From Artisan to Courtesan:
The Rationalization of Labor and Leisure

FROM ARTISAN TO COURTESAN:
THE RATIONALIZATION OF LABOR AND LEISURE

By

DEBORAH NELLES, B.A.

A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree

Master of Arts

McMaster University

July 1978

MASTER OF ARTS (1978) McMaster University
(Sociology) Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: From Artisan to Courtesan: The Rationalization of Labor and Leisure

AUTHOR: Deborah Nelles, B.A. (University of Montana)

SUPERVISOR: Professor Reg Ripton

NUMBER OF PAGES: viii, 90.

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the changing character of work expression and the extent to which the organization of productive life activity either facilitates or hinders a unified expression of man through work. It focuses on the reorganization of industrial production, the incorporation of craft into rationalized systems of production, and discusses the ramifications of the reordered work process for the human subject of labor. It views the attempts by social scientists to habituate and routinize the content and quality of work and worker behavior.

However, as labor ceased to provide the vehicle for the utilization of man's creative faculties and abilities, leisure time expanded and seemed to hold out the promise of a reintegration of creative outlets into one's life. Craft was to reappear as hobby craft. However, hobby craft while claiming to be a viable alternative to alienated labor, mirrored in fact, the workings of the industrial apparatus from which it was derived. Social scientists again aided industry, this time in habituating consumer buying behavior for the products innovated by industry and in promoting an image of leisure alternatives which attempted to obfuscate the industrial connections between the leisure products and the quality of leisure.

Leisure, rather than constituting an alternative to labor serves to reinforce the patterns of habit and work behaviors which are required in industry. The leisure consumer is sold an image. The image bears little resemblance to reality.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I don't quite know how to fully express my gratitude to my supervisor, Reg Ripton. His rare creativity, breadth of knowledge and enthusiasm for learning helped me regain my own interest in developing the ideas for the thesis. His unique ability to provide time, support and helpful suggestions for improving some of the rough spots, always left me feeling encouraged and good about my work. Personally I owe him thanks for letting me share some very special friends who helped me make it through some pretty difficult times. He has begun his journey towards becoming a "man of knowledge". Thanks also go to the other members of my committee: Cyril Levitt for his help in keeping my theoretical arguments in proper perspective, and Peter Archibald, for coming onto the committee rather late and offering helpful suggestions and posing some questions which helped me to formulate my arguments more clearly.

Special thanks also go to Rick Hadden for his support, especially during the last rushed days, his love, patience and his careful reading of the many rewrites, and suggestions; Noreen Pupo for her friendship, interest and helpful suggestions concerning sources of information for my research; Ron Hinch for listening and being a very

good friend; Maximus Thumper for her companionship and enthusiasm; Marie Elliot for her patient reading of the many rewrites, her helpful suggestions and emotional support, and for putting joy into what was at times a pretty grim environment; and Benbihi Labess, my gitane, who helped me to 'see' and started me on my journey by giving me the power that I needed to find my way back to life and myself.

Special thanks also go to Ron Perrin, a former professor from the University of Montana who exposed me to many of the books which gave me the idea for the thesis and opened up a new approach to viewing the world.

This thesis is dedicated to my supervisor, Reg Ripton.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Leisure, as the counterpart to labor in modern industrial society, is promoted as being able to provide creative outlets which facilitate the utilization of man's faculties and abilities, and constitute an alternative to the rationalized organization of production. This paper examines whether creative leisure alternatives for the mass consumer do in fact constitute an escape from the rationalization and fragmentation of industrial production, or whether the leisure alternatives simply mirror the workings of the industrial labor process and extend the alienation rooted in the work place.

Chapter one focuses on the dominant features of work activity during the craft period and within modern industrial production, by looking at the quality, content and potential contained within each for the utilization of man's creative potential. The sources for this include the perspectives of Karl Marx, Harry Braverman and Stanley Aronowitz.

Chapter two examines the restructuring of work activity within modern industrial production. It focuses on the extension and solidification of patterns of rationalization and routinization in methods of production

and in the work behaviors of the industrial labor force. For this purpose the works of Frederick Winslow Taylor and John B. Watson will be looked at.

Chapter three shows the rise of leisure as an alternative to labor. It views industry's attempt to routinize consumer buying behavior, through advertising specialists, and industry's promotion of creative leisure outlets for the consumer. It analyzes the extent to which such corporately innovated alternatives provide a qualitatively different expression of man's abilities or serve merely to reinforce the fragmented character of work activity. The sources used include John B. Watson, Walter Dill Scott and Samuel Ewen.

Chapter four shows the emergence of the craft 'kit' as one vehicle for creative leisure expression. It reviews the quality of this form of leisure activity and demonstrates the extent to which it reinforces the patterns of work contained within industrial production. The Tandy Leather Corporation is used as an example of the rationalization of leisure through hobby craft 'kits'.

CHAPTER ONE

The Transition from Craft to Industrial Production: Shaping the Creative Expression of Man Through Work

The organization of those within society for the purpose of shaping their material world contains different possibilities for a unified expression of man's abilities and faculties. The craft system, embedded within the feudal mode of production provided one outlet for such expression, while modern industry and manufacture provided another. This chapter outlines the features of both modes of production, It examines their potential for either facilitating or hindering unified work expression. It reviews the character of work activity and the ramifications of that work activity for the human subject.

The history of man is descriptive of the ways in which the materials provided by nature are appropriated not only for the satisfaction of physical wants, but also are embodied into objects, which aesthetically or functionally are meant to serve man. What is unique in this process is the ability of the hunan subject to both conceptualize the desired object and give concrete shape to what has been envisioned, "...charging all things you fashion with a breath of your own spirit."[1] But this speaks to the potential of work; the reality has often been the tyranny of work.

The interaction of man with nature is at the same time a social interaction, in that as the means of subsistence are produced, those within the group are drawn into interaction with one another and either organize themselves, or are organized, for the purpose of creating their material. Further:

> This mode of production must not be considered simply as being the production of the physical existence of the individuals. Rather it is a definite form of activity of these individuals, a definite mode of life on their part. As individuals express their life, so they are. What they are, therefore, coincides with their production, both with what they produce and with how they produce. 2

While the organization of those within a society in terms of the distribution of productive tasks may allow for an integration of conceptualization and execution, considerations of ownership/non-ownership, dominance/subordination, when introduced into the structure of a

society imply "...the possibility, nay the fact that intellectual and material activity - enjoyment and labor, production and consumption - devolve on different individuals..."[3] The forms of productive organization significantly affect the quality, content and potential of work activity.

While several modes of production have been identified as characterizing different epochs of history,[4] it is the feudal mode of production, and particularly town production, the craft system, which in varying degrees facilitated the utilization of the craftsman's abilities to both conceptualize and execute the product according to a personal rhythm. Not that craft work was without direction or control, (master/apprentice), but that it contained a qualitatively different possibility for the expression of man through work than did the ensuing system of rationalized production. It is necessary, therefore, to briefly depict some of the characteristics of work as it existed within the craft system.

Craft Activity

Performance in craft work necessitated a familiarity on the part of the craftsmen with virtually all phases of product creation. To begin with, the craftsmen possessed an intimate knowledge of tools, their sizes, shapes, and surfaces in terms of the requirements of each specific task. In fact, many of the tools had been made by the craftsmen as had devices which aided them in "...performing the same

manual operations in duplicate or multiple, or to perform a given operation with larger effect than was possible to the unaided muscular work."[5]

In conjunction with a familiarity with craft tools, there was a thorough knowledge of the materials worked with. For example, the suitability of the materials for a given project in terms of pliability, durability and possible reactions to changing seasonal, weather and temperature conditions.[6] Further, in many cases the craftsmen were heir to secret recipes and formulas handed down through the life of the craft which enabled the craftsmen to avoid some of the difficulties in the execution of the work, along with learning special processes and techniques which enhanced the mastery of craft skill.

These particular characteristics refer, however, to something yet apart from the workmen, for craftsmanship "...is something stored in the mind of the worker...It is the knowledge which enables him to understand the constantly arising difficulties that grow out of variations not only in the tools and materials, but also in the conditions under which the work is done."[7]

The types of knowledge possessed by the craftsmen in terms of tools, materials, processes and individual initiative and experience served as the basis for craft skill. While skill is defined broadly as the "...ability to use one's knowledge effectively in doing something,"[8] craft skill

was far more comprehensive. Not only did it imply a mastery in the performance of precise hand manipulations, but also it presupposed an understanding of materials and processes. And what is important to stress, is the fact that it required that the creative mental abilities of the craftsman be integrated with the manual execution of the various stages in product creation.

Craft Training

In order to understand the way in which this knowledge of and mastery in craft activity was obtained, it is helpful to look briefly at the training of the craftsmen, referring here not to the isolated workman, who essentially had to learn through doing, but to those incorporated into the craft communities.[9]

In general, three categories of workmen existed: the masters, those who had acquired proficience in the craft and "...were the proprietors of small workshops, owning their raw materials and tools..."[10]; the apprentices, those who had been initiated into the craft and were under the tutilage of the master; and the journeyman, those who were "...paid workmen who had completed their apprenticeship, but had not yet risen to the rank of master."[11]

Throughout this period of training, the craftsmen learned through individual exploration of style, repitition of hand operations, and imitation of the master. "...almost

the entire skill or 'mystery' of the trade was conveyed by precept and example in the workshops...The artisans regarded this 'mystery' as their property..."[12] And yet apart from a knowledge related primarily to the development of craft skill, not infrequently the craftsmen had competence in related areas as well, such as "...reading, writing, arithmetic and elementary accountancy..."[13] combined with the "...immaterial equipment of technological information at large that is present in the community..."[14] What is of note here, is that it was the involvement in craft activity which encouraged the workmen to attain complementary forms of learning.[15]

The Leather Craft: An Illustration

For a more thorough understanding of the ways in which the craftsmen were able to integrate their knowledge of tools, materials and processes in the performance of craft activity, it is useful to turn to an illustration. I have chosen leather craft because it lends itself so readily to a comparison with contemporary handicrafts, although there were numerous other crafts which could have served this purpose.

While it is the craft of the bootmaker in which I am particularly interested, a brief enumeration of the tasks of the tanner gives some idea of the complexity and scope of activity which is operative in the preparation of the leather prior to its use by the bootmaker.

The Tanner, responsible for the preparation of the leather, had first of all to choose between one of three tanning methods: chamoising, tawning or vegetable tanning.[16] Once a method had been decided upon, the leather had to be cleansed, unhaired, fleshed, rounded, suspended and layed. As each process required the use of special chemical preparations, the craftsman, in addition to possessing a knowledge of the manual operations, was further responsible for the making of these preparations. For this he was required to know the properties of the various chemicals and the effects of the chemicals when used in combination.

Once the leather was prepared by the tanner it would then pass to the bootmaker. Preparatory knowledge on the part of the craftsman consisted of an understanding of the qualities of leather and its appropriateness for each section of the boot, i.e., suppleness, durability, softness and stretching qualities. Since the boots were made in pairs the craftsmen also had to ensure that the thickness, quality and color of the leather was similar in each.

The next step in the preparation of the boot was known as 'clicking', and here the craftsman, using variously shaped knives appropriate for cutting the different thicknesses of the leather sections, 'clicked' or cut the sections on a smooth cutting board.[17] Following this the sections of the upper boot were 'closed' or fitted together and stitched, during which time excess leather was removed to avoid

bulkiness in the boot. The thread used was generally made by the bootmaker out of "...straws of help, twisted and waxed together."[18]

The last set of operations involved the shaping of insoles, heels and middle and outer soles. The leather was cut, soaked, hammered, trimmed, shaped and stitched as each section of the boot was prepared and fit to the customer.

While this review of the work of the tanner and bootmaker is greatly simplified, it nonetheless gives some idea of the scope of skill and knowledge required in the practice of craft activity. Furthermore, it shows that the judgment and experience of the craftsman was indispensible to that activity. The mental and manual abilities of the craftsman were not dissociated. One's abilities were creatively and skillfully expressed through one's work. For: "Once the mason or carpenter had cut moldings or even plain chamfers on the structural members of a fabric, an aesthetic factor had been deliberately introduced."[19]

The Demise of the Craft System

Craft activity at its best, contained the potential for a unified expression of man through work. The craft system, however, served to routinize and regulate such expression. The craftsmen who provided the necessities of life for the town population, at some point would find it

to their advantage to form associations.[20] The formation of these independent artisans into associations (guilds), was an attempt to ensure the economic protection of the craftsmen from newcomers to the town markets. The guilds sharply restricted competition by instituting regulations which attempted to "...guarantee to each of its members both protection and at the same time as complete an equality as possible."[21] The guilds sought to ensure that the quality of both product and producers were of high quality. This was an important consideration as the workrooms of the craftsmen were also their shops in which there was a direct exchange between the craftsmen and the buyers in the town population. And yet, while it was the institution of stringent regulations which ensured the quality of the craftsmanship, the regulations which limited entrance into the guilds maintained the privileged position of the guild and guild members. The restrictions governing the methods of craft activity had the effect of "...safeguard(ing) the independence of each by the vigorous subordination of all...The counterpart to the privilege...was the destruction of initiative."[22]

However, the craft system was only a part of the larger feudal system, and as the guilds were buttressing their privileged position, developments in other sectors were taking place which began to erode the viability of the craft system. To begin with, the feudal system of

production increasingly felt the "...growing needs of the ruling class for revenue."[23] Pressure was placed on the producer to intensity production and develop alternative means for enlarging productive output. Such an intensification frequently meant increased demands on the serfs and caused their illegal immigration from the manors to the towns where they comprised a depressed class of laborers for hire and provided a base of wage laborers. It was also the case that in the larger towns there existed craftsmen producing for export. These craftsmen, unlike those producing for the towns, were considerably removed from direct control over their production and their products. Not only did the tools, materials and workshops belong to the export merchants, but also the craftsmen were removed from direct exchange with those who bought their products. The control which they exercised over craft activity was minimal.

Yet another group of craftsmen had been gaining ascendancy, the dishonorable part of the trade. Ths dishonorable part of the trade consisted of workmen, frequently unskilled, who would produce by cheaper means, goods of lower quality. This section of craftsmen "...grew with the displacement of small masters (employing a few journeymen and apprentices) by the larger 'manufactories' and middlemen."[24] The safeguards which the guilds had so strongly tried to implement for the protection of the honorable part of the grade (quality of products, skilled craftsmanship,

equality and economic protection), were conspicuously absent from the dishonorable part of the trade. This allowed for the use of unskilled workmen, women and children, and there followed "...the extension of hours and of Sunday work; and with the beating down of wages, piece-rates and whole sale prices."[25]

An emphasis on monetary and sales considerations became intensified due to such factors as the increasing density of population and the corresponding appearance of larger markets and improved transportation. Perhaps more importantly, wealth was being concentrated in fewer and fewer hands. Gradually the petty trade of the craftsmen began to be absorbed into a more expanded organization of production:

> Petty traders or hucksters, nominally members of some craft guild, grow wealthy with the increasing volume of traffic and would organize a more and more extensive household (sweatshop) industry to meet the increasing demands of their market, or they might become jobbers carrying on more far reaching trade operations over a longer term, withdraw more distantly from the actual work of the craft and in the course of a generation or two would grow into merchant princes and financiers who maintained but a remote and impersonal relation to the crafts. Or again, the associated merchants would establish depots and agents "factories" that would gradually assemble something of a working force of craftsmen to sort, warehouse and finish the products which they handled, at the same time that they would exercise an increasingly close and extensive oversight of the industries from which these products were derived; until the depots under the management of the factors in some cases grew into factories in somewhat the modern acceptance of the term. 26

Not only was wealth being centralised in the hands of these craftsmen, forcing those without means into the "factories" if they wished to continue working in their trade but also the unattached serfs were providing the base of wage labor essential for the development of manufacture.

Conditions were ripe for the development of manufacture and a significantly altered system of production. Manufacture itself arose in two different ways. The first of these consisted in the assembly of different types of craftsmen in one workshop under the control and direction of the owner of the shop. In such a situation, the craftsmen would perform their craft on a product, then pass the product on to another type of craftsman until it was completed. This began to change. As the craftsmen became relegated to working on a particular product, "...each gradually loses through want of practice the ability to carry on to its full extent, his old handicraft."[27] From this point on it was a matter of time before the different types of craft work became split into various detail operations, "...each of which crystallizes into the exclusive function of a particular workman."[28]

The other way in which manufacture arose consisted in the possessor of capital employing craftsmen who worked in the same or a related craft with each craftsman making the entire product. This form of work organization also began to change due to increasing demand and/or time

committments on delivery. When this happened the work was:

> ...redistributed. Instead of each man being allowed to perform all the various operations in succession, these operations were changed into dissociated, isolated ones, carried on side by side; each is assigned to a different artificer, and the whole of them together are performed simultaneously by the co-operating workmen. This accidental repartition gets repeated, develops advantages of its own, and gradually ossifies into a systematic division of labor. 29

The various crafts became resolved into detail operations; the craftsmen became detail laborers. Further, since the laborer no longer had access to the free use of the materials and equipment with which he formerly carried out his trade, the exercise of his working abilities could only be expressed within the workshop of the owners of material means.

However, it was not simply the physical faculties of the laborer which became incorporated into the rhythm and organization of production. For as the crafts were absorbed into manufacture, so too was the accumulated craft knowledge, so too was the "traditional amalgam of empirical experiences of work",[30] so too was the spontaneous creativity of the workman, so too was the ordering of the work process. In short, those in possession of material means acquired not only the individual's labor power, physical as well as mental, but also acquired control over the product of the workman's labor:

> The knowledge, the judgment, and the will which though in ever so small a degree are practiced

> by the independent peasant or handicraftsman in the same way as the savage makes the whole act of war consist in the exercise of his personal cunning, these faculties are now required only for the workshop as a whole. Intelligence in production expands in one direction, because it vanished in another. What is lost by the detail laborer, is concentrated in the capital that employs them. It is a result of the division of labor in manufacture that the laborer is brought face to face with the intellectual potencies of the material process of production, as the property of another, and as a ruling power. 32

Manufacture with its reordering of production drew increasingly from the pool of labor in a variety of ways. The workmen incorporated into manufacture were centralised in the shops of those with material means, and their work while still retaining something of the character of the handicrafts, was slowly being resolved into various detail operations and processes. Those of the craftsmen not incorporated into industry in a direct sense of supplying labor power, did possess significant technical expertise which was of benefit to manufacture, especially if such expertise could be used to develop the machines which would increase the efficiency of production:

> Here, then, we see in Manufacture the immediate technical foundation of Modern Industry. Manufacture produced the machinery, by means of which modern industry abolished the handicraft and manufacturing system in these spheres of production that it first siezed upon. The factory system was therefore raised in the natural course of things, on an inadequate foundation which in the meantime had been elaborated on the old lines, and to build up for itself a basis that should correspond to its methods of production...Industry was crippled in its complete development, so long as its characteristic instrument of production, the machine, owed its existence to personal

> strength and personal skill, and depended on the muscular development, the keenness of sight, and the cunning of hand upon which the detail workmen in manufacture and the manual laborers in handicrafts weilded their dwarfish implements. 33

And as the machines could offer a precision and regularity which the workman could not, Modern Industry began to increasingly mechanize the branches of industry. "Thus spinning by machinery made weaving by machinery a necessity and both together made the mechanical and chemical revolution that took place in the bleaching, printing and dyeing imperative."[34] Similarly, this process was extended to the other phases of production. As one trade became rationalized and mechanized, so did the related trades and so did the expression of the workman's abilities.

Manufacture, while it did not itself develop the technical foundation for a rationalized work process, did nonetheless, prepare the way for it:

> ...manufacture plays above all the role of a preconception in so far as the manufacturing process of production is characterized by the most thoroughgoing abstraction from everything qualitative. On the one hand, the extreme division of labor, the chemical and other qualities of which are ignored as much as possible, and while is to be viewed only as "stuff in itself", as pure matter. On the other hand, it creates the completely unqualified worker who is considered only as labor power in itself, whose function is labor in the abstract, pure physical movement. 35

Productive Activity: Alienated Labor

The conditions were established for the elaboration and development of a 'scientific' (rationalized and systematized system of production. The possessors of wealth were supplied with wage labor in which the labor had been abstracted from its qualitative attributes and was, in fact, labor in the abstract. Ownership of the means of production was in private hands.

The breaking down of the craft system into one of rationalized production, affords one an opportunity of understanding alienation. The reordered process of work activity was one which no longer reflected man's abilities and faculties. Work activity was alienating in that man was separated from control over productive life activity, he was separated from the product of labor, and he was separated from his fellow man.[36]

To begin with, productive activity became the negation rather than the affirmation of the full expression of man's abilities and faculties. Labor became dissociated, alien, in that it ceased to reflect the mental and manual energies of the human subject. Instead, labor reflected the potencies of capital. Labor was labor for another, done in accord with the rhythm and direction of another. "The worker, therefore, only feels himself outside his work and in his work feels outside himself."[37] For the labor process through the fact of private property and wage labor

was one over which the worker exerted little control. The sequencing of work tasks, the determination of what to produce and for whom, the methods to be employed in production (use of tools and materials), were determined by another. The unity of product creation was similarly broken, with conceptualization and execution becoming dissolved and relegated to different laborers within the productive process.[38]

Furthermore, the objects which were produced through the activity of the worker belonged to the owners of capital, who in paying for the labor power of the worker, laid claim to that which was produced. Moreover, the objects created appeared to be imbued with a life and power of their own, independent of the human factor. "The alienation of the worker in his product means not only that his labor becomes an object, an external existence, but that it exists outside him, independently as something alien, and that it becomes a power on its own confronting him."[39] Man is placed in opposition to a phantom world of power in which it was the products of labor that appeared to give to the owner of that product a potency which the worker did not experience, as the social interaction and cooperation underlying the actual productive process had become mystified.[40]

The separation of man from productive life activity and from the object of production created a further separation of man from man. The reordered system of production

created a hierarchy of functionalized personnel, each having exclusive and distinct responsibilities within work activity. Workers became categorized: blue collar/white collar; doers/conceptualizers; skilled/unskilled. Not only did the worker view himself and his work activity as a fragmented part of production, but also came to view others "...in accordance with the standard and the relationship in which he finds himself as a worker."[41] The alienation of productive life activity was complete. Man was separated from production, from the product and from man.

An Overview

Productive life activity contains the potential for the unified expression of man's faculties and abilities. The organization of those within a society throughout different periods of history has either facilitated a unified expression of work, or has served to prevent such expression. Craft work at its best, did allow for the integration of man's abilities to both conceptualize the desired object and work up the material form of that object. The worker retained, in varying degrees, control over work activity, the distribution of the object and was incorporated into a community of producers. The craft system, however, became subject to economic pressures towards expansion and centralization of productive activity. While craft activity provided the basis of knowledge of productive activity

the methods and techniques of craft work were replaced by a more efficient organization of production. Labor became fragmented and broken into detail operations. The worker was removed from control over the ordering of work and was slotted into a hierarchical system of functionalized personnel. The worker came to view self and others from within the narrow boundaries of fragmented work activity. Furthermore, the worker was separated from the object of production. The reordered productive apparatus was equipped with a new potential for the expression of man through work. The unity of work expression was replaced by the partialization of work activity.

NOTES

[1] Kahlil Gibran, The Prophet (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1923), p. 29.

[2] Karl Marx, The German Ideology, Part One (New York: International Publishers, 1947), p. 42.

[3] Ibid., p. 52.

[4] The four modes of production identified by Karl Marx are: Asiatic, classical or ancient, feudal and capitalist.

[5] Thorstein Veblen, The Instinct of Workmanship (New York: McMillan Company, 1914), p. 238.

[6] Georges Friedmann, The Anatomy of Work (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Incorporated, 1961), p. 7.

[7] Harry Braverman, Labor and Monopoly Capital (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974), p. 136.

[8] Websters Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary (Massachusetts: G and C Merriam Company, 1967), p. 644.

[9] By craft communities I essentially mean the guilds. A discussion of the role of guilds is contained in the section which deals with the dissolution of the craft system, p. 10 to 13.

[10] Henri Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1933), p. 184.

[11] Ibid., p. 164

[12] E. P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (England: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1963), p. 266.

[13] John Harvey, Medieval Craftsmen (London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1975), p. 194.

[14] Veblen, p. 288.

[15] Through involvement in craft, the craftsmen were often required to have some familiarity with such things as weights and measures, chemicals and their effects, accountancy and arithmetic for the sale of their wares.

In brief, involvement in the various crafts often brought the craftsmen into contact with other, complementary kinds of knowledge.

16 Geraint Jenkins, The Craft Industries (London: Longman Group, Ltd., 1968), p. 60.

17 Ibid., p. 81.

18 Ibid., p. 82.

19 John Harvey, p. 159.

20 These associations, known as craft guilds in England, arose at different times in the various countries. While they were known by different names in each country and had somewhat different regulations and rules, the protective function which they served for the members of the crafts was the same.

21 Pirenne, p. 184.

22 Ibid., p. 184.

23 Maurice Dobb, Studies in the Development of Capitalism (New York: International Publishers, 1947), p. 48.

24 Thompson, p. 285.

25 Ibid., p. 285.

26 Veblen, p. 26.

27 Karl Marx, Capital, Volume 1 (New York: International Publishers, 1967), p. 336.

28 Ibid., p. 337.

29 Ibid., p. 337.

30 Georg Lukacs, History and Class Consciousness (Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1968), p. 88.

31 Karl Marx, Capital, p. 361.

32 Ibid., p. 382.

33 Ibid., p. 383.

34 Franz Borkenau, "Zur Soziologie des Mechanistizchen Weltbildes" in Zeitschrift fur Sozialforschung, 1, 3.

(translated by Rick Hadden).

[35] Karl Marx, The Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844 (New York: International Publishers, 1964), p. 111 - 114.

[36] Ibid., p. 110.

[37] This begins the categorization of workers into blue collar/white collar, doers/conceptualizers.

[38] Karl Marx, The Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts, p. 108.

[39] This is fetishism of commodities. The product appears to have a life and power of its own, independent of the worker who creates it.

[40] Marx, p. 115.

CHAPTER TWO

The Rationalization of Labor, The Habituation of the Worker

Manufacture and modern industry served as the foundation of a significantly altered system of production. In work, the unity of conceptualization and execution was dissolved and control over production transferred to those in control of material means. The new productive apparatus held the promise of intensified production with an accompanying abundance of wealth for those in control of production. The full realization of such potential, however, could only come through the refining of the new system of production. The irrational and traditional were discarded. The scientific was substituted.

This chapter outlines some of the more significant attempts by industry to streamline and rationalize both production and the behavior of the labor force. The contributions of Frederick Taylor, Industrial Psychologists, Industrial Sociologists, and education towards strengthening the negemony of capital over labor are given attention in this chapter.

The Routinization of Industrial Production

> We gathered some sticks and proceeded to build the hunting contraption. I had mine almost finished...when Don Juan stopped and looked at his left wrist, as if he were checking a watch which he never had, and said that according to his time piece, it was lunchtime...He again made the long wailing sound of a factory whistle. "Lunch is over," he said. "Go back to work." ...After a minute Don Juan again blew his "whistle". "Time to go home," he said. "What areyou doing, Don Juan?" I asked. (Don Juan replied) "A hunter that is worth his salt...catch(es) game because he himself has no routines...he is free, fluid, unpredictable. [1]

In this passage from Journey to Ixtlan, Don Juan[2] describes the hunter as one who has learned to disrupt the routines of life. The hunter is bound by a time-sense/rhythm, which because it is not predictable keeps the hunter from becoming a prey - from becoming controllable. Such a time-sense, in varying degrees was a characteristic of work activity during the feudal epoch. Working patterns were irregular and reflected "...alternate bouts of intense labor and of idleness wherever men were in control of their working lives."[3] Festivals, time for going to market, and socializing were interwoven with daily work tasks. Time as a whole, and the organization of daily tasks, was dictated by the natural flow of events. But such flexible work patterns were incompatible with the synchronization and efficiency required by large scale production. Gradually the natural time-sense of the individual and group became replaced by the discipline and sense of time-thrift in industry.

Labor time became sharply differentiated from free time. Bells, whistles, clocks and watches marked the passage of time spent in industrial production. The habituation of the worker had begun. Through the purchase of labor time/labor power, industry was in a position to "...bend the work process to their own needs. It is just such techniques of human control which established the productive superiority of the factory system..."[4] The work lives of those engaged in production were to reflect the habits and routines compatible with the rhythm of industry. In the terms of a Yaqui Indian sorcerer, the worker had now become a prey.

Frederick Winslow Taylor

By the late 1800's, industry had become increasingly consolidated. Competition between firms was growing and wage cutting was proving impractical as a means of cutting costs. Tools and machines were relatively refined, and although methods of production were more efficient in terms of productivity than those of the craft period, they had not yet realized their full potential.[5] Conditions were ripe for a systematic revamping of production. Industry needed efficiency.

These conditions coincided with a national concern for the better use of resources, men and machines. President Roosevelt put forth a call for "...conservation of our national resources" as "preliminary to the larger question

of national efficiency."[6] Industry was ready. The Nation was ready.

Frederick Winslow Taylor, who had been trained as an engineer, was familiar with the inadequacies of current methods of production within the factory. With a penchant for systematizing and an academic grounding in science, Taylor set about making scientific the process of work.[7] Increased output would come through the elimination of wasteful and inefficient methods of production. Work was to be stripped of 'rule of thumb' techniques, leaving "only naked work...something that could be described in terms of multiple motions, lifting, pushing, pulling, turning and so on."[9] Each phase of product creation was to be analyzed into its simplest elements with the purpose of "...the systematic improvement of the worker's performance."[9] Through the meticulous breakdown of each component of production, Taylor sought to discover the 'one best method' and the 'one best implement' for the performance of a work task.

Another significant aspect of Taylor's scheme for reorganizing production was the separation and specialization of personnel. Possession of various attributes of a well rounded man (brains, education, special or technical knowledge, manual dexterity or strength, tact, energy, grit, honesty, judgment or common sense, and good health)[10] would determine one's placement in either management or

labor.

Management was equipped with brains, education, special or technical knowledge, honesty and grit. Management's responsibilities included gathering together "...all the traditional knowledge which in the past had been possessed by the workmen, and then of classifying, tabulating and reducing this knowledge to rules, laws and formulas which are immensly helpful to the workmen in doing their daily tasks."[11] (These special tasks were to become incorporated into the planning department).[12] The worker was to be separated from direct knowledge of the integration of processes and materials which had been the accumulated heritage of the worker during the craft period. Management would then develop a science of each element of work by partializing tasks into detail operations. The worker, no longer master of the ordering of work activity, would then be selected, trained and taught the proper performance of the detail operations in order to ensure that they were performed in accordance with the principles of Scientific Management.[13]

Workers were similarly classified and relegated into slots in the productive process. While the workmen might possess brains, education and special training, they were found lacking in grit and honesty. Workmer were classified on the basis of strength, endurance and brains. The first class man was one who could perform "...2 to 4 times that of

the average worker...Finds such work makes him happier and he thrives."[14] The day laborer possessed few brains or skill but was capable of exerting "...strength and bodily exertion and fatigue above average."[15] The ordinary worker was found lacking in both special brains, skill and endurance and was to be given routine work tasks.[16] In snort, workers were to provide the muscle and management the brains. The subdivision of workers and their location within a hierarchical organization of production had begun. Workers would be positioned within production as blue collar/white collar, skilled/unskilled, doers/conceptualizers. Work which had served to bind individuals together into the craft communities, would now separate, alienate, man from man.

Through the hands of the workers both profit and product were to be made. The creativity of the craft period as the expression of a unified process of the conceptualizations and executions of the human subject, was to be firmly and finally dissolved. The judgment of the workmen, whose heritage of craft skill and knowledge had provided the basis for the meticulous breakdown of the tasks of product creation, was delivered into the hands of specialized management personnel. The worker would now "...acquire judgment without...being obliged to experience all the elements of judgment."[17]

Taylorism had begun to revolutionize production. While not all industry immediately or wholeheartedly

embraced the principles and programs of Scientific Management, both in Europe and America planning departments and time study technicians were extensively used.[18] But most importantly, Taylorism was shaping the potential for the expression of man through work. For some work would encourage the utilization of creative faculties; for others it would allow only the development of manual abilities. Efficiency was incompatable with a unified expression of man through work:

> Taylor is in fact expressing with brutal cynicism the purpose of American society--developing in the worker to the highest degree, automatic and mechanical attitudes, breaking up the old psycho-physical nexus of qualified professional work, which demands a certain active participation of intelligence, fantasy and initiative on the part of the worker, and reducing productive operations exclusively to the mechanical physical aspect. 19

Taylorism: Adapted and Developed

As Taylorism was embraced by industry, it began to be modified. Most significant in the dissemination and adaptation of Taylor's principles was Frank Gilbreth. Frank Gilbreth in collaboration with his wife, Lillian, developed Taylor's emphasis on time and motion study.[20] Believing that the stop watch method was imprecise, the Gilbreths used motion picture cameras to freeze each hand movement for a given task, attempting to eliminate unnecessary movements. They discovered 16 fundamental hand movements

for a given task, called Therbligs,[21] and sought to standardize each job within any trade in terms of these hand manipulations. The model of efficiency was the machine. This model was to become the standard of the 'good' work performance of the non-mechanical worker. The worker would grasp, release, position, bend, search. Not only was labor activity itself differentiated and subdivided, but also the bodily movements of the workers were to become as precise and predictable as that of the machine.

In addition to their contribution to industry, the Gilbreths tried to generalize Taylor's notion of the one best way of performing a work task, to society at large. There had to be 'one best way' for doing anything and everything.

Taylorism had begun the movement towards a 'scientific' organization of work activity. The worker was separated from control over the ordering of production, from other workers, and from the object of production. Persons such as the Gilbreths extended the logic of Taylor's reorganization of production, one step further.

Industrial Psychology

> The history of industrialism has always been a continuing struggle (which today takes an even more marked and vigorous form) against the element of 'animality' in man. It has been an uninterrupted, often painful and bloody process of subjugating natural, i.e., animal and primitive instincts to a new, more complex and rigid norms of habits of order, exactitude and precision. [22]

Scientific Management was now a part of the organization of production. However, Taylor's method did not deal explicitly with the social and psychological makeup of the workers--that human element which could affect productivity adversly even if the best and most scientific organization of production existed. And labor was causing industry concern. Labor unrest was high. Unionism and socialism were appealing to workers.[23] Workers had not placidly accepted their role as 'trained gorillas'; lobotimization was painful.

Management realized that its control over the labor force had to be strengthened and extended. The era of progressivism, 1890-1920 had begun to acquaint the public with the idea that academics could be of much benefit to industry. Science and modernity were sweeping the era. An investment in 'experts', who could control that 'irrational' human element was appealing, especially if it increased efficiency.

Management turned first to industrial psychologists for an understanding of the motivational character of the workers. The nature - nurture controversy expounded by Galton and Catell raised two possible explanations for an understanding of human behavior.

The nature theory held that individual differences were part of one's inborn psychological makeup. For management this meant that it would be important to devise methods for carefully selecting the worker with the qualities which

would be suitable for a particular task. Individual workers were to be tested, not only in terms of aptitude, but also tested for intelligence, suitability to a particular occupation, literacy and general personality characteristics felt to be the attributes of a good worker.[24] In addition, other techniques were used to locate the 'good' worker, including the personal interview, physiognomic measurements, phrenology and graphology. In short, everything and anything that could possibly be considered as having some correlation to worker performance was tested.

The nurture theory, on the other hand, held that individual differences were acquired. For management this meant that workers' performance could be influenced if the worker was placed in an effective training program. Finding the 'effective' training program was another problem.

One training method which was studied was the whole verses the part. The question to be answered was whether workers learned better if they were given an entire operation to perform, or whether learning was promoted more quickly and completely if the worker was given small parts of the whole process to master before continuing to the next stage of the operation.[25]

All of these theories required testing and retesting the work force in the hopes of uncovering some means whereby worker performance could be scientifically improved and made predictable. More often than not, the results were confusing

or inconclusive. The testing continued.

Psychology and John B. Watson

An equally important school of thought within psychology, behaviorism, was also influencing the direction of psychological investigation within industry during this period. John B. Watson, father of Behaviorism, saw the ultimate achievement of psychological research as that of "...providing the basics for the prediction and control of human beings," through the "formulation of laws and principles whereby man's actions can be controlled by organized society."[26] Watson's ideas were appealing and by thirty six, he was president of the American Psychological Association.

Watson's basic premise that that men could be made to exacting specifications. Theoretically it was possible to "...build any man, starting at birth, into any kind of social or asocial being upon order."[27] The crucial determinant for proper development was the raising or shaping of the child. The behaviorist studied and sought to train not only the mind, but also the internal organs of the body (viscera) to respond when given an appropriate stimulus. The worker's emotional responses (fear, love, hate) would be as controlled as were his abilities to perform certain motor tasks. By instilling habits, which would cause the individual to respond with an appropriate behavior when confronted with certain stimuli, the desired behaviors would

be perpetuated. Since each worker was unique, it was necessary to establish a specific program to modify each workers behavior. All aspects of behavior were to be studied: past history, education, play, spare time activities, emotional makeup. This meant that the worker was to be studied from morning until night:

> If it is bricklaying, he (behaviorist) would like to measure the number of bricks he (worker) can lay under different conditions, how long he can go without dropping from fatigue, how long it takes him to learn his trade, whether he can improve his efficiency or get him to do the same amount of work in a less period of time. 28

The work tasks of the industrial labor force were reduced to mechanical, machinelike detail labor. Behaviorism merged with the industrial trend towards rationalization and mechanization by providing a theory which reflected a mechanical view of the nature of man.[29] Industry did not require of its workers either reason or consciousness. Mindless repitition of work tasks for the laborer constituted habits of regularity and predictability for industry. Behaviorism was able to offer a psychological model for further training and conditioning the work force in ways which were compatible with the goals of industry. Instilling habit, conditioned responses, provided further integration of the worker into the industrial machine.

Beyond this, the work of Watson parallelled and expanded on the ideas of Taylor. Both men sought to develop a near perfect science, with laws, principles and rules

which would regulate behavior and eliminate waste (wasteful motions for Taylor, wasteful emotions and behavior for Watson). This concern for regulating behavior and eliminating waste arose from a shared belief that the human being was inherently lazy. Watson and Taylor believed individuals would stop improving at the lowest level possible and perform their tasks in the sloppiest manner allowable.

Industrial psychologists and particularly Behaviorism had considerably aided industry by transforming the 'animality' in man into behaviors of habit, predictability and routinization.

Industrial Sociology

> American industrialists are concerned to maintain the continuity of the physical and muscular nervous efficiency of the worker. It is in their interests to have a stable, skilled labor force, a permanently well-adjusted complex, because the human complex (the collective worker) of an enterprise, is also a machine which cannot without considerable loss be taken to pieces too often and renewed with single new parts. 30

Industrial psychologists had contributed significantly to industry's understanding of the motivational character of the alienated worker.[31] However, the Hawthorne studies had shown that group behavior was a crucial aspect determining the workers' level of productivity. Further, workers basically did not trust management's ability to look after workers' interests. The implications were that worker dissatisfaction might be expressed in disruptive ways. At

this point, industry turned to Industrial Sociology. Industrial Sociologists were useful to industry in that they claimed to understand the dynamics of group behavior: the behavior of the group members towards one another and towards management.

The best means for finding out the attitudes of labor towards industry and allowing an avenue for expression of such feelings, seemed to be the use of the non-directive interview. Personal, social and/or familial problems which might be pressuring the worker, could be non-disruptively vented. In addition, the interview had another positive effect for industry. If the workers felt that industry was somehow paying attention to workers, and that their input was important to the onward march of industrial progress, the workers might begin to identify with and feel a part of 'the company', and be willing to increase productivity:

> Man has become with the sanguine approval of sociology an item to be defined and measured in terms of both time and output. He is just as much a functional part of the industrial apparatus as the factory and the machine. (And Sociology has helped above all in eliminating the awareness of domination from human consciousness). 32

The technical processes of production were rationalized by science, and management, seeking a similar coordination and regimentation of the social process of production, turned to social science. Such science seemed to promise industry that an understanding of social processes would bring ever increasing control over the 'irrational' human

element. By working under an ethic of value neutrality, social scientists were disconnected from the personal and political responsibility for their dissection and probing of the workers' minds, motives and behaviors.

At all levels, the workers were pushed, prodded, molded and shaped, to conform to the dictates of the industrial system. In fact, the very language of work attempted to obscure the transformation which had occurred. Skill was now the ability to follow an instruction to perform a simplified hand manipulation. Judgment consisted in believing that the instruction was correct. All that was required, was that the workers "realize" that the productive organization was as beneficial and intrinsically satisfying as it had been within the craft period. Watson and Taylor believed that workers would (or could be made to) 'see'. "Science had helped to precondition men to accept their own mobilization, their own coordination, their own participation as voluntary gears in the apparatus..."[33]

Education

Industry's concrol over the lives of the labor force was nearly complete. However, not all of one's time was spent within the confines of industry. Once removed from the controls exerted within the work setting, workers had time to think, to reflect. One of the most important institutions responsible for distilling ideas and infor-

nation was the school. It was in the interest of ideological control that education was initiated. Education supported the values and ethics of industry. The McGuffy Readers used in the schools spoke of the merits of private property and material success. The models of such success were the industrialists.[34]

The role of education was important from another standpoint. If John Watson was correct in that the 'near perfect' individual could be made, what better place to manufacture people than in the schools, for the schools were responsible for development from an early age.[35]

Schools reinforced the routines required for proper work performance in industry. The student learned industrial time sense. Bells initiated the school day; rest periods were slotted throughout the day to avoid student fatigue. The child learned to conform to a hierarchical organization (teacher/student) in which the student learned to passively accept work requirements initiated by another.[36] Creativity, judgment and self-initiative were monitored and directed under the supervision of the teacher. The content of work assignments, the proper method for performing them, and a knowledge of the integration of the school tasks was removed from the control of the student. In addition, the student learned punctuality, cooperation and obedience to authority. The schools were to provide an outlet for student discontent with the establishment of counseling offices in schools.

Personnel offices handled worker discontent, counseling offices handled student discontent. In fact, both student counseling programs and personnel offices were established in the same year: 1910. Education, from the beginning reflected the values and ideology of industrial interests. And once the student learned the 'skills' and 'routines' required within industry, the student could then be "...fed into the industrial machine."[37] Industry's hegemony was solidified and reinforced through the school.

The Transformation of Industrial Production

While the productive apparatus was efficient and produced ever increasing material benefits, its very vigness and 'betterness' obscured the actual transformation which had occurred within the process of work.

Work no longer represented the unity of product creation, a unity which had bound the craftsmen into a community of producers. The traditional work experience, methods based on rule of thumb, which had provided the basis of production was replaced by "...rationalized special systems whose unity is determined by pure calculation and which must therefore seem to arbitrarily be connected with each other."[38] The elements of production, as partial processes were distributed to specialized personnel within the industrial hierarchy. Science assumed the task of calculating means/ends, efficiency, thrift and mechanical

movement.

For the worker, the fragmentation and differentiation which occurred in production was repeated in ever more exacting form. Personal idiosyncrasies and human error were replaced by precision and predictability.[39] The worker became dissociated into specialized parts: arms, legs, hands, minds, faculties, abilities, all of which were fed into the industrial apparatus as parts. The hand bound in endless repititive motion, lifting, grasping, pushing. The body blank, sometimes imagening a time when the release from the work routine would come. Productive life activity now "...converts the laborer into a crippled monstrosity by forcing his detail dexterity at the expense of a whole world of productive capabilities and instincts..." and man becomes "...a mere fragment of his body."[40]

An Overview

Modern industry significantly transformed the potential for the expression of man through work. It began by altering the nature time-sense/rhythm which had characterized work activity during the craft period and replaced it with a sense of industrial time-thrift. From there industry sought to erradicate human error by making scientific the process of production. Personnel were functionalized and specialized; work methods were rationalized. To further the rationalization of human labor and strengthen industry's control

over production, industry turned to social scientists. Probing into the workers soul, mind and body, industrial psychologists and sociologists attempted to further habituate the expression of all work activity.

Education similarly reflected the values and intentions of industry and sought to buttress industry's hegemony. The result of this reordering and restructuring of productive life activity was considerable. Both productive activity and the worker became fragmented parts of specialized systems.

A creative and unified expression of man's abilities and faculties could no longer come through work. Leisure, free time was not to provide what labor could not.

NOTES

[1] Carlos Castenada, Journey to Ixtlan (New York: Pocket Books, 1972), p. 72.

[2] Don Juan was a Yaqui indian who served as Castenada's teacher during his apprenticeship in becoming a sorcerer and a 'man of knowledge'.

[3] E. P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism", in M. W. Flinn and T. C. Smout, eds., Essays in Social History (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), p. 50.

[4] James W. Rinehart, The Tyranny of Work (Don Mills Ontario: Longman Canada Ltd., 1975), p. 33.

[5] Siegfried Giedion, Mechanization Takes Command (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1948), p. 96.

[6] Frederick Taylor, Scientific Management (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1911), p. 6.

[7] For Taylor management and methods of production were to follow the exact sciences, i.e., laws governing efficient production were to be derived through experiment, measurement and generalization.

[8] Nels Anderson, Dimensions of Work (New York: Davia McKay Co., 1964), p. 4.

[9] Harry Braverman, Labor and Monopoly Capital (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974), p. 88.

[10] Taylor, p. 96.

[11] Ibid., p. 36.

[12] Those in the planning departments would be responsible for determining the best and quickest methods for executing the work, for determining the tools best suited to a particular task, for determining the time required for the performance of each task through the use of time study records. This compilation of task requirements was then to be written up into an instruction sheet and was given to the foremen who would distribute the tasks to the various workmen, ensuring that such instructions were properly followed. In addition, the foremen were responsible for teaching, through demonstration if necessary, the proper performance of each task.

[13] Frederick Taylob, p. 37.

[14] Ibid., p. 26.

[15] Ibid., p. 26.

[16] Ibid., p. 26.

[17] Loren Baritz, The Servants of Power (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Ltd., 1960), p. 30.

[18] Ibid., p. 30.

[19] Antonio Gramsci, Prison Notebooks (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971), p. 30.

[20] Taylor had used the stop watch to measure the time it took to perform various manual operations. From observing and timing workers in the performance of a work task, he was able to establish an average time that should be allowed for each task. Time-study technicians continued to record and chart the performance of the workers.

[21] The last name of Frank and Lillian Gilbreth spelled backwards.

[22] Gramsci, p. 298.

[23] Baritz, p. 22.

[24] The determination of what constituted a good worker was left to management.

[25] Morris Viteles, Industrial Psychology (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1928), p. 408.

[26] John B. Watson, The Ways of Behaviorism (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1928), p. 15.

[27] Ibid., p. 20.

[28] John B. Watson, Behaviorism (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1924), p. 15.

[29] Floyd W. Matson, The Broken Image (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1964), p. 42.

[30] Gramsci, p. 303.

[31] The Hawthorne studies arose from a concern on the part of industry about the relationship between the physical

conditions of the work place and worker performance. The studies were conducted at a Western Electric plant in Chicago in 1910 and ran for a number of years. Management was aided in the study by grants from the National Research Council, and assistance from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the Harvard Business School. Management sought to explain the effects of illumination, employee fatigue, the desirability of rest periods, the appropriate length of the working day and the reasons why productivity declined towards the end of the working day. A review of the study is provided in Baritz, The Servants of Power.

[32] Dusky Lee Smith, "Sociology and the Rise of Corporate Capitalism", in Reynolds and Reynolds, eds., (New York: The David McKay Co., Inc., 1970), p. 83.

[33] Duaky Lee Smith, "The Scientific Institution: The Knowledge Producing Appendage", in Reynolds and Henslin, eds., American Society: A Critical Analysis (New York: The David McKay Co., Inc., 1973), p. 163.

[34] Raymond Callahan, Education and the Cult of Efficiency (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 2.

[35] Watson did not place the responsibility for properly raising the child on the parents, because he believed that mother love was damaging to child development. Children should be raised sensibly, which meant that they were not to be hugged or kissed. Rather they were to be emotionally conditioned: raised as young adults, treated kindly, but objectively.

[36] Joel H. Spring, A Primer of Libertarian Education (Quebec: Black Rose Books, 1975), p. 22, 23.

[37] Joel Spring, Education and the Rise of Corporate Capitalism (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972), p. xii.

[38] Georg Lukacs, History and Class Consciousness (Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1968), p. 88.

[39] Lukacs, p. 88.

[40] Karl Marx, Capital, Volume 1, p. 460.

CHAPTER THREE

The Consciprion of Leisure: The Selling of an Image

The labor process had been 'scientifically' reorganized and rationalized. Craft knowledge had been removed from the control and direction of the industrial worker and relocated with management and specialized personnel in the planning departments. Work activity, for many, no longer represented a unified process in which the individual was responsible for the dual aspects of product creation--conceptualization and execution. For many, work became a means to life, not a creative and self-directed expression of life. Leisure, as the counterpart to labor, became the time in which the individual could possibly recapture that personal rhythm and develop creative faculties. In fact, leisure and recreation became almost synonymous terms. The worker after experiencing the stresses of routinized and fragmented labor, needed time in which to re-create himself as a human being.

But leisure became subject to a similar rationalization and reorganization so that it would not conflict with the patterns of habit and routine required in industrial work activity. This chapter examines the structuring of leisure, through advertising, and through the expansion of

the leisure industry which offered products meant to provide the vehicle for the expression of creative pursuits.

Leisure: The Antidote for Labor

The rationalization of work activity had several ramifications. On the one hand, it meant that for a large segment of the population, work no longer allowed the utilization of one's creative abilities. Individual judgment, skill and person idiosyncrasy were incompatible with a productive system geared towards a 'scientific' and rationalized system of production. On the other hand, it meant that leisure time would have to provide the human 'machine' with a refuge from the regimentation experienced on the job and reintegrate creative outlets into one's life. Home, friends and a self determined schedule aided in locating the working man "...as a significant actor in the private world."[1] Free-time hobby[2] activities provided an escape from the standardized and readymade and seemed to offer an avenue for the creative expression of the individual.

The new organization of production greatly increased the flow of goods into the market. Working hours were reduced, wages increased. The notion of scarcity which had characterized industrial growth during the 1920's and 30's had to be replaced by a new value of consumption if the wares of industry were to be sold and profit made. While the work force was being analyzed, trained and routinized,

attention was focused on the ways in which to create and educate the public as dependable consumers.

The ascendance of leisure signified the opening of new markets for industry. Self fulfillment now came through purchasing the products offered by industry. Consumers were "...encouraged to orient their needs towards the kinds of satisfactions that are embodied in the expanding array of commodities."[3] Industry provided products which aided the public in the quest for substitute work satisfaction. Products which enhanced a profitable use of free time were offered. As the workers were handed a wage, manufacturers stood ready to reabsorb that wage. Control over productive activity was rechanneled. The worker, as consumer, could feel in control (one could purchase the product of one's choice), while manufacture designed, created and marketed the products of its choice.[4] Leisure-time like labor-time, was becoming routinized.

Advertising

Once production/consumption had been set in motion the problem arose of ensuring that the products innovated by industry would be purchased. Advertising became an important ally of industry in the creation of consumer 'need' and the structuring of leisure.

Advertising or the use of 'advices', 'notices'[5] had historically[6] served quite a different purpose than

that which it assumed with the elaboration of industry. During the early beginnings of the craft period, the use of a surname indicating one's trade served as the means of acquainting those within the community with the availability of craftsmen who could provide specialized services or products, i.e., Tom the smith, Mike the baker. With the growth of population and an increased supply of craftsmen, the sign came into use. It served as a visual expression of the craftsman's name, trade and location, something which was especially important as a large proportion of the population were unable to read.[7] Signs were followed by trademarks, symbols placed on the product which could both identify the producer and afford some protection to the customer in the event that the services or products were of inferior quality. Next came the "Si quis",[8] printed notices roughly equivalent to today's 'help wanted' notices. In addition to bringing the supply of labor into contact with persons requiring services, the "Si quis" contained information concerning lost and found, general community news and notices for runaway apprentices. These early 'notices' and 'advices' were intended to acquaint the public with the availability of services and producers. They were primarily informational, and did not, for the most part, attempt to <u>create</u> a need on the part of the customers which did not already exist.

Advertising in the modern sense of the term began

to emerge in the late 1500's.[9] Merchants were beginning to learn the importance of publicity in fostering demand for goods and services. Printed handbills, posters and periodical pamphlets began to appear, marking a significant change in the character of early advertising. The 'Notices' and 'advices' contained in the pamphlets and posters came to be generally referred to as advertising. In addition, merchants began to pay for space in the pamphlets and posters as a means of promoting an interest in their wares. Advertising no longer simply identified the producer, but actively began to be used in seeking customers and promoting products.

Advertising Joins Industry: The Selling of an Image

Social scientists were as important in the areas of developing the good consumer as they had been in training, testing and analyzing the worker in industry. The Psychological Corporation[10] begun in 1921 in New York extended its understanding of the motivational character of the individual to product promotion for industry. The charter of the corporation stated: "'The objects and powers of the corporation are to advance psychology and promote the useful application of psychological work to render expert services involving the application of psychology to education, business, administration and other problems.'"[11]

One of the early psychologists who began to apply

psychological understanding of the individual in the interests of business was Walter Dill Scott. Seeking to set forth "...certain facts and principles of psychology which are established, and which have a most direct and practical bearing upon the problem of influencing men under conditions existing in the business world",[12] Scott was able to serve industry in two ways. In terms of the workers, he sought to increase and improve the quantity and quality of their performance. In terms of the consumer, he sought to develop techniques of advertising which would encourage the consumption of industry's products. Analyzing the advantages and disadvantages of argumentation and suggestion in advertising copy, Scott further developed a classification of 'instinct'[13] appeals which could be used to promote products. One set of 'instinct' appeals would address the personal desires and attributes of the individual. For example, the product would provide a sense of social gratification, a bodily gratification, a sense of acquisition and curiosity. The second set of 'instinct' appeals would enumerate the qualities of the product, such as the superiority of the product over other products, the inherent quality of the product, and the ease of acquiring the product.[14] The product was to be associated not only with its usability but also was to become an object of emotion to the consumer to such an extent that the consumer would feel that it <u>ought</u> to be purchased. The product was,

through advertising, to become a fetish, a mystical magical object which would appear to have the power to endow the individual with human qualities and attributes. The product would give to its possessor a feeling of strength, longevity, personal beauty, power, and admiration.[15] The analysis of the dynamic of commodity fetishism made by Karl Marx in Capital[16] is made concrete through the activity of man. Advertising makes the commodity a fetish.

Another significant figure in industry who was to reappear in advertising was the Behaviorist, John B. Watson. Forced to abandon his research at Johns Hopkins University[17] which had so greatly aided industry in habituating and training the worker, Watson began to work for the J. Walter Thompson Advertising Agency in 1920. Knowing little about advertising, he studied and analyzed each department of the agency--media, copy and research and then set out to study the consumer.[18] Watson had found his niche. "'It took me a little more than a year to find myself in the advertising agency. I began to learn that it can be just as thrilling to watch the growth of the sales curve of a new product as to watch the learning curve of animals or men.'"[19]

Watson had demonstrated in his earlier research with animals and children[20] that emotional responses, fears and habits could be built into response patterns. He now sought to apply these techniques of behaviorist conditioning

to the consumer. By associating a stimulus (love, sex, fear) with a given product, the consumer would hopefully produce the desired response, i.e., buying behavior. Words, phrases and pictures were carefully studied and prepared for advertising copy in order to both condition the consumer to respond and to habituate the buying behavior of the consumer for a given product. Watson's techniques were so successful that within two years he had become Vice President of the J. Walter Thompson Advertising Company.

While Walter Dill Scott and John B. Watson marked the early beginnings of 20th century advertising, other psychologists and sociologists had learned that the advertising business was big and profitable business. They began "...hiring themselves out as practical consultants or setting up their own research firms...These new experts with training of varying thoroughness typically refer to themselves as "motivational analysts" or "motivational researchers"."[21] Research institutes and advertising agencies increasingly tried to probe the unconscious and subconscious mind of the consumer, seeking to discover techniques that would trigger buying behavior. The Color Research Institute[22] studied the effect of color and packaging for product promotion. The James Viceroy Company[23] tested word connotation, title and trademarks. Books on persuasion techniques, advertising journals and research institutes flourished. For every agency there was a

slightly different approach used to influence the consumer's behavior. Love and particularly sex came to be regarded as powerful inducements to buy.[24] The consumer's body, brain and emotions were as analyzed and trained as the work behaviors of the industrial labor force.

Advertising assumed the role of directing and controlling consumer consciousness.[25] Industry, through advertising, was competing for a space in the consumer's "brain box".[26] Not only were individuals persuaded to want and buy products which would satisfy basic living needs, but also they were encouraged to need the many accoutrements of good living. "Here advertising goes beyond saying merely that a certain good exists and can be had; it also points out what the good is good for as free time possibilities."[27]

Advertising had joined industry in promoting the products of industry. With the ascendance of free-time, advertising promoted, as industry innovated, products for the expanding leisure market. Boats, pools, bicycles, rackets for sports of various kinds and other leisure aids appeared. The consumer was encouraged to purchase the products of industry which enhanced leisure enjoyment. Advertising not only informed the consumer of the availability of the leisure products, but also attempted to make the products an indispensible part of free-time activities. (Camping in the woods was fun, but much more enjoyable with tents, sleeping bags, a coleman stove, thermos jugs, lanterns,

and other such 'essential' camping products). Among the products which aided the consumer in the enjoyment of leisure activities, were those which claimed to provide creative outlets for the expression of the individual's faculties and abilities: leisure art and craft products.

Craft Becomes Leisure Craft

Modern industry was unable to provide a unified expression of man through work. Workers, blue collar/white collar, doers/conceptualizers were both denied such expression in that they were responsible for only one aspect of product creation. Art and craft, the foundation of industrial production, had provided such a unified expression of man's faculties and abilities. And although industrial work activity no longer provided an outlet for this, creative leisure activity, craft as leisure craft, seemed to possess the potential for such expression. It seemed to provide a defense against being "...machine paced and organized from above, against work on the assembly line..." through the "stubborn pursuit of self fulfillment in finished and meticulous art and craft work freely executed according to personal rhythm."[28] Craft reappeared but this time it was promoted by industry as a leisure activity.

The gradual transformation of craft into leisure craft began within industrial production. The craftsmen who became part of the momentum of industrial production

tried to find a blend between their art and craft and industry's concerns with mass production. They essentially sought to restore dignity to the working man.[29] Art and craft had separated into specialized parts of product creation and the overall quality of mass produced products, in relation to the products of the craft period had declined. In reaction to this overall decline, there began a movement in Europe in 1876 known as the "Arts and Crafts Movement",[30] which spread to the United States. These reformers (artists craftsmen and industrial designers) sought to return to the past excellence of the craft period.[31] There was an attempt to reintegrate not only art and craft, but also to recapture the community of spirit which had nurtured and sustained it. To that end, guilds were organized, structured after those of the Middle Ages.[32] The movement flourished until 1916. However, the reorganization and rationalization of production which began during the 1900's brought it to an end.

Throughout the years that followed, the character of the craftsman and craft work became considerably transformed. Art and craft became the domain of Universities or professional art schools. Some of the craftsmen remained in industrial production. Others began their own businesses.

In general, four types of craftsmen appeared. The first of these was the "artist craftsman"[33] who essentially made one-of-a-kind items for personal satisfaction. Only

secondarily did considerations of sale enter into such craft activity. And in this form of craft activity, the craftsman retained control over both conceptualization and execution. The second type of craftsman was the "production craftsman"[34] who engaged in the design and execution of each object in volume, producing only a quantity which the craftsman himself or with an assistant or two could produce. Personal control over the process of product creation was retained. The third type of craftsman became employed by industry as a production designer.[35] The work of these designers, whose knowledge of craft was derived from personal involvement in craft activity, reflected the specialization of industrial production in that the craftsman was removed from the manual aspect of product creation. The designs were passed to technicians who partialized the design for handling by the detail laborers. The 'artist craftsman' and the 'production craftsman' retained the character of historical craft in that there was a familiarity with tools, materials and processes of craft work. The craftsmen were responsible for the dual aspects of product creation--conceptualization and execution. The production designer, however, reflected the alienated character of industrial production. These designers were located in planning departments, spatially separated from the manual operatives in the factory, and were functionally specialized, responsible for only the conceptualizing aspects of product creation. Craft activity

fed through the industrial machine, was now fragmented and rationalized.

A fourth type of 'craft' activity began to emerge in the late 1940's and early 50's, as part of the do-it-yourself movement. Consumer goods shortages, a result of involvement by the United States in World War 11 had begun the movement,[36] and the worker/consumer's search for an alternative to the alienated character of work activity in production perpetuated it. This new form of leisure activity was called hobby 'kit' craft. The hobby activity retained the word craft for several reasons. For one thing, craft was a loaded word. It called forth images of creative, self-directed work activity which allowed the utilization of one's faculties and abilities in a unified, non-fragmented manner. For another thing, the use of the word obscured the fact that the 'kit' was the product of rationalized industrial production and had been innovated by industry.[37] As advertising perpetuated the image, the "...leisure industries could be extended to cover all the so called "artistic" activities that are suitable for being marketed in some conveniently assembled kit form."[38]

The kit product, designed by industrial planners, consisted of partial pieces of a product, the materials to be used in making it, and an instruction sheet which informed the consumer of the proper method of assembling the kit pieces. Industry assumed the primary creative and directive role in the performance of kit craft. Those in

the planning departments were responsible for the conceptualization, design and knowledge of the integration of the elements of the product. The design of the industrial planners was then partialized and given to machine workers for cutting and sectioning the individual pieces of the kit product. The consumer purchased the partial pieces and reassembled them according to the instruction sheet provided in the kit. The consumer merely finished the detail operations which were required in order to complete the design of the industrial planners. The consumer, like the industrial laborer, was not required to have creative abilities, skill, a knowledge of materials, processes of craft work, or an understanding of the integration of the elements of product creation. The kit consumer was in fact, a detail laborer. The primary difference between the activity of the 'kit' hobbyist and the industrial laborer was that the hobbyist in purchasing the kit had bought an image--an image promoted by advertising which said that kit detail labor was 'craft'. The work activity of the industrial laborer and the kit hobbyist was the same. Advertising sustained the illusion that there was a difference. The kit consumer would be encouraged to feel creative while making (in reality assembling) a product, which required skill (the skill of a detail laborer) and which constituted an alternative (a reinforcement) of industrial production.

The appearance of 'craft' in 'kit' form marked the

transformation of historical craft into corporately innovated and controlled craft. The ramifications of the appearance of 'kit craft' were twofold. First a reliance on the kit meant that those who used them would lose the opportunity to develop their own creativity and skill, and would not in fact discover an escape from the alienated character of labor. Secondly, kit craft was promoted as historical craft. This maintained an illusion which obscured the actual dynamic of 'kit craft' and neutralized discontent.

What must be understood in all of this is that leisure which seemed to offer an alternative to labor, cannot be viewed as existing apart from the same influences and controls which exist for labor. Leisure, as it is expressed through the products of labor, reflects the character of rationalized, alienated labor. Knowledge resides in the hands of the experts and the experts reside in industry. The hobby consumer involved in 'kit craft' is the passive recipient of instructed leisure, and is encouraged, through, advertising, to accept a vision of an alternative which merges not with the search of the individual for creative self-expression, but with the goals and workings of the industrial apparatus. Industry is resilient. It is able to incorporate discontent and redirect the expression of that discontent into areas which further support the workings of industry. The 'cost' to the consumer is the perpetuation of fragmented alienated work

and leisure, and an expression of man through both, which debases and dehumanizes the individual.

An Overview

Labor reorganized and rationalized no longer provided a unified expression of man through work. Work activity was alienating and did not allow for the utilization of the individual's creative faculties and abilities. As labor-time became sharply differentiated from free-time, leisure-time, industry began to innovate products which aided the individual in the enjoyment of leisure. Advertising specialists, often social scientists, again came to the aid of industry and attempted to direct and control consumer behavior. The products of labor were not only promoted for their functional or aesthetic value, but also, through advertising, were made a fetish to the consumer. As discontent with work activity escalated, industry began to provide outlets for creative self expression through leisure products. Promoted as an alternative to the fragmented character of work activity, the leisure 'kit' products in fact reproduced fragmented and rationalized labor.

NOTES

[1] Stanley Aronowitz, False Promises (New York: McGraw-Hill Co., 1973), p. 91.

[2] While other leisure activities provide an escape from the work routine, it is the transformation of craft into leisure craft and the ramifications of this in terms of the creative expression of the individual which is of primary importance in terms of the argument to be developed in this thesis.

[3] William Leiss, the limits to satisfaction: an essay on the problem of needs and commodities (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), p. 14.

[4] Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, Dialectic of Enlightenment (New York: The Seabury Press, 1944), p. 126.

[5] George Burton Hotchkiss, An Outline of Advertising (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1933), p. 6.

[6] I am tracing the development of advertising in England because American industry and advertising developed on the basis of the English model.

[7] Hotchkiss, p. 7.

[8] Ibid., p. 10.

[9] Ibid., p. 19.

[10] Various members of the American Psychological Association formed themselves into a corporation under the laws of New York State. While not all of the members of the corporation were in favor of applying psychology to business concerns, the corporation did become extensively involved with business, and particularly the advertising business.

[11] James Rorty, Our Masters Voice (New York: The John Dan Company, 1934), p. 243.

[12] Walter Dill Scott, Influencing Men In Business (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1911), p. 11.

[13] Scott and others believed that the human, like the animal was endowed with natural impulses which were inborn

not subject to reason and operated at the unconscious level. It was the unconscious motivations of the consumer which Scott attempted to elicit in his advertisements.

14 Scott, p. 112-119.

15 Scott, p. 112, 113, 114. Scott tested thousands of consumers and classified the reasons for product purchase. On the basis of his findings he was able to develop and promote advertising which encouraged the consumer to perceive the product as a fetish.

16 Karl Marx, Capital, Volume 1 (New York: International Publishers, 1974).

17 In 1919 Watson divorced his wife and remarried shortly thereafter. There was such a public uproar that the trustees at Johns Hopkins University asked for Watson's resignation.

18 Watson felt that his knowledge of the consumer should be as thorough as that of advertising techniques, and so he took a job at Macy's Department Store for two months in the summer of 1921.

19 Rorty, Our Masters Voice, p. 301.

20 While at Johns Hopkins University, Watson had attempted to condition the responses of rats, kittens and other animals. He also tested out his theories concerning the building of fear, habit and emotional responses with children.

21 Vance Packard, The Hidden Persuaders (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1957), p. 7.

22 Ibid., p. 15.

23 Ibid., p. 35.

24 William Brian Key, the author of Subliminal Seduction has written about the use of subliminal messages and symbolish contained in advertising. He particularly describes the use of sexual symbolism in promoting products.

25 Stewart Ewen, Captains of Consciousness (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1976), p. 19.

26 Jules Henry, Culture Against Man (New York: Vintage Books, 1963), p. 54. The 'brain box' is considered (metaphorically) to be the space in the consumer's brain

in which product brand names can be stored. As this space is limited, advertisers attempt to compete for the consumer's retention of their particular product's brand name.

[27] Sebastian DeGrazia, Of Time, Work and Leisure (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1962), p. 219.

[28] Georges Friedmann, The Anatomy of Work (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1961), p. 111.

[29] Marvin Schwartz, "Arts and Crafts Movement, 1976-1916" in Craft Horizon (December, 1972), p. 47.

[30] Ibid., p. 47.

[31] Ibid., p. 48.

[32] Ibid., p. 47.

[33] Rose Slivka, "The American Craftsman", Craft Horizons (May, 1964), p. 12.

[34] Ibid., p. 15.

[35] Ibid., p. 18.

[36] James L. West, "Tandy Corporation; Start on a Shoe String", (New York: The Newcomen Society in North America, 1968), p. 8.

[37] Ewen, p. 200.

[38] Istvan Mezzaros, Marx's Theory of Alienation (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1970), p. 212.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Tandy Corporation: Structurer of Leisure

The rationalization and simplification of craft which had occurred within the industrial organization of production was to be repeated within leisure craft with the emergence of the Tandy Leather Company. This chapter examines the ways in which the Tandy version of craft has come to provide an expression of leisure craft which reinforces the industrial organization of production rather than providing an alternative to it as creative leisure activity. The Tandy product, marketing policies, advertising techniques and forms of craft activity which are both initiated and encouraged by the company are analyzed.

The Tandy Corporation

Craft activity had served as the basis of industrial production. As craft knowledge and methods became incorporated and transformed with the reordering of the productive system, craft similarly began to change. The craftsmen in industrial production became responsible for only the conceptualization of the product design. Other craftsmen engaged in craft as a leisure time activity or began independent businesses. Their craft work retained its fundamental unity of conceptualization and execution. Yet another group of hobbyists turned to 'kit craft'. Before turning to a detailed examination of the character and promotion of 'kit craft' it is important to reiterate the character of historical craft and craft as it is practiced by the "artist craftsman", and the "production craftsman." (Referred to on page 58). The work of these artisans implied by definition, a familiarity with tools, the materials to be used in the making of a product, a knowledge of processes of craft activity, an integrated skill based not only on the development of manual dexterity but also on the active involvement of the creativity and judgment of the craftsman, and a thorough training in each of these components of craft activity. Each of these phases of craft activity was a necessary and integral part of the performance of craft. The promotion of 'kit

craft, however, marked a significant transformation in the meaning of craft.

The transformation of craft was set into motion with the emergence of the Tandy Corporation. Initially begun by Dave Tandy and Norton Hinckley of Texas in 1927 as the Hinckley-Tandy Company, it specialized in sales of sole leather and shoe repair supplies.[1] The company had moderate success, but it was Charles Tandy, the son of Dave Tandy, who reorganized and expanded the operations of the parent company. While in service in 1948, Charles Tandy had recognized a market for leather craft as a hobby activity for the men in the Army and Navy hospital units and recreational facilities. When he returned to Texas in 1950, Charles Tandy decided that if leather craft was popular among the servicemen, it might also be popular as a free-time, leisure activity. Deciding to specialize in the sale of leather craft items exclusively, the Tandy Company dissolved the partnership with the Hinckley Shoe Finding Company and Charles Tandy opened two retail stores.

Charles Tandy sought to capitalize on the do-it-yourself movement which had begun in the late 1940's.[2] The movement began because of consumer goods shortages which were a result of U. S. involvement in World War 11, and high labor costs which raised the price of the available goods The movement was perpetuated, however, because it provided the individual with an outlet for creative self-expression

which, for many, no longer came through specialized and rationalized work activity. The workers who had become detail laborers and factory operatives were responsible only for the performance of the manual operations of product creation. They were not required to use either their judgment or creativity and exerted little control over the productive process, i.e., what to produce, how and for whom. Those responsible for the mental, conceptualizing functions were similarly denied a unified expression of work activity in that they were removed from the manual operations of product creation. The 'scientific' reorganization of production denied both blue and white collar workers a unified expression of work activity in that they were now slotted into fragmented parts of rationalized production. The products promoted by the Tandy Company claimed to provide a vehicle through which a unified expression of work activity could be regained. Consumer participation in the Tandy alternative would be profitable for the company. The company had to convince the consumer that it was profitable as a work alternative.

The Tandy Kit: The Replication of Industrial Production

At the heart of Tandy's merchandizing policy was the do-it-yourself kit. The basics of the kit were "pre-cut, pre-punched leather parts, calf lace, needles, hardware (buckles, rivets), pre-set snaps and and step-

by-step illustrated instructions."[3] In most cases the leather had been tooled[4] and dyed. The kit consumer began by taking the pre-cut, pre-measured lace and inserted it into the pre-punched hole at the spot illustrated in the instruction sheet. If the lacing of the product was slow or difficult, the consumer could purchase the "speedy stitcher" awl, a hand operated implement which "sews at lock stitch in the same way as a sewing machine."[5] The hobbyist continued the stitching until completed and finished off the product according to the lacing instructions. One, two, three and the 'craft' item was complete.[6]

Those who chose to embellish the basic product if that had not already been done, faced a slightly more elaborated process of 'craft' activity. The hobbyist could either purchase tools provided by the company and add a design of his own to the leather, purchase a design provided by the company and follow the instructions for tooling, or purchase a craftaid.[7] The craftaids were designs provided by the company which were made to fit the parts of the product that could be tooled. The craftaids were "templates...made from reusable, waterproof plastic. The tooling design has a raised edge that makes it easy to transfer to the leather product."[8] The hobbyist using the craftaid had simply to "position the Craftaid with raised edge down on the leather, then apply pressure with a smooth instrument along the raised edge of the Craftaid

design" and the design was them "inscribed into the leather."[9] Once the design had been inscribed onto the leather the hobbyist could either leave it as it was, or make the impression more noticeable by cutting the leather to various thicknesses. In addition to embellishing the product by adding a design, the hobbyist could dye the leather, if not already done by purchasing the dyes provided in the retail store.

The basic kit hobbyist was not required to have familiarity with tools, materials or processes of craft activity. The skill required, if the "speedy stitcher" was not used, was that of lacing the pre-cut pieces together. The hobbyist who chose to embellish the product had the opportunity of gaining familiarity with some of the craft tools, and could place a design of his own on the product if the Craftaids and company designs were not used. In neither case, however, did the hobby activity constitute 'craft'. The company retained control over the selection of the materials to be used, over the shaping of the basic kit product, over the methods to be used in kit assembly, and the company retained the knowledge of the integration of the elements and integration of the product parts. The kit rather than reflecting 'craft', replicated the workings of the industrial process which produced the kits.

The Tandy factories contained the division of the process of product creation into conceptualization and

execution. Technicians (artists and craftsman) located in the planning departments were responsible for product design, partializing the design for machine and worker handling, determining the types of tools to be used for the factory detail operations, evaluating the quality of the leather, and selecting the other materials required for use in the kits. Once this had been done, the workers were assigned detail operations. Some sat at machines which cut the leather with especially shaped steel cutters.[10] Others fed the leather through machines which cut the leather into lace. Further detail operations included gluing some of the pre-cut pieces to the leather, occasionally dyeing the leather, packaging and mailing.[11] Although the planning department attempted to remove the necessity for individual judgment from the manual operations which were performed by the factory operatives, the particular qualities of leather required some degree of judgment on the part of the workers. The leather possessed imperfections and irregularities, differing gradations of thickness and quality and required careful handling when being processed so that the rather costly leather would not be wasted.[12] And so, while the judgment of the workers could not be totally eradicated from the rationalized work activity, the company provided supervisors and foremen who watched the processing of the leather by the operatives. Judgment was always supervised judgment.[13]

The kit is produced from a rationalized and divided organization of production. Conceptualization is provided in the form of product design; methods of assembling the product are detailed in the illustrated instructions provided by the company. The kit hobbyist has some degree of variation from the basic pattern if it is embellished with his own design. If not, the hobbyist merely finishes the detail operations required for the completion of the partialized product. Kit assembly is not craft. It is detail labor, which replicates the detail labor of the Tandy factory operatives.[14] And yet Tandy is able to promote an image of the kit which appears to negate its rationalized origins, while it offers an alternative to alienated work activity.

The Tandy Kit: Mass Produced Creativity

The Tandy kits are promoted as being able to provide the amateur hobbyist with a product which will: 1) help the hobbyist 'create' a self made, 'unique' product; 2) encourage the amateur hobbyist to learn craft skills; 3) provide new materials for decoration; 4) offer a savings in terms of money.[15] On the surface these claims appear to offer the amateur hobbyist an opportunity for creative self-expression. Looked at more critically, only the last two claims made by the company are what they appear.

To begin with, apart from those craftsmen who purchase only the materials and tools and proceed to design and create craft items, those who turn to the craft kits are not required to have any 'creative' input into the making of the craft items. The design, materials and instructions have previously been incorporated into the kit products. The basic kit hobbyist is creative only in the process of choosing from the alternative kits provided by the company. Furthermore, if the product is 'unique' it is due to an error by the hobbyist in following the kit instructions, as each kit is mass produced and identified with a stock number. The kit hobbyist who chooses to embellish the basic kit product, can be somewhat creative if the design is not one provided by the company. What is important to stress is the fact that creativity of one part does not constitute craft activity. The product shape and size are designed (created) by the company planners. The overall product design cannot be changed. The creativity of the hobbyist is not basic to the structure of the craft product. It is, at best, an embellishment of the product.

The second claim made by the company, that of providing kits which will aid the amateur craftsman in acquiring craft skill is equally tenuous. The leather has previously been measured, cut and in most cases tooled by the workers in the factory. The 'skills' required on the part of the basic kit hobbyist include, at best, the

ability to follow a detailed instruction sheet for lacing the pre-cut pieces with the lace provided. The hobbyist simply repeats the detail labor required for product completion. Those who tool the leather in adding their own design, do begin to acquire familiarity with the tools and in some cases may acquire 'skill' in performing that phase of craft activity. But 'skill' in performing that phase of craft, is by definition, not simply the performance of manual operations of product creation. It is a mastery of many phases of product creation based on a knowledge of the elements and the integration of the parts of the product.

The Tandy products can be represented as providing the consumer with 'creative' and 'skillful' outlets only because it has redefined craft activity. It provides fragmented aspects of craft, and the isolated operations become the whole of craft activity. The Tandy company does not sell craft when it sells a kit. It sells an image.

Advertising: Humanizing the Object

The fact that kit craft bears little resemblance to the historical practice of craft or that it is rationalized, simplified labor, is obscured through the association of the word craft with the products of the company. Craft is a powerful word. It provides an image that ties the

the hobbyist into what seems to be an alternative to the mass produced--an image of freely directed, non-alienated labor in which the hobbyist is able to exert creative control over a work process which reflects his abilities and faculties. This image is supported by the Tandy catalogs. The kit products are carefully named so as to elicit an image, either situational or personal, with which the consumer may wish to identify.

For women, some of the situational images include: "safari", "pioneer", "country side", "early times", "new age", "casual living", "villager". The product names which address a more personal image include: "elegance", "seeker", "roamer", "bold spirit", "living free", "lady fashion", "countess", "free and easy". The situational images for men include: "Paul Bunyon", "pioneer", "gunslinger", "trucker", "diplomat", "executive", "morocco", "merchant". The personal images for men include: "Touch of class", "express yourself", "cosmopolitan", "centurion", "the bold one".[16]

These product name associations are frequently reinforced with scenes such as homes with fire places, ski resorts, wilderness areas and wide open ranges. Enjoying these surroundings are male and female models, personally attractive and dressed in the attire which expresses the image of the product.

The products are numerous; each attempts to promote an image. The images attempt to incorporate contemporary trends and personal desires into the 'personality' of the product. The product, an inanimate object, has through advertising been made a fetish. Product acquisition can now appear to provide the consumer with personal characteristics. They can appear to provide one with a different quality of life.

The Tandy Marketing Policies

The Tandy Company attempts to sell an image. While part of the success of the company is due to advertising techniques, several other company policies aid the company in securing and capturing the leisure hobbycraft market, and directing the expression of leisure craft. These include: 1) the combination of retail stores and mail order advertising; 2) the store managers; and 3) the company's ownership of subsidiaries which provide materials, tools and outlets for the company's products.

To begin with, Tandy retail stores depend on a policy of stocking only those items which are found to have "...fast profit making ability."[17] Those items which are slow to move are taken off the market and replaced with newer company innovations. The customer is asked to provide both name and address with each product purchase and is then put on a computer mailing list. During this time,

the company catalogs and special news letters are mailed to the customers. Once in the home, the advertising and image creating products of the company attempt to sustain an interest in the Tandy version of leather craft.

The company managers also are important to the success of the company. Managers are allowed to purchase stock in the company and are offered a number of bonus schemes to sustain their interest and enthusiasm for the sale of the store products.[18] Managers are also trained in the basics of leathercraft and kit assembly so that they may demonstrate the ease of leathercraft. The managers, when asked about the difficulty of kit assembly, can point to the several kits which they personally have assembled and are on display in the store. If the customer seeks further information on craft, he may be directed to one of the many Tandy books on leathercraft, be informed of craft classes offered by managers (if available) or be given the name of the home study course promoted through Tandy.[19] The home study course offers "teaching aids from Tandy."[20] In "ten easy lessons" one can "learn and master craft."[21] Those who finish the course are given a certificate of merit, a symbol of one's leathercraft achievement in becoming a "professional quality craftsman."[22] Craft mastery no longer takes years of training. Craft as Tandy craft, takes only ten easy lessons. Managers are important to the Tandy stores in

another way. They are trained to be attentive to the customer's tastes and current trends so that new products may be placed on the market in response to consumer preference.

Tandy's success is further aided due to the fact that the company is virtually self contained. Beginning with only two retail stores, the Company has slowly bought out smaller craft shops, leather factories, etc., which will augment the operations of the company. The Tandy purchases in terms of date of purchase, name of the company and specialization include: 1956, American Handicrafts, general craft products; 1956, Tex Tan, finished leather goods; 1961, Craftool Company, manufacturer of leather tools; 1961, Clarke and Clarke Limited, a leather craft firm;[23] 1961, Corral Sportswear, manufacturers of leather sport and western clothing; 1961, Cleveland Crafts, Incorporated, general hobby items; 1961, Meribee Art Embroidery Company, needlecraft items; 1961, Tandy Marts, shopping centers purchased by the company which contain Tandy owned stores; 1962, Radio Shack, electronics and stereo equipment; 1966, Wolfe Nursey, nybrid pecan trees; 1968, Leonard's Department Store; 1970, Stafford Lowdon Company, printing company; 1970, Meacham's, a woman's fashion store; 1970, Magee Company, manufacturer of picture frames; 1970, Royal Tile Manufacturing Company, sale of tile kits and home furnishing materials.[24]

Many of these company purchases are reorganized and operated according to the Tandy marketing policies. Acquisition of American Handicrafts, Meribee Art Embroidery Company, Cleveland Crafts and the Magee Company have extended Tandy's version of leather craft to general craft activities, such as art, woodworking, macrame, jewelry making and many more. In speaking with store managers and executives of the Tandy Company in Barrie, Ontario, I was informed of the intent of the company to increase the number of products which can be marketed in kit form.

The Tandy business is big business. The Tandy leathercraft retail stores alone, are to be found numbering from six to fifty outlets in every state in the United States, and from three to fourty five outlets in every province in Canada.[25] The financial earnings of the company within the time period of 1972 to 1976 in terms lf company sales, rose from $64,610,000 to $175,951,000.[26] The Tandy Company is increasingly capturing the leisure market and shaping the expression of leisure craft.

The Tandy Company has been able to create and sustain a version of leisure craft which reflects the rationalization and simplification of industrial production. The hobbyist as craftsman completes the detail operations required for product assembly and is removed from control over that leisure activity. Considerations of what to produce and how reside with the planning specialists within the company.

The kit hobbyist is not responsible for choosing product materials and does not have a knowledge of the integration of the elements of product creation. However, the company sells the image of rationalized and simplified labor as craft because it is able to redefine craft as the activity involved in assembling the Tandy kit. It is able to promote such an image by using two techniques of advertising: the "weasle claim" and the "vague claim".[27] It begins by attaching vague, yet colorful and emotionally charged words to the products of the company and the activity of kit assembly. Kit assembly is involvement in "quality craftsmanship". The products of the company represent "new dimensions", "uniqueness". The words are vague; the association powerful. The company also makes claims that appear substantial but upon analysis are hollow. The consumer can create a unique one of a kind item, while in reality the kit hobbyist performs detail assembly tasks on a mass produced product. The product through advertising can enhance the personality of the consumer, while involvement in kit craft can make the consumer an artisan.

The Tandy Company cannot directly control the expression of leisure craft activity. It does, however, significantly direct the expression of leisure craft by placing the kit on the market. Those who rely on such products help to perpetuate a mass alternative for creative self-expression. It is an alternative which reinforces the work habits and patterns of industrial labor. It is,

in fact, alienated, detail labor. The rationalization of labor within industrial production provides the basis for the rationalization of leisure. More and more of the possibility for leisure time activity is being rationalized along the lines of industrial production.

NOTES

[1] James West, "Start on a Shoe String" (New York: The Newcomen Society in North America, 1968), p. 6.

[2] Ibid., p. 6

[3] Tandy Leathercraft Company, Leathercraft Catalog (Texas: The Tandy Corporation, 1976), p. 6.

[4] Tooling is the expression for making impressions on the leather. Generally the craftsman would have variously shaped steel tools, the head of which contained a stamp. When the tool head was placed on the leather and hit sharply with a hammer, the tool left the imprint of the stamp on the leather. Tooling can be done by machine for mass production and in this case the leather pieces are stamped with a whole design.

[5] Tandy Leather Company, Leathercraft Catalog of Kits Supplies and Ideas (Texas: Fort Worth, 1978), p. 39.

[6] One of the promotions of leathercraft used by the company is that it can be done speedily, in minutes or in a limited number of steps.

[7] The Craftaids represent various nature scenes, astrological symbols, letters of the alphabet, numbers or elaborate scroll designs.

[8] Tandy Catalog, (1976), p. 31.

[9] Ibid., p. 31.

[10] Georges Friedmann, The Anatomy of Work (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1961), p. 78.

[11] My information concerning the operation of the Tandy factory came from a personal tour of the Tandy plant which is located in Barrie, Ontario. I had an opportunity to observe the entire process of kit production from watching the craftsmen who designed the products to observing the operatives of the machines for processing and cutting the leather.

[12] In order to ensure that virtually no leather is wasted, the Tandy Company began offering products made out of the scraps of leather such as key rings, book markets, coasters and other small items.

[13] A number of supervisors are provided who roam

around the plant floor and observe the work of the factory personnel. It is interesting to note that only one man was employed in performing the detail operations of cutting glueing and assembling the pieces of the kits into the product packages. The pay is poor, the working conditions are dismal as the workers are located in the basement of the factory.

[14] The cutting operations are repetitive ones, in which the worker positions the leather, lowers the steel cutters, and stacks the leather pieces. The same simplified operations apply to the workers who are responsible for cutting the holes in the leather and for those who feed the leather through the machine while it cuts the leather pieces into lace.

[15] Tne Tandy Corporation, Tandycrafts, Annual Report (Texas: Fort Worth, 1976), p. 3.

[16] Tandy Catalog, (1976), p. 2 - 13.

[17] West, p. 20.

[18] Incentive programs for managers include bonuses based on profits to their geographic areas and bonuses based on a profit to sales ration. Irwin Rose, "The Tandy Corporation", Fortune (December, 1976), p. 182.

[19] Tandy Catalog, (1976), p. 114.

[20] Ibid., p. 114.

[21] Ibid., p. 114.

[22] Ibid., p. 114.

[23] Clarke and Clarke Limited, is a leathercraft firm in Barrie, Ontario. By purchasing the company the Tandy Corporation was able to extend its operations into Canada on a larger scale.

[24] West, p. 12-30.

[25] Tandy Catalog (1976), p. 110-112.

[26] Tandycrafts Annual Report, p. 27.

[27] Jeffrey Schrank, Deception Detection (Boston: Beacon Press, 1975), p. 5, 8.

CONCLUSION

A complete argument about the incorporation into non-work activities of the patterns of industrial labor is an argument for a work of much larger scope. What is presented here is the piecing together of some of the elements of that argument, its basic logic and an example from the area of one sort of leisure activity.

The potential for the expression of man's faculties and abilities through work was substantially changed with the rise of Modern Industry. With the institution of wage labor, the workers lost control over the structuring of productive activity, in terms of what to produce, how and for whom. The productive apparatus was equipped with a new expression of man through work. Work reflected concerns with efficiency and expanded production and sought to eradicate human error by regularizing and rationalizing all phases of productive activity. The work behaviors and routines of the industrial labor force, as specialized personnel responsible for performing only one aspect of product creation, were made to conform to the patterns of industry. The rationalization of labor in industry required, at various points in its history, developments related to production which were designed to mold the person for a more productive life in industry. The development and

solidification of a rationalized work expression was aided through the techniques of industrial psychologists, sociologists, Taylorism and Behaviorism.

The complement to the reduction of work activity to detail labor and the abstraction of the qualitative expression of the individual through productive activity marked the ascendance of leisure outlets which provided, or sought to provide for the expression of "creative" needs.

The argument about hobbycraft is designed to show the intimate connection between the rationalization of labor in industry and its further rationalization and control through a similar specialization of activity in the leisure aspects. Creative leisure outlets, most notably those that are expressed through the kit form, serve to further integrate and extend the fragmentation of work activity contained within industrial production. The images created through advertising, which promote creative expression through such products, obscure the dynamic of the transformation of creative leisure into detail labor.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, Nels. Dimensions of Work. New York: David McKay Company, 1964.

Aronowitz, Stanley. False Promises. New York: McGraw-Hill Company, 1973.

Baritz, Loren. The Servants of Power. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Limited, 1960.

Borkenau, Franz. "Zur Soziologie des Mechanistizchen Weltbildes" in Zeitschrift fur Sozialforschung, 1, 3. (Translated by Rick Hadden)

Braverman, Harry. Labor and Monopoly Capital. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974.

Callahan, Raymond. Education and the Cult of Efficiency. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962.

Castenada, Carlos. Journey to Ixtlan. New York: Pocket Books, 1972.

DeGrazia, Sebastian. Of Time, Work and Leisure. New York: Doubleday and Company, 1962.

Dobb, Maurice. Studies in the Development of Capitalism. New York: International Publishers, 1947.

Ewen, Stuart. Captains of Consciousness. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1976.

Friedmann, Georges. The Anatomy of Work. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961.

Gibran, Kahlil. The Prophet. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1923.

Giedion, Siegfried. Mechanization Takes Command. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Incorporated, 1948.

Gramsci, Antonio. Prison Notebooks. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971.

Haber, Samuel. Efficiency and Uplift. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964.