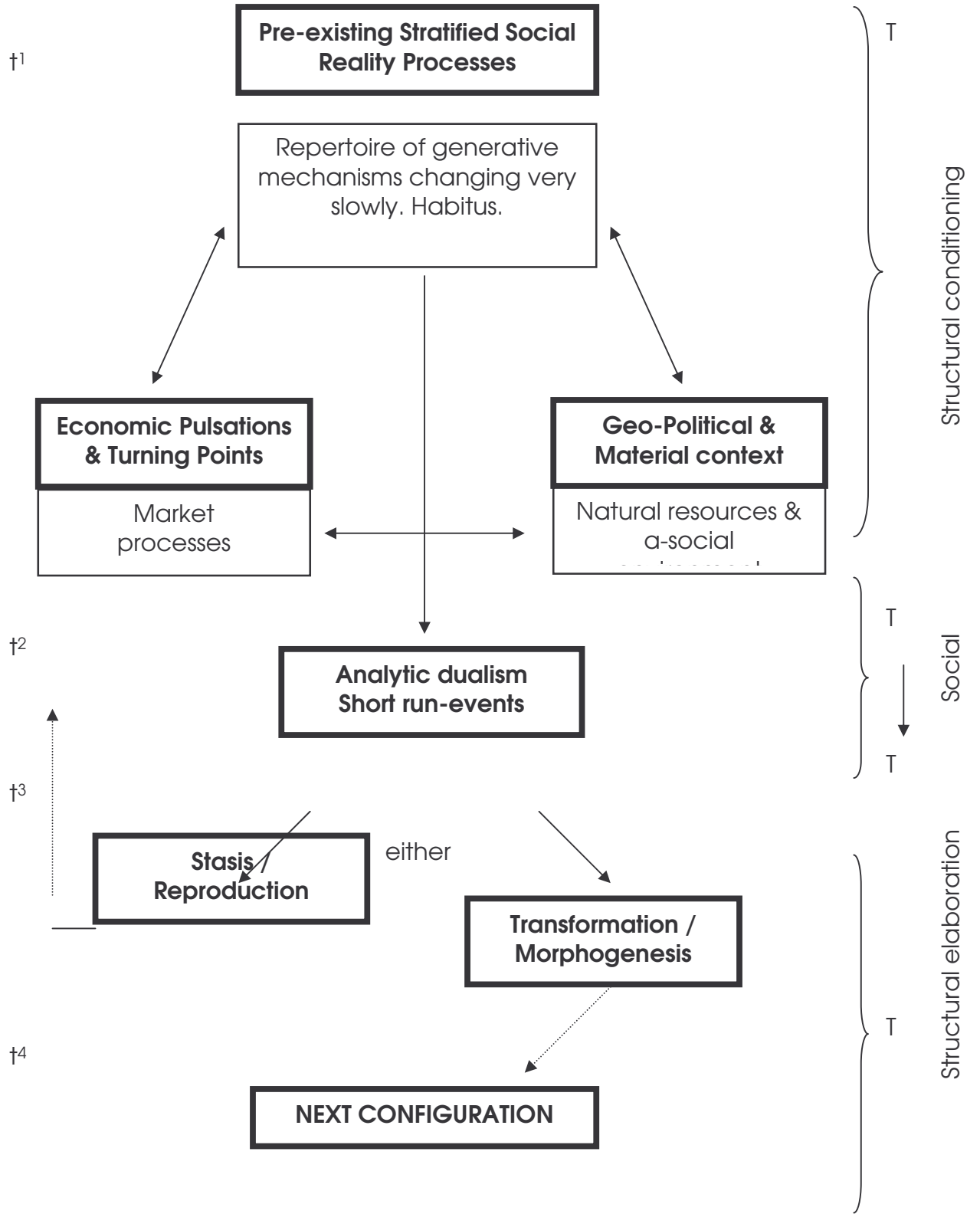


**EXISTING CONFIGURATION**





**TIME-PLACE PERIODS AS CASES FOR  
COMPARISON:**

**RETRODUCING AMERICA'S REFOLDING MARKET  
EMPIRE, CONSUMER POLITY & COLONIZING  
CORPORATIONS  
&  
ACKNOWLEDGING THE SHAPING ROLE OF THE  
CIVIL WAR.**

**Peter Clark & Giuliano Maielli,**

**Queen Mary, University of London.**

**European Business History Association, 12<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference,  
Bergen, Norway, 22<sup>nd</sup>-23<sup>rd</sup> August.**

## ABSTRACT

At the interface between business history and the social sciences there is the issue of temporality-space-place and the relative extent to which future scenarios might be shaped by the past and present. In the social sciences relational theories have sought to explore the interface between history and sociology (e.g. Elias; Giddens; Haydu) and the revisions to path dependency in political science (e.g. Mahoney; Pierson). Fifty years ago this issue was cautiously prized open by Cochrane and Hofstadter in the US (Stern 1960a) yet robustly contested in France between Braudel and Gurvitch (Stern 1960b). In the late fifties the long term historian of the state, Elias, challenged the fruitfulness of the contemporaneity principle advocated by Lewin.

Now business school research and theorising is scrutinizing the claims of critical realists to have resolved the differences between the social sciences and history through the 'in time' approach of Archer to morphogenesis. However, it is the notion of time-place periods as cases and the claim that periods could be distinguished by types of problem solving which is moving to centre stage (Haydu). This has been applied to the history of Rover from 1896-1982 (Whipp & Clark 1986). And more recently to *the* examination of impossible geo-historical trajectories (Clark 2006, Maielli 2006). Henry Ford could not have started out from the home of flexibility in West Midlands of England nor could Benetton have been established in the home of knitwear in the English East Midlands (Clark 1987, 1997, 2000, 2007 Booth et al 2008). Equally, it is argued that neither American Football nor the American funeral with the open casket and embalmed body could have emerged until after the Civil War. So, one intriguing question might be: Can Tesco survive in California?

These examples underline the issue of how hegemonic problem solving emerges and how it is reproduced in path dependent cycles or collapses in discontinuous development. Our paper applies the notion of *hegemony and passive revolution* to the periodization of America's evolving role in the global economy. Gramsci's original contribution was in interpreting the causal relationship between Italian business enterprises and regional politics in terms of the global situation which he foresaw in the 1920s as being shaped by American business and cultural practices. For example, the relationship between Croce as a 'liberal' intellectual and Agnelli's regime at Fiat. Gramsci's anticipations were both similar and different from those of de Grazia's (2005) claim that American hegemony was constructed in Cold War Europe.

How should American problem solving be characterised into periods and what role did the establishment of American internal hegemony after the Civil War play in the American Century? Central to our approach is how American problem solving radically diverged from the European habitus and – within the framework of capitalism – established distinctive notions of owning, purposefully designing, occupying and commodifying time-space. The periodization treats each of the cases in [Exhibit 1](#) as a time-place American case which is different from those cases before and following. The American experience of the making and refolding of hegemony and of passive revolutions is both distinctive and globally consequential for its colonizing corporations, its consumer polity (c.f. Cohen) and the institutions of the market empire. Thus our perspective seems close to the revisionist analysis of 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century America internally and externally by Lamereaux; Roy; Fligstein; Shenhav and by Scranton. Moreover, judging by the enormous index to the new Oxford Handbook of Business History our analytically structured narrative differs from those analytically structured narratives.

## QUESTIONS POSED

Two core questions are posed.

First, what are the defining capabilities of America from mid-20<sup>th</sup>C to early 21<sup>st</sup>C? The contention, dealt with elsewhere (Clark 2009), is that America became a Consumer Polity with Colonizing Corporations throughout its Market Empire and was an international hegemon until at least the 1990s. These outcome features are summarized in the penultimate section of the paper.

Second, when, how and why did the generative mechanisms that underpin these hegemonic capabilities emerge? The contention is that internal hegemony was an outcome of the American Civil War, in the period from 1859-1877. That is eruption of the secession issue to the compromise on reconstruction of the defeated Confederacy in 1877. International hegemony became increasingly evident after 1918 and blossomed in the Cold War. International hegemony was constructed in Europe (de Grazia) and in Japan (MacMillan 1982; Dower 1996; Clark 2006, 2008).

The Civil War was a world event (e.g. Bayley) which wholly transformed pre-existing American capabilities. Therefore, it is argued, neither American Football nor the American funeral of open casket embalmed deceased person could have occurred before the Civil War. These are examples. Equally, a whole raft of organizational features which are not properly attributed to the occurrence of the Civil War or to their 'birth' in the immediate ante bellum decades did not emerge post bellum. For example, the everyday capacity for normalizing and constructing pedagogical narratives about work, innovation and capitalist

market pre-existed the Civil War. Moreover, this form of discourse was massively diffused within the militaries, within the federal state and its public bureaucracy. This point greatly extends the neo-foucauldian thesis initially located in West Point and then the railways by Hoskin & Macve. These contentions are clearly different to the Chandlerian pedagogical narrative which normalized much of business history from the early sixties into the mid-eighties. These contentions are complementary to the revisionists although – significantly - hinging around a different causal nexus. Their relationship with the *Oxford Handbook of Business History* will be of interest.

The two questions already raised situate the US and its diverse business enterprises since colonial occupation and Independence in a global context by attending to the structures and processual repertoires within which the agency of exceptional individuals and the many epistemic communities resolved the everyday issues of problem solving and innovation within an exacting capitalist situation. The temporalities and processual repertoires of Americans evolved quite differently from their European origins.

Our purpose is not to narrate the passionate exploits of the Civil War. Our purpose is to highlight the extent to which when-ness has been obscured and occluded by Chandler and those who carried the message. It follows that the national stereotyping of the later Chandler should be closely scrutinized and revised (Hannah 2008). This applies particularly to the role of the key player: the USA.

## **BRAUDELLIAN COMMENT**

In Braudellian terms the USA, unlike the world of the Mediterranean in the early 17thC, contained remarkable affordances (Gibson) in the Northern continent. There was also the absence of serious competition from the European powers who colonized the Southern continent. After 1812 the USA was geographically far away from foreign invasions and involvements. The USA contained immense tracts of terrain for agribusiness situated within waterways and canals (pre-railways) that provided a much more predictable context for capitalism than the maritime world of London-England. Moreover, the terrain contained key resources of wood, coal, river power, oil and so on. Given the temporal projects of early Americans and their processual repertoires (see shortly) the USA became a realized context unimagined by Europeans (e.g. de Tocqueville) and chronically misunderstood by Europeans (e.g. de Tocqueville). Also under acknowledged even by American business historians. Correcting those misunderstandings is the subject matter of a growing non-business school publishing in the political and social sciences.

## THE PROPOSITION

The thesis of this paper is that macro level trajectories which conjunctured in the American Civil War and in the emergently unfolding following decades of the post bellum reconciliation shaped an American configuration as a consumer polity (Clark 2005) and Market Empire (Ferguson 2005, de Grazia 2005; Clark & Todeva 2006). The configuration included many unintended outcomes. These trajectories and configurations afforded American corporations exceptional potentials for growing competitive capacities locally that possessed an elective affinity for colonizing the globe. Moreover, these potentials bloomed more in each successive decade of the 20thC.

There were many un-designed and unintended consequences which contributed to the exceptional affordances for American corporate colonizing<sup>1</sup>. However, these unintended macro level events are largely ignored by theorists of the American corporation and by many exponents of business history. They privilege corporate agency, but explaining organizational, business and management history should include the macro level political economy, its geopolitics and the role of the nation state. Also, more attention is required to unintended macro level consequences for corporate zones of manoeuvre, especially for the strategy as practice. The grossly neglected events of ante and post-Bellum America provided a national hegemonic state with both extraordinary support for its colonizing corporations (e.g. information costs) and also templates for assembling the organizational and the non-social. A contemporary Machiavelli would marvel at the good fortune of America relative to the city state of Florence in the 16thC (see JGA Pocock)<sup>2</sup>.

America's trajectory within the varieties of capitalism requires a more geo-historical research program for organizational and management history (Powell & Fligstein 2005 c.f. Rowlinson & Booth 2005). European emulation has been exceptional not typical (Zeitlin & Herrigel 2000; Clark & Todeva 2006 c.f. de Grazia 2005). In contrast it is argued that organization and management studies, including business history, are still dominated by the genre of corporate agency. Typically the macro level of the nation state within the international political economy has been minimalized or is even absent. Thus competition between contexts is a taken for granted outlook yet systematic comparative studies of America-in-context are still rare, except in the critical tradition.

This paper contends that crucial, macro level events in the era 1855-1890s added to earlier unintended consequences in the construction of a spectrum of control systems which combined superiority at time space distanciation with remarkable potentials in the orchestration of excitement, sacredness, civil

---

<sup>1</sup>See Clark PA (2006) 'National Temporal Repertoires as Steering Mechanisms: American Sacred Times are Churning within Capitalisms' Time'. Palermo Time Conference on Retrosapes & Futurescapes, June 21-22.

<sup>2</sup> See the current discussion of whether by 2012-2018 the USA and Europe will be on a defensive as significant of the closing decade of the Roman Empire (see Peter Heather).

religion and of subordination (e.g. the hidden injuries of class). These are the American repertoires of hard and soft control and they are manifestations of a distinctive cultural repertoire about temporality and spatiality.

The long-term perspective will cautiously draw from the variant of critical realism proposed by Clark (2000, 2003) and Sayer (2000). Callinicos (2006) espouses a similar form of critical realism which is intended to bridge the yawning gap between explanation and normative theories.

The paper is in three main sections. First, we examine the theory of macro-level longitudinal morphogenesis. Second, the ante-bellum situation is stylized. Third, the Civil War continues, discontinues and transforms. An emergent configuration unfolds during four decades after the Civil War. There is a brief summary re-statement of the argument.

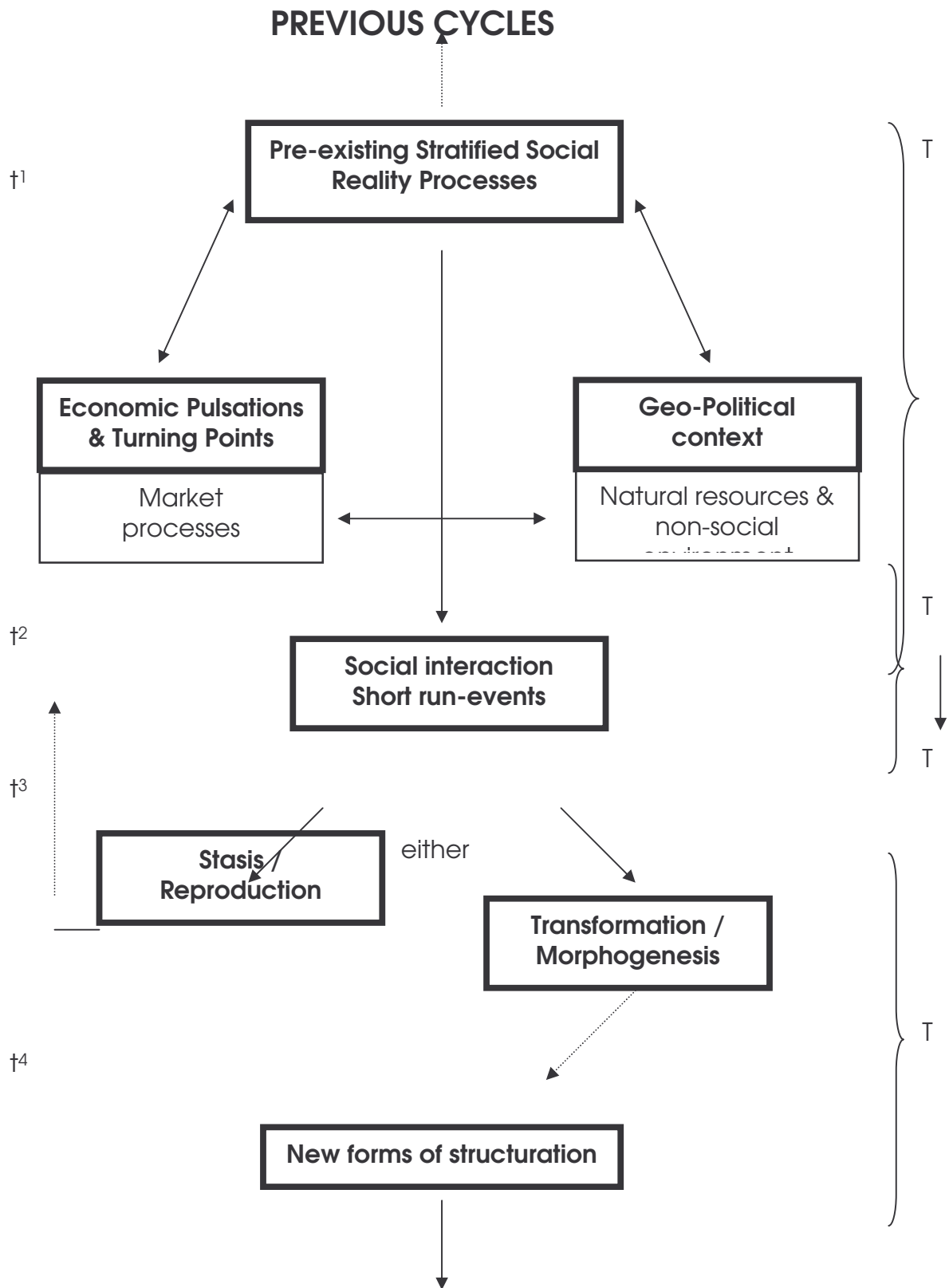
## **META-FRAMEWORK PAST→PRESENT→FUTURE**

### **1. Longitudinal**

In this paper the time frame is decades, generations and longer. In this longitudinal perspective contingent path dependency and multi-level rhythms are central (Clark 2000). Dynamic, recursive, contingent and episodic, emergent configurations become established irrespective of social and individual intentions. These continue to unfold in similar, contingently recursive patterns (c.f. chronic recursiveness: Giddens) over long periods. The perspective is expressed schematically in [Figure 1](#) (Clark 2000, 2003, 2006).

# **FIGURE 1 FOLLOWS**

**FIGURE 1**





The time frame for the whole figure depends upon the chosen problem. The analysis starts with the specification of the period which is to be the focus of analysis. In this case the period is that of 1859-1890s in America and in its world context. This configuration is located within a longer term unfolding in which the pre-existing structural repertoire of sedimented mechanisms (see Tt1) interacts with the agency of corporate, social and individuals actors in the present (see Tt2-Tt3). The outcome (Tt4) may be the reproduction of the pre-existing or its transformation. Therefore, this requires the construction of the pre-existing stratified reality (Tt1) including the social structure and cultural repertoire of America, its institutions and firms. Then, moving downward, we examine the ongoing time-frame of events over a period of time, possibly decades (e.g. 1860s-90s). The mid-part deals with the ongoing time frame that is the focus of analysis. There is a three fold configuration of politico-social structure interacting with the realized material environment and the pulsations of the economy. One focus is upon emergence of new structures (i.e. transformation) and whether there are sustainable zones of manoeuvre for strategic choice (Clark 2000). The approach emphasizes the importance of pre-existing structures of necessary and contingent relationships as well as the hidden causal mechanism and the specificities of regional contexts (Archer 1995, 2000; Clark 2000). The opportunities for agency are far from neglected (Archer 2005) but their possibilities do not necessarily correspond to discursive penetration (c.f. Giddens 1984). A key analytic discipline is to minimise the elision between the past, present and future (Archer 1995). The intention is a theory of process incorporating sequences of recurrent action patterns (RAPs), timed space and the sociology of expectations (Clark 2000, 2003). This is time with social structure (Gurvitch, Giddens, Harvey, Bourdieu, Archer c.f. current time research).

## 2. Periodizing and Turning Points

Unjustified periodization, presentism and teleology are the Achilles heel of historical exercises undertaken from business schools. Also, for much of policy analysis. Equally, the compressing of British and American histories into the singular framework of an Anglo-American template exaggerates the similarities and obliterates the consequential differences. Moreover, the Universalist assumption of common North Atlantic heritage for America and Europe is entirely deceptive. Therefore this section seeks to provide a stylized outline of the American case in the form of discontinuous typologies suggested by Gurvitch (1964).

Periodization is needs to be focussed upon the problem which is the issue and thesis. Therefore in this paper the periodization and very macro turning points are: the break from England, Independence and Constitutional Compromise, Civil War, Post bellum until 1917; the two wars, The bi-polar Cold War and after. There are many potential sub-periods relevant to this problematic. For example: after 1776 the establishment of a horizontal collection of states within the same constitutional apparatus (after the 1780s); the co-existing material success for the diverse original states and their expansion across the

continent; the growing signs of conflict between the southern and northern states (espec. 1850s). And so on.

The American case consists of multiple, partly discontinuous long-term configurations each possessing a distinctive investment in categories, epistemes, orders of justification (see Thevenot, Boltanski, Chiapello) and of infrastructural relations between capitalism and American society. In each configuration the global situation is significant and hence the roles of the American state, the agency of key strata and the military are central.

A cautious periodization justified by the analytic requirements suggests a number of macro configurations:

- (1) The American colonies were created through European centres as part of the capitalist triangle of trade in the North Atlantic. This lasted from the early 17thC until early decades of the break from London, the Crown and England after the 1763. The date of 1776 is a convenient fiction covering a collection of discontinuities and transformations.
- (2) From Independence through a remarkable period of geographical expansion and economic growth until the Civil War of the 1860s.
- (3) The Civil War which compressed a generation into half a decade.
- (4) From the era of post-bellum reconstruction as a consumer polity until 1918 contained further transformations.
- (5) 1918 to 1945 with uneven economic growth yet an increasing Market Empire and the successful tournament of elimination (Elias) with Germany-Japan and the dislocation of European colonial powers with colonies in Asia (e.g. UK, Netherlands)
- (6) Through the entry into the Cold War and its exit into the situation whereby the notion of market empire is being freely deployed.
- (7) The period after 1990

In each of these periods the churning between the times of capitalism and of sacred times took a distinctive configuration.

From the 17thC onward American times took a distinctly futuristic orientation towards capitalism, towards God and towards sacred activities. In the 19thC museums were for promoting images of the future and for revealing and explaining existing items like saw milling machines.

### **3. Role of the state in North Atlantic capitalism 1630-19thC.**

In the past two decades the role of the state has been approached tentatively. Stocpol (1985) ignited debate about the role of the State in her reworking of Barrington Moore's argument on the relocation between social classes and revolution whilst turning the role of the State into an explanatory element. Jessop (2001) highlights the states' role as a distinctive factor in shaping institutions, group formation, interest articulation, political capacities and demands beyond the state in the society. States are macroscopic configurations of organization and action that influence the meanings and methods of politics for all strata and classes in any society. This means treating the government and

the state institutions as independent corporate actors. Jessop underscores the Weber-Elias perspective on the rationalization/ pacification of social life as the state grows. Therefore the difference past and antebellum in America is significant and the differences between the American state and European states is also significant for the monopoly of violence (Clark 2008).

States have to be studied in relation to socio-economic and socio-cultural contexts. First, on the internal dimensions the state is a compulsory association claiming control over territories through administrative, legal, extractive and coercive organizations. This core varies greatly between nations in its temporal repertoire, scope and capacities. The state is embedded in the constitutional, representational, executive and constitutional institutions. The state attempts to structure the relationships, competition and conflicts that occur in the civil society. Second on the external dimensions that state controls territories that may or may not be contiguous. We therefore have to examine how trans-national contexts shape and condition state structures, processes and directives. The modern state is always at the centre of competing and mutually involved other states. The state is involved in interstate competition and domination through trade and ideals as well as alliances. Third, the state can pursue transformation in the face of indifference and even resistance from strong political forces. So strategic elites may use military force abroad when there is little real support. Fourth, states vary in their capacities to balance taxations, build resources and capacities, and apply constraints and in their international position. State is key player for corporate networks within the state and in the international political economy.

State knowledge making involved the calculation of economic advantage albeit by strange economic theories. This tendency co-evolved with an extensive increase in recording by mapping, drawing, writing and statistics. For example, Paris became an obligatory point of passage for French mapping of the world. Ratios and heuristics became more commonplace and they were gradually designed into artefacts such as the early American saw milling machines. The artefacts were commodified. Equally 'futures' were commodified, especially the market for agricultural products (e.g. Chicago). There were unintended consequences and crucial affordances when these capacities were transferred from Europe and distributed to coincidentally create a digestible variety in the American context.

The habitus (Elias-Mennell) of capitalism was unintentionally shaped by contingent events in the North Atlantic context of state led competition between England, France and other nations. Each state promoted a form of nationalization which was progressively grounded by the investment in categories (Thevenot) that enabled the calculation of how to make profits and accumulate capital (Greenfield 2001). The English state developed nationalism in the 16thC as a unique form of social consciousness (e.g. Shakespeare). The investment in new categories involved a reflective re-ordering of reality. The English form of nationalism promoted a new form of social structure which challenged existing social hierarchies by elevating the prestige of occupations

that were oriented to the pursuit of profit (e.g. merchants). This was a moral organizing of reality. By 1600 the English form of nationalism was institutionalized and this socially constructed 'iron cage' of capitalism was rampant in the North Atlantic.

The American form of nationalism and spirit of capitalism was a direct continuation of the English repertoire, yet a gigantic step transformation. In the colonies this new form of consciousness progressively achieved a hegemonic position. The emergent outcome was a new configuration of occupations focussed on accumulation without the disruption of religion or the aristocracy. On the contrary. Property rights were imagined and sustained by the legal profession who came to be regarded as the shock troops of capitalism (Sellers). Intellectuals played a central role in creating conversations and pamphlets about technology, knowledge and making profits.

## AMERICAN CONFIGURATIONS & FIGURE 1

### 1. Exploring the Civil War Thesis

What role did the Civil War play? In terms of the meta-framework there are four major lines of impact:

- (a) Removal and/or significant transformation of the accumulated and pre-existing (e.g. North West Ordnance);
- (b) Largely unaffected accumulated tendencies (e.g. baseball heuristics)
- (c) Acceleration of pre-existing (see shortly)
- (d) Emergent and transformational capabilities (see shortly)

These are arranged diagrammatically in **Figure 1** to periodize and to indicate successive configurations prior to and then after the Civil War. Two major configurations precede the Civil War (see shortly). The Civil War compresses a generation into less than half a decade and then extends until the compromise of 1877.

By the 1850s the USA's business performance was as least as good as the Europe's leading nations. It is easy to exaggerate the effect of Colts pistols at the 1851 Exhibition as Rosenberg and Hounshell observed. However, ante-bellum USA contained capabilities in many facets of its structuration and techniques of problem solving and in the bounded design of everything: balloon frame houses, future cities. Rail tickets were designed with segments for different carriers. For today's purposes in Bergen 2008 the processual repertoires and time scapes can be illustrated by

- (1) Time-space distancing: innovation assembly, review and diffusion.  
Long chains and calculated inter dependence.
- (2) Normalizing and pedagogical narratives which were publically accessible to wide strata. This not confined to the graduates of West

Point. Rather the American habitus already possessed a keen capacity to record and make working drawings (e.g. breaking into English textile mills in the 1780s).

- (3) Capacities to commodify and modularize propositional knowledge through Penrosian services and through technologies (e.g. the stove; making gun stocks). Not confined to engineers but typical (e.g. T mails of Lincoln in CivWSar).

Process repertoires cover widely varying periods of time and contain event marked sequences for anticipated future situations. These were increasingly stored in log books in the form of diagrams. Processual repertoires are typically dormant for periods of time and therefore has to activated and re-assembled (Clark 1975, 2000).

These points reverse into the two configurations (see Figure 1) preceding the Civil War.

## 2. Founding Configuration: 1600s-Independence

In the long period between the founding of the many American colonies in the 17thC within the North Atlantic political economy and the break from London future Americans reconfigured secular and sacred times. There was not a state church and no cathedrals. Religion became a de-regulated field. Over the next two centuries there was a shift from God → nature → man. Americans also transformed the increasingly secular European institutions of time, space and abstract performative knowledge. In New England the cemetery manager systematically regulated that space and its usage. Money making became a religion. With Winthrop (1630s) there was no trace of the Christian attitude to usury. Credit was accepted as unproblematic and as necessary for the smooth running of society. By 1700 it was clear that accumulation of wealth was a moral virtue. Business emerged as a religion with emphasis upon methodical practice of piety and moral discipline. Mather stated that Christians should spend most of time in business.

The European Enlightenment was an important background which was interpreted differently in the colonies. The ideal of reason was constructed as a discovery and organization of natural laws. Moreover the laws of nature were extended to the world through their religious interpretation of Gods role in design. Much could be reconciled with Protestant religion. Puritan leaders accepted Newtonian science from the start. There were the Deists who considered God as the master clock maker. Significantly, the New World populations juxtaposed tradition (i.e. Europe) and their new ways. They certainly broke from the role models of the priest, peasant and noble. Many gave a routine role to constructing new knowledge grounded in observation and simple experiments.

By the 1730-40s the often remarkable success and wealth of the American pioneers was coupled with great areas of the unchurched on the extensive

frontiers of the settlements. In that context the Great Awakening was a remarkable spiritual revival probably commencing around Northampton in Massachusetts. Several key figures were regarded as spell binding evangelists who could address crowds of thousands. George Whitfield was a dramatic actor in the pulpit credited with recreating the joys of the regenerated and agonies of the damned. There was considerable revivalist gospel with a religion of the heart which also had to be self controlled in order to achieve the grace of God. The originators probably intended to bolster church discipline. However, their gospelling, especially amongst seamen, farmers, servants and the employed, tended to generate ecstatic behaviours which were awkward to reproduce in the setting of the local church. The Great Awakening accelerated cleavages within and between the protestant groups. New England Puritanism lost its hegemonic group and was replaced by Baptists, Presbyterians, Anglicans and other denominations. The currents of the Great Awakening implanted the evangelical principle and the appeal of revivalism, encouraged believers to exercise their own judgement. Consequently the status of the traditional clergy was weakened and habits of deference became more conditional. Repertoires of contention were established in ways which were quite different from those in France (see Tilly). The proliferation of denominations was accompanied by the creation of rules for civil inattention. Moreover, the Great Awakening did establish a counterpoint between its principles of the spirit and Enlightenment's concern with establishing a stock of knowledge categorized as reason. They both emphasized individual decision making. Equally, there was a remarkable undercurrent of equating the new colonies with the notion of a 'promised land'.

Civil religion emerged as a distinctive synthesis of convictions blending and fusing evangelical Protestant religion with republican political ideology and commonsense moral reasoning. This synthesis was commenced with a series of contingent circumstances including religious revival in the 1740s, colonial warfare with France, the struggle for independence, a great surge of evangelical denominations in the new republic, and the leadership of Protestant thought and agencies in creating a national culture. These contingent circumstances established a distinctly American form of Christian republicanism and theistic common sense which became the common intellectual coinage of the new United States. Consequently, although the separation of the state and the church was formally established in the United States the Constitution, religion and civics are deeply interwoven into all aspects of American culture. Civil religion is driven by national history and patriotism. This configuration pushed theology for educated elites and sectarian populists toward stress on the individual, on free will, and on personal appropriation of the Bible. Elsewhere in the North Atlantic world, the main Christian traditions opposed republicanism and the commonsense principles of the new moral philosophy. Not so in America.

### **3. Independence to Civil War: Economic Nationalism & the American System**

Americans broke up European knowledge in all areas into modular elements and many of these were claimed by new occupations. When the rail system was established the firms were capable of selling you a ticket on the East

coast that allocated sections of your payment to the sequence of private companies that transported you as you travelled westward (Beniger 1986). There was extensive commoditization of the landscape and its recording for commercial activity as property rights was relatively transparent. Additionally, land users were able to draw upon explicit rules, templates and models for the future the small town which gave precise spatial form to streets, residences, churches and so on. This format enabled Chicago to grow from a tiny rail side town. Many corporate firms, some rather small, had learnt to stretch their actions through time and space. Corporations obtained the capacity to engage in large scale activities.

The new constitution introduced a complete separation of the church and state providing also complete freedom of religion. Therefore many national church bodies were established. The calendaring of civic public life commenced with Independence Day and this quickly became the most important public ritual. The day was devoted to expressing national identity and local social capital. In this period there was a growth in Irish immigrants who stimulated the growth of the Catholic Church.

Modular-Design emerged as the precarious leading edge of creating and managing the future society (Clark 1987). The Essex balloon frame house was transformed into a modularised template which was expandable, customised and flexible space that was constructed from hard wood with a cladding of local soft woods. Design thinking led to the creation of the Oliver Evans mill with its multiple, balanced flows which was open to observation and control. These templates became rare examples of immutable mobiles (Latour, Star, Leigh) because there were the actors to transform the abstraction into its material form. Local suppliers were able to deliver. By comparison the components of Arkwright's mill lay in the warehouses of Philadelphia because there were neither the explicit, modularised instructions nor the relevant knowledge workers. For Americans the mill was not an immutable mobile (Jeremy 1980). Design thinking shaped transport systems. Entertainment was a similar focus for attention. These examples of design anticipate the 20thC development of adult theme parks.

Equally, the future orientation was constantly informed by the requirement for making decisions at a distance and for long distance communication. There were occupations and strata who sought to plan time so that specific goals could be achieved (Beniger). Americans began to give extensive attention to the pre-processing of the future. This led to the early investment in programming and procedures to control by determining the degrees of freedom within which decisions were likely to be made. This tendency enabled learning on big projects like canal building and was especially cumulative with regard to the design of machinery. There was a 'time line' from early jacquard controls through the manufacture of butts for guns (c. 1820) to the Bonsack cigarette making machine (c. 1870s).

From 1812 to the 1850s America expanded geographically, in population and in the productivity of its agriculture and nascent manufacturing. This was greatly enabled by the infrastructural innovations incentivizing the development of transport by rail and waterways and by regulating interstate autonomy and relationships activities. By the time of the London Exhibition of 1851 the American

exhibits astonished the British because of design and inter-changeability of components (Rosenberg; Hounshell; Blair). If there is such an impulse as “the search for excitement in an unexciting world”<sup>3</sup> then Americans seem to have been active searchers, spectators and participants. The form varied between the regions (Hackett Fischer: Albions seed). Also urban collective life had been transformed with both volunteer activities (e.g. fire fighting) and also with various forms of racing that often attracted huge numbers of spectators. The role of theatre became central (Butsch). Also the circus. PT Barnum pioneered the three ring circus. There were uniquely American forms of mass entertainment (e.g. minstrel groups).

The new synthesis of civil religion exerted a telling influence on American life. Its central tenets and practices continued to evolve, especially following the Civil War and later during the Cold War. The centrality of commonsense Christian republicanism set the stage for the Civil War. Dedicated Christians, both the North and the South, were convinced that the Bible supported only their own side. The patriotic fervour of the American synthesis possesses a profound sense of moralism and was imbued with righteousness.

Before Civil War the political and economic co-ordination of America was horizontal rather than vertical (Braudel; Bailyn 2003); the 1787-90 Constitution provided the deep legal culture; the nation state and the federal states acquired key powers (c.f. Perrow); national identities were reshaped from European forms (Elias); repertoires of contention were established (McAdam, Tarrow & Tilly 2002) in part through resistance to London via the medium of consumption (Breen 2002). The land empire extended to the Pacific and to the former Spanish colonies in the south. American trade had arrived, with battleships in Tokyo Bay 1853. The infra-structure of the American system of design was coming into place (Hounshell, Hughes). National temporal repertoires provided strategic steering to design the future, especially to control reverse salients as in gun making and transportation, but also in finance.

## **Tt2-Tt3.**

# **NORTH VERSUS SOUTH: CIVIL WAR, RECONSTRUCTION, COMPROMISE 1877.**

### **During the Civil War (Tt2-Tt3)**

America’s Civil War was a world event shaping the commodification of secular time-space flows and (as indicated) enabling a step change in the sacred dimensions. In the Civil War both sides, but especially the Northern Yankees brought an extraordinary grasp of logistics to the encounters which

---

<sup>3</sup> Attributed to Norbert Elias and used by him in an essay on leisure in the late sixties.



killed almost as many Americans (618k) as have died in all the wars of the last 140 years. There was a development of tactical and strategic thinking coupled to the movement of men and materials in different formations. There were huge shifts in the capacity to concentrate firepower. Existing capacities for controlling outsourcing was massively developed, for example, in the preservation of bodies to return to the North. This greatly stimulated the design of the American funeral (Clark & Szmigin 2003). Equally, there was a marked capacity for reflective causation (e.g. photography into film) and anticipation as a decision process. These features embedded and shaped the evolution of American Football from rugby and soccer (Clark 1987, 2000, 2003). They also contributed to the decline of cricket, even in Philadelphia.

In the Civil War the northern Union possessed the capacities to impose its formulation of the United States upon the secessionist southern Confederacy. If the Union had not won there might have been several nation states.

Brelson (1990) contends that in 1859, before secession in 1861, a sharply defined and exclusive political coalition of the Republican party captured the nascent American state in 1859 infused their virtual state with vast powers as exercised by Lincoln to remake the national economy in ways that had dramatic, largely still unrecognized impacts which include the templating of corporate bureaucracy and processes (c.f. Chandler 1977).

After forcing the south to concede in 1865 the Union coalition was forced to concede a compromise in 1877. Even so the Union coalition destroyed the decentralized institutions resisting the extension of state authority. They enabled the differentiation of a remarkable set of political institutions which – with hindsight – created a consumer polity and provided the home base of hegemony which later, after 1918, increasingly enabled a Market Empire. The modernizing of the north incorporated the pre-modern south. Moreover, during the brief period of half a decade the Republican coalition created a clientele of finance capitalists. It may be argued that the Civil War represents the true foundational moment of political development. Bayley (date) contends that the Civil War was a world event. The Republican coalition expanded the power of central state by creating a national bank, paper money and – temporarily – a dependent financial strata entrained to their fiscal policies. Thus the coalition travelled from a military and customs union imposing violent repression to, by 1877, state centered market integration with national markets and corporate consolidation.

In the 36<sup>th</sup> Congress there was sharply increasing tension arising from the northern concern to introduce tariffs which protected nascent industrial growth. The north was faced by the possibility of not just two states but possibly several and this would undermine their position in the international political economy. Expansion of north industry and homestead agriculture. There was the emergence of northern hegemony. The civil war created two mobilizations of the society's material and human resources. This stimulated a search for new ways of raising

tax and revenue. North had a market and capitalist response (e.g. public sub contracting).

### **Northern Contracting Bureaucracy: Quarter Mastering**

In ante-bellum America the federal state's largest chunk of expenditure was spent with the military, corralling the Indian population, entering wars with the Mexicans, surveying vast territories and protecting the spread of America in the West<sup>4</sup>. The military played many roles. They were heavily involved in waterway construction and management. Waterways were, as Fogel insinuates, major route ways of agricultural produce. The military ran the Indian department and were heavily involved in innovation for technologies of production. They were at the core of the evolution of engineering machines which could manufacture interchangeable components. Their strategic and tactical repertoire was more related to scoping large territories than fighting major battles. At the outbreak of the Civil War their officer class was evenly spread amongst the future combatants.

The Civil War became a gigantic economic and political project whose cost more than four times the combined cost of the Crimean War for the British and French in 1854-5. It was also a totally modern war in which weaponry was continually innovated (e.g. rifles, cannon) to increase the range, accuracy and spread of death and destruction. Some 618 thousand died. Almost, though not quite, as many as America has lost in the one hundred forty years since, including two world wars. There was huge production and delivery of materials. One million horses and mules and ten million pairs of trousers, fifty thousand wagons, considerable medical supplies.

For the Union its engagement represented a dramatic evolution in the capacity of the Federal government agencies which they had appropriated in 1861 at the outbreak of hostilities. The northern economy was well developed by world standards and was highly decentralized so that each state of the Union conducted the initial large scale ordering. The federals established a bureaucracy to undertake large

---

<sup>4</sup> This section draws from numerous sources, especially Wilson 2006 and Brensel, 1990.

scale ordering and gain standard, quality goods for the citizen army. This was unplanned, unprecedented (c.f. Europe) yet became very successful during the four year war and provided a malleable template for post-bellum corporations and public administration. The Office of the Quarter Master General quickly challenged the pre-existing state political systems and created a national bureaucracy supplying a massive geographical area. Logistics became a major focus of trial and error exploration and innovation on a huge scale yet with comparable elements to the much later evolution of the multi-divisional corporate innovation reported by Chandler (1962). Unlike the Crimean War in Europe supplies and troops could not be transported by ship. The Civil War involved the north in massive overland freighting beyond the areas then reached by the railroads. The costs for transportation were very high. The Bureau sought to manage the long linked chains – timespace distanciation - from contract making to transit in the field of battle through an arsenal-dept system which was constantly scrutinized. Suppliers in the north already included firms which were quite sizable. For example, they were quasi-monopolies for a number of goods and for machinery. Contract making became a specialized activity. Supplies could be rejected as the point of delivery if inadequate. This practice was similar to the 1823 rules at Springfield to control suppliers. The suppliers typically operated large and mechanized factories which, with wartime contracts, recruited female operatives to a high degree. The target of distaste was the role of the middleman and their participation was curtailed. The Quarter Mastering extended to the transit and burial of the dead and to the running of military (i.e. national) cemeteries. This role enabled the innovation of embalming and the American way of death from the 1870s onward (see Clark & Szmigin 2003, Clark 2008). With the onset of peace in 1865 this massive mixed economy in the North was rapidly wound down. Demobilization was quick. Former large scale contractors went into reversal.

The influence of these features pos-bellum on corporate America has been occluded through two features in the existing normalized pedagogical narratives. First, although the Visible Hand scoped the ante-bellum industrialization of agriculture there was deep tendency to attribute causation to post-bellum corporations and to the period after reconstruction. This feature has not been satisfactorily erased by the revisionist

critics of Chandler. Indeed the spanking new Oxford Handbook of Business History (Jones and Zeitlin 2008) gives pride of place to the second half of the 20thC and not to the kinds of explanation posited in Figure 1 and introduced earlier in the paper. Second, The index to the OHoBH is revealing. Only a single reference to Abernathy yet his tight, albeit mistaken, historical account of innovation in Ford and its subsequent re-evaluation represents an outstanding contribution to explaining the unfolding and refolding of America's organization and management history. One reference to the Civil War in twenty pages of the index.

The QM bureaucracy was a giant and visible organization in which trial and error learning became established. It provided its citizen members and the survivors of the citizen armies with clear examples of very big projects, of handling large manpower resources, of discipline in reserve and risk areas, of high investment, of financial management and of the use of recording (including diagrams and photographs) to reflectively improve performance. As indicated this formation deeply influenced the subsequent organization of that temporally enclosing institution – the American open casket display funeral.

## **Civil War: Northern Army as a Learning Enterprise**

The purpose of this section is merely to point out some features relevant to the proposition cited earlier.

The Union military faced a unique set of battle situations for which their previous experiences and strategic theories had not prepared them. The established military repertoires were based on post-1812 battle situations on the North American continent against opposition whose power-ratios (Elias) were highly negative. There was a gap between these experiences and their creation of Penrosian services within the military from those strategic theories imported from France (per Clark & Blundell). The influence of these was probably more of a counterpoint.

With the onset of the Civil War the Union military became a learning enterprise with a combination of dispersed agency and encompassing processual repertoires. This was an emergent capacity. Although the Confederacy undertook strong offensive forays the underlying tendency was to defend the secession. The Union forces chose the task of conquering the Confederacy – offensive actions, deep grief to the opposition and occupation. Within three years the Union military had acquired remarkable capacities for doing: rehearsal, discipline, organized movement with carefully provisioned supply wagons, corderoing roads, digging positions. Their processual repertoires included both flying columns and more ordered formations. The telegraph provided an important dimension (e.g. Lincoln's 'T' mails). Also, the repertoires were made robust by the polyvalent capacities of the civilian army. In addition to the doing there were uneven yet significant capacities for reviewing the doing and for articulating alternatives through trial and error learning. Focussed reporting and discussion is shown in the Brady snapshots (albeit posed) as indeed is the sequence of pedagogical photos on how to embalm the deceased for transportation to their families.

## **After the Civil War (Tt4)**

The role of the state was transformed

- (1) The horizontal co-ordination of the American nation became vertical (Braudel; Bailyn 2003);
- (2) The 13th, 14th & 15th Amendments to the Constitution altered the deep legal culture (Fletcher);
- (3) The nation state and the federal states acquired more key powers (c.f. Perrow);
- (4) National identities were further reshaped (c.f. Elias; Mennell);
- (5) Repertoires of contention (McAdam, Tarrow & Tilly 2002) were overcome by repertoires of control in production, distribution and consumption (Shenhav 1997, Beniger 1986).
- (6) The re-vitalization of civil religion in the 1870s.

(7) nascent standardization capacities were greatly elaborated through the northern-federal institutions and then professional associations (e.g. Funeral Directors).

(8) the control of activity through calculative forethought became normalized and transformed in diverse pedagogical narratives. One of these trajectories became American Football and provided key modularising inputs to the timespace distanciation of American entertainment. For example, the transit of Codey's circus in crates to Germany for performances which were observed by the Prussian military.

A rampant trajectory of global capitalism anchored in colonizing through corporations and flexible imperialism was assembled and launched. These developments widened the American spectrum of variety in forms of control and organizing to embrace both direct control and vertical integration (e.g. American Tobacco) and also articulated autonomy, cooperation and network organizing (e.g. Philadelphia textiles).

Between the 1860s and late 1890s the American nation and the state acquired a new problem set with wide scope implications for its organizations, their owners and for the salaried professionals. There was a burst of activity in the design of control systems for distribution and consumption. Consumption became the leading edge in which organic intellectuals promoted national hegemony in the emerging consumer polity. American entertainment and sport were distinctively pre-figured. The long-term problem (Scranton) set and habitus (Bourdieu) pre-figuring the 20thC Market Empire was set in motion (Bobbitt 2002, de Grazia 2005, Ferguson 2004).

Post bellum America, like Germany, became the global innovation pole for commoditised time-space innovations. These included an array of temporally significant features. Americans widely undertook modularization and inserted performativity as the narrative of instrumental reason. Also, they undertook multiple small experiments in constructing a commercial knowledge of instrumental formality and reasoning linking space-time-costs at work of all kinds. The military became a major player through the extensive training of engineers

(e.g. civil) and grammatonic learning (Hoskin & Macve 1987). The construction and diffusion of heuristics and descriptive statistics became routine. These features spilled into sports. The innovation of American Football (circa 1870s) and its evolution by coaches like Camp meant that this sport became an embodiment of 'America' and of time-space features (Clark 1987). Domestic life was permeated, especially for the growing salaried professional and managerial strata, yet also the lower middle class in clerical services and the support to the techno-structure (Yates, 1989).

There was a designing of flows in every area including the building of retail and office space in Chicago as designed by the engineer, Sullivan. The railways into Chicago were transformed into flow lines and their technologies for loading enabled the price of futures on the Chicago market. Production flows abounded. Bonsack invented the first machine to make cigarettes (1880c), gained control of the patents and sold them to capitalists in the USA (Duke) and Bristol, England (Wills). By the 1890s consultancies in process time evolved from the sectors of oil, gas, water, sugar refining and became suppliers of commercial services. AD Little (1905) exemplified this trend. They developed specialist tool kits, including the key analytic unit of 'unit operations' as a key module (Emery 1957, Clark 1072).

There was the establishment of professional associations (e.g. American Society of Mechanical Engineers) for engineers of several kinds and the early templates informed the later development of technician-professionals (e.g. Association of Production and Inventory Control Systems). Engineers gained occupational control over time-space heuristics. These new professions undertook their extensive measurement of overall cycle times and use of abstract symbols to allocate activities to categories for further scrutiny. Financial flows were expressed through notions such as shelf life. The routine filming of work activities and of machine activity (e.g. cutting speeds) transformed reflection and the critical analysis of existing work practices. Also, there was the use of film to transfer 'best practice' around America. Many journals were published each updating these practices. The organizational time table was transformed into the Gantt Chart. Its commercial distribution and use in teaching

management practice diffused the recording of total time inventory for workplace and for particular service or product line. The workplace became a temporal inventory used to construct ideal times. These innovations contributed to the growth of firms and their time-space distancing (Penrose c.f. Giddens). Therefore it is too simplistic to compress the evolution of this dynamic configuration into the accounts of Taylorism. Taylorism is merely an element.

Finally, contrary to the popular accounts of American knowledge making (e.g. Nonaka) there was a strong awareness and great capacities in the blending of tacit and explicit knowledge in ways which did have elective affinities with one trajectory of capitalism in the 20thC (e.g. game plan and American Football).

## **CONSUMER POLITY (INTERNAL HEGEMONY) & MARKET EMPIRE (EXTERNAL HEGEMONY)**

The consumer polity resides in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup>C pedagogical discourse of statistics and the highly political notions (per Gramsci) of “the average American” and the embedding of this major cognitive pillar in the use statistics – objectification – in surveys of consumer interests and political viewpoints. These were integral to the ways in which the open centre provided the public space into which discourses constructed by capitalist corporations defined the time scapes of Americans. In the same period, more or less as Zunz has posited, there emerged an institutional matrix within which systematic inquiry could be articulated, transmitted and utilized amongst the five key corporate actors shown in Figure 2.

The market empire, a notion proposed by de Grazia (2005), contends that American hegemony was constructed in Europe between the 1920s and 1980s with five core features: regarding other nations as having limited sovereignty over their public space; exporting American institutions of social science and civic spirit; claiming the power of norm making over best practice; opining a democratic ethos; providing apparent peacefulness through consumer culture. These claims are revised and extended by Clark and Todeva (2006) and in Clark's (2008) examination of pacifying innovations as the focal axis in the Elias-Mennell appraisal of America's civilizing trajectory. Hence Figure 2 shows international hegemony – which required the prior attainment of internal hegemony – as being deeply involved in the Cold War positions of Germany and Japan. For example, in the Japanese case since the 1951 San Francisco Treaty. Long ago Macmillan (1982) in his sharp analysis of the Japanese industrial systems observed on the role of America in restructuring Japan differently Germany, especially in the providing of R&D plus D&D (see the institutional matrix of Figure 2). Also, in



drawing Japan into the Penrosian learning experience of the American military contracting (see Civil War repertoire) and of direct access to America's domestic market.

## SUMMARY

The paper raised the question of how we explain the significance of when, how and why events occurred in a particular order. This was schematically stylised in Figure 1. The particular question of when-ness concerns the relationship between America's acquisition of internal hegemony and its contextual role in shaping the everyday life of corporate colonizing of America and then the globe (e.g. cleanliness and then beauty products).

The historicised thrust of this paper has constructed its theoretical repertoire by cross cutting the post-1950s debates between Braudel & Gurvitch (history and time) and between Elias & Lewin (long past & contemporaneous forces). It has taken a view of innovation as central but not confined to the diffusion perspective of Rogers. Indeed that perspective – already formalized by 1927 - was quite possibly an aspect of American normalizing and pedagogical practices from the mid-19thC onward. How else did so many firms copy the big 4 in Chandler's case studies of MDF? Why has that truly remarkable aspect of Strategy & Structure been so under scrutinized and examined?

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abernathy, W J (1978) The Productivity Dilemma. Roadblock to Innovation in the Automobile Industry. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press
- Abbott A (1988) The System of Professions. An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor. Chicago: Chicago University Press
- Adam, B. (2005) Time: Key Concepts. Oxford: Polity Press.
- Allen, D.E. (2002) 'Toward a Theory of Consumer choice as Sociohistorically Shaped practical Experience' Journal of Consumer Research, Vol28, March, 515-532
- Appadurai, A (1986) The Social Life of things. Commodities in Cultural Perspective. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Archer M S (1995) Realist Social Theory: The Morphogenetic Approach. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Archer M A (2000) Being Human. The Problem of Agency. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Archer, M. (1995) Realist Social Theory: The Morphogenetic Approach. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Archer, M. (1996) 'Social integration and system integration: developing the distinction', *Sociology* 30 (4): 679-699.

Barley, S. R. (1983) Semiotics and the Study of Occupational and Organizational Cultures. Administrative Science Quarterly 28: 393-413

Barley, S.R. (1986) 'Technology as an occasion for structuring: evidence from observation of CT scanners and the social order of radiology departments', Administrative Science Quarterly 31: 78-108.

Barley, S.R. (1990) 'The alignment of technology and structure through roles and networks', Administrative Science Quarterly 35: 61-103.

Bayley, C A (2004) The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914. Oxford: Blackwell

Beniger, J.R. (1986) The Control Revolution. Technological and Economic Origins of the Information Society. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bijker, W.E. (1995) Of Bicycles, Bakelites, and Bulbs: Toward a Theory of Sociotechnical Change. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Bijker, W.E. and Law, J. (1992) Shaping Technology/Building Society. Studies in Sociotechnical Change. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Bijker, W.E., Hughes, T.P. and Pinch, T. (1987) The Social Construction of Technology. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Boltanski, L. (1987) The Making of a Class: Cadres in French Society. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Boltanski, L. and Thevenot, L. (1988) Les économies de Grandeur. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Bourdieu, P (1997) Practical Reason. Cambridge: Polity

Braudel, F. (1985) The Wheels of Commerce. Volume II. Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century. London: Fontana Press.

Breen, T H (2004), The Marketplace of Revolution. How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Callon, M. (1997) 'Actor-network theory - the market test', Working Paper. Paris: Ecole des Mines de Paris.

Callon, M., Law, J. and Rip A. (eds) (1986) Mapping out the Dynamics of Science and Technology: Sociology of Science in the Real World. London: Macmillan.

Castells, M. (1989) The Informational City. Oxford: Blackwell.

Castells, M. (1996) The Rise of the Network Society. Oxford: Blackwell.

Clark P.A. (1975) 'Key problems in organization design', Administration and Society 7: 213-256.

Clark, P.A. (1978) Time Reckoning Systems in Large Organizations. Study of Time III. Berlin: Springer-Verlag.

Clark, P.A. (1985) 'A review of theories of time and structures for organization studies', in S. Bachrach and S. Mitchell (eds) Organizational Sociology: Research and Perspectives, vol 4. New Haven. JAI Press, pp 35-79.

Clark, P.A. (1986) 'Le capitalisme et al régleme nt du temps de travail: une critique de la thèse E.P. Thompson', Temps Libre 15: 27-32.

Clark, P.A. (1987) Anglo-American Innovation. New York: De Gruyter.

Clark, P.A. (1990) 'Corporate chronologies and organisational analysis', in J. Hassard and D. Pymm The Theory and Philosophy of Organizations. London: Croome Helm.

Clark, P.A. (1997) 'American corporate timetabling, its past, present and future', Time and Society 6 (2/3): 261-285.

Clark, P.A. (2000) Organizations in Action. Competition Between Contexts. London: Routledge.

Clark, P A (2003) Organizational Innovations: Process & Technology. London: Sage.

Clark, P.A. (2006a), 'Superfactuals, structural repertoires and productive units: Explaining the evolution of the British auto industry', Competition and Change, 10 (4), 393-410.

Clark, P.A. (2006b) 'Time' In Ritzer G. (Ed) Encyclopedia of Culture. London: Blackwell.

Clark, P.A. & R. Blundell (2007), 'Penrose, critical realism and the evolution of business knowledge: A methodological reappraisal', Management & Organizational History, 2(1), 45-62.

- Clark, P. A., Booth, C., Rowlinson, M., Procter, M., and A. Delahaye (2007a), 'Project Hindsight: Exploring necessity and possibility in cycles of structuration and co-evolution', Technology Analysis & Strategic Management, 19 (1), 83-97.
- Clark, P.A. (2007b) 'National Temporal Regimes: Steering Mechanisms in Capitalism and of America's Sacred Times'. Morello, G (Ed), Retrosapes and Futurescapes. Temporal Tensions in Society, Palermo: GMA
- Clark, P. A. & G. Maielli (2008) 'Making and Missing the @evolution of timed-space: How do you analyze longitudinal recursiveness and transformations?' In Roe, R., Waller, M. and S. Clegg. Time in Organizational Research. London: Routledge (October publication).
- Clark, P.A. (2009) America's Market Empire, Consumer Polity & Corporate Colonizing: Unfolding & Refolding. In Preparation, Copenhagen: Liber.
- Cohen, M.D., Burkhart, R., Dosi, G., Egidi, M., Marengo, L., Warglien, M. and Winter, S. (1996) 'Routines and other recurring action patterns of organizations: contemporary research issues', *Journal of Industrial and Corporate Change* pp 653-686.
- De Grazia, V (2005) America's Advance Through 20<sup>th</sup>-Century Europe. Cambridge: Belknap.
- Doel, M. (1995) Poststructuralist Geographies. The Diabolical Art of Spatial Science. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Dubinskas, F. (ed) (1988) Making Time. Memphis: Temple.
- Elias, N. (1994) The Civilising Process The History of Manners and State Formation and Civilisation. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Elias, N. (1982). State Formation and Civilization. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Elias, N (1996) The Germans.
- Farrel, (1980) Inventing the American Way of Death. 1830-1920. Philadelphia: Temple University Press
- Fischer, D. H. (1989) Albion's Seed. Oxford: Polity
- Foucault, M. (1972) The Archaeology of Knowledge. London: Tavistock.
- Foucault, M. (1977) Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Giddens, A. (1981) A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism. London: Macmillan.
- Giddens, A. (1984) The Constitution of Society. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Giddens, A. (1990) The Consequences of Modernity. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Giddens, A. (1991) Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Identity in the late Modern Age. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Giddens, A. (1994) Beyond Left and Right. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Giddens, A. (1998) The Third Way. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Glennie, P. and Thrift, N. (1996) 'Reworking E.P. Thompson's "Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism"', *Time and Society* 5 (3) 275-299.
- Gregory, D. (1982) Regional Transformation and Industrial Revolution. A Geography of the Yorkshire Woollen Industry. London: Macmillan.
- Gregory, D. (1994) Geographical Imaginations. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Gurvitch, G. (1964) The Spectrum of Social Time. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- Hagerstrand, T. (1978) 'Survival and arena', in Carlstein et al (eds) Timing Space and Spacing Time. London: Edward Arnold, pp 128-145.
- Harre, R. (1985) Varieties of Realism. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Harvey, D. (1989) The Condition of Postmodernity. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hassard, J. (1996) 'Images of time in work and organization', in S. Clegg, J. Nord and C. Hardy Handbook of Organization Studies. London: Sage, pp 381-309.
- Hoskin, K.W. and Macve, R. (1988) 'The genesis of accountability: the West Point connections. Accounting', *Organizations and Society* 13: 37-73.
- Henretta J A & Nobles G H (1987) Evolution and Revolution. American Society, 1600-1820. Lexington, MA: D C Heath.

- Henretta J A (1991) The Origins of American Capitalism. Boston: North Eastern University Press
- Holt, D. B. (1998) Does Cultural Capital Structure American Consumption? Journal of Consumer Research, Vol.25, June, 1-25
- Jones, A. (1991) Confederate Strategy From Shiloh to Vickersberg. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press
- Kammen M (1999) American Culture, American Tastes: Social Change and the 20th Century. New York: Basic Books.
- Konefes, J. L. and McGee, M. K. (1992) 'Old Cemeteries, Arsenic and Health Safety'. Cultural Resource Management 19-10: 15-18
- Laderman, G. (1996) The Sacred Remains: American Attitudes to Death, 1799-1883. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Laderman, G. (2003) Rest in Peace. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lakatos, I. (1978) 'Falsification and methodology of scientific research programs', in I. Lakatos and A. Musgrave Criticism and the Growth of Knowledge. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Latour, B. (1987) Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers Through Society. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Latour, B. (1988) The Pasteurization of France. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Latour, B. (1991) 'Technology is society made durable', in J. Law (ed) A Sociology of Monsters: Essays on Power, Technology and Domination. London: Routledge.
- Latour, B. (1993) We have Never Been Modern. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.
- Lamont, M & Thevenot, L (2000) Rethinking Comparative Sociology. Repertoires of Evaluation in France and the United States. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lave, J. and Wenger, E. (1991) Situated Learning. Legitimate Peripheral Participation. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Law, J. (1986) 'On the methods of long-distance control: vessels, navigation and the Portuguese route to India', in J. Law (ed) Power, Action and Belief: A New Sociology of Knowledge? Sociological Review Monograph 32. London: Routledge and Paul Kegan, pp 234-83.
- Law, J. (1994) Organising Modernity. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lears, J. (1994) Fables of Abundance. A Cultural History of Advertising in America. New York: Basic Books.
- Lefebvre, H. (1974/1991) The Production of Space. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Le Goff, J (1980) Time, Work & Culture in the Middle Ages. Chicago: Chicago University press.
- Leyshon, A. and Thrift, N. (1997) Money/Space. Geographies of Monetary Transformation. London: Routledge.
- Lipset, S. M. (1996) American Exceptionalism. A Double Edged Sword. New York: Norton.
- MacCulloch, D (2003) Reformation. Europe's House Divided 1490-1700. London: Penguin.
- Negri, A (1999) Time for Revolution. London: Continuum.
- Nye, D.E. (1997) Narratives and Spaces. Technology and the Construction of American Culture. Exeter: Exeter University Press.
- O'Malley, M. (1990) Keeping Watch: A History of American Time. New York: Viking Penguin.
- Mitford, J. (1962) The American Way of Death. Virago. Mitford, J. (1997) The American Way of Death Revisited. Virago.
- Nelson, B and Barley, S. R. (1997) 'For Love or Money? Commodification and the Construction of an Occupational Mandate'. Administrative Science Quarterly, 42-4, 619-654
- Ohmann, R. (1996) Selling Culture: magazines, markets and class at the turn of the century. Verso.

Perrow, C (2002) Organizing America. Wealth, Power and the Origins of Corporate Capitalism. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Pomeranz, K (2000) The Great Divergence. China, Europe and the Making of the Modern World Economy. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Prothero S (2002) Purified by Fire. A History of Cremation in America. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Sayer, A. (2000) Realism and Social Science. London: Sage.

Shenhav, Y (2002) Manufacturing Rationality. The Engineering Foundations of the Managerial Revolution. Oxford: Oxford University press.

Slater, D.R. and Tonkiss, F. (2001) Market Society. Markets and Modern Social Theory. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Stannard, D. E. (1977) The Puritan Way of Death: A Study of Religion, Culture and Social Change. New York: Basic Books.

Star, L.A. and Ruhdler, K. (1996) 'Steps toward an ecology of infrastructure: design and access for large information spaces', *Information Systems Research* vol 7 (1): 111-134.

Thevenot, L. (1984) 'The investment in forms', *Social Science Information* 23 (1): 1-45.

Thevenot, L. and Boltanski, L. (1988) Economies de Grandeur. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Thompson, E.P. (1967) 'Time, work-discipline and industrial capitalism', *Past and Present* 35: 56-97.

Thrift, N. (1996) Spatial Formations. London: Sage.

Thrift, N. (1997), 'The rise of soft capitalism', *Cultural Values* I, 27-57.

Tilly C A & Swidler A (2001). National Cultural Repertoire. ASA News Letter.

Urry, J. (1991) 'Time and space in Giddens' social theory', in C. Bryant and D. Jary (eds) Giddens' Theory of Structuration. London: Routledge, pp 160-175.

Walter, T. (1993) 'Dust not ashes. The American Preference for Burial'. *Landscape*, 32-1, 42-48.

Walter, T. (1996) 'Keep on listening: the neo-modern management of death'. In Howarth, G and Jupp P. C. Contemporary Issues in the Sociology of Death, Dying and Disposal, New York: St. Martins Press. Pp. 149-163.

Walter T. (2008) 'The Sociology of Death' *Sociology Compass* 2/1. 317-356.

Whipp, R. and Clark, P.A. (1986) Innovations and the Auto Industry: Product, Process and Work Organization. London: Pinter.

Whipp R, Adam B & Sabelis I (2002) Making Time. Time and Management in Modern Organizations. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Witkowski T H (1999) 'Painting the Domestication of Consumption in 19<sup>th</sup>-Century America'. Advances in Consumer Research, 26. 644-671.

Zerubavel, E (2004) Time maps: Collective Memory and the Social Base of the Past. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

END