

CREATING SUSTAINABLE WORK SYSTEMS: EMERGING PERSPECTIVES AND PRACTICE,

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CHAPTER 1: EMERGING WORK SYSTEMS: FROM INTENSIVE TO SUSTAINABLE¹

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INTRODUCTION

The workplace is essential to our existence. Economic logic tells us that the more firms produce and the more efficient organizations are, the healthier and happier society will become. But this is not happening. In fact many have begun to argue, based on research findings, that during the last ten years we have witnessed increasing stress, burnout, turnover, absenteeism, injuries, and heart diseases. The balance between work-life also emerged as a major concern for many. A conservative estimate of the costs amounts to some 20 billion Euros annually. Even more staggering is the human suffering of many millions of European

workers. Workload in hours worked is steadily increasing, with varying signs between countries of the limit being reached. The typical American works 350 more hours a year than the typical European, more hours even than the industrious Japanese. Only 8 per cent of Americans are prepared to work fewer hours for less pay, compared to 30 per cent for Britain and Japan and 38 per cent for Germany (Reich 2000, 6).

Recent international statistics on stress, burnout and healthy work organizations have indicated, that many modern work organizations are consuming, rather than regenerating, their human resources. The brave new world of work envisaged to emerge from the ashes of Taylorism has not, in many cases, arrived and, where it has arrived, it has not been what it was expected to be. We have witnessed the persistence of tayloristic organizations (Schumann et al 1995) and the emergence of neo-tayloristic organizations (Landsbergis et al. 1999; Taylor and Bain 1999; Babson 1995). At the same time, the post-bureaucratic organizations have not automatically created possibilities for mature adults to grow and develop (Argyris 2000); and where bureaucratic structures and rules have disappeared, they have rather left the mature adult lost, lonely and increasingly stressed.

In this book, our aim is to shed light on the emerging work systems and to describe the existing problems and paradoxes. Based on a four years collaboration by 18 researchers representing different academic disciplines from twelve institutions in the United States and the European Union, our goal was to illuminate the existing possibilities and emerging solutions and to explore some alternatives to intensive work systems. The two central concepts of our work are *Intensive Work Systems* and *Sustainableⁱ Work Systems*. Work intensity refers to the consumption of human resources - physical, cognitive, social, and emotional - in work organizations, while the Sustainable Work Systems-concept presents a vision for the future competitive organizations in which human resources are regenerated and allowed to grow.

THE EMERGENCE OF INTENSIVE WORK SYSTEMS

What went 'wrong' in the development of business and working life in the last two decades? Developments in business and working life in the last decade are frequently referred to as 'the New Economy'. The basics in the New Economy are two broad trends that have been under way for several years. The first is the *globalization* of business. Simply put, capitalism is spreading around the world – at least in the introduction of market forces, freer trade, and widespread deregulation. It means that international trade and investment play a much greater role in many economies. World trade is increasing much more rapidly than world production, indicating growing interdependency between countries (see figure 1.1). Foreign direct investments are also increasing at a more rapid rate indicating closer ties in the production of goods and services between different countries. The development in the financial markets may be said to have exploded in the 1990s. The value of the daily trade in these markets for currency, share, bonds, etc. is in the order of trillions of dollars. The turnover in these markets is very rapid; for new speculation products as index options and futures, every few hours or days (Reich 1994)

FIGURE 1.1 ABOUT HERE

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The second trend is the revolution in *information technology*. Digitalization has revolutionized the storage and transmission of information in media and the Internet. New industries and companies are being created before our eyes. Information and communication technology (ICT) has replaced the building construction and car manufacturing industries as the main motor in the industrialized economies. It affects all other industries, boosting productivity,

reducing costs, cutting inventories and facilitating electronic commerce. In short it is a transcendent technology – like railroads in the 19th century and cars in the 20th. In the New Economy speed is all-important. It is no longer the large that force out the small, it is the fast that force out the slow. Two clearly documented strategies for economic growth are referred to as the 'Low road' and the 'High road'. The former is characterized by the use of a low skill labor force with little participation and cost competition, whereas the latter is based on high skill and high participation and competition through quality and innovation. The pace of work is increasing and pace of adaptation to new conditions, for example shorter learning times (Lundgren 1999).

The results of a number of European projects indicate that management is using ICTs in very similar ways and with very similar consequences across sectors and countries. (Wickham 2000). At its simplest, management appears increasingly driven by short-term goals of competitiveness. These short-term goals pay not only scant attention to any social issues, but may even be economically counter-productive in the long term. Individual national regulations have at most affected the pace of change, not the direction. Change is towards greater *flexibility in the use of labour*. The new flexible and ICT intensive workplace is profoundly ambiguous for the employees. Increased responsibility entails increased pressure. In addition such management practices as downsizing, outsourcing and temporary employment have lead to a new insecurity which means the end of an essential prerequisite for high trust organizations – secure employment. Employees are required to be flexible and adaptable, both in terms of numbers and functions or skills, as well as not to expect secure employment.

As *work intensity* has grown, stress has become 'the kiss of death' or 'the spice of life' depending on specific conditions in the workplace. Work-related stress, its causes and consequences are all very common in all the member states of the European Union. More than half of its 147 million workers reports working at a very high speed, and to tight deadlines. More than 1/3 has no influence on task

order, and more than 1/4 cannot influence their work rhythm. 45 per cent report having monotonous tasks; 44% no task rotation, 50 per cent short repetitive tasks. Such work-related 'stressors' are likely to have contributed to the present spectrum of ill-health: 13per cent of the workforce complain of headache, 17 per cent of muscular pains, 20 per cent of fatigue, 28 per cent of 'stress' and 30 per cent of backache, and many other, even potentially life-threatening diseases. Some European countries have even reported Karochi, the Japanese phenomenon of sudden heart failure at work.

A recent study found that workers in different countries rated *work-life balance* as one of their three key working priorities. This can be related to the concept 'social cohesion', though this is given different meanings. It is sometimes used to indicate 'low social inequality', sometimes to mean 'organic solidarity', the sense that all members of society have different roles, but share a common fate and mutual responsibility. There seems to be a widening inequality in society which was noticeable in the 1980s and became more marked in the 1990s. Now the richest 1 per cent of families (2,7 million people) in the USA has much more money to spend after tax than the bottom 100 million (Reich 2000). There has been a debate in Europe on how institutions in the welfare state created to ensure cohesion end up being run for the benefit of their employees rather than their clients. Especially in Scandinavia it has been argued that such institutions actually destroy social cohesion because they undermine the simple decencies of ordinary charity. The sufferings of our fellow citizens become the concern of the state, and nothing to do with us (Wickham 2000). Once the workplace becomes an entity that can be bought and sold, then 'shareholder value' replaces 'stakeholder value', further reinforcing employees' feelings of insecurity and eroding trust. So at the same time as one line of research is revealing the importance of trust and collective knowledge in organizations, another is documenting how these are being systematically undermined.

TIME AND WORKPLACE DYNAMICS

The concept and meaning of time while emerged as a critical business dimension in the new economy is not new in the context of work. Yet, the socially constructed meaning and the role of time seem to be transforming. In the 18th century Benjamin Franklin coined a prophetic expression that would become the guiding principle to the industrial society then in being: 'time is money'. From being qualitative and cyclical in the agricultural economy, time now has become linear, clinical and without flavor. The economic meaning of time has, however changed during this period that can be depicted in figure 1.2.

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FIGURE 1.2 ABOUT HERE.

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In the cradle of industry Adam Smith and later Charles Babbage started the chase for reduced man-time in order to improve productivity. This line of development was completed by the contribution of Fredrick Taylor and later Time-Motion-Studies of the individual work. With mechanization and increasing fixed assets in machinery, however, the individual became less important from a cost perspective. It became more important to maintain maximum availability of the technical equipment. The group of operators turned out to be better equipped to handle larger sections of the production process taking care of tool changes, preventive maintenance and quality control – internal self-regulation. As the level of prefabrication, cost of the now more advanced materials and a higher added value in the production process, it later became more important to reduce the capital tied in stocks and buffer and thus to decrease the through-put time. If men and machines were idle mattered less, than that there was no waiting of goods in front of the machines. Money was earned not in the workshop, but in the warehouse with the help of Kan-Ban and Just-in-Time deliveries and it became

important to co-ordinate various support functions in production including purchasing and logistics.

As the customer required his deliveries just in time and as the product life cycle time was in descent, lead time and delivery time became a competitive weapon. In order to reduce time to market and the time from order to delivery, the perspective had to be enlarged, now encompassing whole business units or even enterprises integrating all business functions, not least product development, the strategic significance of which has increased dramatically. Finally, with the advent of virtual organizations and industrial networks the ability to activate the latent structure into an efficient concerted effort to satisfy a customer has again added to our time awareness (Forslin 2000).

The historic character of the development hinted at here is partly misleading. Certainly the meaning of time has changed, but that does not mean that earlier perspectives have been discarded. They rather remain effecting the operations simultaneously, peacefully coexisting or contradicting, causing often unique but always complex business situations – and highly intensive work systems.

The emerging demeaning work systems

An Intensive Work System has major consequences both at individual, organizational and societal levels. At individual level, work intensity emerges from an imbalance between an individual's resources and work's demands, individual's needs and work's opportunities and, eventually, leads to the consumption of psychological and physical resources, potential to work and derive happiness from work. Maslach and Leiter (1997) state that such an imbalance between an individual and his/her work leads not only to tiredness or sadness, but also to '*erosion in values, dignity, spirit, and will – an erosion of the human soul.*' (ibid., p. 17)

Furthermore, the erosion is not a state, it is a process leading from the initial exhaustion to cynicism and detachment from work and, eventually, also to ineffectiveness. Consequently, the erosion of soul at individual level leads to serious negative consequences also at work group, organizational and societal levels. The negative consequences of work intensity at organizational level relate to both an individual's behaviour and actions deriving from his/her exhaustion and also to the collective downward spiral of a social system. Such downward spiral starts, when the consequences of work intensity at individual level cascade to problems at social level. As exhausted, disillusioned personnel interact, the whole work system may start to exhibit collective exhaustion and conflicts. Individual psychological defences transform into social defences (Hirschhorn 1988). There is a danger, that work groups and organizations, rather than striving to fulfill their primary tasks and goals, turn inwards and concentrate on defences meant to contain collectively experienced anxieties. Productive and creative ways to operate are replaced by rituals and irrational norms. Hirschhorn perceives the current characters of working life leading to even higher risk of collective defensive behaviour.

Understanding the negative psychological consequences of work demands an understanding of the complex emotional and cognitive relations people have to their work and to each other at workplace. Improving the situation and removing the imbalances between people and their work cannot obviously be done through either 'personal improvement' or 'organizational transformations'. If an imbalanced relation is to be resolved, both sides of the equation have to be looked at, simultaneously (Kompier and Cooper 1999).

Emerging Trends: paradoxes and imbalances

As mentioned above, recent European statistics on health and safety at work are presenting a dire picture: Many of the European citizens are not feeling well at work. For instance, both the Second and Third European Survey on Working

Conditions (from 1995 and 2000, respectively) indicate that 28 percent of the employees in the European Union region are exposed to stress (Merllié and Paoli 2000; European Agency for Safety and Health at Work, 2000). These figures are easy to understand in the light of the results from the Third European Survey on Working Conditions; 56 percent of employees are exposed to high speed work, 67 percent to work pace dictated by clients, and 40 percent to monotonous work. The Third European Survey of Working Conditions by the European Foundation (Merllié and Paoli 2000), furthermore, clearly indicates that experienced working conditions are not improving and, in some cases, they are deteriorating.

The 'traditional' drudgeries of work, such as high physical and psychological load, physical health hazards and monotonous work, are still there. For instance, in The Third European Survey on Working Conditions mentioned above, 47 per cent of employees interviewed report working in painful or tiring positions and 37 per cent that they have to handle heavy loads. Both of these figures had increased (from 43 per cent and 31 per cent, respectively) when compared to year 1990 survey results, i.e. to the first wave of the European working condition surveys. Table 1.1 captures recent comparative statistics across 15 European nations.

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At the same time, new types of problems are emerging in the changing workplaces. People become consumed by work that was thought to be good for them; burnout and stress emerge also in the nice offices and jobs with extensive degrees of freedom and variety. The Second European Survey on Working Conditions (mentioned above) reported that the occupation group most exposed to stress is 'professionals' with 39 per cent reporting being exposed to stress. Also in the New Economy, work in the fast lane seems to be reaping its toll in the stress

statistics (see chapter 4 in this volume). This development, we argue in several parts of the book, necessitates development of the fundamental concepts in the occupational science, such as the concept of '*good work*'. It seems that research has already revealed what good work is; much is known about employees' psychological needs at work (Thorsrud and Emery 1969; Murphy and Cooper 2000) and balanced work experiences (Maslach and Leiter 1997; Karasek and Theorell 1990) as well as work experiences that lead to personal development and growth (Antonovsky 1987). However, very little is known how these principles of good, balanced work can be realized in the modern working life. Consequently, at the same time, we have to continue to improve work that is too limited for employees and begin to improve work that seems to be too much for them. Furthermore, we have to explore how this can be sustained.

The imbalances of modern work

The human resources consumption is always characterized by some kind of an imbalance between persons and their work. The imbalances of tayloristic work are well-known. As stated in several parts of this book (see chapter 2 and 6) the bureaucratic solution does not work anymore, rigid bureaucracies are not open or flexible enough to respond to the complex environment. At the individual level, the well-documented problem of the bureaucratic solution is, of course, the lack of opportunities at work. Burnout is not the question, but 'rust-out' is (Hobfoll 1998). Employees become consumed since they cannot use their potential and resources at work.

But why do people find themselves in imbalance with the modern, autonomous and versatile work? One reason for imbalance seems to be originating from the *vanishing bureaucratic boundaries* of work. Even though bureaucracy is consuming people by forcing them into tight rules and prohibitions, the situation without any boundaries around jobs and roles does not seem to work well either. In the modern work organizations, we find ourselves in the opposite situation to

strict bureaucracies. In flexible, lateral organizations, where bureaucratic rules and structures are reduced, responsibilities and tasks become impossible to predefine. Autonomy means endless choices of where to go, what to do and whom to contact; the amount of possibilities in one's work is increasing, as are the things to care about. The need for personal judgements at work expose employees more to social and performance demands. For instance Mohrman and Cohen (1995) state that both positive and negative consequences may result, when bureaucracy is reduced and 'people get out of the box': *'People have the opportunity for personal growth, skill development, and connectedness to others, but they also confront a lack of security, ambiguity, competing demands, and unrelenting work pressures.'* (p. 377). Similarly when a central life interest shifts towards work, both family and community involvement seem to suffer.

As people get out of their boxes, they also often find the surroundings of the box drastically changed. What they consider to be the essence of their work is not that anymore in the changed markets. For instance, many have received a professional education to become specialists in a narrow skill area, but now the modern organizations are desperately seeking generalist skills. A totally new kind of mind-set is needed from employees to adjust to such a change. It seems then, that in many organizations the old framework of organizational life and work is vanishing, but little has been built to replace it. Consequently, for employees it is increasingly difficult to comprehend and manage their work as they see the disappearing boundaries and outdated priorities without clear visions of what will be in the future.

Also a need to learn can create imbalance at work. The boundaryless job roles and versatile, continuously changing job contents are creating continuous need for employees to learn; the need for life-long learning is growing. And as stated above, specialist skills and single-loop learning in which actions are modified to improve goal attainment have to be replaced by generalist skills and double-loop learning (entailing questioning the given context and arriving at new ways of

doing things). Even though learning is an essential contributor for well-being, it can also become a source of stress. Learning is not easy; it is not only a question of motivation, but also of courage (Cell, 1998). To be able to engage in continuous learning, employees have to have openness and courage to let go of their earlier level of knowledge and explore new opportunities (Shani and Mitki 2000). Also, they have to – not only learn new things – but also be able to reflect on their own performance and ways of thinking. True learning means cognitive, and even in some cases, affective development which is possible only when people are aware of and critical about their existing cognitive patterns, their 'theory-in-use'. Very often defences to reduce anxiety get in the way of these profound learning processes. Rather than transforming their thinking, people build fortresses around it (Argyris 1991).

Another well-documented and studied imbalance between people and their work is the imbalance between work and private life, or actually, between work and life, as it is often called. This problematic relationship between work and life can relate to two different processes: role conflict between work and private roles and the spillover of negative feelings from work to life (or vice versa) (Kinman and Jones 2001; Reich 2000). The stronger the involvement with a certain role, the more difficult it becomes to accommodate other roles. It seems safe to say that in modern working life, the demand for personal involvement and commitment to work, can only increase the potential for conflict between roles in work and private life. Spillover takes place when stress at work spills over to private life; anxiety at work continues at home also. Research has also shown (Kinman and Jones 2001) that work activities (or in-activities) can spill over to private life; a person carrying out monotonous work may be more inclined to have simple rather than complex leisure experiences. Thus, the seemingly separate spheres of work and private life are in continuous interaction; our feelings, thoughts and behaviour carry messages from one to another. Understanding the imbalances that plague the modern workplaces necessitates looking at not only work, but whole life experience and its socio-cultural context (Antonovsky 1987; Hobfoll 1998).

All in all, trying to form a unified picture of the problems in the modern jobs is difficult. What is the common denominator for all the imbalances discussed above? Is there such a common denominator? Why are the problems mounting? The immediate reasons for the imbalances seem to vary, but one pattern seems to bind them together. Namely, each potential source for imbalances is also a potential source for growth and well-being at work; the vanishing boundaries enable versatile use of one's skills and complex view to whole production/service processes, learning is the essence of healthy and meaningful adult life, and simultaneous existence of family and working spheres enriches one's life and self-image. However, all these possibilities may turn into imbalances, since they are not only possibilities but also challenges. One can argue that one of the main reasons for the mounting problems at work is that we have not created the new work organizational and social approaches and resources that would support the individuals dealing with the complex and rapidly changing world (Hage 1995). Organizations still rely on the old paradigm; yet, we abhor bureaucracy but cannot create the structures, processes and resources that could replace it. This book and its versatile contributions offer the resources and lenses that are needed in comprehending and managing in the emerging world of work, as it is now, individually and collectively. This book and other contributions like it are needed if we are to bring out the positive possibilities of complex lives instead of falling under the mounting imbalances within and between different spheres of life and work.

The Visions for Sustainability

This book is about an exploration of a more sustainable world of work. Sustainable Work Systems-concept presents a vision for the future organizations in which human resources are regenerated and allowed to grow. SWS address four related fields and basic issues:

- *The regeneration and development of human resources.* The core concept of Sustainable Work Systems is that the resources deployed are regenerated by the system. Human resources are for example skills, knowledge, co-operation and trust, motivation, employability, constructive industrial relations, but also broader institutional/societal prerequisites, such as training systems.
- *The promotion of Quality of working life and competitive performance.* Sustainable Work Systems pay equal attention to improving working conditions and organizational performance and effectiveness. Again their interdependencies require an integrated approach.
- *The nature of Sustainable change processes for renewal and learning.* Sustainable Work Systems should not produce static conditions. Many processes of reorganization and reengineering are failing or stalled: sustainability therefore has to include the question of how organizational change can be structured and guided. Put differently, since challenges and organizational environments are increasingly volatile, sustainability means creating 'liberating structures' and building up internal capabilities to carry through reorganizations and continuous change successfully and to facilitate learning.
- *The provision of employment.* Sustainable Work Systems provide a micro-economic context for increasing employment levels, as well as counteracting current tendencies of labour market segregation. Sustainable Work Systems could serve as paths of integration of unemployed people into the labour market by reversing processes of exclusion on the micro level.

Sustainable Work Systems is an important concept both at individual and organizational levels. At individual level, sustainability means possibilities for renewal and development. An old saying is '*experience makes us stronger*', but experiences can also make us weaker. It is the quality of the experience that

matters and, in this book, we present a foundation for the understanding of such work experiences that make us stronger. In the contrast to the current Taylorist trend in working life there is an evolving trend which replaces predefined job descriptions. Organizational structures are replaced more and more by interaction, dialogue and negotiation. Answers are no longer given, but have to be created daily between people. As Hage states (1995, p. 487):

'...in shifting from industrial to post-industrial society, people must learn to live in complex role-sets, each with a large number of role-relationships in which negotiations about role expectations or behavior become one of the major capacity for successful role behavior.'

These new conditions, requiring new skills, vary themselves at the outset and constitute a risk for more intensity through, for example self-exploitation. This may occur when commitment to organizational and customer goals and 'needs' overrides drawing limits or boundaries for personal efforts, in time and place: boundaries necessary for maintaining the health and well being of the individual. Such self-generated intensity is a poorly recognized danger in today's working life.

At the organizational level, sustainability means potential for competitive existence. A sustainable organization is able to realize its potential and to continuously generate value for its stakeholders.

Sustainability – as we understand it – encompasses three levels; the individual, the organizational and the societal. Sustainability at one level cannot be built on the exploitation of the others. These levels are intimately related to the organization's key stakeholders: personnel, customers, owners and society. An organization cannot be sustainable by prioritizing the goals and needs of some stakeholders at the expense of others, for example, customers and owners at the expense of personnel (through their exploitation) or of society (through environmental

neglect). Thus sustainability has a value basis in the due considerations and balancing of different stakeholders' legitimate needs and goals. A prerequisite for sustainability at the system level (individual, organizational or societal) actually seem to achieve a balance between stakeholders' needs and goals at different levels simultaneously.

In producing this book we have aimed to practice what we preach; to be reflexive in our writing, to understand how our histories as researchers and persons influence our thinking. Not least the differences within our group, national and disciplinary, have helped us to see that such a complex concept as sustainability has no one truth. In the pages of this book we have allowed the diversity of our thinking come through; there is no one unified message, but rather, different impressions on sustainability. In a sense, we respond to the recently more often heard call (i.e., Kompier and Cooper 1999) for interdisciplinary, multi-perceptive and goal approach to studying why people become consumed at work and how better, healthier and more productive, working lives could be achieved.

The Outline of the Book

We have chosen to organize the book in four sections that we call: *Framing, Perspectives, Illustrations and Attainment*.

There are few important ideas that run through the different sections of the book. All are based on a shared concern for the emerging patterns of intensive work systems; each chapter provides new insights into the intensity-sustainability dimension of work systems, whether they are theory - or empiri- based. Finally, the chapters represent diverse theoretical points of departure illustrated by *different national contexts*. The following is a review of our purpose for each section.

This introduction is a part the *framing*. The purpose of the framing section is to provide grounding in the key research issues and the historical evolutionary dimensions of work and work intensity.

Perspectives is intended to present a range of paradigms, concepts, conceptual frameworks, ideas and lenses to examine the emerging practice. Each chapter of the book takes the concepts for work intensity and sustainable work, and discusses them from a particular perspective, conceptually or empirically.

Illustrations is intended to provide few examples of work systems in different contexts nationally and industrially. The examples are practices that emerged in the interplay between intensity and sustainable work and are examined to varied degrees from different theoretical frameworks. We look at Intensive and Sustainable Work Systems through different lenses to see as much as possible, very much like natural scientists describing our physical world look at cells through microscopes and stars through a telescopes. The observation lenses are chosen to respond and respect the characteristics of each system or analysis level in question. However, what unites our lenses is their focus towards work, towards individuals and organizations at work. Sustainability and competitiveness have often been recognized as essential goals of our society, but the discussion has stopped only at societal, national and international levels.

The *Attainment* section attempts to suggest some roadmaps for solutions. What seems to be a common denominator in this section is the aims of participation and consciousness of all the relevant actors. Furthermore, sustainability is not a state, it is a process; and in order to attain and maintain these processes expertocratic approaches have to be re-examined. Scientists, consultants and managers do have important roles also in the more sustainable futures, probably not as creators, but rather as facilitators. Their task is to initiate and support the process of sustainability and to facilitate the continuous common search for balance in working lives and firms' efficiency, effectiveness and competitiveness.

As the notion of sustainable work systems is quite recent, it can only be said to be emerging theoretically and empirically. This book is an attempt to question that past and provide a starting point for formulating something presumably entirely new. As researchers we are formed by our past experience, our idiosyncrasies and favourite modes for changing the world. As with any 'paradigmatic' change, the trick is to get rid of obsolete perceptions and wisdom, while not throwing out the baby with the bath water.

One has again to learn from praxis while at the same time creating a conceptual world. As there is little empirical work done from the point of view of a Sustainable Work System, the evidence we can offer here is gleaned from existing cases and selective pieces of information on interesting partial solutions.

At this phase of theory building an abductive approach is thus difficult to escape. Much of the assumed pre-understanding is in this case socio-technical as several of the authors have a long history of working with approaches connected to socio-technical systems theory. This has been seen as the major challenger to the Tayloristic practice. Now the challenger is questioned – if yet heedfully – and not from a neotayloristic perspective, but in order to move forward. Whether this means a complete brake or just further adjustments and integration of existing elements remains to be seen.

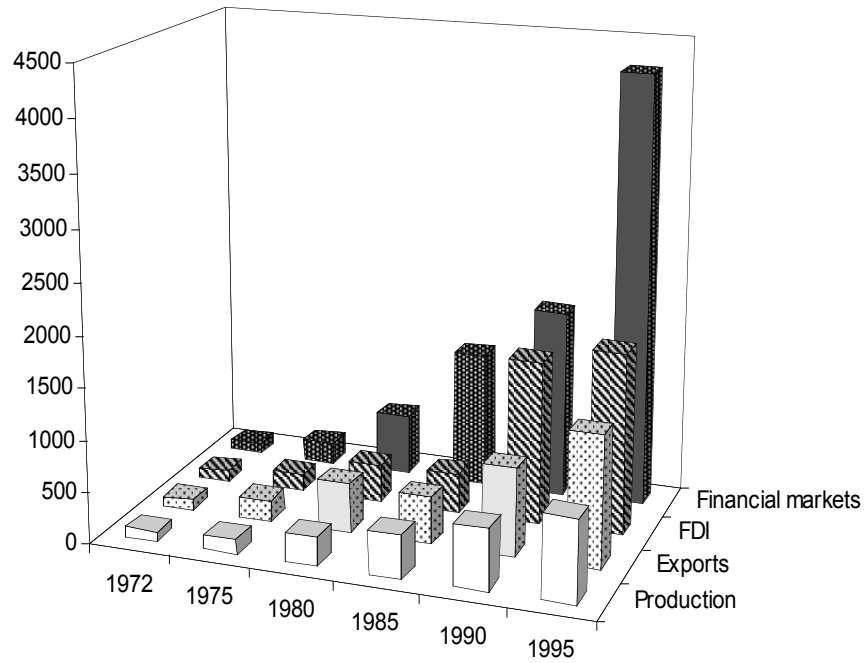
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Figure 1.1. The economic profile of globazation 1972-1995. (1972=100) Source IMF, OECD, Institute der Deutschen Wirtschaft, Cologne



FDI = Foreign Direct Investment

