

Questions for Each Topic

I. Mechanical model

• What are bureaucracy and its historical background and practical implications?

1. **马克思·韦伯：科层制。**（组织的根本形式就是官僚体制）指一个正式、理性地组织起来的社会组织结构，是基于理法型权威的现代社会理性化产物。存在固定的分工和职权划分，存在等级制度——组织遵循等级制度的原则，即：低层级受到高层级的控制和监督，非人化结构。理想的科层制具有高效率、公正等多方面优势。

韦伯官僚体制的特点：层级制度、非人格性、执行既定的规则、工作成绩决定升迁、劳动的专业化分工、效率原则

官僚制具有如下基本特征：

- （1）合理的分工。在组织中明确划分每个组织成员的职责权限并以法规的形式将这种分工固定下来。
 - （2）层级节制的权力体系。在组织中实行职务等级制和权力等级化，整个组织是一个层级节制的权力体系。
 - （3）依照规程办事的运作机制。在组织中任何管理行为都不能随心所欲，都要按章行事。
 - （4）形成正规的决策文书。在组织中一切重要的决定和命令都以正式文件的形式下达，下级易于接受明确的命令，上级也易于对下级进行管理。
 - （5）组织管理的非人格化。在组织中管理工作是以法律、法规、条例和正式文件等来规范组织成员的行为，公私分明，对事不对人。
 - （6）合理合法的人事行政制度。量才用人，任人惟贤，因事设职，专职专人，以及适应工作需要的专业培训机制。
- 韦伯意义上的“官僚”是指这种组织的成员是专门化的职业管理人员而言，并不含有一般语境中的“官僚”的贬义。官员有如下几个特征：1.除在事务上服从官职的义务外，官员个人是自由的；2.官位有明确的等级体制；3.拥有固定的职责权限 4.在契约的基础上任命官员 5.须通过相关考试，根据专业业务资格任命 6.固定的薪俸，薪金依据官位和职位划分等级 7.把他们的职务视为唯一且主要的职业 8.根据年资，政绩或者二者兼而有之进行职务升迁以及奖惩 9.工作中私人财产与公共物资须分开，个人不得把职位占为己有 10.官员须接受严格的统一的职务几率和监督。

2. background:

官僚制（Bureaucracy），也译作。科层制。从词源上讲，Bureau来源于法语，原义是指写字台或柜子，也代指官员的办公室；后缀cratie则是希腊语，意为“统治”，合成词Bureaucracy的字面意思即。官员的统治“。它最初被人们用来指一种由专门的官员来行使权力的统治方式，与君主制和民主制相对。“韦伯的层级官僚制理论”是德国社会学家**马克斯·韦伯**于20世纪初提出的理论，即一种以法理型权威为基础，以层级制为组织形式，以专业化的职业官僚为管理主体，以理性设置的制度规范为运作规则的政府行政管理体制。

1. 从社会经济发展层面来看，官僚制是随着资本主义经济的兴起适时产生的，有其现实需要。早期资本主义奉行的、以亚当·斯密《国富论》为主要代表所倡导的自由竞争的市场理论及政府。守夜人。理论在当时已经变得不合时宜，而主张强化国家干预的凯恩斯主义逐渐盛行起来。在后者的影响下，西方资本主义国家普遍都采取了一系列加强经济社会干预的措施，其中以美国的罗斯福新政为主要代表。大规模的国家干预导致政府行政职能日益扩张，政府规模不断扩大，以及政府在处理日常政务时遇到的困难越来越多。政府的上述变化冲击了当时只适合于简单行政的政府行政管理体制，客观上促使人们去寻找一种新的政府行政管理体制，因

此，现代官僚制也就在不久的将来应运而生了。

2.在社会政治制度层面来看，

西方国家纷纷开始兴起文官制度建设。西方文官制度的主要特征有：文官的录用采取公开竞争、优胜劣汰的考试方式；定期考核官员，以能力和政绩大小作为其升降奖惩的标准；文官常任，不与执政党共进退；文官保持政治中立。韦伯理性官僚制正是在西方国家建立文官制度运动的过程中产生和发展的，官僚制的一般特征，如：专业化、规范化、连续性、非人格化等，一方面与上述文官制度的主要特征有相通之处，另一方面也体现了文官制度建设的理念要求，为日后文官制度的不断改革提供了重要的价值指导。

3. 从社会思想文化的层面来看，官僚制的诞生是现代西方理性化过程中必然的理性选择。到了近代，理性主义精神得到空前的彰显。文艺复兴和宗教改革运动触及和动摇了基督教的根基；启蒙运动时期的政治思想家们更是高举理性这面旗帜，对基督教神学及其教会统治和后来的世俗专制统治进行了批判。

4. 政治与行政的分离。

第一，在实践方面，[韦伯](#)通过对德国市民阶级的分析，指出德国的市民阶级没有成熟到成为德国国民的政治领导阶级，他们“有着情愿服从于官僚支配的心态，市民阶级的价值取向可以允许权力与文化政等问题被化约到技术层面，而政治可以被缩小到一个完全形式地维持国家存在的状况，不许有任何内容的实质目标——仅仅只是毫无信仰的日常照顾而已”。“政治厌倦症”、“非政治的精神”成为德国市民阶级的价值取向。因此这就为韦伯[官僚制](#)理论中政治与行政的分离提供了实践基础。

第二，在理论方面，韦伯的官僚制理论与威尔逊的政治与行政两分理论是紧密联系在一起。威尔逊发表于1887年的《行政学研究》一文被称为是现代美国公共行政研究的起点，他本人也因此文而成为美国[公共行政学](#)的创始人。他在书中指出，“行政学研究的目标在于了解：首先，政府能够适当地和成功地进行什么工作。其次，政府怎样才能以尽可能高的效率及在费用或能源方面用尽可能少的成本完成这些当的工作。”为了政府成功有效地完成工作，威尔逊又进一步提出了政治与行政两分法原则，即把政策制定与政策执行分开，“[行政管理](#)的领域是一种事务性的领域，它与政治领域的那种混乱和冲突相距远。”这种理论的建构就为[韦伯](#)的[官僚制](#)理论体系提供了学理上的支持，因此，有人把韦伯的官僚制理论模式称为韦伯—威尔逊模式。

5. 科学管理原理。

20世纪初，泰罗所领导的科学管理运动以及构建的[科学管理理论](#)以巨大的声势在全世界产生了广泛影响，同时也为韦伯的官僚制理论体系的构建提供了科学的实验依据。科学管理的主要贡献表现在：第一对事不对人的管理。这就剔除了管理者在管理中的价值影响，也为韦伯[官僚制](#)理论形式理性与价值理性区分奠定了基础。第二，制度和程序化的管理模式。泰罗的科学管理是建立在企业组织由小规模的手工场向大规模现代工厂转变的基础上的，因此，其管理模式是以制度与程序为主的，这充分体现了[韦伯](#)的具理性与形式理性。第三，管理的分工与分权。在科学管理中，泰罗在组织的横向和纵向上都提出了分工横向的分工表现为技术与知识的分工，而纵向上则表现为管理权与操作权的分离、所有权与管理权的分离这些都为韦伯官僚制理论提出政治与行政分离，在[行政管理](#)上重视技术和知识理性提供了根源。

3, Implications

Practical implications: government organization, corporations (NUMMI) and so on.

现代科层制理论具有正反两个方面的影响：

1.正效应。科层制可以推动和保障组织与机构的顺利运行，有效的实现组织目标；权利的层级制度

可以有效的保证决策机制的可靠性；而层级节制的特性使它具有非人为个性的特征；而一如既往的稳定性，使科层制广泛的应用于现代各种组织和团体之中，深受人们亲睐，目前还没有哪一个理论能像科层制一样影响深远。它发挥的指导作用，保证大型组织运作的稳定性、连续性、普遍性及公平性，满足大规模的责任制和协作的需要，最终提高组织的行政效率。在未来或相当长的一段时期科层制必将继续的影响团体组织的发展。

2.负效应。过分强调按照章程办事，目标置换（形式主义）；管理权限的明确分工造成彼此协作上的缺陷，出现各扫门前雪、“踢皮球”现象的发生（本位主义）；不断添加新的附加规则，限制了组织成员的主观能动性和创造性（文牍主义）；否定成员的个性和情感以满足组织的要求（忽视个性）；权力被少数人所垄断的官僚化（寡头政治）要的负功能。其形成过程被他概述如下：1）科层组织的高效率依赖于可靠的响应和严格地忠实于规章；2）这种服从使规章转化为绝对标准，从而使人们忽略了目标；3）设计规则的人无法预料突发情况，因此规则反而干扰了工作人员对突发情况的适应；4）通常情况下有助于提高效率的因素，在特殊情况下反而降低了效率，由此导致了训练有素的无能。在这一根深蒂固的情感似乎被限定为是前提。实际上，这种情感也是由科层组织的显著特征决定的。在科层制组织中，职员生涯是按有等级的职业设计的，鼓励遵守纪律的行为和服从正式规章，这一点虽然能够在一般情况下提升组织常规运作的效率，但也造成了职员过分关心严守规章，形成了胆怯、保守和技术主义的工作作风。职员由于对规则的过度遵从而形成的独特心理，默顿称之为“官僚人格”。科层组织的另一特点也促使了官僚人格的形成，即职员们的一种维护所有同事共同命运的意识。在科层组织中，晋升主要靠资历，几乎不需要竞争，利益的一致将群体内部的侵犯行为减少到最小限度，虽然“减少内耗”的目的也是科层制设计的目的之一，但却导致了组织内部非正式群体的涌现，而人的趋利性则导致了组织目标和部门目标的重要性互换。此外，科层人员在这样的集体中，更容易在情感上认同自己的生活方式，由此固化了这种“官僚人格”。

• **How to understand bureaucracy as the ideal type of formal organization? (Implications 正效应?)**

- 在韦伯看来，依照科层制原则组织起来的机构是合理的，因为它在保证组织成员行为的准确性、稳定性和可靠性方面明显优于其他的管理方式，有助于实现组织追求的高效率的目标。
- 为了研究科层制组织的起源和本质，韦伯建构了科层制的一个“理想型”。这种“理想型”的科层制组织具有如下特点：第一，明确的权威等级。科层制就像一个金字塔，最高的权威处于上层位置，一系列命令自上而下传递，组织中的任务是作为“公务”分派的，上一级岗位控制和监督下一级岗位。第二，严格而缜密的规则。在组织的各个层次，都有成文的规章制度，它指导着各个职位上职员的行为，从而使组织成员的行为有章可循，组织成员必须照章办事。第三，明晰的分工。组织内部有明晰的分工，每一个成员的权力和责任都有明确的规定。第四，公私关系分离。成员的家庭生活与其工作场所的活动是分开的，在物理空间上也是相互分离的。在处理公务时，成员只能按规则办事，而不能掺杂个人的好恶爱憎。第五，量才用人。科层制招聘人员要按专业技术资格量才录用，并需要经过专业训练，晋升以能力、资历、工作表现为基础。第六，管理权力依附于职位，而不依附于个人。有职则有权，无职则无权，离职则丧失原有的权力。此外，还有一个特点也是很重要的，即组织成员不拥有他们所调配的物质资源，也就是说，官员们并不拥有他们工作的办公室、他们所使用的办公桌或者他们所使用的其他办公设备。
- 韦伯认为，科层制比其他组织形式更具有“技术上的优越性”，所以，一个组织越接近科层制的理想型，就越能有效地实现其目标。韦伯注意到了科层制可能产生的非人格化倾向的负面影响，但是，他对科层制可能产生的更多的消极后果明显认识不足。这也是后来一些学者围绕科层制的优与劣进一步争论的一个重要原因。

• **Is the bureaucratic aspect of organization always opposed to the personal aspect of**

organization? Why?

I don't think so.

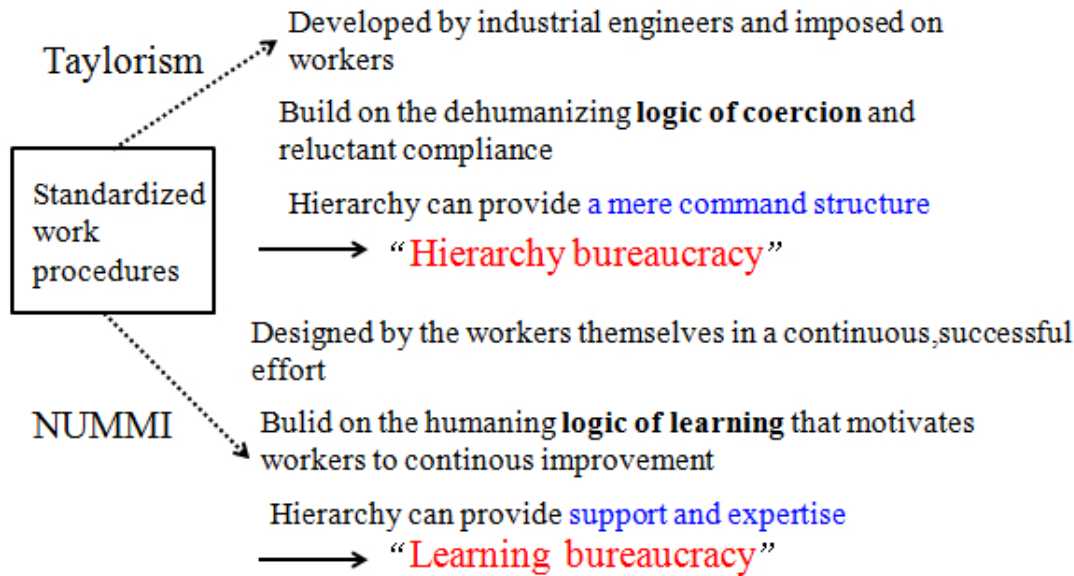
诚然，科层制中关键特征之一即关系的非人格化，也是促使科层人员训练有素的无能力的重要原因之一。关系的非人格化是指应用规则确定组织的结构、岗位设置、岗位责权利、上下级关系、事务处理规范等，而为了使科层制能最大程度发挥其作用，往往会强调对规则的遵从。然而，这本是实现组织目标的一种手段，却在过度强调下成为比目标更重要的东西，甚至宁可牺牲目标也要死守规则。在韦伯时代，标准化常常被认为扼杀了创新精神，科层制阻碍了组织学习。

然而，科层制与人格方面并非水火不容的。随着科层制的缺陷和不足在实践中不断被暴露，学界和实业界也在不断的寻求二者的创新结合。NUMMI 公司便是一个典范：NUMMI 是丰田-通用合资公司。在 NUMMI，一种创新形式的泰勒“time and motion”被应用在工厂实践中，当科层制和标准化原则背后的 coercion 逻辑被 learning 逻辑所置换，这一实践不仅实现了高效的产出和优秀的质量，还提升了工人的工作积极性和满意度，而这恰恰是传统的泰勒式 time and motion 所不能实现的。

NUMMI 工厂的第一个特征是科层制。NUMMI 公司的层级十分明确，但是层级的作用不是控制而是支持。在 NUMMI 的管理者看来，科层制管理的首要目标是为生产团队提供解决问题的专业知识，而不是单纯的控制。技术人员和管理者之间的关系应该是一个支持系统，而不是一个权力系统。当团队无法独立解决某一问题时，它可以向别的人员寻求帮助。

NUMMI 工厂的第二个特征是标准化。NUMMI 制定出每个岗位的高效“标准作业规范”，所有的员工都必须按照标准作业工作，结果做出的产品都是同一质量的。标准作业是建立一个高效制造团队的关键。除此之外，它的创新之处在于公司强调工人角色的创新转换。公司不仅仅把工人看作制作工序的完成者，还把工人看做能不断学习和进步的人，公司对员工进行工作分析和工作描述的相关培训，鼓励他们对工序设计提出合理的改进建议。这一对“标准化工作”从设计到执行的变化激发了工人的工作兴趣，提升了他们的自尊，并且平衡了工人和管理者之间的权力配置。

总的来说，泰勒式的“time and motion”准则和正式的科层制组织结构是实现效率和质量的核心。但这些组织设计的原则不一定会导致组织的僵化和人员的疏离。NUMMI 工厂的实践可以是对传统官僚制的创新，将层级的组织形式，标准化作业工作和调动员工积极性，平衡上下级权利，营造和谐互助的工作氛围结合起来，成功的开拓了一种“learning bureaucracy”的新模式。这种新模式使得 personal aspects 和 bureaucratic aspects 结合的优势不言自明。



Above all, bureaucratic aspect of organization does not always opposed to the personal aspect of organization, it can cater to individual's personality and exploit personal advantages to the full when it is properly used.

II. Contingency theory

- What are the main principles of contingency theory and its original background and practical implications?

Main principles of contingency theory:

There is no best way to organize to achieve effective results, only the most proper way. One right way to organize every organization does not exist. Contingency perspectives suggest that an organization is a system composed of subsystems and delineated by identifiable boundaries from its environmental system, and try to understand the interrelationships within and among subsystems as well as between the organization and its environment.

权变理论认为，每个组织的内在要素和外在环境条件都各不相同，因而在管理活动中不存在适用于任何情景的原则和方法，即：在管理实践中要根据组织所处的环境和内部条件的发展变化随机应变，没有什么一成不变的、普适的管理方法。成功管理的关键在于对组织内外状况的充分了解和有效的应变策略。权变理论以系统观点为理论依据，从系统观点来考虑问题，权变理论的出现意味着管理理论向实用主义方向发展前进了一步。该学派是从系统观点来考察问题的，它的理论核心就是通过组织的各子系统内部和各子系统之间的相互联系，以及组织和它所处的环境之间的联系，来确定各种变数的关系类型和结构类型。它强调在管理中要根据组织所处的内外部条件随机应变，针对不同的具体条件寻求不同的最合适的管理模式、方案或方法。其代表人物有卢桑斯、菲德勒、豪斯等人。

Original background:

The trend of contingency theory can be seen as start in the 1960's. Before contingency theory, the field of organizational analysis has been characterized by two kinds of thought, one that treats

organizations as machines and one that emphasizes people. Both thoughts take organizational effectiveness as the key question. But they don't care too much about the unstable environment, just search for the one best way to organize. However, as the rate of change in the world economy began to increase, more and more organizational scholars began to see the impact of the environment on different organizations. Besides, the sociological functionalist theory of organization structure is another theoretical foundation for Contingency theory. These studies postulated that organizational structure was contingent on contextual factors such as technology, dimensions of task environment and organizational size.

权变理论的兴起有其深刻的历史背景，七十年代的美国，社会不安，经济动荡，政治骚动，达到空前的程度，石油危机对西方社会产生了深远的影响，企业所处的环境很不确定。但以往的管理理论，如[科学管理理论](#)、[行为科学理论](#)等，主要侧重于研究加强企业内部组织的管理，而且以往的管理理论大多都在追求普遍适用的、最合理的模式与原则，而这些管理理论在解决企业面临瞬息万变的外部环境时又显得无能为力。正是在这种情况下，人们不再相信管理会有一种最好的行事方式，而是必须随机制宜地处理管理问题，于是形成一种管理取决于所处环境状况的理论，即权变理论，“权变”的意思就是权宜应变。

该理论在一定程度上糅合了[古典组织结构理论](#)和[行为科学组织结构理论](#)的观点。古典组织结构理论以[正式组织](#)为研究对象，以[物](#)和理性为中心，寻求适合所有[组织](#)的普遍规律和原则，是一种宏观组织观点。行为科学组织结构理论注意到了被古典组织结构理论忽视的[非正式组织](#)的问题，从微观的组织成员人手，以人和人的情感为中心，分析组织结构的变化，属于微观组织理论。系统权变组织结构理论既坚持了人的因素，又保存了结构因素，并将两者结合起来，试图重新设计组织

Practical implications:

Contingency theory suggests organizational effectiveness is dependent on a fit or match between the type of technology, environmental volatility, the size of the organization, the features of the organizational structure and its information system. When facing with global economic integration and information wave, contingency theory guides managers adapt to the new environment and learn expediency strain. Managers should change management mode and means according to the environment characters, reorganize the service flow to improve management efficiency, reduce cost and finally improve the competitiveness of enterprises.

权变理论的中心思想对于企业的发展无疑是具有非常重要的启示作用的。即企业管理人员必须具备权变的管理理念。管理者必须要审时度势，根据组织所处的环境采取相应的组织结构、领导方式和管理方法。在知识经济、信息经济时代，随着全球经济一体化的日益深入，组织所面临的内外环境日益复杂，这就更加要求管理者保持清醒的头脑，认真分析，灵活决策。具体来说：

1. 根据具体的情势选择合适的应变策略。管理者应当具体分析每个问题背后的产生原因，而不是仅仅着眼于单个问题本身。权变学派通过大量的事例的研究和概括，把各种各样的情况归纳为几个基本类型，并给每一类型找出一种模型。强调权变关系是两个或多个可变因数之间的函数关系，权变管理是一种依据环境自变数和管理以及管理技术因变数之间的函数关系，来确定对当时当地最有效的管理方法。选择新的管理方式或改革旧的管理方式时，必须对这些权变变量予以充分的考虑，然后才能依据权变变量的变化采用不同的管理模式。因此，把握环境变化的真实情况，是管理模式是否成功的基础。
2. 将组织看作整体。权变理论鼓励管理者在考虑决策产生的结果时采取一种全面视角，考虑决策结果对整个公司的影响。管理者需要既能“见微”，又能“知著”，既要纵观整个组织，又要剖析单个问题。
3. 政策变化。公司为了节约进行常规决策的成本而颁布了一系列的政策。但是，权变理论要求企业管理者能够摆脱政策惯性，依据所处的具体情势，适时的修改政策甚至是推翻原来

的政策。这对管理者决策提出了更高的要求：既能够灵活的解读公司政策，又能够坚守公司的核心价值观。外部环境的变化是难以预测的，管理者需要能够灵活应变以适应不同的外部环境。

4. 同时，权变学派存在着一个更本性的缺陷，即没有统一的概念和标准。虽然权变学派的管理学者采取案例研究的方法，通过大量的案例分析，从中概括出若干基本类型，试图为各种类型确认一种理想的管理模式，但却始终提不出统一的概念和标准。并且，权变理论所提供的分析函数相对来说还是过于简单，所以不能一味套用。最主要的是要把握理论的宗旨，即管理是复杂的，要根据环境变化而变化，这才是最重要的。管理系统的价值指向与运行方式必须与客观环境的方方面面的情况保持一种协调、和谐、相补相济的关系，这是权变理论的内在要求，避免拿来主义。
- (1) Fitting Solutions to Specific Situations. Managers using contingency theory respond to the causes of individual problems, rather than to the problem itself. Such a manager seeks to understand all of the influences that lead to the difficulty.
- (2) Viewing the Organization as a Whole. Contingency theory encourages managers to think about the consequences of a decision as it relates to the whole company. The double focus on the overall organization and the specifics of a problem requires a manager to see the big and small pictures at the same time.
- (3) Integrating a Variety of Inputs. Managers operating under the principles of contingency theory have to do more than just identify the one or two influences on an issue. They have to be prepared to evaluate multiple inputs that may all be contributing to a problem. Contingency managers have to learn to integrate all of the threads that intertwine to make for effective decisions and problem-solving.
- (4) Policy Shifts. Companies issue policies to reduce the amount of time spent making routine decisions. However, a company that embraces contingency theory requires managers who can bend policy or even override it if circumstances demand a new type of decision. This puts a burden on managers to interpret policies loosely, yet maintain the company's values and vision in all decisions. Contingencies arise that may be unforeseen, and managers need the flexibility to adjust to new circumstances.

• How to understand the impact of environment on organizational structure? Could an organization adjust and reform its structural form to fit with environment successfully in the long-run term? (见耿瑞彬整理 2.3.)

1. 环境与组织结构产生间接而非直接的影响。环境不能够直接的影响组织结构，因为结构总是由决策者来选择的。决策者制定的战略将对组织结构产生直接的影响。
2. 权变学派将环境分为外部环境和内部环境。外部环境又分为两种：一种是由社会、技术、经济、政治、法律所组成；另一种又供应者、顾客、竞争者、雇员、股东等组成。内部环境基本上是正式组织系统，它的各个变量和外部环境各变量之间是相互关联的。
3. 权变理论认为，在企业管理中要根据企业所处的内外条件随机应变，没有什么一成不变、普遍适用的最好的管理理论和方法。该学派是从系统观点来考虑问题的，它的理论核心是通过组织的各子系统内部和各子系统之间的联系，以及组织和它所处环境之间的联系，来确定各种变数的关系类型和结构类型。权变学派通过大量的事例的研究和概括，把各种各样的情况归纳为几个基本类型，并给每一类型找出一种模型。强调权变关系是两个或多个可变因数之间的函数关系，权变管理是一种依据环境自变数和管理以及管理技术因变数之间的函数关系，来确定对当

时当地最有效的管理方法。

Contingency theory put organization in an open subsystem so the analysis of the organization must be placed in the system context. The environment can affect the organization because that **the open systems environment can convey material, energy, and information to the organization, and the organization's survive by depending on the environment and external resources**, but the environment and resources are complexity and uncertainty, so the organizational structure will also change.

The maintenance of organizations **depends upon some degree of exchange with outside parties**, which seem to impose a degree of constraints upon the organizations. So different environmental conditions will require different types of organizational structural accommodation. Specifically, the degree of change of organization is a function of three variables: **the frequency of environment changes, the degree of difference and the degree of irregularity**. The conclusion is that the higher the environmental variability and the uncertainty consequently experienced, the more the prevailing structure of organization should be adaptive, with roles open to continual redefinition and with co-ordination. Organizations are open systems that need careful management to satisfy and balance internal needs and to adapt to environmental circumstances. Therefore, the organization would adjust itself, such as: add temporal institutes or department, thus guarantee the openness of the organization. **As a result, in the long run, an organization would adjust and reform its structural form to fit the environment.**

• **For managers in organization, what's the mechanism of structural choice under the condition of different contingent factors?**

在 John Child 之前的学者多认可权变理论的思想，认为环境影响组织结构的变化。按照权变理

从某种意义上说，“战略选择理论”是在与权变理论的宿命论(Fatalism)的论战中形成的。按照权变组织理论的观点，环境决定了企业组织结构及其运作模式。从 20 世纪 50 年代后期到 60 年代后期，一系列越来越精细的描述环境、技术、规模、结构和过程之间关系的权变模型得以创立。由于这些模型十分分散，许多具有宿命论的性质，这促使若干组织理论学者对权变理论的核心要旨提出了质疑。

论的观点：

(一) 战略与结构

结构追随战略，战略的变化必然带来组织结构的更新。

战略可以在两个层次上影响组织结构：一是不同的战略要求开展不同的业务和管理活动，由此就影响到管理职务和部门的设计；二是战略重点的改变会引起组织业务活动重心的转移和核心职能的改变，从而使各部门、各职务在组织中的相对位置发生变化，相应地就要求对各管理职务以及部门之间的关系作出调整。

随着企业战略从单一产品向一体化、再向多样化经营的转变，组织结构将从有机式转变为更为机械的形式。一般来说，企业起始于单一产品的生产和经营，简单的战略只要求一种简单、松散的结构形式来配合。这时，决策可以集中在一个高层管理人员手中，组织的复杂化和正规化程度很低。当企业发展壮大以后，它的战略更宏伟更富进取心，向纵向一体化、横向一体化方向发展，因而需要重新设计结构以支持所选择的战略。当企业进一步成长以后，进入多样化战略，这时结构需要再一次地调整。而组建多个独立的事业部，让某一个部门对一类特定的产品负责，则能够更好地达到上述要求。

(二) 规模与结构

大规模组织要比规模小的组织倾向于更高程度的专业化和横向及纵向的分化，规则条例也更多。当然，这种影响不是线性关系，而是规模对结构的影响程度在逐渐地减弱。也就是说，组织发展到一定程度之后，随着组织的再扩大，规模的影响愈益不重要。

组织的规模往往与组织的成长或发展阶段相关联。伴随着组织的成长，组织活动的内容会日趋复杂，

人数会逐渐增多，活动的规模和范围会越来越大，这样，组织结构也必须随之调整，才能适应成长后的组织的新情况。伴随着企业成长的各个时期，不同成长阶段要求不同的组织模式与之相适应。企业在成长的早期，组织结构常常是简单、灵活而集权的。随着员工的增多和组织规模的扩大，企业必须由创业初期的松散结构转变为正规、集权的，其通常的表现形态就是职能型结构。而当企业的经营进入多元产品和跨地区市场后，分权的事业部结构可能更为适宜。企业进一步发展而进入集约经营阶段后，不同领域之间的交流与合作以及资源共享、能力整合、创新力激发问题愈益突出，这样，以强化协作为主旨的各种创新型组织形态便应运而生。总之，组织在不同成长阶段所适合采取的组织模式是各不相同的。

（三）技术与结构

技术以及技术设备的水平，对组织的职务设置与部门划分、部门间的关系，以及组织结构的形式和总体特征等产生相当程度的影响。

越是常规化的技术，越需要高度结构化的组织。反之，非常规的技术要求更大的结构灵活性。

琼·伍德沃德提出组织的结构因技术而变化。首先，技术类型和相应的公司结构之间存在明显的相关性；其次，组织的绩效与技术和结构之间的“适应度”密切相关。

单件生产或连续生产的企业，采用有机式结构最为有效，大量生产企业若与机械式结构相配，则为最佳状态。

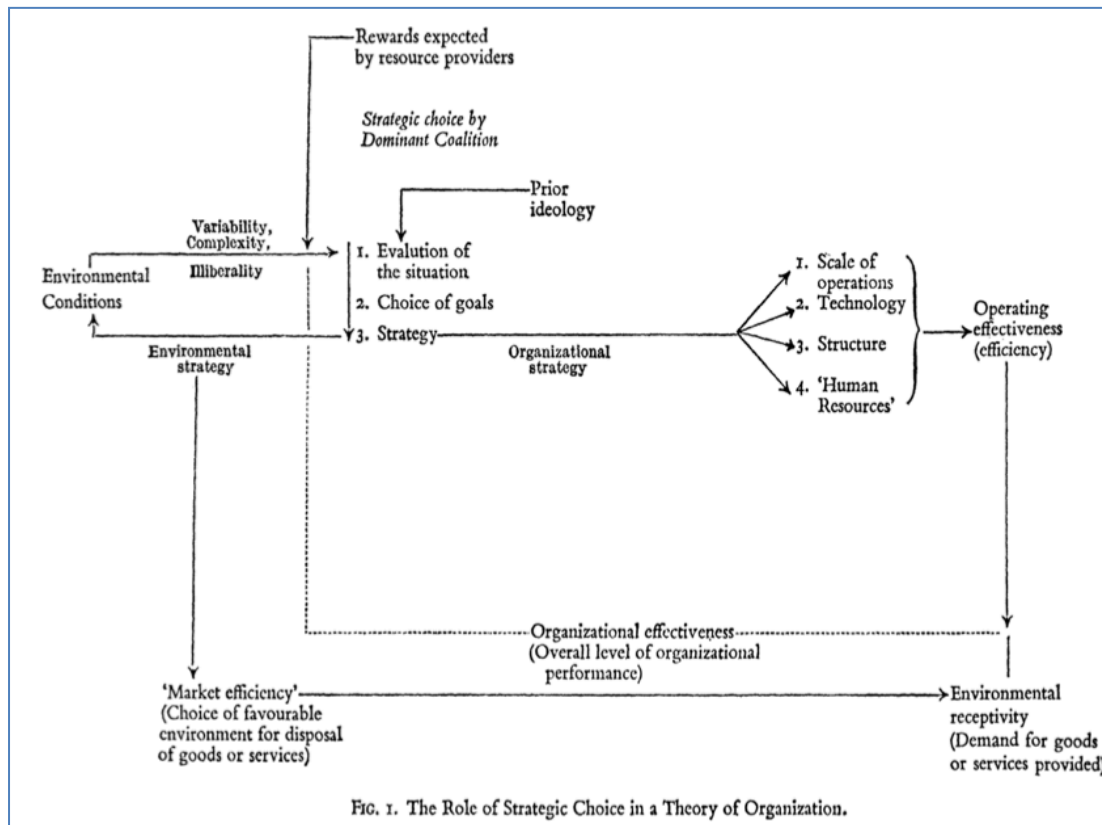
（四）环境与结构

环境变化是导致组织结构变革的一个主要影响力量。当今的企业普遍面临全球化的竞争和由所有竞争者推动的日益加速的产品创新，以及顾客对产品质量和交货期的愈来愈高的要求，这些都是环境动态性的表现。而传统的以高度复杂性、高度正规化和高度集权化为特征的机械式组织，并不适于企业对迅速变化的环境作出灵敏的反应。适应新的环境条件的要求，目前许多企业的管理者开始朝着弹性化或有机化的方向改组其组织，以便使它们变得更加精干、快速、灵活和富有创新性。

英国管理学家约翰·柴尔德(Child, 1972)将钱德勒的论点又向前推动了一步，他第一个提出“战略选择”(Strategic choice)这个概念。柴尔德认为，权变理论是错误的，因为它忽略了有权力改变或支配组织人员的选择。他发现，组织内部的政治决定组织所选择的结构形式、组织对环境特征的驾驭能力以及对相关性能和标准的确定方法。内部政治本身依赖于组织内部存在的权力结构，这就说明了结构产生结构。柴尔德指出，管理人员会采取行动界定或操纵其组织领域，因此，可以不理睬或排斥环境因素迫使现在组织结构改变的安排。[5]按照“战略选择理论”的观点，可以认为组织战略——环境关系是管理者选择的结果。

There are five steps to take under different contingent factors. First, dominant coalition would evaluate the organization's position. Secondly, they would make choice of goals and objectives. Thirdly, they make decision of strategic action from considering external and internal factors. Then efficiency would determine the overall level of performance. Finally, performance would be achieved as an information input to the dominant coalition and start another cycle of the five steps.

The role of strategic choice is referring to following picture.



在环境权变因素的影响下，影响组织结构选择的机制有 1 效率机制。例如韦伯的科层制强调了等级制的组织结构，为了保证组织运行的效率，将组织结构设定为金字塔型，保证信息的传递与任务的下达。交易成本理论中，由于组织与市场在交易成本大小不一样，因而产生了组织，也可以理解为由于追求效率，组织必然会选择合适的结构以在竞争市场上获得优势。2 合法性机制。例如制度理论中组织在社会大环境（法律法规，社会规范，文化期许）的作用下，为了追求自身的合法性，组织结构也会随之改变，或是通过竞争，模仿，社会规范来达到。

III. Population ecology

- In order to explain the reason why there are so many different kinds of organizations, why is the unit of analysis shifted to populations of organizations from individual organization?(看文献)

种群生态学的分析单位是 企业种群。企业种群是一定时间和空间中由同质的一群企业个体组成的结构和功能单位，它们进行类似的活动，在经营中利用资源的方式类似，经营结果也类似。同一种群内的组织为了类似的资源和相近的顾客展开竞争。

种群生态理论的分析单位从个体转移到种群是因为 1. 从起源来看，种群生态学理论主要是从生物学的自然淘汰学说演变而来的，这一理论的分析对象为所有组织生存和适应性问题，重点不在于个别组织如何演变，而是整个社群或全种群组织的变化。有而作为采用生态学视角的组织生态理论，组织被认为是群落的类似物，具有适应环境状况的共同手段，2. 从理论内容来看，企业种群生态系统研究的脉络主要是运用自选择、群选择、和群适应理论，构列企业种群生态发展与成长的战略研究框架。探讨组织种群的创造、成长和消亡的过程与环境转变的关系，种群生态学的观点不同于其他组织理论，因为它强调组织的多样性和在组织共同体或组织种群内的适应性。

The “population ecology” view of organization brings Darwin’s theory of evolution right into the center of organizational analysis. As Darwin frequently emphasizes in his writings, although selection may

be the mechanism through which evolution occurs, it depends on there being variation in individual characteristics. Without variation there is nothing to select. Variations in a species typically arise as a result of cross-reproduction and random variation of characteristics. Although evolution occurs through modification of individual members of a species, the population ecologists argue that it is more important to understand evolutionary dynamics at the level of the population.

- **What are the main differences on interpreting the relationship of organizations with environment between contingency theory and population ecology?**

1. 权变理论隐含的假设是，组织的基本结构特征不难改变。但组织生态学和制度学派的学者对这一假设并不认同，认为组织结构具有惰性(Structural inertia)，不大容易改变。
具体来说，权变理论认为在企业管理中要根据企业所处的内外条件随机应变，没有什么一成不变、普遍适用的最好的管理理论和方法。而种群生态组织模型的创始人 Hannan 和 Freeman 则认为组织变化的能力受到很多条件的限制。这些限制因素来自于对工厂的巨大投资、设备、专门人员、有限的信息、决策者的固有观念、被组织的成功历史所验证了的现行组织方式以及改变公司文化的困难。在这些障碍面前，组织真正转变是少有的，不可能的事情。
2. 权变理论认为强调组织管理者在组织中的能动作用。而组织生态学派则强调了环境的选择作用，而弱化了组织行动者在决定组织命运中的作用。
权变学派认为成功管理的关键在于对组织内外状况的充分了解和有效的应变策略。尤其是在后期 John Child 对钱德勒的观点进行了补充发展，提出了管理者的战略选择作用，强调了有权力改变或支配组织的人员的选择。而组织生态学派则认为，组织结构改变并非内部计划或主动行动的结果，而是源于大范围的环境。组织生态学认为迅速变化着的环境决定种群中那些组织生存或失败，当环境发生迅速变化时，老的组织容易衰退或失败，而能够更好的适应环境需要的新的组织会应运而生。种群之间要进行激烈的竞争，这就是选择机制，适者生存是最高法则，环境是组织的最终检验者。
3. 权变理论同时分析了组织的内外环境，而种群生态理论仅局限于组织的外部环境。从分析单位来看，权变理论的分析单位是组织个体。它分析了组织的各子系统内部和各子系统之间的相互联系，以及组织和它所处的环境之间的联系，来确定各种变数的关系类型和结构类型。而组织生态理论的分析单位是组织种群，因此组织的内部环境并没有在该理论中得到反映。

和特征要实现转变是极为困难的。不过在后来的文献中,汉南和弗里曼对组织惯性的形成机理作了一定的修正,他们承认组织的改变会经常发生,有时组织甚至力图在战略和结构上作出激进的变革。然而,由于环境更偏好相对稳定的组织,所以,透过环境的选择机制,能保证组织结构的相对稳定。(注 14)换句话说,组织种群中的高水平结构惯性是生态进化过程的一个结果,而不是环境选择过程的先导条件。迅速变化的环境将决定种群的生存或失败,所以,种群与其

环境和生存利基(niche) 的关系至关重要,环境定义了组织必须遵循的战略和资源路径,利基提供了组织生存所必需的资源。由于环境资源的稀缺性限制了某个利基所能支撑的种群数量,种群和组织之间必然要进行激烈的竞争,这就是选择机制。在这里,适者生存是最高法则,环境则是组织的最终检验者,一切遵循着变异—选择—保留模式进行优胜劣汰。组织行为被认为是随机的、自然的、环境选择的,而管理者的作用几乎被忽略了。

• **Besides the economic factors, such as scarce resource, competition, and efficiency, etc, for environmental selection of organizations, are there any other environmental factors influencing organization and its populations?**

- 制度因素：制度因素是指组织进入某一市场可能会遭遇到的法律或财政门槛。法律或财政政策等一系列的制度因素可能会阻碍或促进组织的某些特定行动。市场的高准入门槛制约了组织的适应几率。同时，合法性也对组织的生存和发展至关重要。比如，公立大学迫于合法性的要求和对于社会教育所承担的责任，不能去除本科生的教育。
- 政策因素：政策也是影响组织和组织种群的重要因素之一。政府颁布的各种形式的优惠或制裁政策对于组织乃至行业都有着重大影响。比如，某地市政府奉行地方保护主义，为了支持本土企业的生存和发展，为本土企业提供了特殊的税收、区位、基础设施等方面的优惠政策，而这些优惠政策是外来企业所无法享有的。再比如，一般来说，对于新兴行业，政府会出台相关优惠政策促进和鼓励新兴行业的发展。而政策所能惠及到的组织和行业，将会更容易地从环境中获得资源，从而更易生存。
- 文化因素：Carroll 在他 2002 年的文章中介绍了一个资源分割的例子时提出了三种构成分割机制的因素，其中两种为文化因素。以反批量生产文化为例，哪怕一个 generalist 和那些 specialists 生产出类似的质量的产品，消费者们由于固有的反批量生产情结，仍然会倾向于选择那些 specialists 的产品。在这种文化情境下，那些 generalists 则会难以生存。
- 技术的发展会影响环境的稳定性。科技的发展有时是难以预测的，比如说破坏性创新的出现通常会导致一个行业的颠覆性的革新，无法追上新生技术变革的企业可能会遭受毁灭性的重创。一般来说，实行全面化战略的公司虽然在狭小的领域不如实行专门化战略的公司有竞争力，但它在其他领域拥有的空间使其能够抵制一部分环境变化的影响。而且，由于产品、服务、以及顾客的多样性，实行全面化战略的组织能够在内部重新配置资源以适应不断变化的环境。于是，在面临科技环境的震荡时，全面化的组织通常能够有更大的存活几率。

Institutional factors, on one hand, legal and fiscal barriers to entry and exit from markets are numerous, there are an increasing number of instances in which political decisions prevent firms from abandoning certain activities. All such constraints on entry and exit limit the breadth of adaptation possibilities. On the other hand, legitimacy constraints also emanate from the environment, to the extent that adaptation (e.g., eliminating undergraduate instruction in public universities) violates the legitimacy claims, it incurs considerable costs. So external legitimacy considerations also tend to limit adaptation.

Social factors, The acquisition of information about relevant environments is costly particularly in

turbulent situations where the information is most essential.

Other factors, there is the collective rationality problem. If one can find an optimal strategy for some individual buyer or seller in a competitive market, it does not necessarily follow that there is a general equilibrium once all players start trading. We should not presume that a course of action that is adaptive for a single organization facing some changing environment will be adaptive for many competing organizations adopting a similar strategy.

Political factors: the political factors may influence organizations and its population when the state offer different terms

to different organizations and industry. For example, states compete over larger employers and offer them favorable terms, like taxes, location, utilities, which are unavailable to smaller firms. And to some newly arisen industry, the government will support them. Some kind of organizations and industry are favored by the environment, and will be easier to survive.

Cultural factors: when Carroll(2002) explained the organizational processes of resource partitioning, he introduced three other factors constituting the partitioning mechanism. Two of them are about culture: the anti-mass-production cultural sentiment and conspicuous status consumption. These two highlight identity. Even the large generalists learned to produce comparable products as the specialists, the consumers still prefer the specialists because of the sense of anti-mass production. And under this kind of cultural context, the specialists have more chance to survive.

Technology factors: Technology will damage the stability of the environment. The change in technology in **consumer tastes** is often irregularly over time. Different period of the industry have different situations. The nascent phase of industry evolution features greater technological uncertainty and provides a survival advantage to generalist organization. For example, firms producing a wide range of engine capacity models (i.e. firms with broad technological niches) are less likely to fail.

组织无法 adapt 的原因：组织惰性

内部：

1. An organization's investment in plant, equipment, and specialized personnel constitutes assets that are not easily transferable to other tasks or functions. The ways in which such sunk costs constrain adaptation options are so obvious that they need not be discussed further.

2. Organizational decision makers also face constraints on the information they receive. Much of what we know about the flow of information through organizational structures tells us that leaders do not obtain anything close to full information on activities within the organization and environmental contingencies facing the subunits.

3. Internal political constraints are even more important. When organizations alter structure, political equilibria are disturbed. As long as the pool of resources is fixed, structural change almost always involves redistribution of resources across subunits. Such redistribution upsets the prevailing system of exchange among subunits (or subunit leaders). So at least some subunits are likely to resist any proposed reorganization. Moreover, the benefits of structural reorganization are likely to be both generalized (designed to benefit the organization as a whole) and long-run. Any negative political response will tend to generate short-run costs that are high enough that organizational leaders will forego the planned reorganization. (For a more extensive discussion of the ways in which the internal political economy of organizations impedes change or adaptation, see Downs [1967] and Zald [1970].)

4. Finally, organizations face constraints generated by their own history. Once standards of procedure and the allocation of tasks and authority have become the subject of normative agreement, the costs of change are greatly increased. Normative agreements constrain adaptation in at least two ways. First, they provide a justification and an organizing principle for those elements that wish to resist reorganization (i.e., they can resist in terms of a shared principle). Second, normative agreements preclude the serious consideration of many alternative responses. For example, few research-oriented universities seriously consider adapting to

1. Legal and fiscal barriers to entry and exit from markets (broadly defined) are numerous. Discussions of organizational behavior typically emphasize barriers to entry (state licensed monopoly positions, etc.). Barriers to exit are equally interesting. There are an increasing number of instances in which political decisions prevent firms from abandoning certain activities. All such constraints on entry and exit limit the breadth of adaptation possibilities.

2. Internal constraints upon the availability of information are paralleled by external constraints. The acquisition of information about relevant environments is costly particularly in turbulent situations where the information is most essential. In addition, the type of specialists employed by the organization constrains both the nature of the information it is likely to obtain (see Granovetter 1973) and the kind of specialized information it can process and utilize.

3. Legitimacy constraints also emanate from the environment. Any legitimacy an organization has been able to generate constitutes an asset in manipulating the environment. To the extent that adaptation (e.g., eliminating undergraduate instruction in public universities) violates the legitimacy claims, it incurs considerable costs. So external legitimacy considerations also tend to limit adaptation.

4. Finally, there is the collective rationality problem. One of the most difficult issues in contemporary economics concerns general equilibria. If one can find an optimal strategy for some individual buyer or seller in a competitive market, it does not necessarily follow that there is a general equilibrium once all players start trading. More generally, it is difficult to establish that a strategy that is rational for a single decision maker will be rational if adopted by a large number of decision makers. A number of solutions to this problem have been proposed in competitive market theory, but we know of no treatment of the problem for organizations generally. Until such a treatment is established we should not presume

that a course of action that is adaptive for a single organization facing some changing environment will be adaptive for many competing organizations adopting a similar strategy.

A number of these inertial pressures can be accommodated within the adaptation framework. That is, one can modify and limit the perspective in order to consider choices within the constrained set of alternatives. But

to do so greatly limits the scope of one's investigation. We argue that in order to deal with the various inertial pressures the adaptation perspective must be supplemented with a selection orientation.

COMPETITION:

From the traditional perspective, it is the organization managers optimize, but from the population ecology perspective, it is the environment which optimize. Whether or not the organization is consciously adapting, the environment select out the optimal combinations of organizations.

IV. Institutional theory: formal/informal

老制度理论：外部文化对企业的塑造 formal

新制度理论：各种外部制度对企业的塑造 formal+informal

企业把外部的规则拿到内部来执行，这个组织就是一个制度化组织。例如，大学要贯彻学校的双一流

镶嵌的外部要素作为本企业的一部分，这就是一个正式组织。浙大把其他学校教学体制拿来用

Ceremony：正式组织是做给别人看的(双一流是给别人看的)

Myth：rule 先前没有被人们认可，但在社会变革以后，出现的从前根本没有会想过的、先前被压制的东西

对理论读不懂：一种是执着于文字；一种是形象阅读法。能发 AMR, AMJ 除了语言功底，主要是理解正确

先前认为企业能生存是因为有效率，而制度理论认为企业能生存是因为有合法性。合法性：公众的认可，大家认为理所应当的

滴滴顺风车出事故，丧失了合法性，于是无法 survival

一开始效率高，合法性低；继续发展成合法性高、效率低。

TQM：别的医院都采用，我也采用，legitimacy 往往犯错误啊，diffuse 一些错误的东西，这个时候效率就低下了。

• What's difference between Max Weber's bureaucracy theory and institutional theory on answering the question what makes organizations so similar or homogeneous?

官僚制和制度理论用两种不同的机制来解释组织的趋同性。官僚制是基于效率机制，而制度理论是基于合法性机制。

1. 按照韦伯的理性组织模式，组织应该有明确的目标，高度形式化，排除个性因素的干扰，仅奉

行法律程序和公务原则，存在固定的分工和职权划分，具有精确性、纪律性和严谨性等特点。存在等级制度理想的科层制具有高效率、公正等多方面优势。长期以来，效率机制的解释逻辑在组织领域中盛行，即认为观察到的组织现象是组织追求效率的结果。官僚组织为了追求效率，会设定与效率高的组织中相似的职能部门。

2. 但是，Meyer 和 Rowan 的文章提出了与效率机制迥然不同的合法性机制，认为组织不仅追求适应所处的技术环境，而且受制于制度环境；制度理论将组织环境区分为两类：技术环境和制度环境。技术环境包括组织外部的资源与市场、组织内部将投入转化为产出的技术系统等。官僚组织只重视技术环境要求组织内部的结构和运行程序满足技术效率(Max Weber提出的 iron cage)。而制度环境主要是社会的共享观念及规范因素，制度环境要求组织内部的结构和制度符合社会公认的“合法性”，也就是采用在制度环境中已被广为接受的组织形式和做法，而不管这些做法对组织的内部运作是否有效率（Mayer 把这种现象称为理性的神话）。许多组织制度和行为不是为效率驱使，而是源于追求合法性以求生存发展的需要；合法性机制常常导致“制度化的组织”以及组织趋同。

The bureaucracy theory and institutional theory explain the isomorphism among organizations with two distinct mechanisms. The bureaucracy theory is based on **efficiency mechanism**; it pursues to look for the most efficient structure and operation system of organization. While the institutional theory put **legitimacy mechanism** in the first place, it emphasized that organizations are restricted by the institutional environment. Basically, the two theories provide two different mechanisms for organizations' structure and behavior. We can analyze this problem in the following two aspects.

Firstly, the organization structures are affected by the two different mechanisms. Specifically, the bureaucracy theory stresses the rational division of labor, it clearly divide tasks into different parts and assign them to different workers in different position under the mechanism of efficiency. Therefore, the organizations **tend to set similar departments if** this kind of division is proved to be efficient in other organizations. While in the institutional theory, many positions are not set for improving the efficiency of organization but for legitimacy. Some departments or positions are set only to show the legitimacy of the organization even at the cost of reducing efficiency, therefore make the organization structures look similar. DiMaggio and Powell identify three mechanisms of institutional isomorphic change, they are 1, coercive isomorphism that stems from political influence and the problem of legitimacy 2, mimetic isomorphism resulting from standard responses to uncertainty 3, normative isomorphism associated with professionalization.

Secondly, the environment of organization can be divided into two types, one is technology environment, and the other is institutional environment. The bureaucracy theory only considers **technology environment, and motivation of behaviors is to pursue efficiency**. For institutional theory, the behaviors are constrained by the institutional rules in the environment such as legal system, culture expectation, social norm, concept system and so on. In order to survive, organizations adjust their behaviors to pursue legitimacy in the institutional environment.

- **Under what conditions will the legitimacy logic replace efficiency logic to determine the organizational isomorphism with environment?**

Meyer 和 Rowan 的文章提出了与效率机制迥然不同的合法性机制，认为组织不仅追求适应所处的技术环境，而且受制于制度环境；制度理论将组织环境区分为两类：技术环境和制度环境。

技术环境包括组织外部的资源与市场、组织内部将投入转化为产出的技术系统等。官僚组织只重视技术环境要求组织内部的结构和运行程序满足技术效率(Max Weber 提出的 iron cage)。而制度环境主要是社会的共享观念及规范因素，制度环境要求组织内部的结构和制度符合社会公认的“合法性”，也就是采用在制度环境中已被广为接受的组织形式和做法，而不管这些做法对组织的内部运作是否有效率（Mayer 把这种现象称为理性的神话）。许多组织制度和行为不是为效率驱使，而是源于追求合法性以求生存发展的需要；合法性机制常常导致“制度化的组织”以及组织趋同。

DiMaggio 和 Powell 提出了三种组织趋同的过程：1.强制 2.模仿 3.规范。一般来说，组织总是受到效率最大化的驱使而进行组织结构和行动。而在面临不确定的环境时，为了降低成本，组织总是倾向于模仿那些成功、高效的企业。因此，从这个角度来说，模仿程序可以实现组织基于效率机制的趋同。

然而，组织为了满足合法性的要求，不得不牺牲效率。1.组织有时候会牺牲效率，而去模仿业内的另外一些组织，仅仅是因为趋同带来的好处。和其他组织趋同可以使得他们在和另外一些组织进行交易的时候更加容易方便，可以吸引有事业心的员工，可以获得合法性和声誉，可以更好地适应行政类别。2.另外一种情况是，在某些行业，竞争性效率已经不显得那么重要。这些行业通常是那些法律、财政准入门槛比较高的行业。高准入门槛使得效率的诉求被减缓了。比如医院，银行，大学。医院的一些运作模式和部门设置并不是出于提高效率的出发点，而是受到其所面临的社会合法性的制约。再比如，银行的个人储蓄业务部门，其设置不是出于盈利的角度，而是出于其所肩负的社会服务功能的角度考虑。

A: Meyer and Rowan explained the organizational institutional isomorphism from the perspective of neo-institutionalism. Based on their theory, the organization environment consists of **technological** and **institutional** environment. They firstly confirmed the importance of organization environment and especially emphasized that institutional environment should be focused on, not simply considering technological environment.

Institutional environment refers to the taken-for-granted social facts such as legal system, culture expectation, social norm, concept system and so on. According to the description in Hawley's (1968) paper, isomorphism is a constraining process that forces one unit in a population to resemble other units that face the same set of environmental conditions, so generally organizational isomorphism means catching the same or similar organizational structure, culture, system, institution, etc. Neo-institutionalism theory points out that legitimacy mechanism is a vitally important kind of tool of organizational isomorphism. The behavior of adjusting themselves to institutional environment in order to survive can be called pursuing legitimacy. Legitimacy mechanism helps organizations improve social status, acquire social acknowledgement, thus promote the interorganizational resource exchange, and enhance organizational ability of surviving.

And DiMaggio and Powell proposed three different kinds of isomorphism processes including coercive, mimetic and normative isomorphism. Generally speaking, organizations always are driven by performance and efficiency to realize isomorphism, and mimetic isomorphism can meet it, because organizations tend to imitate other successful and always high efficient organizations to reduce uncertainty and cost.

But it is important to note that each of the institutional isomorphic processes can be expected to proceed in the absence of evidence that they increase internal organizational efficiency. (1) One case is that organizations may sacrifice efficiency to mimic others simply because they are rewarded for being similar to other organizations in their field. This similarity can make it easier for them to transact with other organizations, to attract career-minded staff, to be acknowledged as legitimate and reputable, and to fit into administrative categories. (2) another case is that pressures for competitive efficiency are also mitigated in many fields because the number of organizations is limited and there are strong fiscal and legal barriers to entry and exit. For example, hospitals operate according to a norm of social legitimation that frequently conflicts with market considerations of efficiency and system rationality.

• **What is difference between organizational population and organizational field? How to understand the process of institutional definition or structuration of an organizational field?**

1. **种群：**企业种群是一定时间和空间中由同质的一群企业个体组成的结构和功能单位，它们进行类似的活动，在经营中利用资源的方式类似，经营结果也类似。同一种群内的组织为了类似的资源和相近的顾客展开竞争。例如，我国的银行金融机构由于严格分业经营的限制，只能去争夺相近的顾客群体。因此，从种群生态学的观点来看，这些银行属于同一个种群。
2. **组织域：**根据迪玛奇奥和鲍威尔(DiMaggio & Powell)的解释：组织域是指那些聚集在一起、构成公认制度生活领域的组织：主要的供应商、资源与产品的消费者、制定规章的机构，及其他提供类似产品和服务的组织。
通过“组织域”层面，新制度学派划定了一组在共同领域内运作的组织，这一领域有组织间的联系，包括相似和相异组织间的横向和纵向联系，以及共同拥有的文化准则和意义体系。在同一组织域中，有些组织不是直接地发生联系，而是由于在相似条件下的运作而表现出相似的结构特点和关系类型。组织域概念意味着拥有共同意义体系的组织群落，与领域外行动者的关系相区别，参与者之间的互动更频繁、更重要。
3. **Institutional definition 或 structuration** 包括了以下四个部分：1.组织域内的组织间互动的程度增加 2.组织间结构和联合模式的出现 3.组织域内组织所面临的信息量的增长 4.组织间共同意义体系的形成。一旦单个的组织被纳入了一个组织域，强大的力量使得组织间在相似的条件下表现出相似的结构特点和关系类型。Once disparate organizations in the same line of business are structured into an actual field, powerful forces emerge that lead them to become more similar to one another. Organizations may change their goals or develop new practices, and new organizations enter the field. But, in the long run, organizational actors making rational decisions construct around themselves an environment that constrains their ability to change further in later years. Early adopters of organizational innovations are commonly driven by a desire to improve performance. But new practices can become, in Selznick's words, "infused with value beyond the technical requirements of the task at hand." As an innovation spreads, a threshold is reached beyond which adoption provides legitimacy rather than improves performance. Strategies that are rational for individual organizations may not be rational if adopted by large numbers. Yet the very fact that they are normatively sanctioned increases the likelihood of their adoption. Thus

organizations may try to change constantly; but, after a certain point in the structuration of an organizational field, the aggregate effect of individual change is to lessen the extent of diversity within the field. Organizations in a structured field, respond to an environment that consists of other organizations responding to their environment, which consists of organizations responding to an environment of organizations' responses.

4.

Organization population

Organization population utilizes insights from biology, economics and sociology, and employs statistical analysis to try to understand the conditions under which organizations emerge, grow, and die. It examines the environment in which organizations compete and a process like natural selection occurs.

Organization field

Set of organizations sharing systems of common meanings and interacting more frequently among themselves than with actors from outside the field, thus constituting a recognized area of institutional life. Such as key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organizations that produce similar services or products.

The organizational population represents the intermediate type of field level activity, broader than the set but more tightly linked than the field. The ways in which organizations are "alike" can vary and multiple populations in the field can overlap and interpenetrate. Noted that genetic structure defines commonality among biological species and that some sort of a similar organizational analogue such as a "blueprint for organizational action, for transforming inputs into outputs". Ultimately, organizations within a population "share similar interests and may, under appropriate circumstances, band together to protect them".

The process of institutional definition, or "structuration," consists of four parts: an increase in the extent of interaction among organizations in the field; the emergence of sharply defined interorganizational structures of domination and patterns of coalition; an increase in the information load with which organizations in a field must contend; and the development of a mutual awareness among participants in a set of organizations that they are involved in a common enterprise. (此段可写可不写，有时间就写，没时间就算了)

Once disparate organizations in the same line of business are structured into an actual field, powerful forces emerge that lead them to become more similar to one another. Organizations may change their goals or develop new practices, and new organizations enter the field. But, in the long run, organizational actors making rational decisions construct around themselves an environment that constrains their ability to change further in later years. Early adopters of organizational innovations are commonly driven by a desire to improve performance. But new practices can become, in Selznick's words, "infused with value beyond the technical requirements of the task at hand." As an innovation spreads, a threshold is reached beyond which adoption provides legitimacy rather than improves performance. Strategies that are rational for individual organizations may not be rational if adopted by large numbers. Yet the very fact that they are normatively sanctioned increases the likelihood of their adoption. Thus organizations may try to change constantly; but, after a certain point in the structuration of an organizational field, the aggregate effect of individual change is to lessen the extent of diversity within the field. Organizations in a structured field, respond to an environment that consists of other organizations responding to their environment, which consists of organizations responding to an environment of organizations' responses.

V. Organizational economics

- While population ecology enquired why there are so many different kinds of organizations, and institutional theory enquired why there is such startling homogeneity of organizational forms and practices; organizational economics tried to answer the question why there is any organization or why organization exist. How to understand the differences of question raising and answering about organization among three perspectives?

这三种理论提出了三个不同的问题，分别关注了组织的三个不同的方面。组织生态学关注了组织的多样性，制度理论关注了组织的合法性和组织趋同。而组织经济理论回答了组织为什么而存在这个问题。

1. 种群生态组织理论是这样解释组织多样性的。创始人 Hannan 和 Freeman 则认为组织变化的能力受到很多条件的限制。这些限制因素来自于对工厂的巨大投资、设备、专门人员、有限的信息、决策者的固有观念、被组织的成功历史所验证了的现行组织方式以及改变公司文化的困难。在这些障碍面前，组织真正转变是少有的，不可能的事情。

权变理论认为强调组织管理者在组织中的能动作用。而组织生态学派则强调了环境的选择作用，而弱化了组织行动者在决定组织命运中的作用。组织生态学认为迅速变化着的环境决定种群中那些组织生存或失败，当环境发生迅速变化时，老的组织容易衰退或失败，而能够更好的适应环境需要的新的组织会应运而生。种群生态模型认为，在种群内一直有组织在诞生。因此，组织种群在不断变化。种群生态组织的进化过程大体分为三个阶段：变种、选择和保留。

变种(variation)。变种是指在组织的种群中新的组织形式不断地出现。它们由通常是由企业家发起、由大公司用风险资本建立起来或者由寻求提供新服务的政府建立。

选择(selection)。有些变种比其他的更能适合外部的环境。有些被证实是有益的，因此能够找到自己的领地或缝隙，并且从需要生存的环境中获得资源。在狭小领域实施专业化战略，实质上就是一种差异化战略。根据“竞争性不相容原则”，若企业组织太相似，经营的产品和顾客基础太相近，竞争便不可避免地趋于惨烈，结果是自相残杀，自毁生机。为了减少正面冲突，企业组织必须发展与同行业组织不尽相同的生存能力和技巧，这便是实行专门化战略的根源和动力所在。

保留(retention)。保留是对所选择的组织形式的保存和形式化或制度化。

2. 制度学派 Meyer 和 Rowan 的文章提出了与效率机制迥然不同的合法性机制，认为组织不仅追求适应所处的技术环境，而且受制于制度环境；制度理论将组织环境区分为两类：技术环境和制度环境。技术环境包括组织外部的资源与市场、组织内部将投入转化为产出的技术系统等。官僚组织只重视技术环境要求组织内部的结构和运行程序满足技术效率(Max Weber 提出的 iron cage)。而制度环境主要是社会的共享观念及规范因素，制度环境要求组织内部的结构和制度符合社会公认的“合法性”，也就是采用在制度环境中已被广为接受的组织形式和做法，而不管这些做法对组织的内部运作是否有效率（Mayer 把这种现象称为理性的神话）。许多组织制度和行为不是为效率驱使，而是源于追求合法性以求生存发展的需要；合法性机制常常导致“制度化的组织”以及组织趋同。
3. 组织经济学认为市场和企业都是两种不同的组织劳动分工的方式（即两种不同的“交易”方式），企业产生的原因是企业组织劳动分工的交易费用低于市场组织劳动分工的费用。一方面，企业作为一种交易形式，可以把若干个生产要素的所有者和产品的所有者组成一个单位参加市场交易，从而减少了交易者的数目和交易中摩擦，因而降低了交易成本；另一方面，在企业之内，市场交易被取消，伴随着市场交易的复杂结构被企业家所替代，企业家指挥生产，因此，企业替代了市场。由此可见，无论是企业内部交易，还是市场交易，都存在着不同的交易费用；而企业替代市场，是因为通过企业交易而形成的交易费用比通过市场交易而形成的交易费用低。因此，在分配资源上，二者是相互替代的。

The three theories raised different questions because they had focused on different perspectives of organizations in different background. The population ecology theory focused on the difference and diversity of organizations. The institutional theory focused on the legitimacy and isomorphism of organizations. The organizational economics theory focused on the transaction cost of organizations and answer the question “why any organization exist?”. To be more specific, insitutional theorists focus on the actual process of organizing through the development and elaboration of institutional rules, beliefs, and rituals. Populations ecology theorists who are silent on the issue of organizational existence. They offer explanations concerning he number of organizational births in a given environment or population but does not address the issue of why organizations should be “born” at all.

The population ecology theory claims that organizations are slected by the external environment. Each organization tries to find the niche market and unique resource to support its operation, in order to survive in the fierce competition. That’s why there are so many kinds of organizations.

Previous researches had just pay attention to the technological environment of organizations, ignoring the institutional environment. The institutional theory found formal organizational structures arised in highly institutionalized context and confirmed the importance of institution. The organizations pursue legitimacy in addition to efficiency, which explains why there are similar organizations, which is called organizational isomorphism.

Organizational economics scholars answered the the question that why do organiztions exist. From the OE perspective, organizations exist as mechanisms for supporting exchange. They notice that the organization, as the supersession(代替) of the price mechanism, can help allocate the resource and reduce the transaction cost. That is why the organization exist. But the costs of organizing additional transactions within the firm will also become the constrain of size of a firm.

• What is the unit of analysis for organizational economics? Based on this unit of analysis, how to understand the market, firm and their relationship?

1.交易是分析单元。而交易成本最优是目标。市场和企业是资源配置的两种可相互替代的手段，二者的不同在于：市场上的资源配置通过价格机制来实现，企业内的资源配置则通过权威关系来完成。对企业和市场的选择依赖于对市场交易的成本和企业内部组织运营成本的权衡。

2. 市场和企业都是两种不同的组织劳动分工的方式（即两种不同的“交易”方式），企业产生的原因是企业组织劳动分工的交易费用低于市场组织劳动分工的费用。一方面，企业作为一种交易形式，可以把若干个生产要素的所有者和产品的所有者组成一个单位参加市场交易，从而减少了交易者的数目和交易中摩擦，因而降低了交易成本；另一方面，在企业之内，市场交易被取消。通过将资源结合起来形成像企业那样的组织，可以减少在市场中转包某些投入的成本。一种多少具有持久性的组织关系。比如一个雇员和企业的关系，对企业来说，能省去每天去市场上招聘雇员的成本，对于雇员来说，能减少每天去市场应聘的成本和失业风险成本。伴随着市场交易的复杂结构被企业家所替代，企业家指挥生产，因此，企业替代了市场。由此可见，无论是企业内部交易，还是市场交易，都存在着不同的交易费用；而企业替代市场，是因为通过企业交易而形成的交易费用比通过市场交易而形成的 交易费用低。因此，在分配资源上，二者是相互替代的。

Transaction is the unit of analysis for organizational economic. And transaction-cost economizing is the target. Market and firms are both arrangements for supporting exchange. Transaction is coordinated by price mechanism and different contracts in market, and by entrepreneur and structure in firms. They are

substitutions for each other in directing resource. When the cost of transaction in firm are lower, the firm will replace the market, and vice versa.

- **According to organizational economics, how to define the organization and environment respectively, and what is the relationship between organization and environment?**

组织是企业，市场是环境，包括法律，政策等因素。（同上）

在组织中资源配置依赖于企业家。环境在这个理论中被定义为市场，是指资源配置依赖于价格机制。根据组织经济学，环境包括很多因素，包括合同法律等。

组织与市场在资源配置方面是可以相互代替的。在环境中交换的成本决定了组织的存在与规模。在成本可以被专业化的涌现所减少时，组织就出现了。当在组织内组织一个额外的交易的成本少于在开放的市场进行交易的成本时，或者是少于被另一个企业家组织时的成本时，组织规模增大。

VI. Managerial and organizational cognition

- **How to understand the concept organizational memory? How to use organizational memory concept for combining contingency theory and MOC (Managerial and Organizational Cognition) perspectives? (中文)**

- 许多学者把组织的运作描述成一个信息处理的过程（Tushman&Nadler, 1978），对环境中的信息进行处理。而这一过程就需要组织拥有组织记忆（虽然不一定和人类的记忆机制相同），即组织过去的经验能够被储存在组织中，并在今后组织碰到相关问题时利用这些经验帮助制定决策、解决问题（Dougglas,1986;Kantrow,1987）。
- 组织记忆在运作上类似于人类记忆，包括获得、保存、重新提取几个步骤（Walsh, 1991）。组织记忆可以被保存在①组织中的个体②组织文化③转化过程（把原材料、新员工等 input 转化为产品、成熟员工等 output 的过程）④组织结构（个体在组织中的角色）⑤物理环境（人多少、光线明暗等）⑥外部储存（离职的员工、关注组织的外部人等）。个体的认知是组织获得信息、构建组织记忆的中心活动；通过分享（sharing）个体认知上升到组织层面（因此人员流动不影响组织记忆）。
-
- Generally, the concept of organizational memory is composed of the structure of its retention facility, the information contained in it, the processes of information acquisition and retrieval, and its consequential effects. In its most basic sense, organizational memory refers to stored information from an organization's history that can be brought to bear on present decisions. This information is stored as a consequence of implementing decisions to which they refer, by individual recollections, and through shared interpretations. It was acquired from individuals in an organization and can be stored in individuals, culture, transformations, structure, ecology and external archives. Organizational memory contains decision stimulus and organizational response, the five internal bins varies in its capacity to retain these two aspects. This Information about a past decision stimulus and response can be consciously retrieved, but only by an individual or a collection of individuals. In the management of organizations, organizational memory can be used, misused, and abused. Individuals are a source of organizational memory and they largely determine what information will be acquired. It can also be influenced by environmental change and is a component of organizational design.
- 先叙述权变理论，权变理论认为，每个组织的内在要素和外在环境条件都各不相同，因而在管理活动中

不存在适用于任何情景的原则和方法，即：在管理实践中要根据组织所处的环境和内部条件的发展变化随机应变，没有什么一成不变的、普适的管理方法。

- 组织从环境中获取信息，组织记忆在运作上类似于人类记忆，包括获得、保存、重新提取几个步骤，即组织过去的经验能够被储存在组织中，并在今后组织碰到相关问题时利用这些经验帮助制定决策、解决问题。组织面临的挑战是接触的信息是复杂的，模棱两可的，而组织需要利用这些信息作出决定解决问题，比如通过知识结构，而知识结构是组织记忆的一种，
- 当组织所面临的环境不断变化，组织碰到了不同的问题，就需要重新提取组织记忆，来解决问题。
- 因此，权变理论解释了组织记忆为什么会形成，而组织记忆会影响组织的认知观。

contingency theory 说明行动的最优是根据内外部的情况权变。在组织认知视角看来，组织在功能上与信息处理系统相似，可以处理从环境中获取的信息。这就是说，他们会在吸收、处理和传播关于事件，机会和问题的信息上花费时间。但组织面临的最基础的挑战是，他们的信息世界极其复杂，模糊和多面化。必须有自己的方式在大量的信息流动作出决策，解决问题。组织（所有个体）通过使用知识结构，即包含认知的系统整合，来进行信息处理和决策以完成信息挑战。例如当一个新的环境事件发生时，组织将会吸收关于这个刺激的信息，基于已有的知识进行翻译和应对这种知识结构其实已经嵌入了组织记忆中，组织记忆包括了个体认知、组织规则、日常工作和文化等。组织与环境进行持续的互动，也就触发了不同的获取与检索过程，在这个过程中信息被保留。**因此权变理论解释了塑造组织记忆的因素，从而组织记忆影响了组织的认知。**

• How to understand the concept of sensemaking? What's difference between sensemaking and decision making?

Sensemaking involves turning circumstances into a situation that is comprehended explicitly in words and that serves as a springboard into action. Sensemaking is central because it is the primary site where meanings materialize that inform and constrain identity and action. It is about the interplay of action and interpretation, rather than the influence of evaluation on choice.

Sensemaking is different from decision making. 1. About sensemaking: Different individuals in the organization have different mental model, so they have different ideas about the information from the environment. And by sensemaking, they get common sense, which help the organization make choice. 2. About decision—making: the individuals in the organization are all bounded rationality, by information process, they make decisions. And then the organization make choice base on their decision—making. Note that the sensemaking is more subjective, whereas the decision—making is more objective.

意义建构理论认为信息研究应由来源强调转向使用者强调的方向，这种转向，视信息寻求与使用为一种沟通实践模式。

布伦达·德尔文于 1972 年提出以使用者为中心之意义建构理论(Sense-Making Theory)，即认为知识是主观、由个人建构而成，而信息寻求是种主观建构的活动，在线检索的过程是一连串互动、解决问题的过程，由于互动的本质、检索问题而产生多样的情境，形成不同的意义建构过程，且意义建构理论是一种强调以历时性过程为导向的研究方法，提供倾听使用者的方法，了解使用者如何解读他们目前所处情境、之前的经验及未来可能面临的情境，及使用者在所处情境中如何建构意义(construct sense)及制造意义(make meaning)。

决策”一词通常指从多种可能中作出选择和决定。

不同点：最主要的，决策的前提是 sense-making，必须要在意义构建的基础上获得一种共识，才能

进行决策。

1.决策，评价多种可能性并从中做出决定，这种评价先于人们的行动。意义构建认为人们首先会选择做已经对他们有意义的事情。

2.决策时个人层面的，意义构建是团体层面的。

3.决策热为参与者相容，而意义构建认为参与者不同。

4.决策认为决定是理性客观地，意义构建是主观的，合理的。

5 决策的评价是精准的，意义构建只是貌似可信的。

6.决策的参与者对环境产生的信息有不同的理解，而意义构建则有共同的感知。

释意核心解决的问题就是分析当前发生了什么事情，下一步应该怎么做。

阐释完释意过程之后，作者强调了释意的一些性质，比较重要有以下几点：

1.释意是与行动紧密联系的，we see what until what we see what we did,。

2.释意是通过交流实现的 医生要与护士、病人家属进行沟通，以获取释意所需要的尽可能充足的信息。

3.释意是强调 plausibility（貌似可信），与真实情况无关。释意关注将行动继续下去，只要对异样现象做出貌似可信的解释，能够将行动进行下去，释意的目的就算达到了。

4.释意与组织身份是相互影响的。人们认为自己是什么样的人会影响人们对事物的看法，反过来也一样。

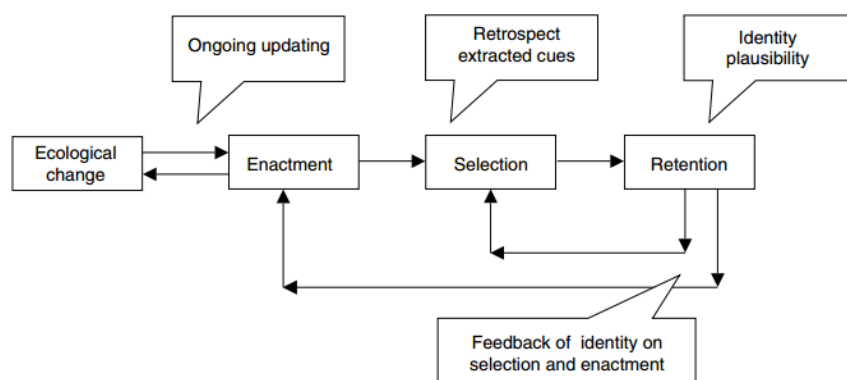
Sensemaking is a process by which people give meaning to experience. Sensemaking involves turning circumstances into a situation that is comprehended explicitly in words and that serves as a springboard into action. Sensemaking is central because it is the primary sites where meanings materialize that inform and constrain identity and action. Its central role is in the determination of human behavior, whether people are acting in formal organizations or elsewhere. It is about the interplay of action and interpretation, rather than the influence of evaluation on choice.

[1]严格地说，以“认知影响行为”作为研究取向的组织理论家们强调，组织各种决策的制定及其对外所采取的各种行动主要基于管理者不同的心智模式，因而也表现出各具差异性与独特性的“有限理性”。组织理论的认知观旨在探讨不同的认知架构来源如何影响组织决策的制定以及心智模式的形成等问题。自卡内基—梅隆学派的认知理论问世以来，组织认知理论的研究视角就包括认知观、信息处理观和组织记忆观三种。本文主要对认知观进行述评。

• What is enactment theory (ESR)? Based on enactment theory, how to understand the relationship between identity and sensemaking?

- ，角色扮演理论认为：个人正是通过扮演他人角色即角色扮演，来获得运用和解释有意义的姿态的能力，从而了解社会上的各种行为习惯和规范，最终实现自我的社会化。
- 补充，身份是由自我认知和他人看法综合而成的。正是在意义构建的基础上，在于他人的互动中形成的共识（common sense）使得我们获取了社会化，从而真正实现了身份的塑造。

Figure 1 The Relationship Among Enactment, Organizing, and Sensemaking



首先是实施者的扮演，包括意义构建的观察与分类活动。这些活动被正在进行的项目的差异和模糊性触发，而后开始将事件变为有序的情景。扮演是由于多重含义的可能性而会产生模糊性的一种行动。这些活动产生了原材料，这些原材料可以成为合理的 These actions produce the raw materials which can then be made sensible.

其次，这种生态变化与扮演的互动关系包括意义异常的意义构建活动 Then, the reciprocal relationship between ecological change and enactment includes sensemaking activities of sensing anomalies, enacting order into flux, 被外部效应所塑造。

然后再选择的过程中，在交互注意，心智模型的作用下，可能的意义数量减少，同时产生一个合理的解释。这就是说，选择是减少之前产生的模糊性的一个过程。

最后，不确定的和暂时的解释在组织的保留过程中获得进一步的支持 当一个合理的解释被保留时，趋向于变得更有力，因为与过去的经验有关，也与身份有关，被用来作为以后行动与解释的指导来源。

总的来说，扮演理论将组织的过程与意义构建的过程很好的匹配，表明人们试图使模糊的输入变得有意义，而后又将这个意义投射入现实世界，使世界更有序。

Weick (1988) describes the term enactment as representing the notion that when people act they bring structures and events into existence and set them in action. Weick uses this term in the context of ‘sensemaking’ by managers or employees. He also describes how they can enact ‘limitations’ upon the system to avoid issues or experiences. It is also seen as a form of social construction. To date enactment is related to organizations and their environment and strategic management.

Enactment theory deals with life in general and organizations. Individuals and organizations are constantly in the process of self-formation (Deetz, 1982). Employees form themselves in organizations. According to Eisenberg (1986) this formation occurs in two different ways. Firstly, they achieve stability through enactment of interaction cycles. Secondly through the development of rules for appropriate behavior. Enactment theory can be seen as a process whereby people achieve continuity and coordination. This process requires rules and roles, so that people can coordinate their activities with another. Enactment theory gives a rationale for distinguishing strategic and routine behavior. Much enactment is scripted. People employ routine communication plans when they can; when they cannot, their ability to devise new plans is crucial to their success as company members (Heath, 1994). In practice, a lot of what occurs on behalf of the company is routine, scripted, and random rather than strategic.

According to Weick (1979) organizations are in the process of organizing, it undergoes constant change. Enactment results because people are conscious of relationships. Enactment theory is related to organizations. Members of an organization cannot separate themselves as an individual or a member of the organization about how they think about the meaning they impose on themselves, other actors, and the

environment. Working in an organization reflects a person's products, services and activities.

Statement: "The external environment literally bends around the enactments of people, and much of the activity of sense-making involves an effort to separate the externality from the action" Weick, 1988, p. 130). Weick formulates it in a way that people engage each other, their organizations and their environment.

ESR:

□ enactment - enactment is to organizing what variation is to natural selection. The term enactment captures the more active role we presume organizational members play in creating the environments which then impose on them. Enactment is the only process where the organism directly engages an external "environment." The activity of enactment parallels variation because it produces strange displays that are often unlike anything that the individual or the organization has seen before (novelty). Enactment is an action that produces equivocality (ambiguity due to the possibility of multiple meanings). These actions produce the raw materials which can then be made sensible. Enactment produces the occurrence that can then be made sensible by the selection process. Sense is made of previous actions, retrospective sense making. Some degree of unjustified variation is necessary to produce true novelty.

□ selection -- selection involves the imposition of various structures on enacted equivocal displays in an attempt to reduce their equivocality. The selection process typically attempts to utilize existing retained cause maps or frameworks built from past experience. If what is retained fails to reduce equivocality of the enacted displays, it is time to discover a cause map that does reduce equivocality, i.e. make-sense of enacted displays.

□ retention -- retention involves relatively straightforward storage of the products of successful sense-making, products that we call enacted environments. An enacted environment is a punctuated and connected summary of a previously equivocal display. It is a sensible version of what the equivocality was about, although other versions could have been constructed.

VII. Network and organization

- **What is the unit of analysis for networks perspective? Based on this unit of analysis, how to understand the embeddedness of economic action?**

嵌入的分析单元是组织内部关系。

What is : Embeddedness of economic action refers to the process by which social relations shape economic action in ways that some mainstream economic schemes overlook or misspecify. And according to Granovetter, embeddedness of economic action refers to the on-going contextualization of economic action in social structures.

Why :According to Granvotter, the embeddedness of economic is very different from the over- and under- socialaized accounts, he asserts that actors do not behave or decide as atoms outside a social context, nor do they adhere slavishly to a script written for them by the particular intersection of social categories that they happen to occupy. Rather, economic actions are embedded in concrete, ongoing system of social relations, what's more, business relations are mixed up with social ones and at all levels where transactions must take place, firms are connected by networks of personal relations.

The influence: Decisions of economic actions are made during the process of interaction of concrete personal relations and structures of such relations. And it is also the concrete personal relations and

structures of such relations that generates trust and discourages malfeasance. So disputes are eased by this embeddedness of economic actions, rather than “institutions” or “general moral”.

一方面，主流经济学用理性人假设作为考虑利己经济行为的出发点认为社会关系是一种市场能力的反应。另一方面，社会学使用社会人的假设来简化经济行为到社会行为。认为经济行为的逻辑基础是组织面临的社会结构。显然，经济学缺乏社会化，社会学过度社会化。但是，当分析现实中的人类经济行为时，我们必须同时考虑自我利益与社会化。经济行为的嵌入是混合了上述经济行为与社会关系的另一个锚。事实上它反映出了社会结构对于经济行为的影响。根据 Granovette 这种嵌入强调了具体人际关系和这种产生信任，抑制不正当行为的关系的结构（网络）的作用。嵌入导致了 Embeddedness results in reference for transacting with individuals of known reputation—few are actually content to 事实上很少满足于依赖于广义的道德或是制度安排来指导问题的解决。这就是他们作为一种组织结构如何影响经济行为的。

- **What is the main difference in explanation of the inhibition of opportunism and the general existence of cooperation in economic life between organizational economics and networks perspective?**

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- 组织经济学中的合约理论抑制了机会主义
- 合约规定了双方的权利义务，为了追求利润最大化降低交易成本，双方组织会签订互利合约。合约中限制了企业家的权利，由于合约时间越长，越难预测对方行为，因此合约限制了机会主义。组织中的层级结构也会限制。
- 社会网络理论认为存在一种高于市场规则的秩序，去维护企业之间的合作，这种秩序就是人际关系和企业内部和企业间的关系网络。交易成本使用详细制定的合同和法律惩罚去禁止投机行为，解决企业争端。而社会网络理论认为企业间存在非合同化的关系，而这种社会关系网络机制本身会阻止投机行为的产生。

organizational economics theory focused on the transaction cost of organizations and stressed that there was a cost of using price mechanism, and organization arrangements could reduce these cost. Because of human' bounded rationality and asymmetric, there exist high cost between market exchange, so the transaction cost is the main reason for the existence of organizations. Organizational economics starts from answering the nature of firm by explaining the reason why firm exist. Coase argued that organizations, rather than price mechanism, can reduce transaction cost. In **general, organization arrangements is always associated with contract established, which can prevent the occurrence of opportunism**, because once the contract is established, both parties will supervise each other rigorously in the execution of contract. In other words, one party violate the contract, it will bear heavy penalty cost. similarly, in order to pursue maximum profit and reduce transaction cost to large extent, cooperation between organizations or firms can realized through establishing mutual contract. The essence of the contract is that it should state the limits to the powers of the entrepreneur. Owing to the difficulty of forecasting, the longer the period of the contract is, the less possible and less desirable for the party to forecast and specify what the other contract party is expected to do. This can inhibit opportunism. Moreover, in Williamson's view, the reason

why transaction is internalized within hierarchically organized firms is the assumption of economic actors with bounded rationality and opportunism. Opportunism is mitigated and constrained by authority relations and by the greater identification with transaction partners. Hierarchically organized firm have governance structures which attenuate opportunism. However, this perspective is undersocialized, neglecting the social context of economic transactions and action.

While in networks perspectives, as Granovetter noted that, even with complex transactions, a high level of order can often be found in the “market”, and a correspondingly high level of disorder within the firm. Whether these occur, depends on the nature of **personal relations and networks of relations between and within firms**. Granovetter thinks that Williamson vastly overestimates the efficacy of hierarchical power, and that social relations between firms are more important, and authority within firms less so, in bringing order to economic life than is supposed in the markets and hierarchies line of thought. **Trust exists between personal relations and social networks, which can play an important role to inhibit opportunism**. Because in certain value and belief systems, behaviors or actions are expected to taken in a standard or right way, once a member of society made some deviant behaviour against social norms, he would bear a certain social sanction and got a bad reputation. Through good social relations, it can establish long-term cooperation between firms and reduce conflict and improve the efficiency. To this point, social relations, rather than authority within firms, between firms are more important to make economic life more orderly, compared to in markets and hierarchies line of thought. This kind of embeddedness is nor oversocialized and undersocialized, which combine this two perspective and seems more closer to the dictates of the nature of economy and social reality.

• **What is the paradox of embeddedness? What are the conditions under which the embeddedness will be turned into liability?**

- 如果组织的嵌入性过高（都是 strong ties），那么其很难灵活的应对环境的变化，同时获得新信息、新机会的可能性也降低了。1.深度的结构变化，网络核心组织的非预期性损失 2.制度重组名社会关系发生变化 3.当网络中所有公司被连接起来，会阻止新信息进入。
- 相反，另一部分学者（以Granovetter 及Burt 为代表）则强调了弱联结在企业创新中的力量与

优势。尤其Granovetter 在1973 年提出了弱联结的信息桥观点，他认为强联结是在组织结构、

企业文化、愿景、经验、背景等特征相似的组织间发展起来的，所以，强关联网络内的创新资源

重复性高，冗余性强，认知类似，易导致产生创新锁定效应。相反，弱联结则是在组织结构、企

业文化、愿景、经验、背景等特征不同的组织间发展起来的，所以，弱联结网络内的创新资源更

具多样化、差异化，有助于有用资源的寻找，打破创新锁定效应

- 从动态的视角看，当组织成员间存在较高水平的互动、沟通与信任时，就存在所谓的强联系(strongtie)。在强联系的作用下，组织成员个体间进行有效的知识交流和共享。不过，强联系虽然有利于提高组织知识交流和共享的效率，但却仍有可能导致所整合知识在某种程度上的同质性。相对而言，如果强联系各方在

知识和能力方面都具有较高的同质性，那么就有可能造成重复冗余的知识和能力，特别是在组织间和联盟伙伴之间。基于强联系的知识整合确实可以促进或加快知识在组织成员或联盟伙伴之间的流动，但在一定程度上却会造成缺乏异质性知识的流入。交易各方在知识和能力方面较高水平的同质性有可能导致认知刚性，这种同质性包括语言、相关信息解读、理论与实践以及按市场占有率、创新等结果分类的目标内容的同构。随着这种知识同质性的提高，相互理解、利用他人知识和成功解码信息的可能性都可能有所提高，但却会由于知识差异或知识距离不足而导致无法创造新知识。

- 嵌入的过程创造了与现有环境的匹配，但同时减少组织适应能力。如果一个组织太过嵌入，那么网络关系转化为具体的交易伙伴，网络内的同构减少了多样性，集中程度的交换（只有几个网络中的伙伴）会导致信息冗余，减少新机会的接触。组织适应也会变得困难。
- 作者罗列了三个情况下嵌入会变得负面：1 网络核心组织的非预期性损失，或者更为普遍的，在资源流动中深层次突然的结构变化。这种情况下对于资源依赖与整合的组织损失产生了。如果组织有多种联系，那么可以向其他的伙伴寻求帮助。2 the institutional arrangements that “rationalize” markets or fracture social ties can also cause instability. 制度排除了社会关系，而这种社会关系可以创造与支持竞争优势。同时独特的管理网络关系的能力不能在其他关系中被使用。3 当所有的公司通过嵌入关系在一个社会网络上时，会减少网络中新信息的流动，因为与外界成员（可能有新主意）有很少甚至没有联系。在这种过度嵌入情况下，组织会衰落。交换的社会方面替代了经济命令，过度嵌入还将压制经济行动。更何况，一旦对过度嵌入的社会网络共识有争议，将会无休无止。