Work-as-Organization; a Theory

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Organization theories tend to be more about organizations than about *organization* itself. This paper explores fundamental groundwork of the nature of *organization*. This paper first undertakes a brief exploration of the genealogical aspects of *organization* in order to distill a basic model of it. Second, it relates the resulting Word-as-Organization research model to other organization. Finally, the paper explores the emergence of organization in post-colonial/post-Soviet Lithuania, in order to see how novel organizations can arise out of the a subjugated people's efforts in differentiating themselves from dominating external forces.

Organization originated in the Indo-European word root for work. Therefore, our Western concept of *work* is prior to our use of *organization*. Our definition of organization is grounded in the primary *elements* of work: (1)People using their current resources, (2) to do something, (3) that effects outcomes expected benefit them. The human aspect of the work is based on intentionality. Humans have the free will, choice and ability to imagine, evaluate and choose among multiple outcomes, appropriate behaviors, and alternative ways to perform the actions required to achieve their intended outcomes. We developed and refined the *Work-as-Organization* theory model based on the three decision dimensions arising between those three elements of work: people's *disposition* toward outcomes; people's *behavior* in doing; and *performance* of deeds for outcomes.

We related the model to the three basic categories of organization theories: Economic Order, Scientific Management and Human Relations. Each of these categories has focused on one or more of the three dimensions of this Work-as-Organization model, usually at the exclusion of the other dimensions.

Our approach in our Fulbright class on Organization Theory conducted at Kaunas University of Technology's Masters Degree program for Public Administration, was to use an organization theory-in-progress to research Lithuania's post-Soviet, (postcolonial) situation. At the same time, we used the Lithuanian language and its rich treasure of Indo-European elements as a litmus test to examine our theory in the cultural borders separating Lithuania and its dominating neighbors.

In seeking new organization theories for the institutions of governance in Lithuania, the students evaluated how much of the Soviet command economy organization theory should be discarded and how much retained? Contrawise, they evaluated how much of the current European organization theory should Lithuania import or avoid? What must they invent anew?

INTRODUCTION

What is *organization* that we have so many theories about it? Perhaps one of the main reasons is the fact that organizations have come to play an ever larger role in our public and private lives. Businesses, social groups, and governments abound with organizations, and us within in them. What, then, is organization? How does it evolve? Or has organization always been with us?

Organization theories tend to be more about organizations than about *organization* itself. Most organization theories focus on a particular aspect of organizations, to address the organization issues of the historical moment. Each theory usually proposes its own framework and much of its own terminology. Although these organization theories are traditionally built upon past theories, they often tend to develop into separate schools, often at theoretical odds with each other. Clearly, "There is no such thing as *the* theory of organizations." (Shafritz and Ott, 1996:4).

This paper first undertakes a brief exploration of the genealogical aspects of *organization* in order to distill a basic model of it. Second, the goal is to be able to relate the research model to other organization theories, as well. Finally, we explore the emergence of organization in post-colonial/post-Soviet Lithuania, to see how novel organizations can arise out of the border area of a subjugated people's efforts in differentiating themselves from dominating external forces.

Developing theories about organization in a Public Administration Masters Degree class in a post-Soviet nation such as Lithuania, has several interesting prospects. First, by working on a theory that is under construction, the students not only experience the process of developing theories for themselves, but, also experience how theory building can be a useful tool to discover new understanding about their world. Second, in the spirit of Kurt Lewin's *unfreeze-change-refreeze* strategy (Lewin, 1951:228) for changing organizations. Lithuania, in 1996 could certainly be considered a nation in the change stage of this strategy. Third, masters degree students in Public Administration at Kaunas Technological University could be expected to be exemplary of this change stage in their thinking, especially about developing new organizations for governance. Fourth, since Lithuania has retained more of the roots and language forms of the original Indo-European culture than any other member of the Indo-European family of "living" languages today, the students could more readily explore the genealogical roots of the word *organization.* Finally, Lithuania, as a post-Soviet nation could very likely profit from the many insights of post-colonial authors such as Benedict Anderson (1991), Partha Chatterjee (1992), Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1988), and Homi Bhabha who write about the emergence of national organization.

Background: Lithuania and a Post-Colonial View of Organization

Russia and the United States, and for that matter, most of Europe operate from political/economic theories of organization firmly grounded in the Industrial Revolution of the 19th Century which was also a major period of modern Europe's colonial view of governance. Had the nineteenth century view of organization finally become obsolete for the post-modern world? If a new or significant revision of our view of organization is to emerge, what is the likelihood that it will arise solely from principal players of the Communism/Capitalism debate of the past two centuries? If not from them, then from whom?

Much of the current post-colonial writing indicates that many new views of how people organize themselves come from marginalized, post-colonial communities concerned with survival in the new global community as they struggle in the borderlines of major contenders for worldly power (Bhabha, 1994:4). The prolonged domination by foreign powers forces colonialized people to either assimilate, (Russification, as in the case of the Baltic States), or to nurture their native culture as a separate underground community (Chatterjee, 1993) Benidict Anderson describes as an *imagined community*:

> I propose the following definition of a nation: it is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign (Anderson, 1991:6).

The usual physical trappings of a political and economic existence of colonized people usually find their form in the laws, institutions, and history books controlled by the external dominating power. Therefore, the subaltern community must seek its residence mostly in the minds and private meetings of the people being dominated. Soviet Lithuania was certainly an example of this situation.

However, in order to maintain the growing complexity of their developing imagined community, the subaltern people find themselves resurrecting their language in private, as well as regrounding their values, norms, and their communication resources (Anderson, 1991). They use the arcane aspects of their native language as a barrier to fend off the efforts of the external dominating power that constantly presses to control the inner domain of cultural aspects of the subaltern's imagined community (Chatterjee, 1993). The more the dominating power tries to influence the mores and cultural norms of the subaltern community the more the imagined community is codified in a sub-political and protected cultural structure, until finally, the imagined community has built an institutional substructure substantial enough to qualify as a nation in itself. It is not the purpose of this paper to document the history of this situation in Lithuania, except to establish Lithuania as a classic example of this colonial/post-colonial nation-building process.

Our argument, in exploring organization theory, is that we should include organizations of all stripes as generic examples of the imagined communities discussed post-colonial writers. As Chat-

terjee points out, the post-colonial concerns need not be restricted to the political realm:

> I have one central objection to Anderson's argument. If nationalisms in the rest of the world have to choose their imagined communities from certain "modular" forms already made available to them by Europe and the Americas, what do they have left to imagine?. . . .To be fair to Anderson, it must be said that he is not alone to blame. The difficulty, I am now convinced, arises because we have all taken the claims of nationalism to be a political movement much too literally and much too seriously (Chatterjee, 1993:5).

How does Lithuania qualify as a post-colonial nation? At the demise of Lithuania's Jagiellion dynasty in 1572, their political and cultural existence has been increasingly marginalized through the domination by a continual parade of foreign cultures. There was a brief respite of independence between World Wars I and II. Therefore, Lithuania, in seeking its new place in the margins of its pre- and post-soviet (colonial) times, must now not only reposition the influence of past Russian, German, Swedish, and Polish domination, but also reorder older Lithuanian (Indo-European) influences as well. Ironically, Lithuania's language and culture is primordial in terms of origin and retention of Indo-European elements common to their, at various times, dominating neighbors. Unlike the post-colonial nations in Asia and Africa, Lithuania does not have to throw off the yoke of foreign Western Culture per se. Lithuania has always been primordially of that culture from its very beginnings.

Methodology: The Genealogy of Organization

In selecting a genealogical approach to our research on organization, we are not seeking a definition for organization; we assume that it is self explanatory. We are merely sampling its genetic tracks in order to use its simplicity:

> The interpreter as genealogist sees things from afar. He finds that the questions which were traditionally held to be the deepest and murkiest are truly and literally the most superficial. This certainly does not mean that they are either trivial or lacking in importance, only that their meaning is to be discovered in the surface practices, not in mysterious depths (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983:107).

Our approach was to use the Lithuanian language and its rich treasure of Indo-European elements as a litmus test for our developing theory. Therefore, we started our genealogical search with Karl Weick's definition of organization:

> A shared sense of appropriate procedures and appropriate interpretations, an assemblage of behaviors distributed among two or more people, and a puzzle to be *worked* on. The *conjunction* of these procedures, interpretations, behaviors, and puzzles *describes what* organizing does and what an organization is (Weick, 1979:4).

We traced organization back through several of its genealogical appearances in Western languages. We then used those traces to refine our theory into a basic model with which we could examine the subsequent changes in the use of organization as it developed over time, particularly as it related to Lithuania's post-Soviet situation.

PART ONE: The Genealogy of Organization

The first phase of our research was as much archeology as it was genealogy. We focused this phase of our research on language as a cultural artifact. Benedict Anderson pointed out the potential value to research using this approach:

> First, one notes the primordialness of languages, even those known to be modern. No one can give a date for the birth of any language. Each looms up imperceptible out of the horizonless past. (Insofar as *homo sapiens* is *homo dicens*, it can seem difficult to imagine an origin of language newer than the species itself.) Languages thus appear rooted beyond almost anything else in contemporary societies (Anderson, 1991:144–5).

Clearly, using the word *organization* to depict how people associate with one another gained its prominence with the unfolding of the industrial revolution in the nineteenth century, with the rise of corporate capitalism, and, in particular, with the sociological writings of Karl Marx, Max Weber, and Emile Durkheim. The word *organization*, of course, has much earlier roots in our language that can inform us about its original nature.

The word *organization* comes to English via French, Latin (Partridge, 1958:809–810). It was borrowed from the classical Greek, e.g., *ergon* (work), *erg* (energy), and *organon* (organization, tools for work). Aristotle's first books are grouped together under the name of the *Organon*, meaning instruments and tools used for intellectual work, i.e., thinking. In *Organon* Aristotle describes our basic instruments of reason, namely how we use language and logic as a tools to represent, categorize, and interpret our experiences, and how we can use reason to derive new knowledge from our perceptions in order to guide our personal and social activities to a common good.

Work-as-Organization
Figure Charts

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                              IE *werg
                              (do, work)
        ┌─────────────────────────┼─────────────────────────┐
     Greek                   Lithuanian              Old German &
   ┌─────┼─────┐                  │                  Anglo Saxon
   │     │     │                  │                       │
  erg  ergon organon           vergas        wurchen, wyrcan, weorc
(energy)(work)(work tools)    (slavery)                (work)
   ├───────────┼──────── English ──────────────────────┤
 energy     organization                              work
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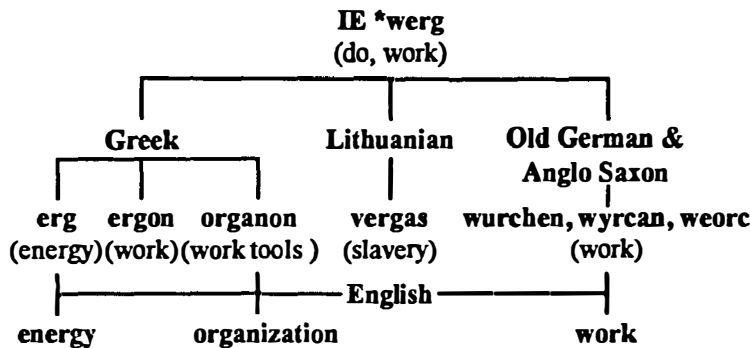
Figure 1. Genealogy of Organization

However, *organon* comes to Greek from the Indo-European (IE) root *werg* (see Figure 1). The Germanic branch of languages also use this same Indo-European parent language root. The original sound and meaning of *werg*, namely: to work, to do, is retained in *Werk* (in German) and *work* (in English).

Curiously, in Lithuanian the main word for work is *darbas*. It comes from a completely different IE root. Lithuanian *vergas* does retain the IE root *werg, almost in its pure form. Ironically, *vergas* is used to refer to a very special kind of work situation, namely: slaves, slave labor or very hard labor. Nevertheless, thanks to the Greeks, modern European languages including Lithuanian derive their modern word for organization from that IE root.

More importantly, it is clear from Classical Greek, Germanic and Lithuanian languages, that in the West the concept of work is genealogically prior to our use of *organization*, and in that genealogical precedence, *work* engenders *organization*. Therefore, in order to research Weick's defining organization as a *conjunction* of people, behaviors and puzzles to be *worked* on, we need examine the nature of work itself.

Work – a Definition

What is work? In physics, *erg* is a measure of work defined as the energy required to lift a stand-

ard mass weight a standard distance. In chemistry it is the energy required to convert from one type of chemical substance into another, e.g., British Thermal Units (BTU). In the biological realm, work seems to be centered around the process of life sustaining itself in the extended food-chain. Life, in its various forms must acquire at least as much energy-deriving sustenance from its environment as it consumes, if it is to persist and reproduce. Clearly, this economic aspect furnishes us one of the most basic rules of work and life. If we continue take in less energy than we consume, in a time we will leave this life as such. Therefore, our definition of work in the human social realm needs to be grounded, above all, in the primary action[1] elements of life. Work is people, using their current resources, doing something to achieve outcomes that are hopefully beneficial.

Our basic model of work is constructed from these three action elements. However, there are important relationships between people, what they do, and the outcome for which they perform their deeds.

Therefore, our model of work as a theory of organization forms along three inter-relational dimensions; (1) our *disposition* is the relation between us and what we need/want as an outcome, (2) our *behavior* is the relation between us and what we can do use in order to effect the outcome, and (3) our *performance* is the relation between what we can do and how we act to achieve the outcome. The ongoing and dynamic reconciliation of these three dimensions is the fundamental function of *work-as-organization* (see Figure 2).

[1]   Aristotle, *The Basic Works of Aristotle*, ed Richard McKeon, New York: Random House, 1941, p. 826. Action is being defined as "movement in which the end [outcome] is present."

Table 1. Work as a Basic Model of Organization (& = Organization)

Action Element A		Action Element B		Decision Dimension	of Intentionality
People	&	Outcomes	=	Disposition	What do we want?
			&		
Do	&	People	=	Behavior	What can we do?
			&		
Outcomes	&	Do	=	Performance	How do we do it?

Figure 2. Basic Model

Intentionality: the Human Feature of Work-as-Organization

What then is work for people? Originally *werg referred to outcome oriented activities such as *weaving* for women and *herding* for men. It seems clear that *werg was used to describe the elements of the process of people doing things to support their living situation. However, as conscious creatures we have free will or intentionality. We can imagine what we want, as well as various possibilities on how to behave and perform in order to get what we want. Although we can imagine and choose what outcomes we want to work toward, we, as humans, must imagine along these three diverging avenues of intentionality.

Work, as described in our model as comprised of action elements that form three *decision* dimensions of intentionality (see Table 1). The study of work is primarily a theory of those action elements, as well as the decision dimensions of our disposition & behavior & performance. Organization, to paraphrase Eddington, is a secondary order of study of all the "&"s together. These "&"s are Weick's, "conjunction[s]" of procedures, behaviors and puzzles to be *worked* on.

Organization is the interface conjunctions (&s) between the three action elements, as well as those between the decision dimensions of intentionality.

Each decision dimension poses the question of intentionality. First, what outcomes are we *disposed* toward? We must imagine and choose what outcome we intend to pursue. Secondly, how should we *behave* in achieving our intended outcome? We must imagine and decide what actions we intend to do to achieve our selected gain. Whatever we decide to do must correlate with the outcome that we have selected. Finally, how shall we *perform* to achieve our outcome? We must imagine and intentionally try to perform the actions or deeds we think are required, often in competition with others who may be pursuing to effect that same outcome for themselves.

The fundamental economic dynamic of our intentions is to effect a needed or desired outcome, the value of which we hope will be greater to us (and our social community) than the sum of our resources required to acquire it. This triad of imaginings and intentionality is a distinctively human aspect of work. Linking them together (Weick's conjunctions) is organization.

Intended Needs/Wants – the Decision Dimension of Disposition

To begin with, in deciding what outcome we want, a whole host of forces that shapes our disposition to do something comes in to play. Our biological needs, values, valences, emotions, feelings and desires stream out of our physical and psychological state to determine our needs at any given moment. Abraham Maslow's theory of motivation depicts an hierarchy of these needs (Maslow, 1943):

● Self Actualization
● Self-esteem
● Social: Love & Association
● Safety from harm
● Physical Needs: food, water, etc.

This strange thicket of needs, charged with our feelings and emotions must be traversed and focused upon particular outcomes and goals in the process of our work. Together they constitute our *disposition* to act. We use the word *disposition* as a convention to encompass our set of values/valences forming our thoughts, emotions, feelings, needs, wants, desires, etc., that urge us to action (or inaction). The words *will, motivation, inclination, goal setting, attitude, or temperament* can also be used to characterize this relational dimension of the work-as-organization model. Clearly, sorting out our intentions and focusing them on specific outcomes is a complex function full of countervailing forces. Sorting out those forces and figuring out what is best for us is the disposition aspect of our Work-as-Organization.

Intended Response – the Decision Dimension of Behavior

Equally complex as the dynamic background of our intended needs, is the function of deciding what we must do in order to effect the outcome we have selected to pursue. Theories of organization behavior range from the conditioned response approach of behaviorists such as B. F. Skinner to the humanistic consultative theories of Carl Rogers. For example, to the degree that we do not properly relate our behavior with needs, wants, and other valences of our disposition, we are simply responding to the latest and strongest stimulation in our environment. In this case human behavior can be reduced to functional cause-and-effect of Stimulus/Response. At the other end of the spectrum of behavior theories Carl Rogers' perspective sees the forces that impinge upon even the smallest human behavior are so numerous and countervailing that they often seem to defy any analysis at all.

Nevertheless, we find our way to behave in our own interest most of the time. For example, if I have selected *possessing a violin* as the outcome I need-want-desire, then I have to select what behaviors are most appropriate for me to acquire the violin. This decision process occurs in a quite different set of considerations than those of my decisions about needed/desired outcomes. In selecting the appropriate behavior I must consider the rules, laws, mores, skills, knowledge, roles, and other habits in my repertoire that guide my behavior. In addition, my behavior selection must correlate with my disposition decision dimension.

I must match my behavior to the requirements of achieving the outcome I have selected.

Trying To Do – the Decision Dimension of Performance

We can't say that we really understand something unless we have acted upon it before. For example, I can know all about the craft and process of making a violin, but if I have never made one, I really don't understand violin making, and am unable to make one. This understanding is not part of my personal reality. My alternatives are to learn violin making or use some other behavior (buy one, for example) to acquire the desired violin.

In practice, the performance decision dimension is really a lot of little work-as-organization events, each building on the previous and preparing for the next. A violin is not made in one step, but in a whole population of events, all carefully controlled in mini-outcome selection steps and mini-behavior selection events that allows the accomplished violin maker to proceed with the care in confident, incremental performance toward the overarching outcome of a finished violin that can produce a sonorous sound.

We can see that at least on the level of an individual violin maker, work organizes our intended outcomes and our intended behaviors and the commitment of our personal resources in performing many actions to achieve the outcome in an economic fashion. However, before one can be a luthier that can be considered a master violin maker, one must learn all of the intermediate actions involved. This learning comes from the experience of trying out each step until it is so instilled in one's physical and mental behavior that they become habitual and can be accomplished well without having to think about them. Experience comes from the Greek words for trying out (*ex peri*). Part of the outcome of the performance experience for me is the acquisition of new understanding; a "newness comes into [my] world" (Bhabha, 1994:5). In any case, matching the selected outcome with the selected behavior in performance of change is the proof of the work. Performance is everything in the end.

PART TWO: Work-as Organization and Current Organization Theory

Various theories have been developed with the

notion to improve human organizations. As a convention for convenience to examine the Work-as-Organization model, our research consolidated organization theories into three major theme categories: (1) Economic Order — The Rational Bureaucracy, (2) Scientific Management — The Systems Approach, (3) Human Relations — Taking People into Account. Each of these theme categories emphasizes one particular decision dimension over the other two.

For example, *Economic Order* emphasizes the disposition decision dimension of Work-as-Organization over the behavior and performance dimensions. This category of organization theory focuses on bringing rational order to the activities of large public and private efforts. By reducing the people's behavior and performance to its lowest common denominator through bureaucratization of the work, the organization can focus all of its resources on the chosen outcomes in the most rational manner. Economic Order refers to organization theories that came out of German Enlightenment movement of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They include organization theories of Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, and Max Weber.

The epitome of organization theory in this category is the *ideal bureaucracy* as described by Max Weber (Weber, 1996:80–85). The hierarchical organization of people, of course, is not strictly an invention of the nineteenth and twentieth century. The word *hierarchy* was taken by the Greeks from the Egyptian word for the sacred order of the priests. However, the word does retain much of this original meaning in our use of it to describe our efforts at organizing people into bureaucracies today. Weber's ideal bureaucracy simply secularizes this hierarchy into a professional core of administrators. Clearly, the hierarchical bureaucracy, and the fears that both Marx and Weber had about its division of labor, creation of surplus value, and capital's exploitation of resources have remained as objects of reform by modern organization theory. The Kaunas Technological University's Public Administration Masters class judged this category as the one that most closely describes Lithuanian organizations, not only those during Soviet times, but it also describes most of the current governmental institutions, as well.

The *Scientific Management* category of organization theory is basically an American movement beginning in the first half of the twentieth century. This category focuses upon the decision dimension of behavior by engineering the work process and behavior required to achieve the chosen outcome with the most efficient use of the resources. The greatest success in the application of Scientific Management for efficiency occurs in the manufacturing industries. Here the processing of material resources is the fundamental action. In the developing industrial world the establishment and constancy of precision became paramount. In Lithuania, the level of precision that was acceptable during Soviet times is reflected in the saying, "We pretend to work, and the Soviets pretend to pay us." However, when Lithuania gained their freedom through the 1991 revolt, they lost their Soviet customers for their products. At the same time, the quality of the work was not competitive in the emerging global markets.

In the West, the engineering and micro-division of labor in the organization highlighted the increasing estrangement of the intentionality functions among the decision dimensions. The decisions management along the disposition decision dimension regarding the outcome selection and resource allocation are usually allocated to the executive(s). However, they have to maintain order by issuing ever more precise rules for the workers to follow. This is the major source of bureaucratic red-tape.

Scientific Management transferred operations decision making to line managers responsible for determining the best work processes and procedures. As organizations became larger, even those making the operations work task rules became more and more distant from the actual performance of the work. In addition, management became a generic professional function. This fostered a widening separation between executive policy makers, the operations management decision makers, and the expertise of the people doing the work. This separation created an increasing three way decision-making gap of ignorance about what was really going on with performance in production, what the best way to do it was, and what the real goals of the organization were.

Scientific management theorists such as Herbert Simon saw that orchestrating the three decision dimensions of intentionality was the most critical aspect of managing complex modern organizations. At the same time, Simon pointed out that rationality in this decision process has real limits. The primary limit, Simon pointed out, was our limited ability to reason. We can never take all of the variables into account in our rationalizing process. In the *Administrative Behavior*, Si-

mon labeled this limitation as *bounded rationality* (Simon, 1936:xxiv).

Most organizational decision making is made on the run. The human reasoning tends to adopt short cuts by looking at only the most salient variables, selecting from the first few satisfactory alternatives, and then getting on to action. Therefore we are never able to discover the optimal combinations of our disposition for outcomes, behaviors and performance before we enact our intentions. Simon calls this *satisficing,* "an old Scottish term that blends satisfying and sufficing" (Simon, 1987:242–245; 1996:25).

As with all boundaries, bounded rationality separates things *out* as well as *in.* While bounded rationality separates in the practical limits of rational thought, it also constitutes the borders of our ignorance. William Dunn advances the concept of *bounded ignorance* (Dunn, 1991:14). He points out that our ignorance includes not only what we don't know, but those things *that we don't know we don't know.* There's more *out there* than we can even imagine. What dwells in these outer marches of ignorance? Do these boundaries give rise to the interstices where newness enters the world of which Homi Bhabha writes?

> Rushdie translates this [living on borderlines] into the migrant's dream of survival: and *initiatory* interstices.... For the migrant's survival depends, as Rushdie put it, on discovering 'how newness enters the world' [Rushdie, 1988:272]. The focus is on making the linkages through the unstable elements of literature and life – the dangerous tryst with the 'untranslatable' – rather than arriving at ready-made names (Bhabha, 1994:227–8).

Besides the dangerous aspects of the unknown, the unknown is also the source of potential newness of knowledge, learning, and growing. Clearly, if we stick only within the security of our bounded rationality and do not venture into the unknown of our ignorance, we cannot hope to discover new values, gain new knowledge, learn to perform differently, and become more self aware. Therefore, the rationality/ignorance boundary must be permeable enough to allow us to venture into the border country of our own ignorance if we are ever to learn anything new.

The *Human Relations* category of organization theories refers to an English and American movement of the last half of this century that emerged from the various schools of psychology. Organization theorists in *Human Relations* focus on the people element of the Work-as-Organization model as it relates to the behavior and the performance decision dimensions; how am I as a person to work in this organization? Human Re-

lations theorists developed what is called the human behavior approach to organization change. They found that if you could let the people participate in the decision making dimensions, that their involvement not only improved effectiveness and efficiency it also led to the employees' higher self esteem and self actualization, as well.

Kurt Lewin's approach was to develop what has come to be called, action research. His theory was to re-educate the people being involved in the change to be able to explore beyond in the realms of their ignorance to become the change agents themselves. The decision dimensions of intentionality in our Work-as-Organization model are based upon Lewin's three phases of re-education:

> The complexities of re-educative processes arise out of the fact that they must involve correlative changes in various aspects of the person – [2] his cognitive perceptual structure, [1] his valuative – moral and volitional – structure, and [3] his motoric patterns for coping with his world(s) (Benne, 1969:318).

Although, this experiential learning approach was new to Lithuania, the action training workshops conducted in Riga and Vilnius indicated that they will easily master it.

A new and fourth category of organization theory is emerging that is a convergence of the first three. Current organization theory attempts to integrate the three Work-as-Organization decision dimensions of intentionality as will as the three categories of organization theory described above. Total Quality Management, Work Process Engineering, and Reinventing Government are examples of this fourth category of organization theory.

The general focus of in this new *composite* category of organization theories is to increase the value of the outcome of organized efforts to a consumer community. That value is contingent upon the quality/cost as determined by those in the community who are the recipients of the outcome, i.e., citizens/consumers. There are problems with the results of this consumer community approach, however that analysis is beyond the scope of this paper.

PART THREE: Work as an Imagined Organization

What can we conclude for our genealogical research on organization? First, it establishes an obvious case for work being genealogically prior

to organization. Work is not a function of organizations, rather organization is a function of work. The Work-as-Organization model depicts work as this primary order of analysis, and organization itself as of a secondary or meta-order of analysis requiring a reframing of our world view about work (Watzlawick, Weakland, and Frisch, 1974:198).

Together, work and organization is a social construction (Berger and Luckman, 1966) of the convergence of a participants' disposition toward their needs/wants, their behavior and their performance of puzzles to be worked on (Weick, 1979:4). Each participant must be able to imagine the emerging organization of their interaction through acceptance of a degree of commonality between their disposition, behavior and performing together. This imagining entails participants assimilating the degree of commonality in terms of coworkers. This acceptance is the *I* being transformed into a *we* working for *us*. Although we commonly speak of organizations as things in themselves, they are ultimately commonalties imagined by the participant people involved in them.

The basic Work-as-Organization model depicts an individual as the origin point of organization for work. It is the basis for any organization that follows. In practice we usually work together with others. The model then becomes a cluster of individual models. We soon begin to explore the commonality of our desired outcomes, coordinate our behaviors, and we begin to perform together we imagine ourselves as a work group in which our individual Work-as-Organization models reside, forming our work group's own overarching Work-as-Organization model. Similarly, if our work group is part of a larger enterprise, our work group model is part of a cluster of other work groups' models with which we can identify and share our desired outcomes, behavior and performance efforts. In turn the cluster of work group models constitutes an encompassing Word-as-Organization model, which we normally call an organization.

Where analysis of work is the primary analysis or scientific rationality, analysis of organization incorporates that primary analysis within a secondary analysis of framing the work process in the ever changing social realm of human beings. For example, in Lithuania, the Masters Class researched the public administration reform in five other European countries. Their charge was to develop organization theories about adapting various features of these administrations reform efforts to the needs of Lithuania. Lithuania, from

their view point, was just coming out of marginalization (from the Soviet Union Russification programs) which put them on the border of new nationhood. Lithuania's incentive to succeed at self-governance is clear. Failure increases the likelihood of their being drawn back into the potential nationlessness of the past. At the same time, the new freedom meant striving to fulfill the responsibility of building and sustaining their nationhood as imagined. Out of the flux of this transition marginality can come new ways to work together not imagined by them before.

For example, the public administration reform theories the Masters class gleaned from other countries' reform included:

1. *From England* – privatizing many services and making the remaining public service more client/citizen oriented would reduce bureaucracy and improve the community.
2. *From France* – to put the basic decision making power in the hands of the president with the legislature having only advisory powers would get more order in the decision making and avoid bureaucratic red-tape.
3. *From Denmark* – if elected officials are in office for more than 2 years it would increase public program development success.
4. *From Sweden* – the responsibility for running and funding of hospitals should be handled by local government instead of the federal government.
5. *From Germany* – Ownership of land taxes and public land should go to the budget of local self-governments so they could use public assets to serve the community.

Although these are not new ideas in the countries researched, they are iconoclastically strange in the context of Lithuania's previous top-down command economy. However, the Economic Order category of organization is still paramount in many Lithuanian's imaginations. The situations of most government administration organizations in Lithuania are still very much of that Soviet command economy mind. The current concern for public administration organization in Lithuania is how to make democracy and new market concepts work within a cultural mind set trained on command economy model. Or, as Chatterjee one central objection to Anderson's concept of imagined communities shows:

> If nationalisms in the rest of the world have to choose their imagined communities from certain "modular" forms already made available to them by Europe and the Americas, what do they have left to imagine? ....Even our imaginations must remain forever colonialized (Chatterjee, 1993:5).

Clearly, Chatterjee is urging, in this case, Lithuanians to seek new organizations of govern-

ance institutions. But, how much of the Soviet organization theory should be discarded and how much retained? Contrawise, how much of the current European organization theory should be imported and how much avoided? But more important, what must the Lithuanians invent anew?

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