Evolution from Basic Communities to Developed Societies Brought about by Reversal of the Organizing Principles

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Introduction: Ties-Based and Function-Oriented Principles

Humans have lived in small kinship groups as hunter-gatherers for most of their history since their emergence. According to the standard understanding established among academics, the social development toward civilization from hunting and gathering may be assumed as follows: start of farming with settlement → population increase → urbanization / specialization → social stratification. In this social model, the function-oriented principle of integration for larger organizations is supposed to be generated by an increase of population which is large enough to allow the social division of labor. This began about 10,000 years ago when cereal grains such as barley and wheat were cultivated in Mesopotamia.

In the development of human societies, such as the evolution from small bands in prehistoric times to the gigantic organizations of states in our era, social stratification has been accompanied with this grandiose accumulation of human complexities. The function-oriented principal is supposed to emerge with the appearance of human settlements, which was sustained by farming in the early stage.

It was possible, however, to expand organizations even with the natural, spontaneous principles which are based on kinship or territorial ties, that is, the ties-based principle. For example, the early city-states of Mesopotamia（approximately fourth and third millennia BC）consisted of temple communities. Although temple communities were headed by the priesthood, the regular members were incorporated into the community as believers, so the principle of integration was community-based. Integration was carried

out according to the ties-based principle, not by the function-oriented principle. In Mesopotamia, even after about 6,000 years had passed since the beginning of settlement and farming around 10,000 BC, human organizations expanded continuously on the principle of an extended kinship-based principle.

Humans removed the restrictions imposed on spontaneous organizations, and finally reached the era of function-oriented organizations which are predominant today. In this paper, the transition from basic communities to developed societies will be discussed in historical perspective from the point of organizing principles. The basic dichotomy of organizing principles is "people ← work" or "work ← people".[1]

The evolution from the ties-based principle to the function-oriented principle has been brought about by a conversion of the principle itself. First, the work was detached from individual humans and, consequently, recognized as function. Second, the attribution of human-work was overturned to work-human. The divide in the history of human organizations was shaped by an emergence of the function-oriented principle that was located on the opposite side of the ties-based principle.

1. Two Types of Social Organizations: Basic Communities and Developed Societies

A great deal of academic work has been done in sociology, anthropology, and various other fields relating to the history of human organizations and numerous systems have been proposed to classify human organizations according to diverse criteria. Generally, we can separate human organizations into two major categories. Among them, *societas / civitas* of L. H. Morgan (1818–1881), *Gemeinschaft / Gesellschaft* of Ferdinand Tönnies (1855–1936), and basic societies / derived societies of Yasuma Takata (1883–1972) are classic examples.

In the nineteenth century, researches based on empirical investigations began to be conducted. In 1877, Morgan published the book *Ancient Society*, arguing that the natural community based on blood relations, such as clans and tribes, substantiated the organizing principle of the primordial human organization. He systematically clarified

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1)　In the organizational construction, the vital elements are human and work; these two elements are finally integrated in entities. In the organizing principles, the time flow of the integration process of these two elements should be regarded as fundamental. Expressions using arrows for the direction of attribution, such as "people ← work" and "work ← people", represent the order of occurrence from the left to the right side. The arrows themselves do not signify the order in which the events occurred. Therefore, although the arrow " ← " (from right to left side) looks odd at first glance, "people ← work" indicates "People, first. Job, next. And Attribution, finally". It means that the people have been already marked and selected in advance; a certain job, to be elaborated subsequently, will be assigned to those people later.

the significance of blood-related organizations such as clans in human history for the first time. Morgan divided social organizations into two types: (1) *societas*, or organizations based on human relationships, and (2) *civitas,* or organizations based on territory and property.[2]

Relying on ethnographic sources based on empirical studies, Morgan was the first to argue that kinship-based tribal societies preceded political societies based on territorial principles, stating, for example, that "Commencing in savagery, and continuing through the three sub-periods of barbarism, it [the first type] remained until the establishment of political society, which did not occur until after civilization had commenced" (MORGAN 1877: 63).

This was the first case in which empirical and ethnographic data was used to demonstrate that a kinship-based tribal society preceded a political society based on territorial principles. He explicitly raised the issue of the transition from tribal society to political society in the form of "from blood to territory". In other words, according to Morgan, after the invention of the *deme* (township) by the Greeks from the eighth century BC onward, Solon's and Servius Tullius' reforms were the turning point from clan-based society to political society (MORGAN 1877: 7, 215–234, 323–335, *passim*).

Morgan asserted that the primordial social conversion has arrived when blood-related principles were overcome. Since this assumption was formulated by Morgan, the process of development from *Societas* to *Civitas* has become an important issue in the evolution of societies.[3]

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2) "It may be here premised that all forms of government are reducible to two general plans, using the word plan in its scientific sense. In their bases the two are fundamentally distinct. The first, in the order of time, is founded upon persons, and upon relations purely personal, and may be distinguished as a society (*societas*). The gens is the unit of this organization; giving as the successive stages of integration, in the archaic period, the gens, the phratry, the tribe, and the confederacy of tribes, which constituted a people or nation (*populus*). At a later period a coalescence of tribes in the same area into a nation took the place of a confederacy of tribes occupying independent areas. Such, through prolonged ages, after the gens appeared, was the substantially universal organization of ancient society; and it remained among the Greeks and Romans after civilization supervened. The second is founded upon territory and upon property, and may be distinguished as a state (*civitas*)." (MORGAN 1877: 6–7)

3) Especially Morgan's assertion had a significant impact on Marx and Engels who deliberated the occupation of land by community at the center of the debate. The influence of Morgan was definitive to Marx and Engels, so as that they characterized the end of the primitive community and the start of new secondary communities using the term *Aufheben* of the kinship principle of social composition. Although the works in this field left by Marx and Engels (for example, ENGELS 1884) were quite sketchy which were far from complete, the assumption suggested by Morgan has taken root as the core of the so-called historical materialism formulated under the influence of Marxism in the social sciences (KRADER 1973; KORANASHVILI 1980; SHAW 1984).

In Ferdinand Tönnies' *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, the Gemeinschaft (community) is presumed to be an organization of real and organic unity, held together by the intrinsic will of man, and it preceded the Gesellschaft (profit-seeking organization) (Tönnies 1922).

This dichotomy was clearly elucidated by the Japanese economist-sociologist Yasuma Takata. He categorized the typology of two societies by contrast with each other calling *basic societies* for primitive groups based on natural ties, such as blood and territorial ties and *derived societies* for artificial, conscious, and purposeful societies based on similar or common interests. In his book *Principles of Sociology* published in 1919 in Japanese, Takata discussed the essence of societies using a dichotomy of natural versus artificial societies. According to Takata, the societies in which members are directly connected are called *natural societies*, because "they are naturally connected by the close ties of blood and territory," while artificial societies are the "constituted societies" that are created through special human efforts. Of course, Takata also believed that "natural society is the basic society and artificial society is the derived society", and that basic society and derived society were not simply exclusive opposites, but mutually dependent and mutually complementary. In other words, "Natural society is the foundation and premise of artificial society. Without the former, the latter will never be derived and succeed. Also, considering the relationship of simultaneous dependence, human society is based on natural society, and without it, it cannot emerge. Thus, I call natural society 'basic society', and in contrast, artificial society 'derived society'" (Takata 1919: 937–939). This defines clearly the terms of basic society and derived society.

Like Tönnies, Takata also believed that the natural society (*basic society*) formed on the basis of blood and territory ties was the cornerstone, from which the profit-oriented artificial society (*derived society*) was generated.

Along the line of the above considerations, we can classify societies into two clear-cut

Table 1 Typology of Organizations — Basic Communities and Developed Societies —

	Basic Communities	Developed Societies
L. H. Morgan (1818–1881)	*Societas*	*Civitas*
Karl Marx (1818–1883)	Community	Civil Society
William Graham Sumner (1840–1910)	Inner Group	Outer Group
Ferdinand Tönnies (1855–1936)	*Gemeinschaft*	*Gesellschaft*
Emile Durkheim (1858–1917)	*Solidarité mécanique*	*Solidarité organique*
Charles Cooley (1864–1929)	Primary Group	Secondary Group
Robert Morrison McKeever (1882–1970)	Community	Association
Yasuma Takata (1883–1972)	Basic Society	Derived Society
Pitilim-Alexandrovich Sorokin (1889–1968)	Organizational Group	Non-Organizational Group
T. Burns & G. M. Stalker	Organic	Mechanical

Source: Author

types: basic (natural / human) communities and developed (artificial / functional) societies. The representative theories on the typology of the human organizations are shown in Table 1.

2. Restrictions Imposed on Basic Communities for Expansion

From a historical point of view, basic communities emerged first, and developed societies were born afterwards. What process did it follow?

Humans subsisted by hunting-gathering activities for most of their history since their appearance. The early form of human society is supposed to have been local communities as a super-structure of individual bands; the existence of a family, which was the primordial unit, was sustained as the substructure within bands. The family-relationship network consisting of parents, children and relatives was constructed and expanded. Human mobility between bands is supposed to have been quite significant so that individual families could move between bands through broader networks. However, although the family formation within the band changed due to separation and gathering in the long run, the unit of independent livelihood and life in the era of hunting and gathering in nature was carried out in a community of around ten families rather than an individual family. It was a band as a whole of the family, and it is exactly a "community of life" that shared their daily lives (TANNO 2009: 27).

How did human groups evolve from the primitive organizations of basic communities to the sophisticated organizations of developed societies? It was only about ten thousand years ago that, owing to the start of farming and livestock husbandry, they began to shift to food production, which was fulfilled, however, in very limited areas like the *Fertile Crescent* in Mesopotamia.

Even after shifting from the hunter-gatherer life to farming and herding, the usual method of expansion for a larger organization was based on the ties-based principle such as kinship or/and territorial ties. Around 8,000 BC, wheat cultivation began in the hills surrounding Mesopotamia, that is, the *Fertile Crescent*, and around 5,000 BC, irrigated farming began in the alluvial plains of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers, resulting in rapid population growth. Villages became larger and larger from around 3,500 BC, and the ancient city civilization was established in this area. From around 8,000 BC, when primitive farming began, to about 2,000 BC, when the Semitic nomads, the Amorites, spread into the Mesopotamian plains, the settlements were made up of temple communities. According to Henri Frankfort, ordinary members were normal farmers, with the existence of chef-priests, in these communities (FRANKFORT 1951: 49–77). These communities were, therefore, organized under the spontaneous ties-based principle.

For rapid organizational expansion, it is more efficient if there is a principle that goes beyond the kinship-based principle. How, then did it convert from the world where the

ties-based principle was dominant to the world where the efficiency-seeking and rationalist principle predominates? How did they overcome the constraints imposed on primitive organizations? What might be this non-kinship-based principle, and when, who, and how did it develop?

3. Practices to Mitigate the Constraints Imposed on Basic Communities

It is likely that gifting and redistribution can be identified as the means to break the restraints of the ties-based principle and to shift to the higher-level organizations. As we have seen above, it is assumed that in the primordial form of human groups, a local community was constructed by several bands, for example of an order of ten. Therefore, the size of the group that could be constructed under the principle of self-reliance without any artificial measures was supposed to be approximately 300 to 500 people. In order to allow a group larger than that size to be viable, some kinds of artificial mechanisms, practices, or measures were required in addition to the self-organizing principle. What is not present in chimpanzee groups but is present in human communities is the practice of gifting so that the gift-giving practice may be one of more plausible candidates.

Marcel Mauss (1872–1950), anthropologist and nephew of Emile Durkheim, found in the practice of gift-giving the driving force to bring about the transition from a primitive form of organization to a higher form of organization. Mauss named the obligatory gift system observed in uncivilized societies, such as potlatch, kula trading, etc., as *prestations totales*, and argued that each group overcomes its closeness and exclusiveness to form a higher social group and fabricate a sense of belonging to it (MAUSS 1923–1924). Marshal Sahlins explains clearly its implications.

> Voici donc une nouvelle version du dialogue entre le chaos et le pacte, transposée de l'explication de la société politique à la reconciliation de la société segmentaire. *L'Essai sur le don*, c'est un *Contrat social* à l'usage des primitifs. (SAHLINS 1968: 5)

Owing to Mauss, *prestation totale* has the power to connect groups of others and to expand the alliance side by side while maintaining mutual independence. Moreover, it is a method for forming higher-order social groups by connecting strangers (cf. BOUDON 1967; RACINE 1986; CAILLÉ 2004). It is true that gift-giving has advanced the primordial form of organization to a higher stage, but in the gifting economy, things and people manifest themselves as personalities.[4] The basic organizing system in communities practicing gift-

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4) According to Marshall Sahlins, "Dans le jeu des prestations totales entre clans, dit Mauss, « il y a mélange de liens spirituels entre les choses qui sont à quelque degré de l'âme et les individus et les groupes qui se traitent à quelque degré comme des choses ». Au-delà de l'irrationnel, il est à peine

giving was the ties-based principle. Rather, it was a way to reinforce the ties-based principle and expand the organization in that direction. It was not a decisive shift in the organizing principle

Karl Polanyi (1886−1964), one of the founders of economic anthropology, argued that, before the market economy was fully developed, the economy was integrated by three principles: reciprocity, redistribution, and householding (Polanyi 1944: 54-55). These three principles do not represent the stages of evolution and they were coexistent in pre-market societies. Despite of the coexistence of the three principles in each organization, the main principle of integration was the reciprocity for the primitive organizations such as bands, through the redistribution for the rudimentary centralized states such as chiefdoms where reciprocity was also dominant as well as redistribution, and finally the exchange for the market economies where exchange is overwhelmingly dominant, whereas reciprocity and redistribution are still persisting .

After Polanyi's argument, Morton H. Fried (1923−1986), based on the studies of Marshall D. Sahlins, "emphasized the central role of redistribution in emergent hierarchical societies" (Feinman 1996: 1069). He described the series of political organizations from egalitarian society, then rank society, then stratified society, and finally the state. He has succeeded in presenting a clear vision of an evolution of political entities that humans had constructed in the past.

One of the most attractive ideas for me that Fried suggested in his book, *The Evolution of Political Society*, is the pair of human-work as well as their relationship, that is, *attribution of human-work*. He describes an egalitarian society throughout his book, somewhat pictorially as in the following passage:

> An egalitarian society is one in which there are as many positions of prestige in any given age-sex grade as there are persons capable of filling them. Putting that another way, an egalitarian society is characterized by the adjustment of the number of valued statuses to the number of persons with the abilities to fill them. If a particular period is rich in able persons, their number will be large, and at other times it will contract. Let it be put even more strongly. An egalitarian society does not have any means of fixing or limiting the number of persons capable of exerting power. As many persons as can wield power—whether through personal strength, influence, authority, or whatever means—can do so, and there is no necessity to draw

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exagéré de dire que le processus rejoint la définition clinique de la névrose : des personnes qui sont traitées comme des objets ; des gens qui se confondent eux-mêmes avec le monde extérieur. Mais, même en dehors du désir d'affirmer la rationalité de l'échange, une fraction importante de l'anthropologie anglo-saxonne semble répugner d'instinct à cette commercialisation des individus apparemment impliquée dans la formule de Mauss."(Sahlins 1968: 15)

them together to establish an order of dominance and paramountcy.（Fʀɪᴇᴅ 1967: 33）

This text prudently indicates that in an egalitarian society, that is, in a primitive form of organization in which the kinship-based principle is dominant, the attribution of "people ← jobs" is implemented, in which people are first determined and works（jobs or duties）are assigned afterwards.

On the other hand, in the post-egalitarian societies, he suggests that they had already begun to define previously the position and that they allocated afterwards people qualified to the position.

> Ranking exists when there are fewer positions of valued status than persons capable of filling them. A rank society has means of limiting the access of its members to status positions that they would otherwise hold on the basis of sex, age, or personal attributes. (Fʀɪᴇᴅ 1967: 52)
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> A rank society is one in which positions of valued status are somehow limited so that not all those of sufficient talent to occupy such statuses actually achieve them. Such societies may or may not be stratified. (Fʀɪᴇᴅ 1967: 109)

In any post-egalitarian society, be it ranked, stratified, or even a chiefdom, there is somebody in a responsible position who stands at the center of this redistribution mechanism, and this position is segregated to fulfill the special function of redistributing products, which is different from the general members of society. The responsible persons cannot maintain their position and prestige unless they redistribute products collected under their instruction in an appropriate manner (Fʀɪᴇᴅ 1967: 116–118).

This tells us that the main economic integration mode in the chiefdom was redistribution. This also reveals an important issue; the conversion of the attribution was on the way. In a chiefdom, the position of the chief was established previously *and then* the selection process came afterwards to make those who were suitably qualified become the chiefs.

This indicates that in the society after the function-oriented principle is generated, the work（job or duty）is first determined, and then the organizing principle, in which the person suitable and qualified for the job is assigned, is beginning to be implemented. In other words, in a rank society, the shift of attribution from "human ← duty" to "duty ← human" has finally begun to take place. This observation indicates an important issue in the construction of the division of labor, namely, the attribution of human-work. In this regard, in comparing the egalitarian societies with the rank societies, Fried suggested the transformation of the organizing principle.

In a chiefdom, above all, the person who was chosen as chief was chosen among the members of the community. Therefore chiefdom was still a society with equal treatment

for members. Both gifting and redistribution were still an extension of the ties-based principle. These integration principles（gift, redistribution）did make it a higher-order organization, while the organizing principle was still ties-based. The chiefdom was, hence, at the middle phase and in the transition of attribution from "human ← work" to "work ← human". Post-egalitarian societies, particularly chiefdoms, should therefore be discussed as an intermediate stage between the ties-based and function-oriented principles.

4. Emergence of the Function-Oriented Principle

The reification（*Versachlichung*）theory formulated by the German sociologist Max Weber（1864–1920）is a very suggestive argument for the subject of this paper: the transition from the ties-based to the function-oriented principle.

As is well known, Weber identified charismatic domination, traditional domination, and modern domination as the three types of domination, and made charismatic domination the starting point of his domination theory. According to Weber, charismatic domination is a system in which an individual becomes a leader by virtue of "extraordinary qualities that he possesses"（WEBER 1923: 51）, such as miraculous inspirational qualities, magical abilities, and divine provenance, or on the basis of spontaneous recognition from the dominated. Such charismatic domination presupposes a concrete personality belonging to the group. The system of domination is, therefore, based on the support of the members of the group（cf. TIXIER 1988: 617; WEISS 2009: 23; THÉRIAULT & DUHAIME 2009: 78）.

In the charismatic authority, the starting point is the extraordinary qualities of an individual, but eventually, as the charisma becomes more commonplace, the reification of the charismatic character begins to be consolidated. The decisive factor in the reification of charisma is the separation of charismatic qualities from an *individual* personality（cf. HALBWACHS 1929: 87）.

The reification, according to Weber, was the counterpart of personification. The destruction of the personality element and the implementation of the function-oriented principle as a substitute for the personality element is the essential reality of reification. Weber's rationalization process is therefore the reification and the formation of the Gesellschaft. Indeed, the fact that charisma becomes an ordinary occurrence is nothing but the reification of this function.

Along with the argument of Weber, from the personality-based social relations that were dominant in ancient and medieval ages, only Western Europe was able to strip away the personality-based elements and construct impersonal social relations, and reification is precisely the deprivation of the personality-based elements in human relationships. The separation of charismatic qualities from an *individual* personality is, therefore, the

reification of function (cf. HALBWACHS 1929: 87).

In line with the discussion, Weber raised a question: why was rational capitalism generated and developed only in Western Europe? He answered that Western Europe alone had succeeded in separating personal elements from social relations in the past; instead it established the rational social relationship that was impersonal and reified. His concept of reification was the elucidation of the European-style rationalization process (VADENBERGHE 1992: 84–85).

The reification of human elements means that the work has taken on a concrete and visible existence. If nothing happened, each task would have been merely an abstract and ideological existence. So why did it become a concrete existence?

According to Weber, the early sign of the transformation of the organizing principle was seen among the first Christians. He described it in comparison with the case of Ancient India. In his book, *Hinduismus und Buddhismus*, he wrote that what had become an insurmountable barrier of religious and magical status between professions in the form of castes in India was broken down in the West by the brotherhood of guild associations in medieval cities (WEBER 1923: 40).

> For the Christians it meant the origin of Christian "freedom," which Paul celebrated triumphantly again and again; for this freedom meant the universalism of Paul's mission, which cut across nations and status groups. The elimination of all ritual barriers of birth for the community of the eucharists, as realized in Antioch, was, in connection with the religious pre-conditions, the hour of conception for the occidental "citizenry." This is the case even though its birth occurred more than a thousand years later in the revolutionary *conjurationes* of the medieval cities. For without commensalism—in Christian terms, without the Lord's Supper—no oathbound fraternity and no medieval urban citizenry would have been possible. (WEBER 1958: 37–38)

In the case of India, because of the constraints of the caste system, it was not possible to break away from the kinship-based principle of "human ← job" (cf. BUCHIGNANI 1976; SUBEDI 2013: 55–56). However, in Medieval Europe, those who had the ability to do a particular job could join a specific guild through the brotherhood in the city. As a result, there was a shift to "ability ← people" (people whose ability was already materialized and who were ready for the job could carry on that occupation).

Weber brilliantly described the transition of organizing principles from the ties-based one to the function-oriented one: the reification of human elements brought about the conversion of organizing principles from human elements to abstract elements.

5. Dichotomy of Societies and Two Types of the Organizing Principles

The studies carried out by Mauss, Polanyi, and Weber are related to the aggregates of human and work in the construction of organizations at the fulfillment of workings. Work was not consciously recognized as far as it was not detached from person. These discussions are to be regarded also as an issue on an amalgamation of person-work.

Relying on the discussion about the attributions which are in the opposite directions, we can cast two types of organizing principles: ties-based and function-oriented principles (Table 2).

As there supposed to be a dichotomy of organizing principles— "people ← work" or "work ← people"— the attributions in the opposite directions observed in Western and Japanese corporates provide us with a good example. In the division of labor within organizations, the relationships between people and jobs are not unilateral. As is shown in Figure 1, there are, in fact, two ways in which the division of labor can be constructed. First, a job is defined and a person is then assigned to that job; second, conversely, a person is selected first and a job is assigned to that person.

The direction "job ← person" shows a person's placement to a job. In this case, the job has been defined beforehand (from left to right, the job has been determined in advance, and a person is placed to that job). This is precisely the kind of division of labor we see in Western companies.

In contrast with Western corporates, Japanese companies recruit new university graduates without assigning any particular job to them and provide them with in-house training and education along with scheduled programs. This is an internal promotion system which results in gradually assigning newly recruited persons to higher-level jobs over decades in concordance with skills and qualifications acquired by each employee. This attribution of "person ← job" means selecting individuals first and then giving them

Table 2　Two Types of Organizing Principle

Organizing Principles	Attribution for Division of Labor		Characteristics		Societies	
Ties-based principle	human ← work	To determine people in advance and assign the job to him or her afterwards	Natural, autogenious, philanthropic	Priority to human	Basic Communities	People create society
Funtion-oriented principle	work ← human	To decide the job in advance and attribute people to the job afterwards	Artificial, intentional, profit-seeking	Priority to function	Developed Societies	Society creates people

Source: Author

Figure 1 Opposite directions of the attribution in the
construction of the division of labor

European Type:
Job ← Person

Japanese Type:
Person ← Job
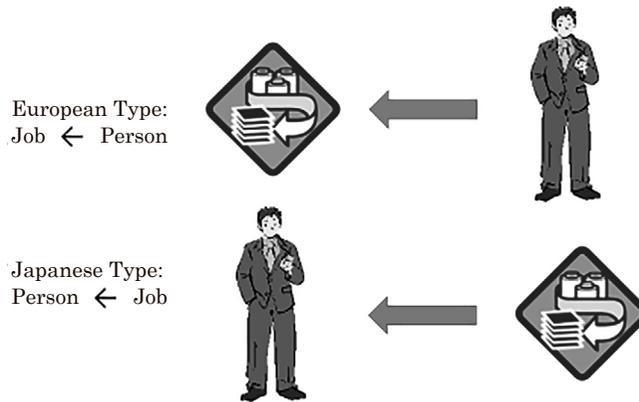
Source: NAKAGAWA 2021c: 148

jobs afterward. Let us call this attribution a "job-allocation type".[5] In other words, the direction of attribution is opposite between Western companies (person-placement type) and Japanese companies (job-allocation type) (NAKAGAWA 2021c: 147–148).

In Table 1 above, human organizations are classified into two types; the basic community is defined by attributes such as natural, autogenic and the developed society is defined by attributes such as artificial, intentional. The groups located on each column (e.g., basic communities and developed societies) seem to be exclusive with each other, but in fact, as shown by the text of Takata cited above, there is no group in modern society that exists according to only one principle.[6]

We will try to locate some organizations as typical examples in Figure 2. Humans had lived in bands during hunter-gatherer life. In bands, division of labor, if any, was almost a pure form of the attribution of "people ← work"; bands are located as close as possible to the X-axis in Figure 2. In hunting-gathering life, that is, for almost all the period of

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5)   The job-allocation type described in the text which has been considered an inherent characteristic of Japanese companies is now being forced to undergo a major transformation due to the high pressure from the harsh international competition. To be sure, the rate of non-regular employees has been on the rise in recent years, and many workers are no longer benefiting from so-called lifetime employment. Japan and her overall systems are certainly subject to change. However, it should be said that the job-allocation type still persists today and remains as the essential core of the national constitution, as new college graduates, for example, are essentially still seeking lifetime employment.

6)   Tönnies also was well aware of the fact that "the two are closely interdependent", and in the discussion of Gemeinschaft (community) and Gesellschaft (profit-seeking organization), he clearly pointed out the interdependence of the two concepts. In other words, in his *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, Ferdinand Tönnies believes that there are two types of will: the intrinsic will and the

human existence, there was no organization that could be positioned along the Y-axis. In the present world, every organization has two attributes: natural as well as artificial, so, they are positioned somewhere in the quadrant between X and Y.

The singular case in the history of the human organization was, therefore, the establishment of the Y-axis due to the reversal of the attribution to "work ← human."

Even in the most advanced modern enterprises, the ties-based and the function-oriented principles are coupled so that their coexistence and conflict can be seen within a single corporate. The discussion of Karl E. Weick shows that, and in the theory of management organization, "work ← person" (i.e., the function-oriented principle referred to in this paper) has been considered to be a natural principle, but it is not always the case. Instead, Weick argues whether organization comes first or purpose comes first; he believes that "person ← work" (i.e., the ties-based principle) is closer to the truth (cf. WEICK 1969).

Figure 2　Positioning of human groups by Ties-based and Function-oriented principles

Y (Function-Oriented Principle)

X (Ties-Based Principle)
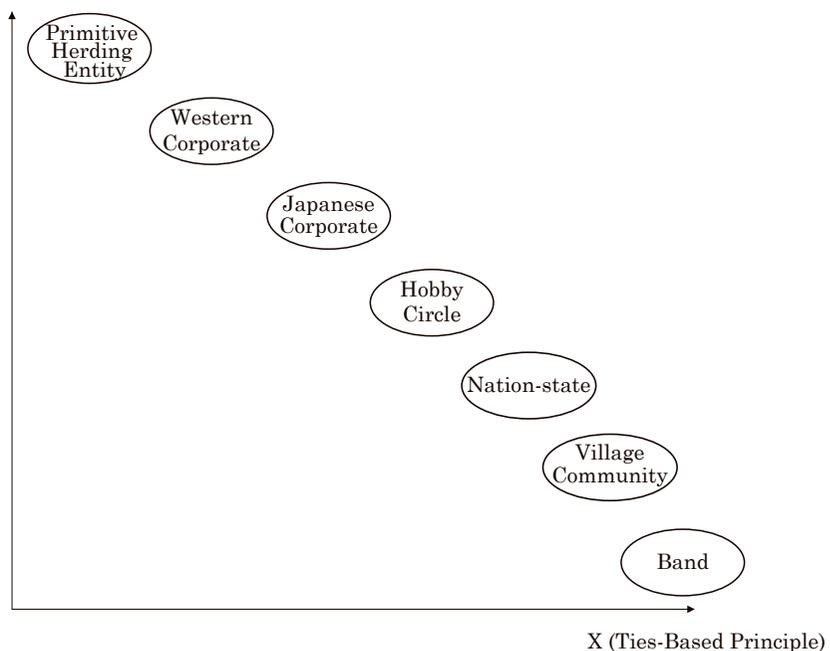
Note: Author

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selective will, and that human ties can be classified according to these two types of will. The Gemeinschafts are the relationship that are intrinsically connected despite all separations (i.e., by the intrinsic will), and the Gesellschafts are the relationship that are intrinsically separated despite all combinations (i.e., by the selective will) (TÖNNIES 1887).

Conclusion: Conversion of Attribution with Its Implications

From modern concept on division of labor, we are inclined to regard it usual to define jobs first and to attribute a person to each job afterwards. From a historical point of view, however, it is not true. During almost all of our period of existence, we were obliged to decide persons first and to attribute jobs afterwards in the way that I call job-allocation type.

In the prehistoric era, the members of a band would already be known to each other as they were so that when a new task arose, they had to carry it out themselves. They had to attribute the new job to someone already belonging to the band. In these organizations, the attribution was the direction of "human ← work".

The attribution of "human ← work" was one of the restrictions imposed on basic communities for organizational enlargement. Reversal of the attribution from job-allocation type to person-placement type was the definitive turning point in the history of organizations because the evolution of basic communities stepping up to developed societies was brought about by reversal of the organizing principle from "human ← work" to "work ← human".

This observation immediately raises two issues: its origin and implications.

First, let us consider its origin. When, where, and by whom was the attribution reversed? My hypothesis is that: this reversal had been carried out when European ancestors began nomadic sheep herding about 6,000 years ago in the Pontic-Caspian steppe. By adopting dogs as mediators, Proto-Indo-Europeans created a magnificent three-tiered entity composed of herdsman, mediators, and sheep. The role of dogs as mediators was particularly important. The function of mediators, protecting a large herd of sheep against predators as well as managing the herd's movements on the grassland, was very specific; it was a task impossible for humans. Herdsmen found the special talents of dogs and employed them as mediators. Although dogs are not human, if necessary, they will be employed, even if they are outsiders in a kinship-based organization. At this time, the functions that only dogs possessed were retrospectively reified, and then those who were qualified, that is, dogs, were assigned to the job. The conscious representation of the function-oriented principle brought about by reversal of attribution, which occurred at that moment, should be regarded to be the "trifunctional ideology" advocated by Georges Dumézil (NAKAGAWA 2021b: 233–241).

Second, we must look at its implications. The function-oriented principle is so competent that it gives tremendous competitiveness to the organizations that adopt it. After this principle was generated, many nations strived for assimilation of it; those who conceived it knew better than others how to make use of it. Up until around the half of third millennium BC, most of the tribes belonging to the Proto-Indo-Europeans left the

Pontic-Caspian steppe to advance in the surrounding areas and enlarged their influential zone. Especially since the beginning of the European conquest of the world at the end of the fifteenth century, the world has been transformed by Europeans following their standards. This has been an effective development, indeed. Its consequences, however, have become so burdensome and onerous that the environment itself can no longer withstand it. Was this the only way forward for humanity? Was there another option? Was there an alternative of the function-oriented principle?

Wieck's arguments suggest the coexistence of both principles even in the organizations which are very forward-looking for innovation like American corporates. We are aware of the Japanese system still surviving in the industry. Even now, the fact that Japanese companies that, albeit partially, survive and maintain efficiency in their own way, may suggest that there is still another option. The ties-based principle should be regarded as an alternative for the future.

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