

ORG PHYSICS IN FOLLETT'S WORDS

The three organizational structures, powers & leaderships: A closer look

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Org Physics: Practical, scientific theory for enlightened understanding of organizational structures, powers, leaderships

This research paper celebrates the vision and the writing of leadership philosopher-practitioner *Mary P. Follett* (1868-1933). Follett's wide-ranging body of work is relatively little-known today – in spite of the author's genius and powerful prose. How, you might ask, is one supposed to approach the work of an intellectual who passed away almost a century ago, and whose writing has long been under-appreciated in practice and in academia? In this paper, we attempt to solve this problem by citing Follett's work, *verbatim*, in the context of organizational theory that may still be considered *avant-garde* by most, although it was pioneered by Follett a long time ago.

The theory we are contextualizing Follett's writing with is that of *OrgPhysics*, a concept we first wrote about in a *BetaCodex Network* white paper from 2011. To our regret, it was only years later that we became fully aware of Follett's highly insightful writing on the matter. Consequently, this paper offers us the opportunity to complement *OrgPhysics* with Follett's words, from more than eight decades earlier.

Mary Follett began her career as a political and social scientist, and spent two decades as an entrepreneur-activist in social organizations of her native Boston. While her work had left a mark, nation-wide, she was not satisfied. In the early 1920s, Follett started to turn her attention to management topics. Between 1925 and 1993, Follett delivered several series of lectures in the US and the UK. This paper makes use of eight of Follett's lectures, in particular, which were published in 1941 and 1947.

We hope that (re)reading Follett in the context of *OrgPhysics* will spawn vivid debate around practical theory and reflective practice of leadership, power and organizational structures. But first and foremost, enjoy!

Note: For the purpose of readability and clarity, the excerpts from Mary Follett's lectures in this paper were slightly modified: We changed the use of quotation marks, updated and unified orthography and modified highlighting, as seemed appropriate in the context of this paper. The extracts were shortened as indicated. No other modifications were made, compared to the original texts.

Org Physics: Practical, scientific theory for enlightened understanding of organizational structures, powers, leaderships

"But the time is fast disappearing when we need ask ourselves whether we believe in an 'autocratic' or 'democratic' leadership, for we are developing something that is neither, something that is better than either. Business men are quietly, without much talk of theory, working out a system of organization which is not democratic in our old understanding of the word, but something better than that. It is a system based neither on equality nor on arbitrary authority, but on functional unity. I am speaking, of course, only of the more progressively organized plants. In these it is impossible in many instances to tell whether Smith or Brown is boss, because in some things Smith is boss over Brown and in some things Brown is boss over Smith. But we have not as yet any wholly agreed on technique for this relation. That is why I think business management by far the most interesting human activity at present, because we are pioneers, because we are working out something new in human relationships, something that I believe goes to the very bottom of the whole question and is going to be of great value to the world."

Mary Follett, Leader and expert, 1927

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"We have three kinds of leadership: the leadership of position, the leadership of personality and the leadership of function. My claim for modern industry is that in the best managed plants the leadership of function is tending to have more weight and the leadership of mere position or of mere personality less."

"Please note that I say only a tendency. I am aware how often a situation is controlled by a man either because his *position* gives him the whip band and he uses it, or because he knows how to *play politics*. My only thesis is that in the more progressively managed businesses there is a tendency for the *control of a particular situation to go to the man with the largest knowledge of that situation*, to him who can grasp and organize its essential elements, who understands its total significance, who can see it through who can see length as well as breadth rather than to one with merely a dominating *personality* or in virtue of his official *position*."

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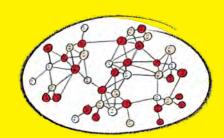
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Mary Follett, The essentials of leadership, 1933

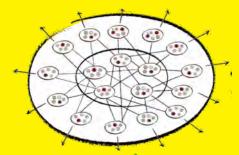
1 Leadership of position Formal Structure



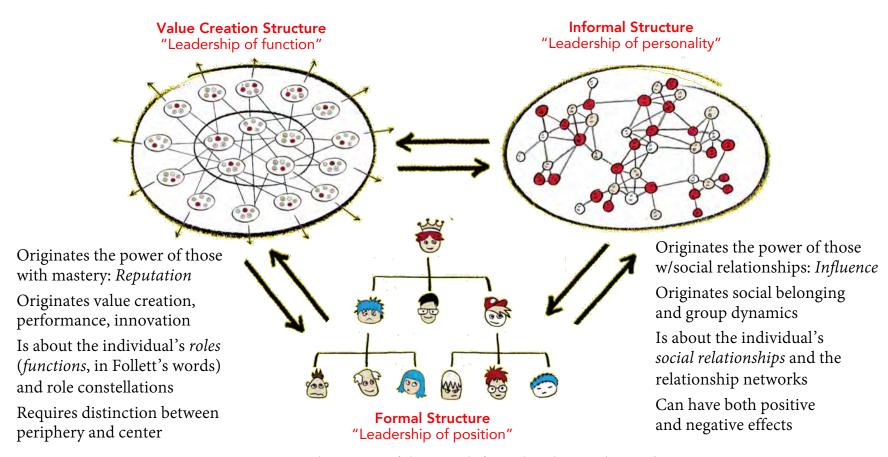
2 Leadership of personality **Informal Structure**



3 Leadership of function Value Creation Structure



Org Physics, as we have come to understand it: The three structures of organizations and their interaction



Originates the power of those with formal authority: *hierarchy* Originates compliance, or *being within the law* Is about the individual's appointed *position* Turns toxic when used in attempts to *steer the work*

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Source: own illustration

Organizational power is 'naturally pluralistic'

"Mr. Filene* says: 'I think someday we are going to recognize that this idea of one leader in a business is a fallacy and that a composite general manager will develop'. What the Filenes, and other firms too, have done is to make their formal organization coincide with a decided tendency in business practice. They found that there was power, leadership, all along the line: They recognized the existing. They sought to take advantage of it, to make this scattered power cumulative and hence more effective. There is nothing academic about the recent reorganization of business plants. There is nothing self-sacrificing either. The upper executives have not given up anything. They have gathered into the management of their business every scrap of useful material they could find."

"That business men are facing this undoubted fact of *pluralistic authority*, that modern business organization is based to some extent on this conception, is very interesting to me, for I have been for many years a student of political science, and it seems significant to me that now I have to go to business for the greatest light on authority, control, sovereignty those concepts which have been supposed to be peculiarly the concepts of political science. [...] The business man is more concerned with the sources than with the organs of authority. Moreover any over-emphasis on ultimate control disregards one of the most important trends in the recent development of thinking on organization: 'central control' used to mean the chief executive; now it is a technical expression of scientific management indicating the points where knowledge and experience on the matter in question are brought to a focus. This is very significant."

Mary Follett, The illusion of final authority, 1933

"What [these firms] have done is to make their formal organization coincide with a decided tendency in business practice. They found that there was power, leadership, all along the line: They recognized the existing."

^{*} Edward Filene was a US department store retailer and a philanthropist

Decentralization allows for cumulative responsibility and control

"Still another evidence of the *diffusion of responsibility* is the tendency in present business practice to solve problems where they arise, to make reconciliations at the point where conflict occurs, instead of the matter being carried 'up' to someone. This means that department heads are being given more and more responsibility within their own units. Of course, all methods of *decentralization* tend to weaken the significance of 'final' responsibility, and the tendency today is to *decentralize*."

"Instead, then, of final determination, supreme control, ultimate authority, we might perhaps think of cumulative control, cumulative responsibility."

Mary Follett, The meaning of responsibility in business management, 1926

"To take another illustration from the field of government, many people think that democracy means *all taking part*. If it means only that, I do not believe in democracy. It is the fruitful relating, the interacting of parts, a co-functioning, that we want. We must provide the organization necessary for such interactions and also recognize and control those which we now have. To deny that they exist is a basic error. [...] The basis for understanding the problems of political science is the same as the basis for understanding business administration – it is the understanding of the nature of integrative unities."

Mary Follett, The psychology of control, 1927

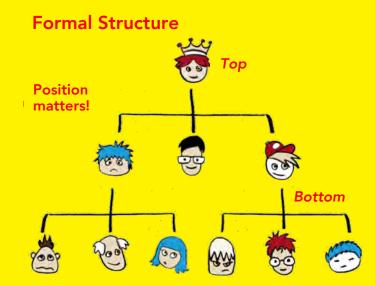
"Instead, then, of final determination, supreme control, ultimate authority, we might perhaps think of cumulative control, cumulative responsibility."

"To sum up this point of hierarchy. There is no above and below. We cannot schematize men as space objects. The study of community as process will bring us, I believe, not to the over-individual mind, but to the inter-individual mind, an entirely different conception."

Formal Structure: Realm of hierarchy, source of 'compliance leadership'

"A second rate executive will often try to suppress leadership because he fears it may rival his own. I have seen several instances of this. But the first rate executive tries to develop leadership in those under him. He does not want men who are subservient to him, men who render him an unthinking obedience. While therefore there are still men who try to surround themselves with docile servants you all know that type the ablest men today have a larger aim, they wish to be leaders of leaders. This does not mean that they abandon one iota of power. But the great leader tries also to develop power wherever he can among those who work with him, and then he gathers all this power and uses it as the energizing force of a progressing enterprise."

Mary Follett, The essentials of leadership, 1933

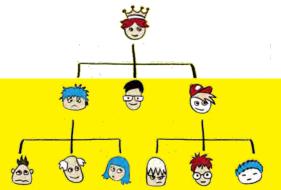


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Authority can be bestowed upon people. Power cannot.

"Many economists who write of something they call 'industrial democracy' [...] tell us that the power now held by owners and managers should be shared by the workmen. These expressions, while containing indeed a partial truth, nevertheless at the same time hide an important truth, namely, that power is self-developing capacity. This fact is hidden by that expression which has become a pet phrase of the guild socialists, 'encroaching control.' Divided or conferred authority is non-psychological authority; 'encroaching control' is not a genuine control. Power is not a pre-existing thing which can be handed out to someone, or wrenched from someone. We have seen again and again the failure of 'power' conferred. You could give me dozens of cases. The division of power is not the thing to be considered, but that method of organization which will generate power. The moral right to an authority which has not been psychologically developed, which is not an expression of capacity, is an empty ethics. This applies to management as well as to workers. We have always to study in a plant how far the authority of the management is real, how far it comes from fulfilling function, from knowledge and ability, and how far it is a nominal or an arbitrary authority."

"The difficulty of the political scientists quoted in the above paragraph is that they are confusing power and authority. To confer authority where capacity has not been developed is fatal to both government and business. Those political scientists who use the words power, control and authority as synonymous, are confusing our thinking. If you want the best philosophical as well as the best psychological principle by which to test the legitimacy of 'power' (by which you probably mean authority), you will ask whether it is integral to the process or outside the process, that is, whether, as we have said, it grows out of the actual circumstances, whether it is inherent in the situation. You cannot confer power, because power is the blossoming of experience."



"Power is not a pre-existing thing which can be handed out to someone, or wrenched from someone."

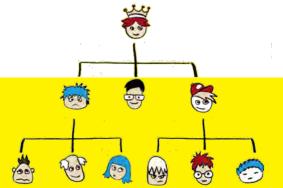
"We have always to study in a plant how far the authority of the management is real, how far it comes from fulfilling function, from knowledge and ability, and how far it is a nominal or an arbitrary authority."

Coordination and 'horizontal authority' go hand in hand

"I have told you that the chief weaknesses of those businesses which I have studied was *lack of coordination*. Yet there is much talk of coordination. Why, then, do we not get it? First, because its advantage, its necessity, is not yet seen with sufficient clearness. Secondly, the system of organization in a plant is often so hierarchical, so ascending and descending, that it is almost impossible to provide for cross-relations; the notion of horizontal authority has not yet taken the place of that of vertical authority. We cannot, however, succeed in modern business by always running up and down a ladder of authority. In the third place, cross-functioning seems often to be conceived of as useful only when difficulties arise, or when it is obvious that joint consultation on some specific problems would be desirable. But as such consultation is necessary all the time, some machinery which will operate continuously should be provided. Of course, one difficulty about a degree, or a manner, of working together which hides individual effort comes from the egotism, a perfectly natural and to some extent justifiable egotism, of the persons concerned. Each executive wants his special contribution to get to the ears of the boss."

"When I finally had a talk with the President, part of what he said is I think worth quoting in full. 'The kind of management we are aiming at', he said, 'is management with authority all down the line, as contrasted with management by edict from a central source. We are trying to teach our men what their jobs are, what the underlying principles of these jobs are, and then we are trying to get them to exercise the authority of their job with the idea that they shall use their brains, their discretion, having in mind these fundamental principles. We teach people what their job is, and then insist that they shall exercise the authority and responsibility which goes with that job instead of relying on the fellow above them."

Mary Follett, The basis of authority, 1933



"There is much talk of co-ordination. Why, then, do we not get it?"

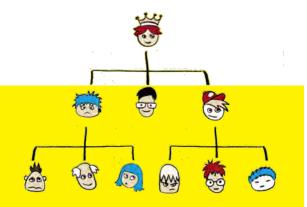
"We cannot succeed in modern business by always running up and down a ladder of authority."

The concept of 'delegation': rooted in flawed ideas about power

"This phrase, 'delegating authority,' assumes that the owner or chief executive has the 'right' to all the authority, but that it is useful to delegate some of it. I do not think that the president or general manager should have any more authority than goes with his function. Therefore I do not see how you can delegate authority except when you are ill or take a vacation. And then you have not exactly delegated authority. Someone is doing your work and he has the authority which goes with that particular piece of work. Authority belongs to the job and stays with the job.

I have just denied the 'right' of the chief executive to all the authority. The idea of *function* changes very materially our conception of 'rights,' a term which is, happily, rapidly disappearing. Our activities are not determined by any abstract notion of rights. The head of a branch bank may decide on small loans, while large loans have to go up to the executive committee. This is not because the executive committee has the 'right' to pass on large loans, but because it is recognized that the combined judgment of the executive committee and the head of the branch bank is probably better than that of either alone."

Mary Follett, The meaning of responsibility in business management, 1926



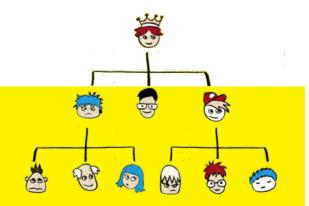
"I have seen an executive feel a little self-important over a decision he had made, when that decision had really come to him ready made. An executive decision is a moment in a process."

Against the illusion of executive control

"[...] Let us ask ourselves what there is in the present organization of business which tends to *diffuse rather than to concentrate responsibility*. First, management is becoming more and more specialized. The policies and methods of a department rest on that department's special body of knowledge, and there is a tendency for the responsibility to be borne by those with that special body of knowledge rather than by a man at the top because of his official position.

I saw the statement recently that the administrative head should hold frequent consultation with the heads of all departments and from the facts thus gained make his "final" decisions, construct his policies. But it is a matter of everyday knowledge to business men that their heads of departments pass up to them much more than mere facts. They give interpretations of facts, conclusions there from, judgments, too, so that they contribute very largely to final determination, supreme control, ultimate responsibility, even to what has been called 'administrative leadership.' In fact, as to both the information and the conclusions handed up from the executives, it is often not possible for the head to take or leave them. These conclusions and judgments are already, to a certain extent, woven into the pattern, and in such a way that it would be difficult to get them wholly out. Hence, while the board of directors may be theoretically the governing body, practically, as our large businesses are now organized, before their decisions are made there has already taken place much of that process of which these decisions are but the last step."

Mary Follett, The meaning of responsibility in business management, 1926



"I know a chief executive who says he does not know whether he is at the head or at the bottom and he wishes there was some way of making out a chart that did not put the president at the top."

1933

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Do managers coordinate value creation, or does value creation drive coordination?

"Authority and responsibility go with function, but as the essence of organization is the interweaving of functions, authority and responsibility we now see as a matter of interweaving. An order, a command, is a step in a process, a moment in the movement of inter-weaving experience. We should guard against thinking this step a larger part of the whole process than it really is. There is all that leads to the order, all that comes afterwards – methods of administration, the watching and recording of results, what flows out of it to make further orders. If we race all that leads to a command, what persons are connected with it and in what way, we find that more than one man's experience has gone to the making of that moment. Unless it is a matter of purely arbitrary authority. Arbitrary authority, or the power over, [...] is authority not related to all the experience concerned, but to that of one man alone, or of one group of men."

"The particular person, then, identified with the moment of command foreman, upper executive or expert is not the most important matter for our consideration, although, of course, a very important part of the process. All that I want to emphasize is that there is a process. A political scientist writes, 'Authority coordinates the experiences of men.' But I think this is a wrong view of authority. The form of organization should be such as to allow or induce the continuous coordination of the experiences of men. A practical business man [...] said to me, while speaking of the necessity of business management's becoming a profession: 'And the essence of any profession is finding the law. That is what makes business management a science. The business manager has to find the law of every managerial activity in question.' This means that this man recognizes authority as inherent in the situation, not as attached to an official position. He would not agree with the political scientist that authority coordinates the experiences of men, because he sees that legitimate authority flows from coordination, not coordination from authority."

"Legitimate authority flows from coordination, not coordination from authority."

Mary Follett, The meaning of responsibility in business management, 1926

Remarks on Follett's take on Formal Structure

On the previous pages, Follett describes the limits of Formal Structure with great emphasis, outlining the problems that will inevitably arise from the over-accentuation of Formal Structure.

You will notice throughout this paper that Follett outlines the differences between *Formal Structure* ("leadership of position") and *Value Creation Structure* ("leadership of function") with remarkable clarity. Among her key methods on the previous pages and the following ones is that of constantly contrasting the logic of *Formal Structure* with that of *Value Creation Structure*. In doing so, she manages to uncover misconceptions about authority, legitimacy of power, coordination, delegation and the illusion of control at the top that, sadly, seem as prevalent today as they were in the 1920s and 1930s.

While discussing these misconceptions, Follett leaves no doubt whatsoever that she considers *Formal Structure* to be highly overrated, and overreliance on it as a threat to democratic and effective functioning of organizations.

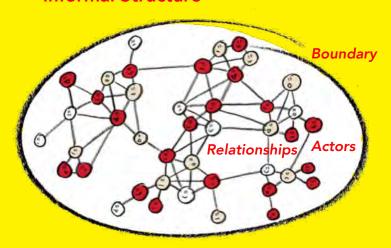
Informal Structure: Realm of influence, source of 'social leadership'

"If any of you think I have under-estimated the personal side of leadership, let me point out that I have spoken against only that conception which emphasizes the dominating, the masterful man. I most certainly believe that many personal qualities enter into leadership tenacity, sincerity, fair dealings with all, steadfastness of purpose, depth of conviction, control of temper, tact, steadiness in stormy periods, ability to meet emergencies, power to draw forth and develop the latent possibilities of others, and so on. There are many more. There is, for instance, the force of example on which we cannot lay too great stress. If workers have to work overtime, their head should be willing to do the same. In every way he must show that he is willing to do what he urges on others."

"One winter I went yachting with some friends in the inland waterways of the southern part of the United States. On one occasion our pilot led us astray and we found ourselves one night aground in a Carolina swamp. Obviously the only thing to do was to try to push the boat off, but the crew refused, saying that the swamps in that region were infested with rattlesnakes. The owner of the yacht offered not a word of remonstrance, but turned instantly and jumped overboard. Every member of the crew followed."

Mary Follett, The essentials of leadership, 1933

Informal Structure



"If any of you think I have underestimated the personal side of leadership, let me point out that I have spoken against only that conception which emphasizes the dominating, the masterful man."

Value creation requires putting mastery first – not personality (I)

"The leadership of function and the leadership of personality are of course by no means separate; but if we have to separate them for the purposes of discussion, we may say that in business the leadership of function is tending to become more important than the leadership of personality. And we may say also that the success of a business depends partly upon its organization being sufficiently flexible to allow the leadership of function to operate freely to allow the men with the knowledge and the technique to control the situation. We have often seen this done, seen the president defer to one of his executives when that man had a larger knowledge and wider experience of the matter in hand."

"In speaking [...] of the *leadership of function* in industry, we must not forget how often we hear an employer say, 'I hire executive material, not technical ability; almost anyone can acquire that,' or, 'I don't hire a mechanical engineer, I hire a man.' In regard to this attitude, with which we must, of course, completely sympathize, I would say that whatever the motives of selection, by the time a man does become a leader in any business, he has also learned the technique of his particular job. Secondly, that certain changes both in organization and methods of management and also in the attitude of employers are an acknowledgment that in many cases control should go to special knowledge. And, thirdly, let me point out that what is meant by 'executive material' and 'a man' is not covered by the phrase 'ascendancy traits.' (cont.)

"The success of a business depends partly upon its organization being sufficiently flexible to allow the leadership of function to operate freely to allow the men with the knowledge and the technique to control the

situation."

Mary Follett, Some discrepancies in leadership theory and practice, 1926

Value creation requires putting mastery first – not personality (II)

"You may have the promise of good 'executive material' fulfilled in one to whom neither personality nor position, circumstance nor publicity, has given prominence. You have probably, for instance, all noticed how often leadership goes to the man, whatever his official position or personal force, who can grasp the essentials of an experience and, as we say, see it whole. This man sees the relational significance of the data at hand. In getting the facts for the solving of a business problem, the man who collects them may present them to the head of his department in their relational significance or in their literal order. If the latter, it may then be the head of the department who sees the essential unity of the data and presents his report to the president in such a way as to show that. Or it may be that the president does this for the board of directors. But wherever this process takes place, there tends to be control of the situation. Leadership tends to go to him to whom the total interrelatedness is most clear, that is, if he has the power of using that insight."

"I was very much struck in a certain firm in England with the fact that one man among the heads of departments seemed to be doing more guiding than any other one man. I sought the reason first in his position, but decided that that gave him no more power than several other positions gave the men who held them. I came to the conclusion in the end that he *got his power through an almost uncanny appreciation of the complexity of his relation to the organization that is, he understood that he had both a direct relation and through others, and utilized the latter to the full and also that he was thinking of his relation both to the organization that they had and to that toward which they were working. Please note the last clause, for I think it important. He seemed, as I say, to have an extraordinarily vivid appreciation of the challenges that were being made to him by the organization toward which they were working." <i>Mary Follett, Some discrepancies in leadership theory and practice, 1926*

"Leadership tends to go to him to whom the total inter-relatedness is most clear, that is, if he has the power of using that insight."

Remarks on Follett's take on Informal Structure

Follett warns us of the dangers of *leadership by personality*, or an overreliance on personal characteristics, just as she warns us of the downsides of Formal Structure.

On the previous pages, Follett accentuates the importance of interrelatedness, and describes how Informal Power will go to those capable of recognizing and exploiting the dynamics of informal networks within the organization. Follett seems to be somewhat less interested in describing specific patterns of informal dynamics in detail. In her writing, she is much more interested in the dynamics of actual work and value creation – as you can see on the following pages.

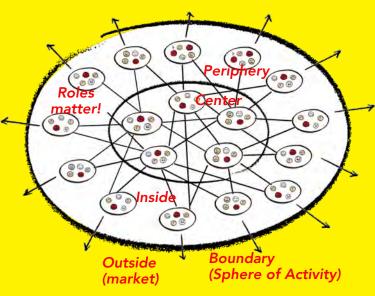
Value Creation Structure: Realm of reputation, source of 'value creation leadership'

"A moment ago I used the word 'under'. Perhaps it may seem advisable sometime to get rid of the words 'over' and "under". I know a chief executive who says he does not know whether he is at the head or at the bottom and he wishes there was some way of making out a chart that did not put the president at the top. I was interested last summer in England, in meeting the head of a large business, to find that one of the chief difficulties in his thinking was concerned with this question. He said he didn't like all this matter of some being 'over' others, yet he knew it was necessary as we all do. What is the way out of this dilemma?"

"Two years ago my nurse in the hospital said to me, 'Did you notice that operating nurse? Didn't she look black? I wonder what has happened this morning?' I innocently said 'Perhaps one of the surgeons has reprimanded her for something'. To which my nurse replied, 'Why, he couldn't. The doctors are not over us. They have their work and we have ours.' At first I did not like this, it seemed like chaos indeed. I thought the old way much better-off the doctor's having full responsibility, of his giving all the orders and seeing to it that the nurses obeyed his orders. But I asked several doctors about it, and they told me that there is a marked tendency now in this direction, and while it obviously has drawbacks, there may be a good side to it; it may indicate on the pan of the nurses a greater interest in their work and a willingness to take more responsibility."

Mary Follett, The illusion of final authority, 1933

Value Creation Structure

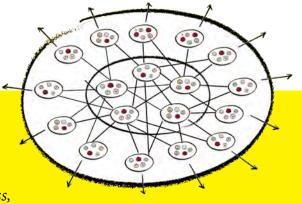


"Perhaps sometime it may seem advisable to get rid of the words 'over' and 'under'. We find a growing dislike to these words in many places."

Roles, functions and real authority

"The most fundamental idea in business today, that which has permeated our whole thinking on business organization, is that of *function*. Each man performs a function or part of a function. Research and scientific study determine function in scientifically managed plants. *A man should have just as much, no more and no less, responsibility as goes with his function or his task.* He should have just as much, no more and no less, authority as goes with his responsibility. Function, responsibility, and authority should be the three inseparables in business organization. People talk about the limit of authority when it would be better to speak of the definition of task.

If, then, authority and responsibility are derived from function, they have little to do with the *hierarchy of position*. And in scientifically managed shops this is more and more recognized. The dispatch clerk has more authority in dispatching work than the president. When we find foremen jealous of their 'authority', jealous, for instance, of the part the employment manager has in 'hiring and firing,' they have to be led to see that authority is not the important thing which has been given to the employment manager, but the function of hiring and firing. Or we might say that one of the foreman's jobs has been given to someone else, just as one of the president's jobs is often nowadays given to some specialist engaged to do that particular thing. One of the differences between the old time foreman and the present is that the former was thinking in terms of his authority; he thought he could not keep up his dignity before his men unless he had this thing which he called "authority." Many foremen of today are learning to think in terms of responsibility for definite tasks or for a defined group of tasks."



"(When) authority and responsibility are derived from function, they have little to do with the hierarchy of position."

Mary Follett, The meaning of responsibility in business management, 1926

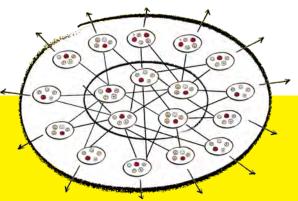
Authority based on roles, or 'function' – not on position, or status

"This conception of authority as bound up with function does away with that bugbear of many political scientists, 'central interference.' As business is being organized today there is less and less chance of central interference, for we find authority and responsibility with the head of a department, with an expert, with the driver of a truck as he decides on order of deliveries. I know a man in an industrial plant who is superintendent of a division which includes a number of departments. He tells me that in many cases he. says to the head of a department, 'With your permission, I do so and so.' This is a decided reversal of the usual method, is it not? In the old hierarchy of position, the head of the department would be "under" the superintendent of the division; the 'lower' would take orders from the "higher." But my friend recognizes that authority should go with knowledge and experience; that that is where obedience is due, no matter whether it is up the line or down the line. Where knowledge and experience are located, there, he says, you have the key man to the situation. If this has begun to be recognized in business practice, we have here the forerunner of some pretty drastic changes in organization."

Mary Follett, The meaning of responsibility in business management, 1926

"If this is the essence of leadership, we have a conception very far removed from that of the autocratic leader. The leader in scientifically managed plants tends not to persuade men to follow his will. He shows them what it is necessary for them to do in order to meet *their responsibility*, a responsibility that has been explicitly defined to them."

Mary Follett, Some discrepancies in leadership theory and practice, 1926



"A large organization is a collection of local communities. Individual and institutional growth are maximized when those communities are self-governing to the maximum extent possible."

Authority based on roles, or 'function' – not on position, or status

"That we are beginning now to get away from the noon of rights, that we are beginning to think more and more in terms of the job, is why I call the treatment of authority I am presenting to you a *realistic* one. We are beginning in business management to rid ourselves of many theories, abstract notions, mere clichés, of conceptions which have become meaningless, and nowhere is this more marked than in the case of my subject this evening. For we are trying to think out the form of organization whereby authority may go with three things: knowledge, experience, and the skill to apply that knowledge and experience."

"It is perhaps due to the fact that *arbitrary authority, the authority of mere position*, is diminishing, more than to anything else, that business management is approaching a science. To sum up: all this question of decisions, of responsibility, of authority has been made, I think, too personal. The important thing about a decision is not who makes it but what gets into it. The important thing about responsibility is not to whom you are responsible, but for what you are responsible. The important thing about authority is that real authority and official authority shall coincide."

"You will see by this time that I believe in authority. Those writers who think people should *rebel* against authority seem to me to have a wholly wrong idea of the matter. Submission to authority does not imply, as these writers seem to think, a lack of freedom. On the contrary, it is by an understanding of the laws which govern the process by which authority is generated that we gain our freedom, freedom in any true sense of the word. For authority, genuine authority, is the outcome of our common life. It does not come from separating people, from dividing them into two classes, those who command and those who obey. It comes from the intermingling of all, of my work fitting into yours and yours into mine, and from that intermingling of forces a power being created which will control those forces. Authority is a self generating process. To learn more of that process, the process of control, is what we all think the world today most needs."

Mary Follett, The basis of authority, 1933

"The important thing about authority is that real authority and official authority shall coincide."

Coordination is a result of interaction, not an activity

"The chief reason, however, why we are not more successful with this problem is, I think, because it is not sufficiently recognized that coordination is a process which should have its beginnings very far back in the organization of the plant. You cannot always bring together the results of departmental activities and expect to coordinate them. You have to have an organization which will permit an interweaving all along the line. Strand should weave with strand, and then we shall not have the clumsy task of trying to patch together finished webs."

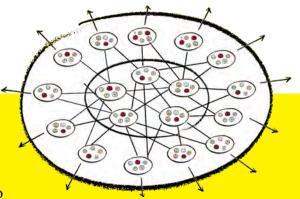
Mr. Dennison* says that in his factory they have found that a small committee of workers and foremen, or sub foremen, will come to some plan of cooperation sooner than a committee further along; that the nearer you get to specific cases, the better chance you have for agreement. He also tells us that when they set tasks and rates in his factory, they do the mechanical work of time study first and get what facts can be disclosed with relative accuracy, and then, if there is any doubt, they bring in 'a small committee of the employees for consultation at the very early stages, so that they may have their opportunity in the very discovery of the facts that lie at the basis of further understanding."

Mary Follett, The meaning of responsibility in business management, 1926

"We do not yet fully comprehend, I think, the essential nature of coordination.

Coordinated control, or what I have called the field of control as distinct from any one factor in it, is more than a mere addition of specific controls. [...] In any situation the control is complex, not single.

Mary Follett, The illusion of final control, 1933



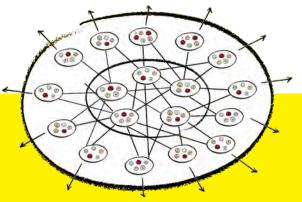
"Strand should weave with strand, and then we shall not have the clumsy task of trying to patch together finished webs."

* Henry Dennison was a progressive US businessman, owner of a paper production company

Coordination is a consequence of integration

"And as it is the idea of *pluralistic authority* which is dominating progressive business organization today, so the crux of business organization is *how to join these various authorities*. Take the purchasing of materials. The authority for this should be assumed by the purchasing agent and by the department which gives its specifications to the purchasing agent. If the purchasing agent thinks that some of these specifications could be changed and cost thereby reduced without decreasing quality. He should discuss this with the department in question. While I realize that much can be accomplished by friendly relations between individuals, I think that organization should have for one of its chief aims to provide for a joint authority in those cases where combined knowledge is necessary for the best judgment."

"This problem is being solved in a number of plants by a system of *cross functioning*. In one factory I know, they are trying to build up a structure of inter locking committees. This is perhaps the most important trend in business organization. I don't mean committee government when I say that that may or may not be the best way of meeting this problem but the trend toward some kind of cross functioning. [...] This combination of across and up exists, as I have said, in many plants today, and I have found it an interesting thing to watch, interesting because significant perhaps of a change in the accepted principles of organization which will eventually change not only business, but government as well. And it is noteworthy, in connection with this point, that the [before-mentioned] company does not have, and does not seem to need, any special coordinating department, because there is a 'natural' continuous coordinating inherent in their form of organization."



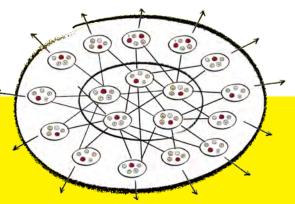
"[A progressive business organization] does not have, and does not seem to need, any special coordinating department, because there is a 'natural' continuous coordinating inherent in their form of organization."

Reintegrating thinking and doing

"The distinction between those who manage and those who are managed is somewhat fading. We are on the way, it seems to me, to a different analysis of services from that which we now have. This is the most valuable suggestion, I think, in a very valuable paper read by *Mr. Dennison* to the Taylor Society. *Mr. Tawney** has also shown us that no sharp division can be drawn between management and labor, and that the line between them fluctuates widely from industry to industry with the nature of the work carried on. "There are certain occupations in which an absolute separation between the planning and the performance of the work is, for technical reasons, impracticable. A group of miners who are cutting and filling coal are 'working' hard enough. But very little coal will be cut... unless they display some of the qualities of scientific knowledge, prevision and initiative which are usually associated with the word 'management.' What is true of miners is true, in different degrees, of men on a building job, or in the transport trades. They must exercise considerable discretion in their work because, unless they do, the work does not get done, and no amount of supervision can compensate for the absence of discretion." That is a sentence worth remembering no amount of supervision can compensate for the absence of discretion.

We can all see daily the truth of the statement that not all the managing is done by the management, that workers are sometimes managing. [...] Even when the workmen's managerial capacity is not tested so far as this, there is usually room for some. Whenever labor uses its judgment in planning, that perhaps is managing. If the worker is given a task and allowed to decide how he will do it, that perhaps is managing. It would not be possible to carry on a business if the workers did not do some managing."

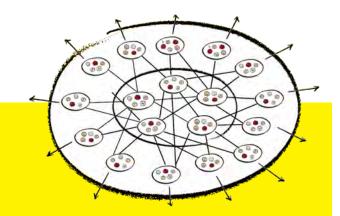
Mary Follett, Business as an integrative unity, 1925



"No amount of supervision can compensate for the absence of discretion."

* Richard Henry Tawney was an economic historian and author

The work itself should be considered the source of authority



"It seems to me that there should be one very important consequence of this conception of authority and responsibility which we are considering, as it permeates more and more the theory and practice of business organization, and that is that it should greatly dignify the position of under-executive and operator, for this conception makes each one's work tremendously important. If you see that *your activity is, in its measure, contributing to authority*, in the sense that it is part of the guiding will which runs the plant, it will add interest and dignity to the most commonplace life, will illumine the most routine duties."

Mary Follett, The meaning of responsibility in business management, 1926

"Your activity is, in its measure, contributing to authority, in the sense that it is part of the guiding will which runs the [company]."

Leadership is ubiquitous: The nature of leadership in organizations

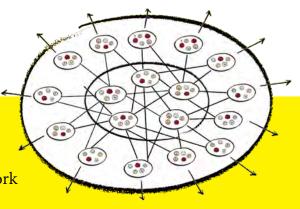
"(...) there is a growing recognition among business men that there are many different *degrees of leadership*, that *many* people have some capacity for leadership even although it be of the smallest. And the men who recognize this are trying to work out a form of organization and methods of management which will make the *most effective use of such leadership capacity*. It is also recognized that there are different types of leadership. I mean not only that there are different leadership qualities possessed by different men, but also that different situations require different kinds of knowledge, and the man possessing the knowledge demanded by a certain situation tends in the best managed businesses, and other things being equal, to become the leader at that moment."

Mary Follett, The meaning of responsibility in business management, 1926

"We have heard repeated again and again in the past, 'Leaders are born, not made'. I read the other day 'Leadership is a capacity that cannot be acquired'. I believe that leadership can, in part, be learned. I hope you will not let anyone persuade you that it cannot be. The man who thinks leadership cannot be learned will probably remain in a subordinate position. The man who believes it can be, will go to work and learn it. He may not ever be president of the company, but he can rise from where he is.

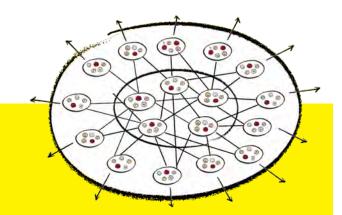
Moreover, if leadership could not be learned, our large, complex businesses would not have much chance of success, for they require able leadership in many places, not only in the president's chair."

Mary Follett, The essentials of leadership, 1933



"There is a growing recognition among business men that there are many different degrees of leadership, that many people have some capacity for leadership even although it be of the smallest."

Decentralization and the networked organization (I)



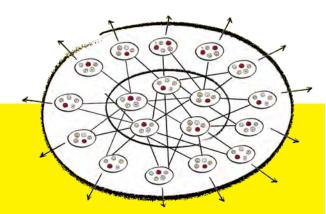
"People sometimes think when I emphasize collective responsibility, that I do not believe in decentralization. I know no one who believes more strongly in decentralization than I do, but I believe that collective responsibility and decentralized responsibility must go hand in hand; more than that, I think they are parts of the same thing. Books on business administration often discuss concentrated authority versus distributed authority, but I do not think this discussible."

"Let us note here a very marked difference between being responsible for a functional whole, what we are here considering, and being responsible for our function in the whole, which has been given far more consideration in the past. We have been so delighted with what has sometimes been called the functional theory, that is, the division of work so that each can do what he is best fitted for, that we have tended to forget that our responsibility does not end with doing conscientiously and well our particular piece of the whole, but that we are also responsible for the whole. A business should be so organized that all will feel this responsibility. " (cont.)

Mary Follett, Business as an integrative unity, 1925

"Collective responsibility and decentralized responsibility must go hand in hand; more than that, I think they are parts of the same thing."

Decentralization and the networked organization (II)



I think myself that collective responsibility should begin with group responsibility, that a form of departmental organization which includes the workers is the most effective method for unifying a business. In one business, where there is a strong feeling on the part of the managers that the worker should be given responsibility to his full capacity, group responsibility is encouraged wherever possible. For instance, the chauffeurs asked for shorter hours. They were given a fifty four hour week with overtime, and the chairman and secretary of the chauffeur group, acting for the group, assumed the responsibility for each man giving an honest week's work. We see the next step in collective responsibility, interdepartmental relations, in a store where, for instance, the elevator force has meetings at which are considered how the elevator force can help the store superintendent, how it can help the charge office, the advertising office, the information bureau, the mail order department, etc. Such steps are, of course, mere beginnings in the solving of what seems to me the crux of business administration, the relation of departments, of functions, however you wish to put it. Any study of business as an integrative unity should, I think, make this problem its chief concern."

Mary Follett, Business as an integrative unity, 1925

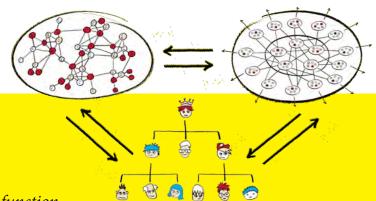
"What we want, then, is coordination from the bottom and all along the line. This is successful organization engineering. We are trying to work out a system of decentralization combined with a satisfactory system of cross functioning so that the participation I am speaking of may be a continuous process." 1927

Remarks on Follett's take on Value Creation Structure

According to Follett, the most important power that all organizations possess resides in value creation – not function or personality. True coordination can only arise from the work itself – not from functional steering or top-down commands. These are Follett's key messages with regards to Org Physics. While she acknowledges the primacy of authority that emerges from Value Creation Structure, Follett does not ignore the interrelatedness of the three organizational structures and powers.

As the previous pages have shown, Follett is acutely aware of the importance of organizational federalization, or *decentralization*. She does not yet have the concepts of *periphery* and *center* at her disposal, though, nor does she articulate the particular concept of small, self-organized and functionally integrated teams in organizations that we have come to call *cells*. But all the fundamental concepts underpinning consistent decentralization are already present in Follett's work.

Authority and responsibility are distinct



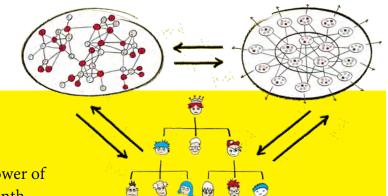
"We may say that we have in scientifically managed plants a leadership of function as well as the leadership of personality and the leadership of position. We have people giving what are practically orders to those of higher rank. The balance of stores clerk, as he is called in some places, will tell the man in charge of purchasing when to act. The dispatch cleric can give 'orders' even to the superintendent. The leadership of function is inherent in the job and as such is respected by the president of the plant."

"This conception of *authority* and *responsibility* should do away also with the idea almost universally held that the president *delegates* authority and responsibility. One of our ablest writers says: 'The chief executive should define clearly each staff executive's responsibility and its relation to general purposes and plans, and should grant each staff executive adequate corresponding authority.' But is that exactly what happens in business? Is not this, as a matter of fact, decided by the plan of organization? When a plant reorganizes and introduces staff management along with line management, the duties, authority, and responsibility of the staff executives are inherent in the plan of organization. Whatever formality is necessary on the part of the president is more or less of a formality."

Mary Follett, Some discrepancies in leadership theory and practice, 1926

"This conception of authority and responsibility should do away also with the idea almost universally held that the president delegates authority and responsibility."

Power originates from networks of relationship – not individuals



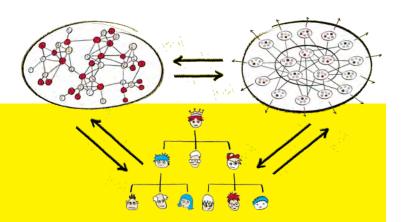
"Our idea of power is changing. Men have long worshipped power; the power of arms, the power of divine right of kings or priests and then in the nineteenth century the power of majorities. Our conception of democracy is only today beginning to free itself from that taint. And the reason that it is freeing itself is that our idea of power is changing. Power is now beginning to be thought of by some as the combined capacities of a group. We get power through effective relations. This means that some people are beginning to conceive of the leader, not as the man in the group who is able to assert his individual will and get others to follow him, but as the one who knows how to relate these different wills so that they will have a driving force. He must know how to create a group power rather than to express a personal power. He must make the team."

"In a recent book on government this sentence occurs: "Men who have once tasted power will not, without conflict, surrender it." But one of the most interesting things I find in recent business organization is that fewer officials than formerly higher or lower are "tasting power." Of course, there are plenty of men who love power, who love to use power, but the form of organization toward which business is tending today discourages this."

Mary Follett, Leader and expert, 1927

"Power is now beginning to be thought of by some as the combined capacities of a group. We get power through effective relations. This means that some people are beginning to conceive of the leader as the one who knows how to relate these different wills so that they will have a driving force."

Our image of human nature matters



"When I speak against the autocratic view of leadership, however, I am often met with the remark, 'But men like to be led.' And these people have good psychological backing for such a statement. One psychologist speaks of the 'instinct of submission,' another of 'the psychic urge to submit to authority.' But I do not agree with these psychologists; in fact, I do not quite know what all this means. If it means merely that we are all lazy, I certainly agree to that. But I do not see that our liking to be led constitutes any reason that that desire should be encouraged. You may have a child who prefers that you make his decisions for him, but the essence of parenthood, as of teaching, is that children should be made to take responsibility as fast as they are able to do so. We have all to learn to take our share of responsibility or get out of the game. The leader should make us feel our responsibility, not take it from us. Thus he gets men whom it is worth while to lead."

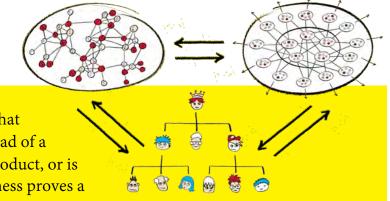
Mary Follett, Leader and expert, 1927

"You may have a child who prefers that you make his decisions for him, but the essence of parenthood, as of teaching, is that children should be made to take responsibility as fast as they are able to do so."

Value creation is a networked process

"It is because responsibility is the outcome of an interweaving experience that we often find it so difficult to 'fix' responsibility, as it is called. Is it the head of a manufacturing department who is responsible for the quality of a food product, or is it the consulting chemist? If a certain method you are using in your business proves a failure, who is responsible? The expert who suggested it? Or the head of the department who accepted it? Or those who engaged expert and head of department? Or the man who carried it out and knew it wouldn't work but obeyed orders? Again, if the quality of a piece of work is poor, it may be the fault of the last worker on it, or it may have been handed to him in poor condition from a previous operation, or the workers may have been given poor material, or all of these causes may have led to the final result. We might multiply these instances indefinitely; every one agrees, for instance, that managers and operators are both responsible for waste. This *pluralistic responsibility*, this interlocking responsibility, makes it difficult to 'fix' responsibility, yet business success depends partly on doing just this. We have a problem here to think out. We have to discover how far each one concerned has contributed to the failure or partial failure, not in order to blame, but in order to learn all we can from this experience.

Another corollary from this conception of authority and responsibility as a moment in *interweaving experience* is that you have no authority as a mere left over. You cannot take the authority which you won yesterday and apply it today. That is, you could not if we were able to embody the conception we are now considering in a plan of organization. In the ideal organization authority is always fresh, always being distilled anew. The importance of this in business management has not yet been estimated."



"This pluralistic responsibility, this interlocking responsibility, makes it difficult to 'fix' responsibility, yet business success depends partly on doing just this."

In organizations, it is the 'invisible' leader that is the true leader (I)

"In speaking of *multiple leadership*, in considering the organization of such leadership to serve well-defined ends, it should be noted how many are coming to think that these ends should be known and understood by all. There are leaders today who, far from keeping their purposes from their subordinates, think that the greatest aid to leadership consists in *uniting one's followers, executives or manual workers, in a common purpose*. They think that back of all giving of orders and following of orders there should be a shared knowledge of the purposes of store or bank or factory. I believe this is going to be a large factor in our future industrial success."

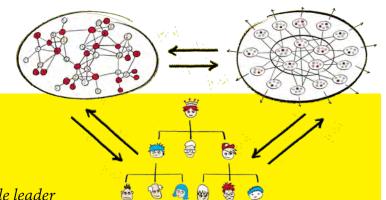
Summer before last at the Rowntree chocolate factory in York, I listened to one of the best speeches I have ever heard. When a group of new girls is taken into this factory they take in thirty at a time – *Mr. Rowntree*, the president, gives a talk to these girls. He tells them what their work is all about, he shows them how one person being careless in dipping chocolates may make the young man who takes a box of chocolates to his best girl on Saturday night say that he won't get Rowntree's chocolates next time. And then Mr. Rowntree shows how this affects far more than Rowntree profits, how in time reduced sales will mean less employment in York for girls and boys, for men and women. And then he goes on, from such simple illustrations, to show them their place in the industry of England. I don't believe it is possible for those who hear these talks not to feel a close connection with, a certain degree of identification with, the Rowntree Company."

"While leadership depends on depth of conviction and the power coming there from, there must also be the ability to *share that conviction with others*. Mr. Rowntree, by his vivid statement of purpose, has found a way of making all his employees share in a common purpose. *That common purpose rather than Mr. Rowntree himself is their leader*. [This is] what *Dr. Cabot* calls 'the invisible leader.' Loyalty to the invisible leader gives us the strongest possible bond of union, establishes a sympathy which is not a sentimental but a dynamic sympathy."

Mary Follett, The essentials of leadership, 1933

"While leadership depends on depth of conviction and the power coming there from, there must also be the ability to share that conviction with others."

In organizations, it is the 'invisible' leader that is the true leader (II)



"But there is *following*. Leader and followers are both *following the invisible leader* the common purpose. The best executives put this common purpose clearly before their group. While leadership depends on depth of conviction and the power coming there from, there must also be the ability to share that conviction with others, the ability to make purpose articulate. And then that common purpose becomes the leader. And I believe that we are coming more and more to act, whatever our theories, on our faith in the power of this invisible leader. Loyalty to the invisible leader gives us the strongest possible bond of union, establishes a sympathy which is not a sentimental but a dynamic sympathy."

"Moreover, when both leader and followers are obeying the same demand, you have, instead of a passive, an active, self-willed obedience. The men on a fishing smack are all good fellows together, call each other by their first names, yet one is captain and the others obey him; but it is an intelligent, alert, self-willed obedience."

"The best leaders get their orders obeyed because they too are obeying. Sincerity more than aggressiveness is a quality of leadership."

Mary Follett, The essentials of leadership, 1933

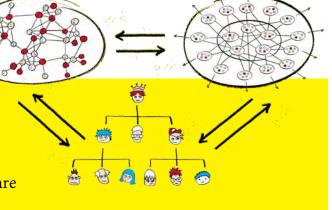
"Loyalty to the invisible leader gives us the strongest possible bond of union, establishes a sympathy which is not a sentimental but a dynamic sympathy."

Leadership can be learned

"Leadership is a part of business management and there is a rapidly developing technique for every aspect of the administration and management of a business; I urge you then, instead of accepting the idea that there is something mysterious about leadership, to analyze it. I think that then you cannot fail to see that there are many aspects of it which can be acquired. For instance, a part of leadership is all that makes you get on most successfully in your direct contacts with people how and when to praise, how and when to point out mistakes, what attitude to take toward failures. All this can of course be learned. The first thing to do is to discover what is necessary for leadership and then to try to acquire by various methods those essentials."

"Our present historians and biographers are strengthening the conception of *multiple leadership* by showing us that in order to understand any epoch we must take into account the lesser leaders. They tell us also that the number of these lesser leaders has been so steadily increasing that one of the most outstanding facts of our life today is a widely diffused leadership. *Wells* goes further and says that his hope for the future depends on a still *more widely diffused leadership*. In the past, he says, we depended on a single great leader... today many men and women must help to lead. In the past, he says, *Aristotle* led the world in science, today there are thousands of scientists each making his contribution."

"Industry gives to men and women the chance for leadership, the chance to make their contribution to what all agree is the thing most needed in the world today."



"Industry gives to men and women the chance for leadership, the chance to make their contribution to what all agree is the thing most needed in the world today."

A "complex systems" approach to organizations (I)

related to one another."

"Men working quite independently of each other, working in quite different fields, too, are coming to agree on a very fundamental principle, perhaps the most fundamental principle the human mind has yet caught yet of. This principle is involved in the very nature of unifies. Yet is that the essential nature of a unity is discovered not alone by a study of its separate elements but also by observing how these elements interact. Such biologists as *Henderson* and *J.B S. Haldane* [...], such philosophers as *Whitehead*, such physiologists as *Cannon*, such psychologists as the whole *Gestalt* school, are coming to agree on this point. They say that every

organization has a form, a structure, and that what that organism does, its unified

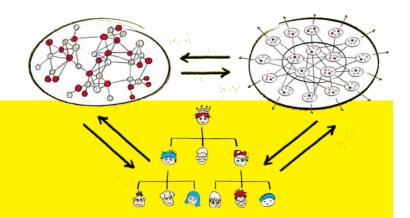
activity, depends not on the constituents alone, but on how these constituents are

"Biologists speak of the 'system of control' in an organism meaning exactly this, the self direction, self regulation, which an organism has in virtue of the way its parts behave together. This parallel in thinking between academic men and business men is enormously significant. If I were speaking modestly, I should say that I think we may be pretty sure we are on the right track if we find such confirmation as this from scientists and philosophers. If I were speaking not modestly but as I really believe, I should add to that, that I think they also might feel that they are on the right track because we in these associations studying business management can from our experience confirm what they are saying." (cont.)

"Every organization has a form, a structure, and that what that organism does, its unified activity, depends not on the constituents alone, but on how these constituents are related to one another."

Mary Follett, The illusion of final authority, 1933

A "complex systems" approach to organizations (II)



The possible examples from business management of the working of this fundamental principle are innumerable. Take a situation made by credit conditions, customers' demand, output facilities, and workers' attitude. They all together make a certain situation, but they constitute that situation through their relation to one another. If you change one, usually some, if not all, of the others are changed. Or take the way sales policy, production policy and financial policy influence one another. When they join to form a genuine unity, we have no mere aggregation. Each has been somewhat changed in the process of joining. And the whole, or general policy, is different because of this change in the parts. That is, it is not the aggregation but the integration of these parts which constitutes the field of control. This is the point we forget, and forget to our disaster, over and over again in business management. The awareness of what the field of control actually is in a given situation is essential to successful business management."

Mary Follett, The illusion of final authority, 1933

"It is not the aggregation but the integration of these parts which constitutes the field of control. This is the point we forget, and forget to our disaster, over and over again in business management."

Final remarks (I)

In her lectures and writing, Follett stays clear of any reductionism and describes an altogether practical *Systems Theory approach* to organizational management. She does so at least one decade before pioneers like Ludwig von Bertalanffy (1901-1972) or Norbert Wiener (1894-1964) establish the conceptual underpinnings of systems theory.

Follett's systemic, interdisciplinary conceptualizations, articulated for organizations, parallel similar concepts emerging in learning theories and sociology at around the same time. In *learning theory*, concepts which emphasized how learning results from developing an of understanding both of the parts of the learning process and of the learning situation as a whole, were pioneered by Maria Montessori (1870-1952) and Jean Piaget (1896-1980), for example. In *sociology*, the work of Émile Durkheim (1858-1917), Max Weber (1864-1920) and Kurt Lewin (1890-1947) exemplify similarly interdisciplinary perspectives, all of which proved critical in breaking away from reductionist, industrial-age models and thinking, where many treated teaching, societal dynamics or managing as behaviorist conditioning.

Follett's thinking on leadership and power is firmly rooted in humanistic, democratic principles. It outshines that of most thought leaders and researchers even today.

Sources and recommended reading

The text excerpts from Mary Follett in this paper were taken from the following lectures:

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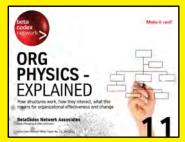
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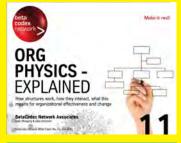




















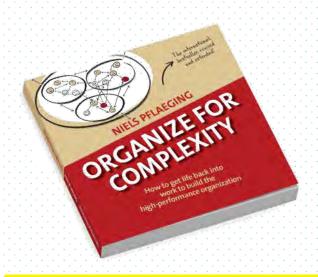


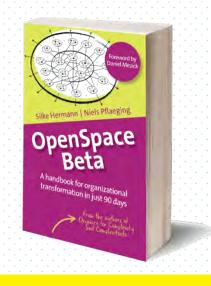






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