

as a personal activity. So one dramatic difference was the sheer amount of group-oriented activity in these two classes of agencies.

Another result has to do with the balance of power (or influence, or control, whichever of those words you prefer to use). In the highly successful agencies the manager usually said, and he really meant it, that he did not use an awful lot of influence that the shop pretty much ran itself, the men taking care of things. This gave his view of how the organization ran. The staff people and the agents in turn would say that, oh, sure, the manager has a great deal of influence on how that agency ran, but that they, too, had a lot of influence. The agents perceived themselves as having a lot to say about the action decisions, business policies, and day-to-day work practices in their agency. In low-production agencies this was not so. Agents did not perceive themselves as having much influence on the work in their unit.

The third study result to mention has to do with the total amount of power or control or influence. In the highly successful agencies there was by our method of measurement a very substantially greater total amount of interpersonal influence exercised. More people had more influence on more others. Now, this is a hard idea for most people to grasp, because we are stuck with the notion that there is only a fixed amount of control in an organization, such that you can divide it up in different ways but there cannot really be any more or any less. This notion is just not true. These agencies were dramatically different with respect to the amount of social influence that was present in them.

This story would be trivial and irrelevant, I think, if it stood by itself. We have studied various kinds of organizations in different lines of business and nonbusiness activity, including Government organizations. We have to expect results of this kind; not always, you understand, but usually, and often in a very dramatic form, as in the case I have given to you. I think we are on the track of identifying some of the factors that have a crucial place in determining the effectiveness of an organization, whether large or small, regardless of the kind of activity and goals that are involved.

With that beginning, ~~Let~~ us get on with our work. I have in mind to make some comments, first, about the nature of social power in organizations, and notions of power balance and the amount of power. I propose then to say a few things to represent the social scientist's view of the nature of groups in formal organizations: