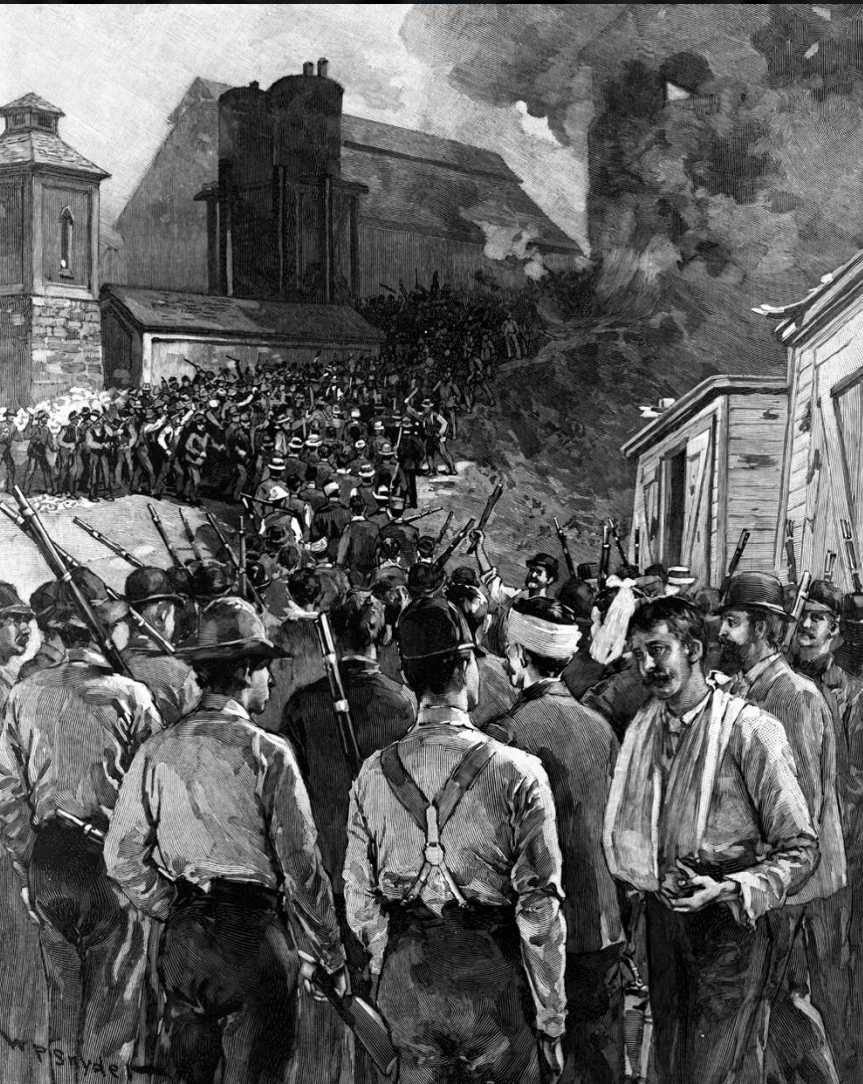


arte

UN ÉCRIVAIN À LA MINE

5:55 – 10:00

The industrial logic — 1850-1896



- **Social movement:** a collective movement of resistance that raised awareness of workers' conditions and gave rise to trade unionism and the building of social law.
 - strikes (Decazeville 1886; Charleroi, bloodily repressed;
 - Chicago, McCormick, May 1886 → origin of May Day).
These struggles **Conception of the human** : replaceable labor force, a tool of production.

The industrial logic — 1850-1896

- Material: large scale, low-skilled workforce, decisions made by management and a few experts, all attention on the means of production, control exercised by the foreman.
- Symbolic: the only objective is production. Produce a lot, at the lowest cost. The factory is a place of innovation, industry is synonymous with progress — it is the tool that is personified, not the human.
- Conception of the human: a replaceable workforce, one means of production among others
- Legacy today: the "world's factories" (Bangladesh textiles) where the industrial logic is still practiced.

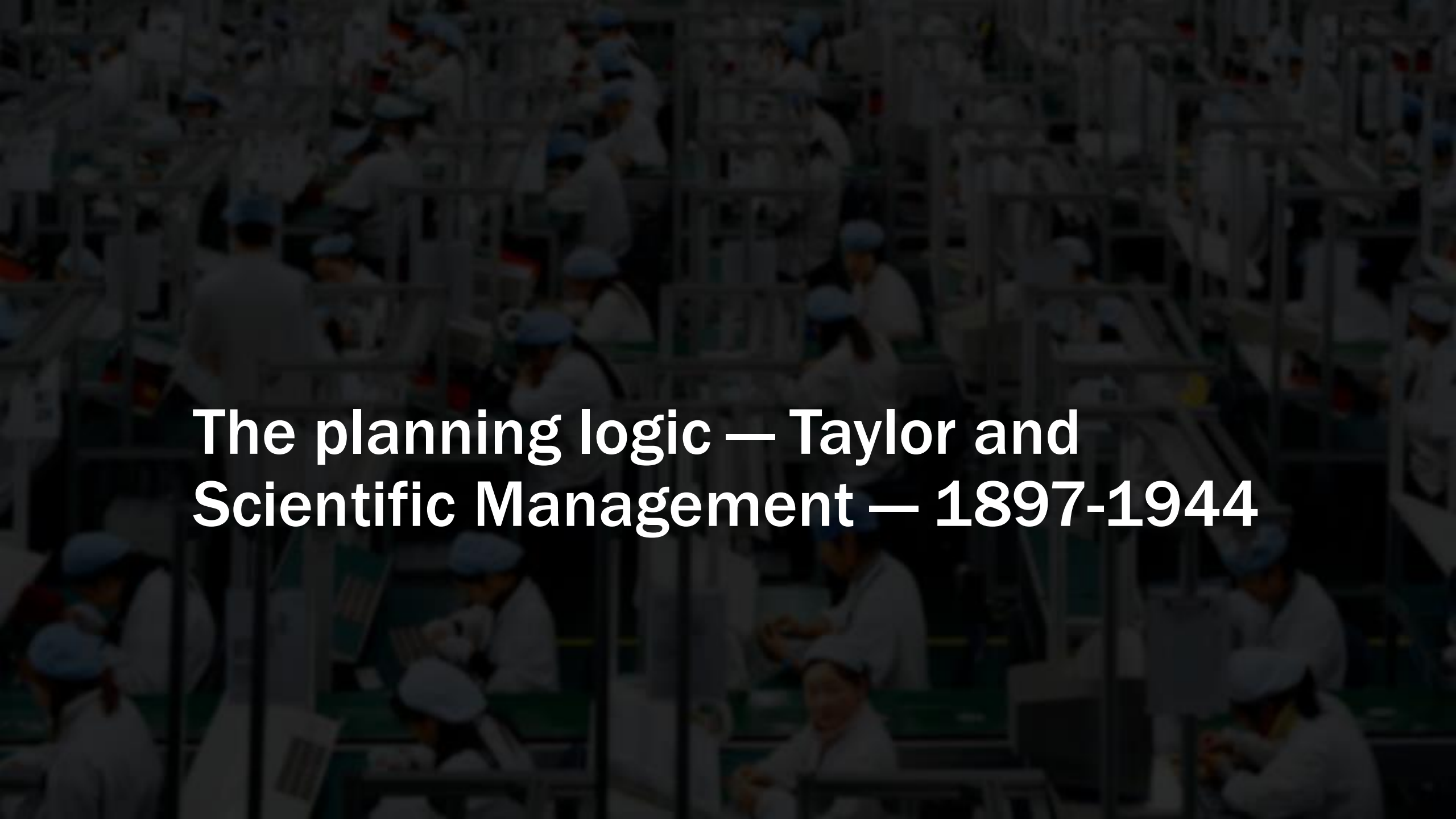


The employment contract: between subordination and protection

- In the 19th century, the employment relationship was barely regulated (no limit on hours, child labor..)
- A construction of labor law/social law
 - Under the pressure of struggles and worker organization, the late 19th and the 20th century build social law. The employment contract becomes a status: it recognizes subordination, but frames it and pairs it with protections.
- The two faces of the employment contract
 - subordination — the employee places themselves under the authority of the employer
 - protection — in return they obtain enforceable rights.

The employment contract: between subordination and protection

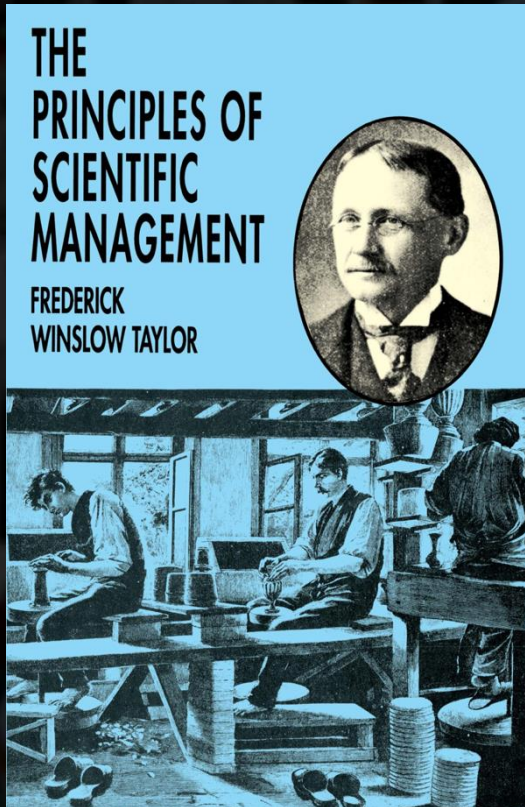
- These rights are made possible by collective bargaining: unions + employers → collective agreements,
- 3 levels of collective agreement (« conventions collectives »)
 - cross-industry,
 - sectoral,
 - company
- The collective agreement brings protection to workers, legitimacy to the rules, stability to employers.
 - Gains: health insurance fund, Sunday rest, working-time limits, paid leave.



The planning logic — Taylor and Scientific Management — 1897-1944

The planning logic — Taylor and Scientific Management — 1897-1944

Taylor (1856-1915) and Scientific Management.



The three principles:

1. Fighting "soldiering" and craft knowledge.

- For Taylor, one must break the guilds, take craft knowledge away from workers (which gives them bargaining power and feeds trade unionism), and replace it with "objective" methods. → de-skilling of workers' labor.

2. Control of productive time and fragmentation of tasks.

- The stopwatch enters the workshop. Measure, break down, standardize every movement.

3. Division of labor between design and execution.

- "Those who design are not — and must not be — those who execute, and vice versa." The methods office appears, the design engineers.



LE TEMPS DES OUVRIERS

300 ANS DE LUTTES

The planning logic — Taylor and Scientific Management — 1897-1944

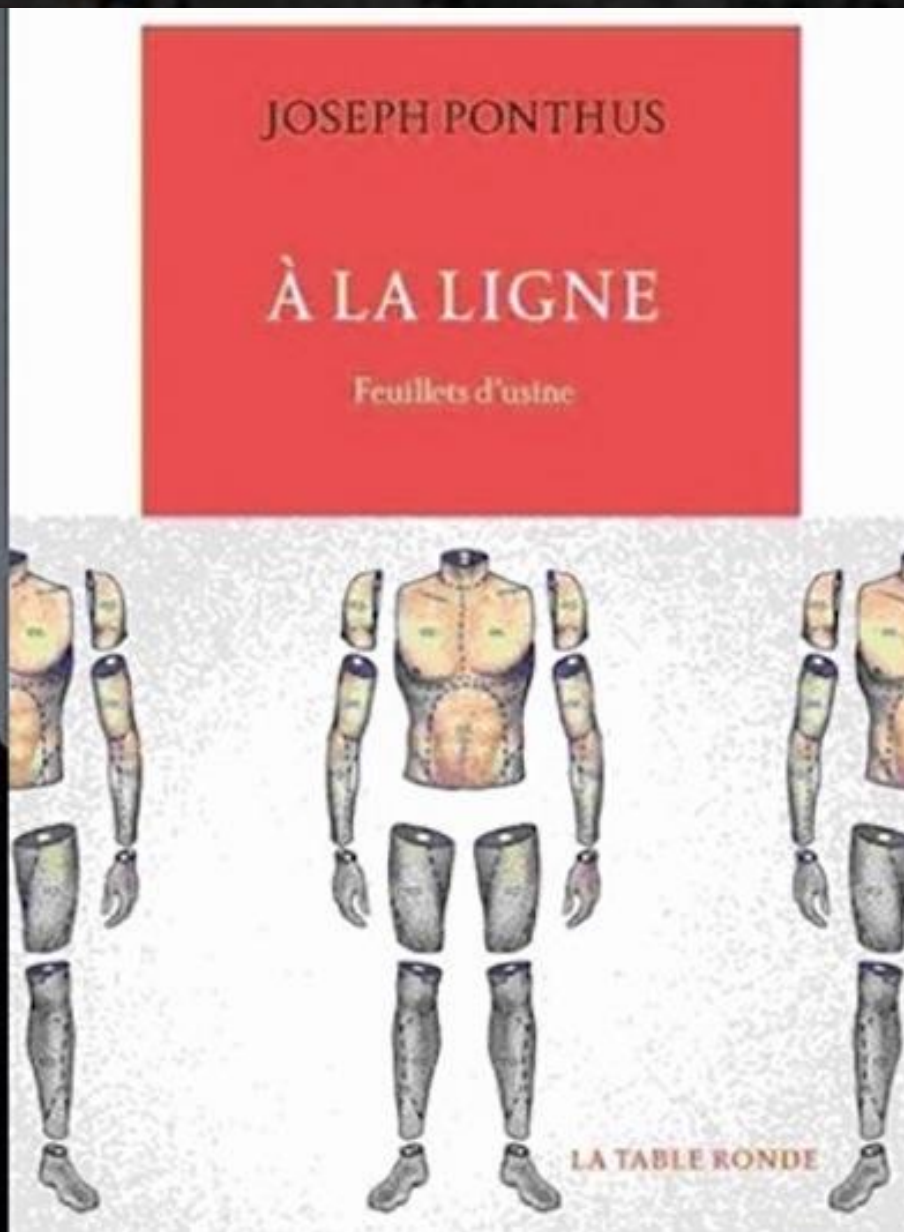
Taylor (1856-1915) and Scientific Management.

- **Material:** tools of measurement and control. Power belongs to the production experts (planning department). Standardized processes. Very little autonomy: the content of work and its schedule are imposed.
- **Symbolic:** efficiency.
- **Conception of the human:** low-skilled, interchangeable, lazy — he would do his duty if not compelled to — and motivated solely by money.



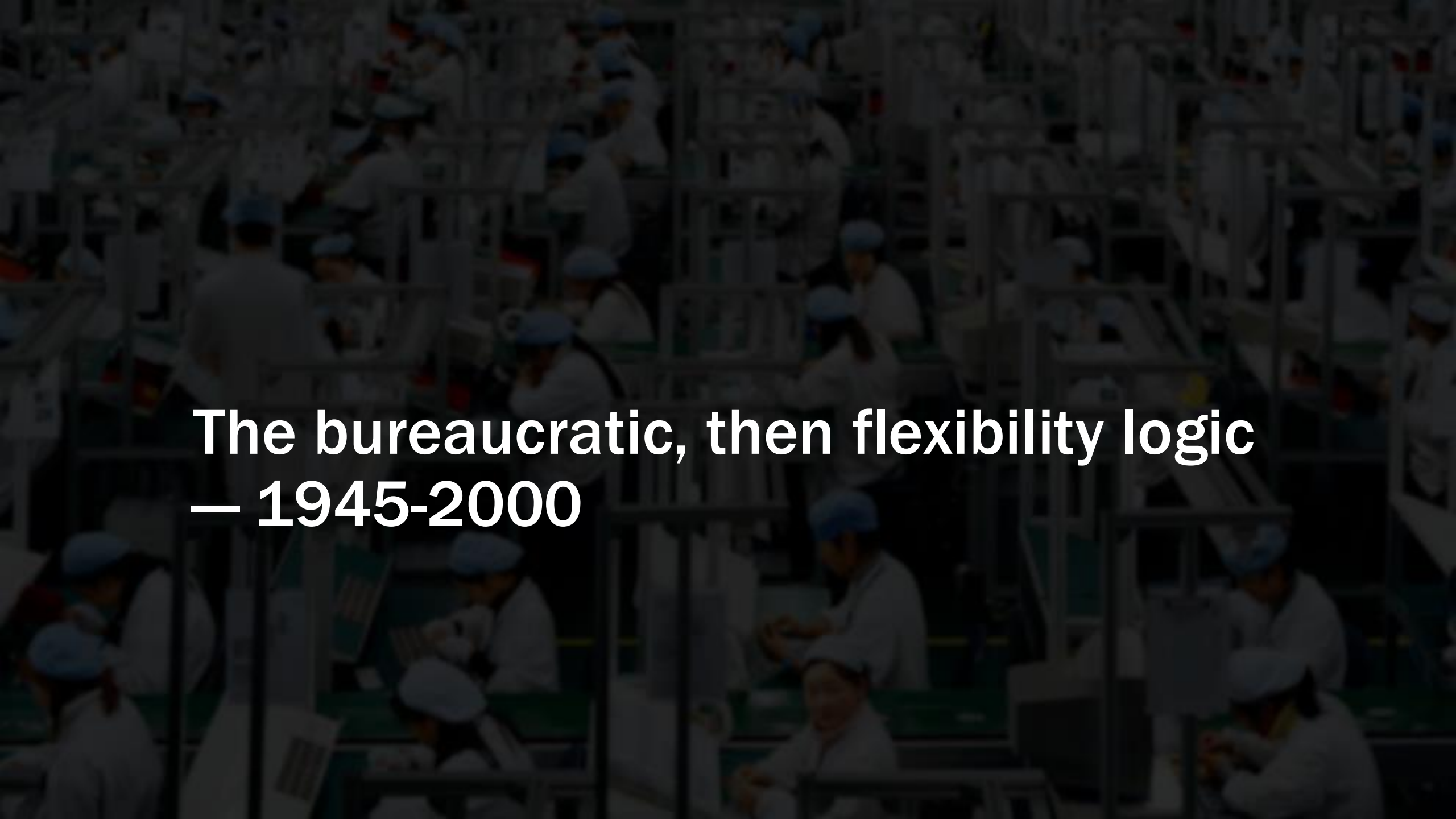
LE TEMPS DES OUVRIERS

300 ANS DE LUTTES





L'ÉTABLI Trailer (2023)



The bureaucratic, then flexibility logic — 1945-2000

The bureaucratic, then flexibility logic — 1945-2000



Human Relations School

- The context
 - The 1929 crash shakes the postulate of total rationality.
 - the perverse effects of Taylorism are now visible: staff turnover, absenteeism, deliberate slowdowns.
- The experiment at the Hawthorne plant (Western Electric).

The bureaucratic, then flexibility logic — 1945-2000

Human Relations School



- The context
 - The 1929 crash shakes the postulate of total rationality.
 - the perverse effects of Taylorism are now visible: staff turnover, absenteeism, deliberate slowdowns.
- The experiment at the Hawthorne plant (Western Electric).
 - Mayo's team is tasked with measuring the effect of physical factors (lighting, heat, layout of the premises) on productivity.
 - Result: You increase the lighting, productivity rises. You reduce it to near-darkness, it keeps rising. And the return to initial conditions does not lower output.

The bureaucratic, then flexibility logic — 1945-2000

Human Relations School: the invention of management by objectives (MBO)

3 principles

1. define objectives together, for a given period, clear enough that the employee and the manager know what is expected and what will be evaluated (commonly called SMART objectives);
2. delegate responsibility, allow a degree of autonomy over the means;
3. check the results afterwards.

The bureaucratic, then flexibility logic — 1945-2000

Bureaucracy (1940s – 1970s)

- Context: Unprecedented growth, organizations expanding in scale.
- Organization: In its ideal form, bureaucracy constitutes a rational and moral alternative to the nepotism and arbitrariness of the industrial logic.
 - one is appointed on the basis of qualifications, not connections.

The ideal type of bureaucracy (Weber):

- prescribed division of labor;
- clearly defined hierarchy, each with their own area of competence;
- selection on the basis of technical qualifications;
- one is appointed, not elected;
- fixed salary;
- general rules, discipline, strict controls; career;
- promotion by seniority or by results;
- separation between official work and ownership of the means

The bureaucratic, then flexibility logic — 1945-2000

Bureaucracy (1940s – 1970s)

- **Material:** division of labor, hierarchy of powers, formalized rules and procedures.
- **Symbolic:** formalization, seen as the guarantee of equal treatment. (And its flip side: impersonality, reduced autonomy.)
- **Conception of the human:** a potential to be mobilized. Capable of motivation; its interests are not deemed antagonistic.

The bureaucratic, then flexibility logic — 1945-2000

Flexibility logic (1970s – 2000s)

The 1970s. Three simultaneous crises:

- economic: productivity gains run out of steam, consumption declines, offshoring
- organizational: hierarchical layers and rules pile up — bureaucracy grows heavier
- of work: authority is challenged, traditional forms are rejected. Demotivation, absenteeism.

=> The answer: flexibility

Flexibility	Quantitative	Qualitative
External	Employment status • fixed-term contracts • temporary work contracts • internships • "other jobs" • subsidized jobs • seasonal work • on-demand work • layoffs / short-time working numerical or contractual flexibility	Production systems • subcontracting • outsourcing • self-employment productive or geographic flexibility
Internal	Working time and pay • reduction / adjustment of working hours • part-time work • overtime / additional hours • shift work / night work / weekend work • irregular / unpredictable schedules • changes in pay (variable, bonuses...) temporal or financial flexibility	Work organization • autonomy / constraint • job enrichment • versatility / multi-skilling • delegation of responsibilities • teamwork / semi-autonomous teams • project groups / networked work • functional coordination functional or organizational flexibility

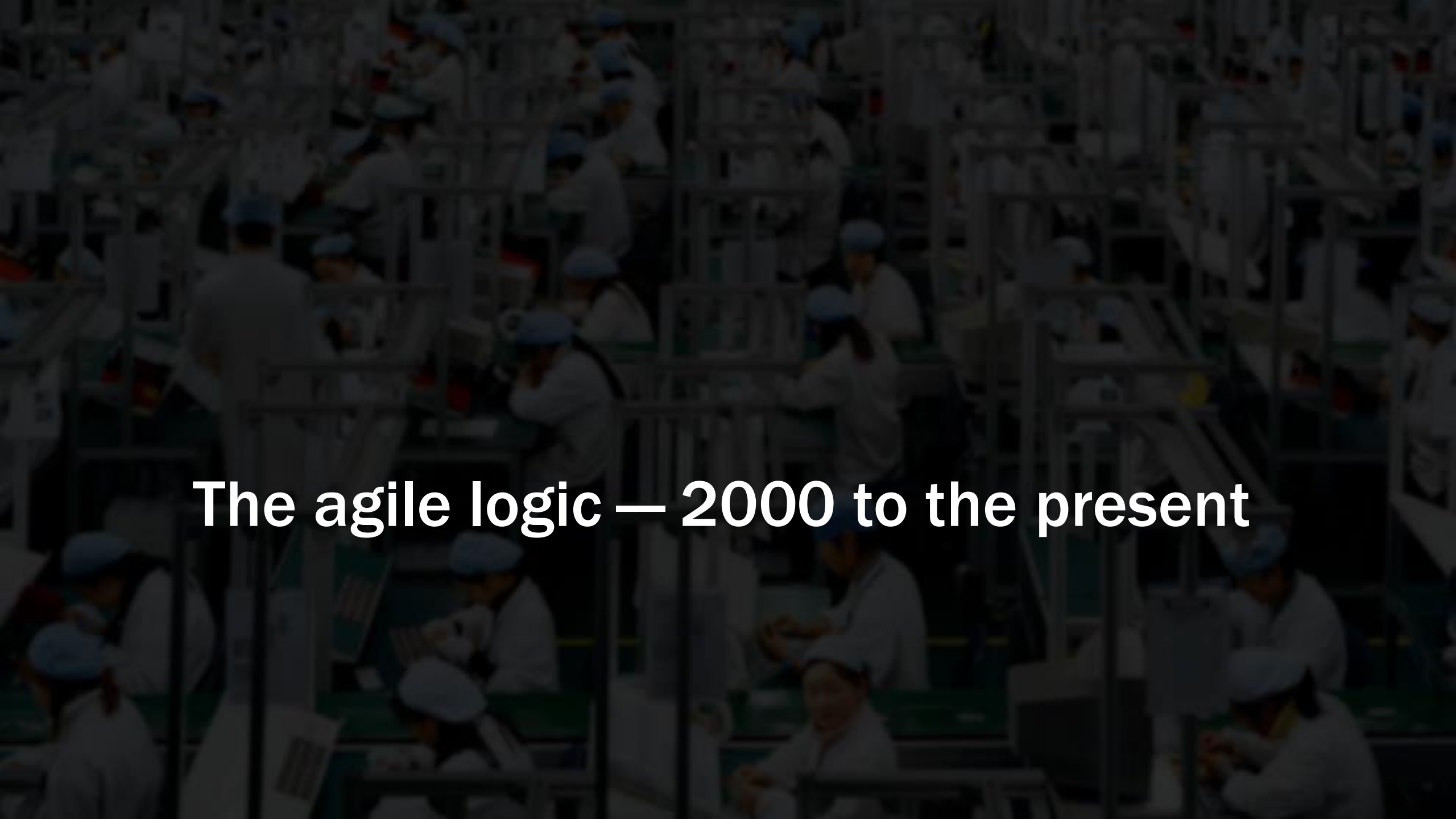
The bureaucratic, then flexibility logic — 1945-2000

Flexibility logic (1970s – 2000s)

"Personnel management » (gestion des personnels) becomes "human resource management » (gestion des ressources humaines)

- We move from minimizing a variable cost to developing an asset.
- The target audience changes (HRM addresses managers, whereas personnel management applied to non-managers); and the sender of the message changes (top management, responsible for corporate culture).
- HRM becomes individualized — it removes the conflictual dimension, unlike industrial relations, which studied the relations between the company, the State and the unions.

=> The word "resource" places people in the same category as capital or a raw material — a resource that contributes to competitive advantage, which must be kept inimitable and low in mobility.



The agile logic — 2000 to the present

The agile logic — 2000 to the present

3 major types of crises combine:

- Geopolitical and social crises : globalized conflicts (invasion of Ukraine, Hamas-Israel conflict), rise of the far right, of racism and homophobia, multiplication of terrorist attacks.
 - Result: deterioration of the social climate, rise of anxiety and disinformation.
- Cascading financial crises : Asian crisis (1997), bursting of the dot-com bubble (2000-2001), subprime crisis (2007-2008), sovereign debt crisis (2009).
 - They reveal the financialization of markets — a growing gap between the real economy and stock-market speculation — which puts the company itself into crisis (its "great deformation").
- Health and climate crises .

The agile logic — 2000 to the present

The Covid crisis

- It exposes the limits of offshoring strategies:
 - shortages (painkillers, masks), unethical practices, loss of skills.
- It upends the relationship to work
 - loss of meaning, distancing, but also depression and a wave of resignations.
- It generalizes remote work,
 - questions management, its modes of control and leads to organizational hybridization.



<https://dares.travail-emploi.gouv.fr/actualite/les-transformations-du-travail-induites-par-la-crise-sanitaire-se-sont-elles-maintenues>

The agile logic — 2000 to the present

The climate crisis

- Despite the climate denialism of some leaders, the crisis is visible day to day (warming, fires, earthquakes).
 - It calls for choices in terms of climate mitigation and adaptation
- It reveals the exhaustion of growth-based models, without however making degrowth consensual

The agile logic — 2000 to the present

Corporate strategies

- Refocusing on the core business:
 - divestment and outsourcing of activities deemed less central.
- The pursuit of critical size in a market that has become global, where competitors may be located on another continent
 - wave of mergers and acquisitions (banking, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, agri-food, IT, consulting, transport, energy).
- A geographic distribution of investments:
 - Low-wage countries (Asia, Eastern Europe) → production of goods and services.
 - Western Europe, North America, Japan → research and development

The agile logic — 2000 to the present

The transformations of the HR function: partner of corporate strategies and facilitator of change

- From "human resources" to "human capital":
 - We move from a productive analogy (optimizing a factor of production) to a financial analogy (growing a capital).
- The scope of the HR function widens: diversity, well-being, communication, reintegration, working conditions, links with CSR
- A control that is transformed:
 - Cultural control: over values, norms, and increasingly over behavioral skills (selection, development, evaluation).
 - Technocratic control: steering indicators (absenteeism, turnover, satisfaction), in the vein of the balanced scorecard.

The agile logic — 2000 to the present

How to characterize the agile organizational logic?

- The world is said to have moved from a VUCA environment (volatile, uncertain, complex, ambiguous) to a BANI environment (brittle, anxious, non-linear, incomprehensible).
- 4 qualifiers under debate for the contemporary organization:
 - Agile → react quickly in a crisis.
 - Resilient → recover meaning when the rational framework collapses.
 - Inclusive → reduce inequalities, restore living together.
 - Hybrid → renew the ways of working and managing.

Limit: closeness to the facts prevents the necessary distance. Can we really identify an ideal-type of the organization of the early 21st century?



4. Summary



Context of emergence of organizational logics

Old Regime	1789 > 1849 First cycle		1850 > 1896 Second cycle		1897 > 1944 Third cycle		1945 > 1975 Fourth cycle			1975 > 2000		2000 > ... Fifth cycle		
	First industrial revolution				Second industrial revolution				Third industrial revolution					
Major innovations			Steam engine, Jacquard loom		Bessemer steel (railways)		Internal combustion engine, automobile		Electronics, petrochemicals, aeronautics		Computing		Information and communication technologies (ICT)	
Crisis		French Revolution		Famines		Strikes, social movements		World war		Oil, economic & monetary crises		Financial market crises		
Type of organization	Corporation (guild)		Small firms (workshops)		Large firms (factories)		Large firms		Large firms		Restructuring, flattening of structures		Network firms, global firms	
Work organization	Transmission of technical know-how, craft logic		Worker isolation		Massive unskilled employment		Scientific mgmt / Fordism		Bureaucracies		Just in time		Outsourcing (core business)	
			Arbitrary and coercive power		Dualization between unskilled and skilled workers		Fragmentation, separation of execution / design		MBO		Labor flexibility		Labor flexibility, employability	
			Simple, personal control		Foremen		Mechanical control		Structural control		NFWO		Participative modes	
HR function							Personnel administration		Human resource management		HRM, partner of workers and management		HRM, change agent, strategic partner of mgmt, value creation	
							Regulatory devices, admin. of labor contract (pay, rules, leave)		Selection, appraisal, training, careers		Workforce planning (GPEC)		Knowledge management	
Organizational logic	Professional		Entrepreneurial		Industrial		Planning		Bureaucratic		Flexibility		Agile	
View of the human	Expert, craftsman		Craftsman		Low-skilled, replaceable		Lazy, motivated by money		Autonomous, economically motivable resource				Financial asset (capital, talent)	

Tableau 1.2.
Contexte d'émergence de logiques organisationnelles

	Ancien Régime	1789 > 1849	1850 > 1896	1897 > 1944	1945 > 1975	1975 > 2000	2000 > ...
		Premier cycle	Deuxième cycle	Troisième cycle	Quatrième cycle		Cinquième cycle
		Première révolution industrielle		Deuxième révolution industrielle		Troisième révolution industrielle	
<i>Innovations majeures</i>		Machine à vapeur, métier à tisser Jacquard	Acier Bessemer (chemin de fer)	Moteur à explosion, automobile	Électronique, pétrochimie, aéronautique	Informatique	Technologies de l'information et de la communication (TIC)
<i>Crise</i>	<i>Révolution française</i>	<i>Famines</i>	<i>Grèves, mouvements sociaux</i>	<i>Guerre mondiale</i>	<i>Crises pétrolières, économique et monétaire</i>	<i>Crises des marchés financiers</i>	
<i>Type d'organisation</i>	Corporation	Entreprises de petite taille (ateliers)	Entreprises de grande taille (usines)	Entreprises de grande taille	Entreprises de grande taille	Restructurations, aplatissement des structures	Entreprises réseaux, entreprises globales
<i>Organisation du travail</i>	Transmission du savoir technique, logique de métier	Isolement du travailleur Pouvoir arbitraire et coercitif Contrôle simple et personnalisé	Emploi non qualifié massif Dualisation entre travailleurs non qualifiés et qualifiés Contremaîtres	O.S.T./fordisme Parcellisation, séparation exécution/conception Contrôle mécanique	Bureaucraties MBO Contrôle structurel	<i>Just in time</i> Flexibilité du travail NFOT Contrôle culturel	Externalisation (<i>core business</i>) Flexibilité du travail, employabilité Modes participatifs Contrôle socio-idéologique + technocratique

Tableau 1.2.
Contexte d'émergence de logiques organisationnelles

	Ancien Régime	1789 > 1849	1850 > 1896	1897 > 1944	1945 > 1975	1975 > 2000	2000 > ...
		Premier cycle	Deuxième cycle	Troisième cycle	Quatrième cycle		Cinquième cycle
		<i>Première révolution industrielle</i>		<i>Deuxième révolution industrielle</i>		<i>Troisième révolution industrielle</i>	
<i>Fonction RH</i>				Administration du personnel Dispositifs réglementaires, administration du contrat de travail (salaire, règlements, congés)	Gestion des ressources humaines Sélection, appréciation, formation, carrières	GRH, partenaire des travailleurs et de la direction GPEC	GRH, acteur de changement, partenaire stratégique de la direction, création de valeur <i>Knowledge management</i>
<i>Logique organisationnelle</i>	Professionnelle	Entrepreneuriale	Industrielle	Planificatrice	Bureaucratique	De flexibilité	Agile
<i>Conception de l'humain</i>	Expert, artisan	Artisan	Peu qualifié, remplaçable	Fainéant, motivé par l'argent	Autonome, Ressource motivable économique		Actif financier (capital, talent)

5. The limits of this representation

- Geographical universalism.
- Temporal universalism.
- A deterministic model?
 - The articulation — conception of the human ↔ type of organization ↔ mode of control — suggests a cause-and-effect link.
 - BUT: Taylor did not observe that workers were lazy: he built a system that assumes they are and that, by de-skilling them, tends to make it true.
- A fixed representation?
 - Where is the capacity of actors to act and resist?
 - Where are the more minority forms of organization?
- The logics overlap more than they succeed one another. The family firm has not disappeared; Taylorism is still here.



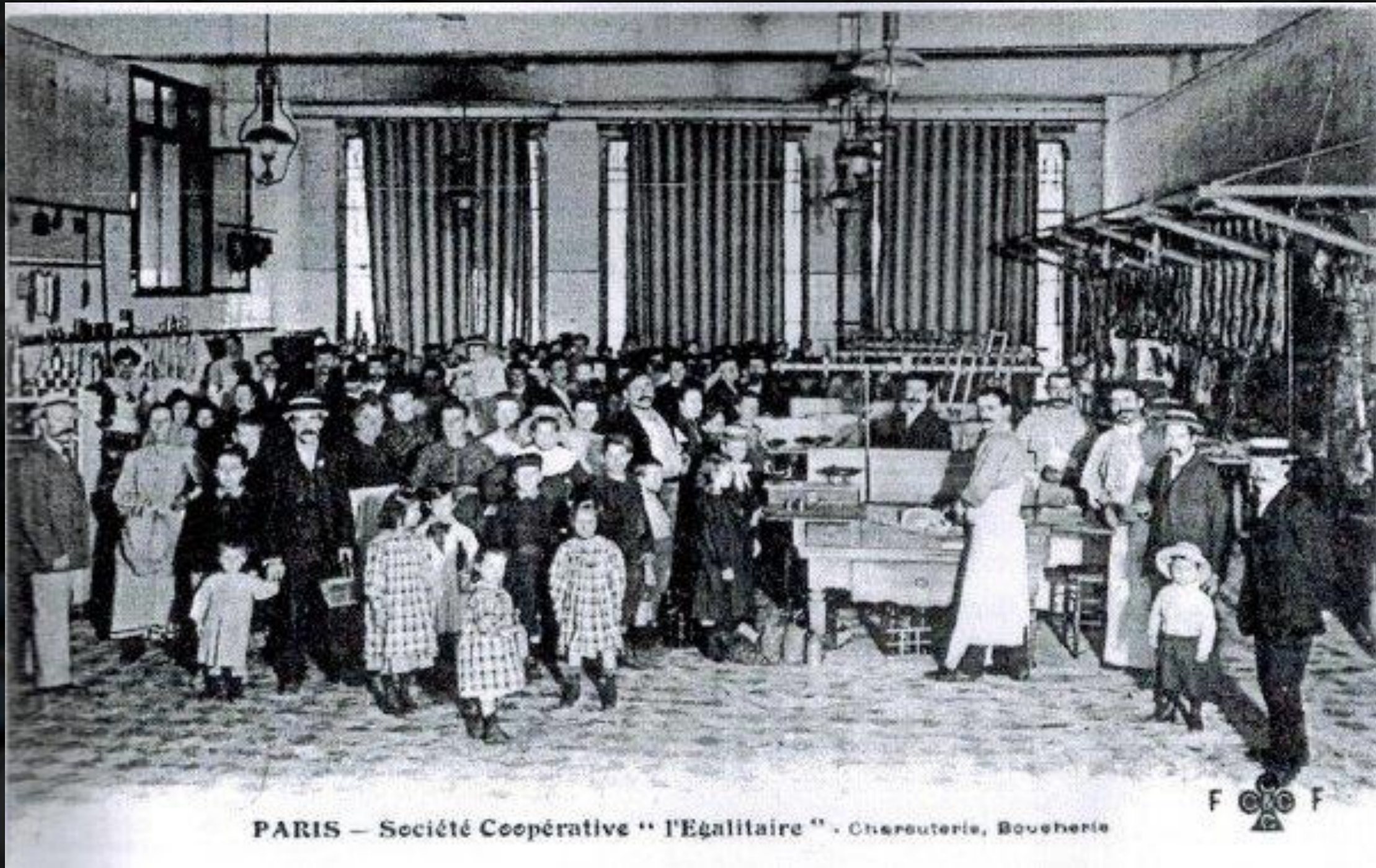
LE TEMPS DES OUVRIERS

300 ANS DE LUTTES

The labor movements, at the origin of alternatives to industrial capitalism

Context and origins

- 19th century: impoverishment of the working classes linked to the industrial revolution => worker solidarity.
- Objective: To create activity collectively to meet common needs
- Consumer cooperatives to gain access to essential goods.
 - Robert Owen (around 1800, Scotland): first cooperative store.
 - 1844: Rochdale (England): 28 weavers found the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers, the first modern consumer cooperative.
- Mutual aid funds: insurance against illness, old age.
- Production cooperatives: reappropriation of the tool of work.



PARIS — Société Coopérative " l'Égalitaire " . Charcuterie, Boucherie



The labor movements, at the origin of an alternative to industrial capitalism

What legacy from the labor movements?

- Since the French Revolution (**Le Chapelier Law**), any "coalition" including associations and other organizations of persons is banned. There must be no intermediary between the State and the citizen. The first "workers' associations" are born in **clandestinity** in the early 19th century.
- Battle for the recognition and then the institutionalization of the social economy: creation of legal statuses (e.g. 1901: freedom of association).
- Invention of more democratic forms of organization



A man in a brown cap and grey t-shirt is working with dough on a wooden table in a bakery. He is leaning over the table, which is covered with several round loaves of dough. In the background, another person is visible working at a different station. The bakery has a bright, modern interior with yellow walls and large windows. A large industrial mixer is visible on the right side of the frame.

6 INFO

La SCOP

UN MODÈLE PÉTRI
DE BONNES INTENTIONS

Key takeaways

- The organization of work is a social construction
- It relies on specific perspectives on what a human being is.
- It has changed over time
- It has mostly had to do with securing control and discipline
- The current and past dominant forms of work organization are not the only ones (others exist) – and they are based on other understanding on what a human being is.

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