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Design Society

READINGS IN GLOBAL ORGANIZATION DESIGN

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REQUISITE ORGANIZATION AND ECONOMICS: PRESENTATION TO THE ECONOMICS FACULTY

by Kenneth Craddock

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Requisite Organization and Economics:

Presentation to the Economics Faculty

by

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[Recently, I put the Fifth Edition of the Annotated Bibliography on Requisite Organization online at globalro.org (Aug. 2009). It is a free download in two files. The first is essays introducing RO and the second file is the searchable Bibliography itself.]

I assume most of you have never heard of Requisite Organization or its developer, Elliott Jaques. Let me read you a quote from Michael E. Raynor’s 2007 book, *The Strategy Paradox*. He got his doctorate from Harvard in 2000. “Despite this substantial body of work, to give you some sense of relative visibility, a Google search for [Jaques’] name results in [only] 466 hits As a doctoral student at the Harvard Business School, I was never assigned even a paper by Jaques, and in looking through syllabi of other doctoral programs, I’ve never seen his work assigned” (p.132). So, if you have a Ph.D., you probably have never heard of this approach before.

This organization theory was disavowed by Western academics in 1969. But six months earlier it had been accepted by Japanese businesses across all seven keiretsu. During the late 1960s the Nikkeiren had sent a study group to Glacier Metal in the UK where Jaques had conducted his experiments and developed this theory. During the 1970s it was implemented across Japan and was taken abroad starting around 1980.

In the 5th Edition I have located 1047 articles, chapters and books directly on R.O. theory. Thus, over 1000 studies have tested hypotheses from this theory. Another 1322 have been related to this theory. In these papers this theory was often in the second-to-last paragraph under the heading 'unanticipated findings.' The paper had been aimed to test some other hypotheses and came up with incidental findings that pointed to the presence of this theory.

For those who look to quality rather than quantity, some 567 of items directly on the theory were peer reviewed journal articles. Another 786 peer reviewed journal articles were related to this theory. Some 473 of both are in US-based A-level journals. If we include the top European and Asian journals the total comes to 513. These are required to obtain tenure at elite universities. Is this enough to show the presence of a substantial 'body of knowledge' on this theory? You will have to judge this for yourself.

Requisite Organization

Requisite Organization is a way of structuring an organization like architecture. Most organizations have too many layers. Each one is too close to the one under it. Once upon a time we lived in caves and walked around stooped over. That is the way people work in most organizations today. Architecture separates the floors so we can walk around at our full height and stand erect. We are not physically stooped over in buildings. Our full height is accommodated.

Much of the present resentment against hierarchy is because of this oppression that people feel from too many layers. They still feel as if they are stooped over but psychologically. In fact, many American theories of organization are viewed as anti-management by foreign observers. A book by an Australian academic even has this as its title. (For example, typical is professor Lex Donaldson's book, *American Anti-Management Theories of Organization*.)

The extra layers are accumulated over time and originate in our HR practices. In order to give the better employees a meaningful raise the manager often has to give them a promotion to justify the raise. This means we create additional layers between real managerial layers - deputy director, assistant vice president, etc. Imperialism also plays a part. Many of our salary schedules are rated according to the number of employees under the managerial position and/or the number of layers under the position. Many firms still use the 'Hay-Point' system to determine the number of points awarded to each managerial position – and thus the salary the incumbent is awarded. While this helps during a ramp-up fast growth phase of a firm, it also creates bloating and bureaucracy which softens, slows, and later kills the organization.

The market is not tolerating these extra layers. It did so for a long time but in a recession the break-even point is reached sooner by the more inefficient firms. The North American auto firms - General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler were not interested in this approach to hierarchy. The large Japanese firms were interested and adapted it to their operations – Toyota, Honda, Mitsubishi, etc. General Motors has reached bankruptcy this year. Chrysler has been sold to a European automaker, Fiat. And Ford, while still standing, is not doing very well.

Most economists take the market as their field of research endeavor rather than organizations. In the marketplace people exchange goods and services as individuals. Even firms act as individuals. The employment relationship is an incomplete contract. It is not quite like the contract for goods or services we find in the marketplace which is complete on both sides. Here, there must be trust that the contract will be filled by the employee. For this reason payment is often delayed. This time-lag allows the employer to ascertain whether the contract has been fulfilled. The contract is on-going and open-ended. The employer cannot specify every contingency that the employee may have to face and overcome. Thus, the employer is contracting for the judgment and discretion of the employee. Therefore, the trust must flow downward. (This is the opposite direction from empowerment and many other human relations concepts.)

Jaques earned an M.D. from Johns Hopkins and a PhD from Harvard. He was a trained psychiatrist. At Glacier Metal, where he did his first research, he was on the shopfloor listening to people as they worked, as they got instructions, saw how they reacted, and listened to them. He noticed they behaved differently toward their peers and toward their superiors. But why? It had to do with the problems they encountered in their work. With their peers they sought empathy and understanding – even commiseration. They might ask for information from their peers but they did not ask for solutions. When they dealt with their superiors they sought solutions to their work problems. This was quite different from their dealings with their peers.

Hopefully, the person directly over the employee could solve their work problems and was not just their official boss but their ‘real boss’ as well. If the person over them was actually their peer, they sought solutions elsewhere from a ‘real boss.’

Managerial Accountability

In order to be a manager one has to get work done through other people. But to feel accountable for those results the manager has to have four authorities over those who work for him or her –

Select the members of the team.

Assign tasks and work.

Assess the results of those tasks and reward accordingly.

De-select the members who are not able to perform the tasks.

The manager adds value to those under him or her by solving the problems that block those under the manager from completing their work. This frees those under the manager to continue to do their work. Their work is not stopped. This vastly increases their productivity.

On the first page of *The Wealth of Nations* we find the pin factory. The work of the 10 employees is coordinated by the owner/manager. We have only a two-layer hierarchy in this organization. The 10 employees by working cooperatively are able to produce a hundred times what 10 uncoordinated individuals could produce. 48,000 pins versus maybe 400 pins. Even a shallow hierarchy makes a huge difference in productivity.

This theory includes the Managerial Accountability Hierarchy (MAH). It is the managerial structure for organizations that deliver and sell goods and services in the customer marketplace. This covers most profit-making organizations. But there are exceptions – hospitals, partnerships, churches/synagogues/mosques, and colleges/universities. Each of these institutions is dominated by a professional group which occupies the middle of it. Members of this group both solicit new business and do the work. They call on the resources of the institution to serve the needs of the patient/client/student. Thus, when they go to the office door and look out, faculty members do not see this structure. (The head of such an institution has managerial accountability only for staff and support services not for the professional members. Confusion and conflict over the proper roles of accountability and authority has led to the early departure of several college presidents.)

Problem-Solving Logics

How the match is made between the person and the role in this approach is objective and is not subjective. It is not based on one person thinking another is qualified or not. Or on one person liking another's style.

This is also not based on Intelligence Quotient (IQ) and there are several reasons for this. First, IQ measures only one of two forms of intelligence. It measures 'fluid' intelligence which is dominant during the period of our growth and wanes when we reach adulthood. Speed of recall is an important element of this. The other form is 'crystallized' intelligence. It is based on wisdom, experience, and context – when we should use a solution. Speed is not so important. The other reason is that a normal, or bell, curve is actually a form of ranking with the mean score set at 100. Standard deviations are a means of measuring the distance of a score from the mean on a relative scale. This may be wide or narrow but the relative order of

the ranking does not change. In short, IQ is irrelevant to the managerial role and the hierarchy sequence.

The key issues are – Why do we have managers? How do they add value? At every level managers add value by solving the problems that block those under them from doing the work at the next lower level. This problem-solving releases the employee to continue to do the work. The employee is no longer stopped. This greatly increases the productivity of the employee.

There are four types of logic used in problem solving. Each is more complex than the prior one. Jaques came to understand that what he saw as problem solution was parallel to the form of logics set forth by Descartes some 400 years ago in his 'truth tables.' Starting from the bottom, in ascending order, they are – Declarative, Cumulative, Serial, and Parallel.

Declarative – uses “or – or” logic. One encounters this for example in a retail shop when conversing with the sales clerk. “Would you like a green sweater? How about a yellow one? Long sleeve? Short sleeve?” Each item is independent of any other.

Cumulative – uses “and – and” logic. An excellent example is that of detective work. The detective puts together clues that point each toward the suspect. We see this type of logic a lot on TV every night. Together they point all in the same direction.

Serial – uses “if – then” logic. It is a sequence. “If” this happens, “then” that will happen. It is causal and temporal. It feels dynamic. It moves through time. One thing causes another.

Parallel – uses “if, and only if – then” logic. It uses several series to solve a problem. One series simply gets us to the point where another series takes over. To get to a solution, we may have to switch back and forth between the series. (Miller 2006)

We have each used these four types of logic at earlier stages of our development. We went through one complete set of four logics in infancy (up to age 5). We grew through another in childhood and adolescent (ages 5 through 17). The key is to listen for the type of connector in the logic. These are often not articulated or spoken but they can be ‘heard’ and the logic used can be determined quite precisely. Listen for the ‘or’, the ‘and’, the ‘if ... then’ (which is dynamic through time), and the multiple series assembled to create a solution.

Capability Growth

Each of us continues to grow during adulthood. The Growth or Maturation Curves start at birth and curve steeply upward during infancy, childhood and adolescence. These curves begin to flatten out – this is their high point - when we reach adulthood. [See *Lifetime curves*

and adult growth curves on overheads. Jaques 1985; Jaques & Cason 1994.] These curves are very much like the growth curves of all living organisms. Humans, for example, also have them for height. These are for cognitive capacity.

The growth modes – the paths along which we develop – assume we have had education to the fullest. In South Africa we find Blacks at stratum I and at III. But there are few at stratum II. We don't have a good explanation for this. Logic tells us that to get to stratum III you must develop through stratum II. The only explanation we can find is in the spotty education these Blacks got under apartheid.

Re-organizing – from Official to Requisite

The official table of organization may show three direct reports reporting to one manager. [*As in the overhead.* Miller 2006.] This looks clean and neat. But it does not reflect reality.

Each of the direct reports may be at a different cognitive level, say, one, two, and three. If the manager is at Parallel level four of cognitive capacity they will not have a problem communicating with the first direct report at Serial level. But the manager will have trouble communicating with the second direct report. This person is at Cumulative level which is two levels below the capability level of the manager. There is a gap between them that the manager will have to struggle to overcome. The problem will become even worse with the last direct report. This person is at Declarative level and the gap will widen much further. There will be two levels between the manager and the direct report. This is a huge gap which will block vertical communication, clear task delegation, problem-surfacing, and problem-resolution between these two roles.

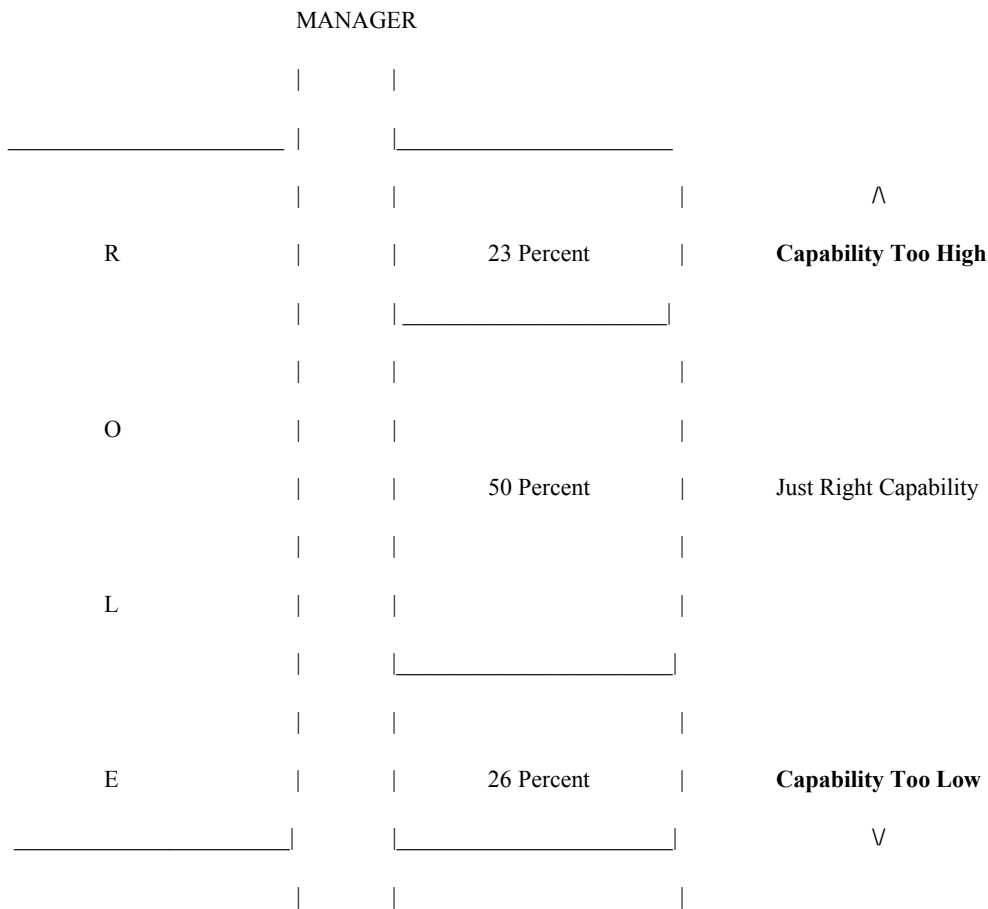
The communications problems go away if the horizontal unit is re-arranged as a vertical reporting hierarchy. It looks like another communications issue will surface but each step in the hierarchy is able to communicate with the next lower level and solve its work problems.

Role – Capability Mismatch

Three studies have shown great stability in role staffing capability over several decades in the US and Canada. Two are American PhD dissertations in 1967 at Harvard and in 1999 in USC (Homa Hunt 1967; Goldman 1999). The other, in Toronto also in 1999, was a study done by a consultant who had a PhD (Capelle 1999). These studies have shown the Role-Person match in North America is off regarding capability levels - 23 % are too high and 26% are too low – to do the work. That means 49% of the people in every role are mismatched. They are bored or anxious in their role. Only just half the employees are capable at the level of the role they are assigned.

With this amount of error surveys are fairly useless. The number of false-positives would be large. Findings would be – and are – often non-replicable. This huge error rate is one cause of the ‘Management Theory Jungle.’ Theories are not replicated and developed, but are abandoned and replaced by a newer theory. Learning is not cumulative, with one fact being added to the shoulders of a prior theory, but declarative and dismissive, with each theory declaring itself to be the only valid one and all former theories to be null and void. Unfortunately, they are more correct than not. Many academics have produced and published piles of worthless studies. (In this sense, each theorist is right about everyone else and each is dead wrong about themselves and the value of their own efforts.)

Each role inside an organization looks like this:



This high and consistent error rate is put in place initially by our current Human Resources practices in hiring. Canada and the US are two different countries but they have

many practices in common. HR practices are similar throughout North America. With this high error rate you'd be just as well off throwing darts at a newspaper.

But each manager also keeps this structure in place. Employees who are too low cannot do the work (26%). They start projects but cannot bring them to completion by the due date. The manager yanks the task out of their hands and re-assigns it to one of the over-capable employees, often at the last moment. The over-capable employees (23%) are saving the manager and are often working double-time and at the last minute to do so.

Another way managers are advised to look at this array of employees is to put them into three groups and label each of them, A-B-C workers. The A workers are over-capable. The B workers basically can do the work. And the C workers are under-capable, cannot do the work, and the next step in this scheme is to fire them. This grouping is a form of short-term ranking and misdirects the manager away from their true long-term accountabilities. First, if the manager fires the C workers, these roles would simply be filled by HR with another defective set of similar employees – 23%-50%-26%. Second, what does this firing do to the survivors? They will try harder? Or rather, they will appear to the manager to try harder? In any event, the survivors will increase competition and decrease cooperation within the unit. They will strive not to be in the next group of fired C workers. Third, this is a comparative ranking, each employee against each other employee. The manager is pitting each against the others and creating a system of internal competition. The customer is left outside the system. Fourth, if the manager does not focus on the system, the increased effort from the remaining roles may cause the system to explode. Fifth, this rank-and-yank method only works for 2-3 years. It does not work longer before it generates negative results – the Markov chain dynamic takes over then. (Jack Welch used this as CEO of GE from 1990-1993. He did not use it later.) Sixth is the budget consideration: Can the firm afford to staff all of its positions with 'A-players?' These are high-pay employees and few firms have the financial stomach to pay everyone at this higher rate. Firms usually try to cherry-pick their key top-pay positions and keep down their number (Huselid, Beatty, and Becker 2005).

Between the manager and the over-capable employees is a role compression. The over-capable employee is already at the same level as the manager. The over-capable employee cannot look to the manager to solve the work problems. He or she can do as well themselves. They have to go outside to find a 'real boss.' The manager increases their salaries, gives them grander titles and awards, makes them his or her personal aides or associates, and anoints them his or her "A players." Yet they are bored and, despite the incentives, they eventually leave.

Between the manager and the under-capable employees is a gap. This gap regards communications, understanding and task assignment/ delegation. These are the "C players"

that the manager will have to de-select to the next level down. Many managers wish they would quit. But they are making more money than they would at the next level down so they stay – and pray.

Many gaps are created during financial cutbacks and they are very dangerous, much more dangerous than having too many layers. Excess layers will slow down a firm and make it competitively unresponsive, but gaps can swallow an entire firm. An unsupervised subordinate, with no accountable manager, can do enormous, even fatal, damage. One merely has to look at the unsupervised 'rogue trader' sent to Singapore by Barings Bank. The executives thought he was making them money. Instead, he bet the bank – and lost £800 mm (\$1.2 billion). Barings went pof and, after 230 years, it ceased to exist. A similar situation developed in BP on its oil rig, The Deep Horizon, in the Gulf of Mexico. No one was in charge of the rig, no one was the accountable manager. Everyone on that rig was an expert but a sub-contractor. A series of minor mishaps and misjudgments lead to an explosion and the firm in an hour lost a minimum of \$20 billion. As of this writing (7-7-2010) the disaster continues and the bill mounts. The liability may be unlimited. Management prefers too many hierarchical layers to too few. Too many may be slower but they are less dangerous.

Frustration

In the years right after the Second World War a number of studies were done on the assembly-line worker and the holder of a repetitive job. One study was on how these workers responded to survey questions. The researcher, Norman Maier, discovered there were two types of survey respondents: engaged and frustrated. They reacted to a survey like two different compasses. Engaged workers would give consistent answers. But the frustrated worker, who was blocked from attaining his or her goals on the job, gave whatever response happened to cross their mind at that moment. They reacted as if the needle on their compass were not magnetized – it simply spun. Their answers were different every time.

In short, the B workers were engaged. The A workers were bored by the work and frustrated by the small opportunities for creativity and advancement. The C workers were overwhelmed and terrified by their work that was beyond them. They were not engaged and were frustrated by their inability to complete the tasks they were assigned. The A and C workers were both frustrated, but in different ways. That's 49 percent of the workforce who gives inconsistent and variable answers. Such responses cannot be replicated. But these workers can be identified with appropriate questions and removed from the database.

Correlations

The hard sciences don't start discussing a relationship until the correlation reaches 0.95. With Requisite theory we have a little less than that. (The TSD means the Time Span of

Discretion.) The TSD to Hierarchy Level is 0.87 and has been replicated 12 times. The TSD to FFP (Felt Fair Pay) is 0.89 and has been replicated 9 times. The FFP to Hierarchy Level is 0.915 but has been replicated only five times.

Each of these items comes from a different person and each person is asked a different question. The manager is asked how long he or she trusts the employee to work on their own using their own judgment and discretion (TSD). The employee is asked what pay he or she feels is fair for that work (FFP). (Great care must be taken to be sure this is not seen as a negotiation.) The Manager-once-Removed determines the Hierarchy Level of the role the employee is assigned.

These correlations are not on a par with those in chemistry and physics but they are strong compared to others in the social sciences. They are all significant at the .001 level.

Three additional studies of TSD:FFP claimed to have refuted the theory with correlations around 0.35. But a close examination showed they were all done within a single stratum and all were at stratum I – the only non-managerial stratum. These results do not disprove the other results. In fact, they may be consistent with the higher cross-stratum results. It is entirely possible for employees to have a weak relationship of TSD to FFP within one stratum, yet show a strong one between stratum.

Crossover into Economics

Requisite Theory has found its way into economics. Thomas Mayer described the scale of operations effect in 1960 – where larger firms are staffed by higher paid and higher talented executives. Almost his sole source was Jaques. He was unable to get the data to support this theory. He discovered only Jaques had the data. (Thus, was this Mayer's theory or Jaques' theory?)

Ken Wright wrote in 1964 that Jaques' managerial hierarchy supported Edith Penrose's theory of the growth of the firm.

Harvey Leibenstein seems to have spent most of his lifetime taking unattributed ideas from Jaques. When I read his 1966 essay on X-Efficiency it sounded like Jaques' ideas applied to economics but he did not footnote Jaques. However, in the early 1970s he wrote on 'bundles' offered by employers that prospective employees chose amongst. These essays were gathered into his 1976 book, *Beyond Economic Man: a new foundation for economics*. Again, he did not footnote Jaques but here he goofed and gave the game away. He used the same root words to create the same abbreviation that Jaques had used in his 1961 book – APQT. The random chance against this was 500,000 to 1.

In 1987 Leibenstein wrote about hierarchies – how the Japanese structured theirs for great effectiveness while Western hierarchies were structured to become bureaucracies – inefficient and ineffective. Again, he was following Jaques but here he may not have realized it.

Ghoshal and Moran thought individual growth provided an alternative explanation of firm growth to the transaction cost theory of Coase-Williamson (1996). Gornzy and Gray had already coincided on this point (1974).

Conclusion

Jaques was trying to understand what we were doing when we entered organizations. We created hierarchies – they are everywhere in nature – that were work-problem related. This goal- and work-related hierarchy was not built on authority alone. People run away from them when they were. Even the shortest hierarchy greatly increased the productivity of those inside the organization and its profitability (Carzo and Yanouzas 1969). Acting together and guided by a manager of larger capability was a competitive advantage in the marketplace. Cooperatively, people could produce greater quantity, higher quality, and more complex goods and services than those acting alone, guided by individual capacity and skill.

Joe Stiglitz said he thought the equity wage repealed the law of labor supply and demand (1987). If we look at labor as one market, then the equity wage acts contrary to supply-and-demand. But if we take Jaques' framework of a full array of labor-management capability, it does not. Jaques surmised that there were only eight requisite layers in even the largest firm. But he also defined labor as an input, not an output. He did not measure the worth of labor as piece-rate or productivity output. Capability was a contribution by the employee to the system to produce the goods and services for sale in the marketplace. The system created by the managers, belonged to the managers. The goods and services also belonged to the managers. Labor was paid for the capability level it supplied to the managerial system.

The existence of an internal labor market, as is the case in Japan, should have no influence on the price of labor. Once the capability level of the employee is known, the price for the commitment of that labor follows automatically. In an external labor market, the prospective employee's capability level is not known to the manager. In an internal labor market, it is known to both the employee and employer.

Employees are not interchangeable and thus are not fully competitive. The executive can do the day-laborer's job - but not vice versa. The executive will seek to use his or her full capability or otherwise go elsewhere to use it. In this, labor is following the Invisible Hand, seeking the highest and best use of its discretion – and the employer who will use the highest

and best of their discretion – and pay the highest for it. Labor thus is not a supply-and-demand bidding which might go to zero over one job. It has intrinsic capability which is either used by the managers or not. The price of labor based on the use of discretion is a step-function between jobs and not as a sliding scale for a single job. If there are eight levels of capability and discretion, then there are eight different labor markets.

The system created by the management will use a certain level of labor inputs. But not a lesser level. That would require a different system, a different cost structure, a different price structure in the marketplace, and a different customer. Designing and staffing the system is one of the accountabilities of management.

Today and Tomorrow

The failure to understand levels of capability by management has now become a social problem. Employers have created jobs designed to require cumulative work. Stratum 2 workers are twice as productive as stratum 1 workers and work at twice the speed. Thus, even though they do four times as much work, they are paid only about twice as much as stratum 1 employees. Computers are one of the tools that require stratum 2 level work. But computers enable the worker to accomplish four times as much. Stratum 2 workers in North America are all employed. Stratum 1 workers currently have no jobs at all - and no prospect of one.

Employers are faced with a serious issue. Either they reprogram their computers to employ stratum 1 level input and stay in North America or they hire stratum 2 workers abroad to work on their computers as they are currently programmed. They have chosen to go abroad and hire stratum 2 workers there. The stratum 1 workers abroad have also gotten no jobs from this 'internationalization.' This has already resulted in Indian voters turning out one government because the farmers there have gotten no benefit from globalization. Due to the weak currency in India and China this will continue for a while. But if the world is not designed to work at stratum 1, it will not work at all.

Although this 'lean and mean' work world may have grown out of the NUMMI joint venture between GM and Toyota, it was never embraced by Toyota. Rather, Toyota developed a different work world which it calls 'human wea.' (The Japanese still cannot pronounce the English "r" sound.) There are three types of interfaces to the computer: hardware, software, and human ware. Toyota has redesigned its computers to work with humans at stratum 1. US managers are still trying to make a buck, this time on the exchange rate and the price and productivity of labor at stratum 2.

US managers have lost in the competition for the American employee. They have lost in the competition for the American customer. They are in the process of losing the investor and the American taxpayer. Entire Japanese industries have been set up and are running in the

'rust belt.' They use American workers, American plants, and seek American customers. The only things they do not have is American-trained managers and impatient American capital.

US managers are running out of options. But right behind them are the American academics who have taught them what they know. American trained graduate managers will in the coming years be without jobs and without offers. American academics may soon thereafter be without graduate applicants. The population of employees has such a high error-rate for match-to-job today that any response is possible. Therefore, empirical survey responses are without guidance, meaning, or merit, and statistical validity gives us flukey results. The academics have shown themselves lost.

This past year, 2008-2009, U.S. economists were unable to provide predictions on the economy that held for more than 48 hours. In a terrible financial crisis, economists as a group failed publically. Requisite theory provides an avenue toward the 'egress'. It does not provide answers but it does provide a methodology to place us intellectually where reality can give us guidance. The alternative is continued public humiliation and eventual rejection.

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[Note: All citations can be found in their complete form in the Requite Organization Annotated Bibliography which can be downloaded from globalro.org for free. A registration is first required, mainly to get your email for future editions.]

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GO Global Organization Design Society

GO SOCIETY PURPOSE AND VALUES STATEMENT

To support the organizing of work in a responsible, fair and healthy manner in which people are led in a way that enables them to exercise their capabilities.

The Society believes this requires applying a systems framework* emerging from reflective inquiry in which levels of work and capability are the initial paradigm and growth in human awareness is the essential process.

The benefits are organizational effectiveness, fulfilled people and organizations designed for value-creation, sustainability and social well-being.

Note: inspired by the work of Wilfred Brown and Elliott Jaques

The *Global Organization Design Society* was founded in 2004 to establish and operate a worldwide association of business users, consultants, and academics interested in science-based management to improve organizational effectiveness.

The GO Society fulfills its purpose by:

- Promoting among existing users increased awareness, understanding and skilled knowledge in applying concepts of Levels of Work Complexity, Levels of Human Capability, Accountability, and other concepts included in Requisite Organization and/or Stratified Systems Theory.
- Promoting among potential users of the methods, appreciation of the variety of uses and benefits of science-based management, and access to resources. The GO Society supports the learning and development of current and future practitioners by holding world conferences and professional development workshops, publishing books and a journal, and maintaining a resource-rich web site with related articles, monographs, books, videos, blogs, discussion groups, and surveys.

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