PHD

Towards a subjective theory of organisational change and development with particular reference to educational institutions.

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"Towards a Subjective theory of Organisational

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Summary

The study aims to develop a theory of change in educational institutions by examining the way people perceive their organisational situations. Two projects with secondary comprehensive schools were undertaken. One was concerned with problems of institutional evaluation and the other was a change programme in the management of the school. Both projects were conceived in terms of a phenomenological view of organisation and attempted to explore the meaning of change to the members of the organisation. In both cases the importance of a personal and subjective perspective for each individual was the outstanding consideration. Arising from the work came the need for a theoretical understanding of how change in organisation occurs and the study develops the idea that individuals perceive the world in terms of an idiosyncratic narrative. Each individual perceives change in terms of his own autobiographical "story". By using techniques from counselling and psychotherapy, individuals can be made more aware of their 'natural' self and in so doing change their view of the world. Thus as an individual changes his view of himself, he also changes his view of the organisation to which he belongs with implications for his organisational behaviour. The consequence is that organisational change is conditional upon personal change - both actually and perceptually. If educational institutions are to change, primary attention must be on individuals as 'persons' rather than on structural and technological matters. Organisations are explained as collective fantasies in which individual perceptions are accommodated to allow individuals to pursue their self-interest by negotiation with others. The dynamics of organisations derive from the dynamics of individual psychological exchanges.

CONTENTS

TOWARDS A SUBJECTIVE THEORY OF ORGANISATIONAL CHANGE

AND DEVELOPMENT WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

The theory is based on the assumption that people create their own

worlds out of their life experience. We perceive the world in ways

that are determined by our personalities so that a change in

personality is followed by a changed view of the world. I shall

define personality in terms of the awareness of self, self-conscious-

ness, self-awareness, self-image and so on. Individuals who have

poor self-images or unrealistic understanding of themselves distort

the world of which they are a part. Individuals who are well adjusted

and realistic about themselves will view the world realistically

(though not in exactly the same way as anyone else).

Changes in organisations occur as individuals change. As an individual

changes so his view of the world changes and so he perceives

organisations differently. Different perceptions lead to changed

behaviours and organisational change is a consequence. However, no

one perceives behaviour or his world in the same way as anyone else so

change that does occur is perceived subjectively. Members of

organisations are able to work together because their differing

pictures or "fantasies" can accommodate one another (are congruent).

Personality is essentially a self-concept - concepts about myself and

related concepts about other people. At the core is a source of 'I am'

which is consistent and persistent. I call this the integrity of the

personality - that is, I am always essentially the same person

however I may change and develop. We never know completely what this

'core' personality is - this basic concept of self which we feel right

about and which we can partly discover in psychotherapy. We have to

have means of describing how we perceive ourselves, what we do and

what happens to us. To do this we use language which is, like all

languages, socially determined. But language in use soon takes on a

formal and ritualised aspect or form which we imbue with a personal

literary flavour. Personal language has personal (individual)

characteristics and if we ask anyone to describe events these events

will be described in a distinctively personal, idiosyncratic way.

Some events in life are so ritualised that the language is depersonalised

or aphasic (cf Mangham's dramaturgical concept) but much other language,

because it deals with extended situations, becomes a personal

narrative. This is the language we use to describe what happens in

organisations and we use a personal narrative style in order to do

that. This means we tend to make up or create stories about what is

going on and these stories express many of the concepts that we use to

describe ourselves. These stories will tend to be iterative and may

well predetermine how we perceive new situations and respond to them.

There is a close relationship between the issues we see as important

in understanding our self-concept and issues we see as significant

in our concept of organisations. In fact if you ask people about

managerial behaviour, they will also link descriptions of how a

manager behaves with some evaluation of his personality. For example,

one head of an institution whom I know who behaves in an authoritarian

and high handed way is often described as egocentric and a megalo-

maniac by his subordinates and colleagues.

Counselling, Rogerian and Gestalt theories of personality (self-

concept theories) explain how individuals perceive themselves but

also explain how complex personality is. From counselling and

psychotherapy arises the awareness that behaviour, perception, understanding and explanation cannot be understood at a single point in time. In therapy an individual is continually discovering "new" knowledge about himself and "peeling off the layers of the onion". But much of the 'learning' is retrospective in that it may be many hours (weeks, months or even years) before some critical understanding occurs which allows things to click into place. This understanding comes from a realisation that something quite fundamental has not been admitted but when it has been everything else fits in. In psychotherapy, we constantly find the need to reach a deep layer in order to deal with the presenting problem and I have found this to be equally true of organisational problems. There is a point in therapy when katharsis is experienced and there is a personal awareness that an issue has been worked through to resolution. Such is also the case with organisations.

Organisation consultancy is not a matter of dealing with tangible or concrete problems (even when there is a technical matter at issue) because they do not exist as the total 'reality'. Rather consultancy is dealing with a large number of fantasies about the organisation which derive from perceptions of individuals, themselves deriving from the various self-concepts. To deal with 'organisations' we must deal with member self-concepts in exactly the same way as the psych-therapist deals with the individual. As individuals change their perceptions of themselves, so they change their perceptions of their world (see Carl Rogers) and consequently their organisations. As a consequence so we can only work with organisations by working with individuals.

Psychotherapy has been concerned largely with pathological individuals, that is individuals who are in some mental and emotional distress.

However, we have a great deal of experience of therapy with normal or healthy people in, for example, T-Groups and Encounter Groups. This is where much of my own work has been in the last ten years. It has become clear that therapy is exceedingly helpful for normal people; indeed it has been suggested that Encounter Groups etc are more useful for healthy people than those in pathological conditions. It follows that organisations can be usefully helped to develop as we help individuals to achieve better undestanding of themselves.

We can describe the psychological approach to organisations as phenomenological in that it deals with the meaning that individuals give to their world. What is of consequence to an individual is always his perception of himself, the organisations of which he is a member and the society of which the organisation is a part. Many people find it difficult - and some impossible - to accept the subjectivity of their experience and believe that a true objectivity can be discovered by analysis. The problem of researching into subjectivity is that collective and aggregate 'data' is irrelevant and to examine organisations as subjectivities, new research approaches have to be developed. We are really concerned with single cases rather than multiple/multiplex cases. The most helpful way of understanding organisations would appear to be by generating hypotheses and examining them in the light of fresh experience but to do so by actively and openly sharing insights and receiving direct feedback rather than by obtaining data and stating a hypothesis by an attempt at anonymity and objectivity.

In the present study an autobiographical approach is used to develop a research model and to provide data. By so doing I have moved towards the existential end of the spectrum but it has been my experience that so much insight is obscured by the turbulence of the

mind that recall occurs in a most irregular and exasparating way. I
have been impressed perhaps above all by the amount of relevant
information that comes to light much later than I should have liked,
much of it of a highly significant nature so that new light is thrown
on old problems almost too late to make use of it.

Note on Format

The study is essentially phenomenological and as such is concerned
with the problems of the meaning that organisations have to their
members. This necessitates a continual awareness of the nature of
subjectivity and objectivity and I have tried to use a method of
presentation that is itself consistent with the theoretical perspective
that I have adopted. A consequence is that the studies may appear
excessively egocentric but that is essential to its purpose.

I have used the term "phenomenology" perhaps too loosely for some.
There is no standardised vocabulary among social phenomenologists and
quasi-phenomemological writers perhaps because phenomenology often has
an anarchic quality. It is difficult to conduct a study like this
and be as consistent in the use of language as one would like because
words have different meanings in different contexts. Two such words
are "subjective" and "objective" where common usage is different from
the usage of some phenomenologists. Jehensen makes the distinction
that "the subjective meaning is the meaning an action has for an actor,
or the meaning and relation a situation has for the person involved.
The objective meaning is the meaning the same action, relation or
situation has for anybody else."[1] In normal usage it is not always
possible to make this distinction and I have not attempted to do so

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[1]   Roger Jehensen: Phenomenology of the Formal Organisation in
       Psathas G (1973)

in the expectation that the context will always make the meaning clear. The study has been read in part by several colleagues and I hope such language problems have been cleared up given that the use of language is dependent on the progress of the argument and the disposition of the reader.

The general arrangement of the text is to give an autobiographical account of the development of a theoretical perspective on organisational change. The three dimensions of the study are the search for a method of understanding organisations, two research projects which led to 'illumination' of theory and an account of a theory of organisations with organisational and personal dimensions - the theory of organisational change that eventually came out as most persuasive to me.

There are two accounts of research and consultancy in which I engaged and from which developed the theoretical perspective described in this study. They represent the "research component" in a conventional study though they are employed here to generate the problems which theory has to be concerned with.

The study has some of the qualities of a (complete?) patchwork quilt and ideas are organised more in the way of a narrative than a conventional research report. I hope it will be interesting to read especially by anyone who enjoys the novels of John Fowles.

Additionally, other papers and publications are available as ancillary material giving complementary material written while the theory was being developed.

1.   <u>The Start of the Story</u>

The things humans beings imagine are always so much worse than those

they experience. Experience, however horrible, carries within

itself its own inbuilt immunities for men but imagination, charged

with inventing a substitute for experience, always goes far beyond

the realm of reality. Imagined injury and suffering, I have found

are far more difficult to come to terms with than suffering

experienced and lived through to the end - no matter how terrible

the suffering.

L van der Post - The Night of the New Moon

1. THE START OF THE STORY

This study derives from an intellectual journey over the past ten
years to try to understand the meaning of management when applied
to education and educational institutions. Management theory is
an applied art, a rationale and justification for what people
believe to be their best practice. The development of a theory
of organisations has suffered from this context and the fact that
almost every academic discipline area can produce its own theory
of organisations - economic, cybernetic, sociological, psycho-
logical, biological and so on - indicates how difficult it is to
develop a complex coherent theory of management, or even an
adequate description of organisational behaviour.

Most management techniques start as a logical conceptualised idea
and are then put to the test and modified accordingly - no bad
approach at all were it not that justification is generally retro-
spective and defensive rather then developmental and responsive.
The concept of management in education has spawned a rash of attempts
to import ideas from elsewhere in management and apply them to
educational situations: the effect has been like the fitting of the
glass slipper to the ugly sister's foot.[1] It is no doubt inevitable
that events should follow this pattern but the time has come for
some serious attempts to develop theories of organisation that derive
from an exploration of what people inside organised education believe
to be happening rather than from the imposing of models taken, often
with great carelessness (e.g. MBO) from elsewhere.

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[1] The history of this process is reflected in each volume of
"Educational Administration" the Journal of the British Educational
Administration Society which commenced publication only in 1973.

Problems of developing an adequate theoretical basis in North
America have proved even more difficult and the Educational Admin-
istrators are experiencing an extreme crisis of confidence. See
Greenfield, Thomas B: Research in Educational Administration in the
United States and Canada: An Overview and Critque, 1979.

There is a necessity to examine more closely a definition of educational institutions for they are attempts to organise and institutionalise an essential social process. Schools, colleges and universities are not concerned in manufacturing a product which depends on an inherent technology, rather they are locations of passage where individuals come for the essential activity of personal interaction in an environment created as suitable for a learning process. In these institutions much educational activity is formalised but a great deal is not. Whatever characteristics a school may have that enable us to describe its culture, that culture itself is closely related to the general socio-economic culture of the wider society in which it is embedded. While it is true that all human enterprise, institutionalised or not, has social significance (the whole idea of the psychology of the workplace draws our attention to one aspect), it is only when we come to examine organised education that we can see clearly the significance of that organisation in contemporary society. The unique quality of education is that it is the only institutionalised process[1] that affects virtually every member of society at one time or another - its parallels, hospitals, penal institutions and churches, concern only selected members of society.

It is tempting to attempt a "grand theory" of organisations; one's enthusiasm to describe a total theory of organisations is difficult to restrain.[2] But there is, by looking at educational institutions, the opportunity to seek for some significant general concepts which can form the basis for developing more specific theories of organisation. The value of generalities is that they are generally applicable

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[1]   Other, perhaps, than government.

[2]   Some of the phenomenologists like Husserl seem to have fallen into this trap. See Bauman, Zygmunt (1978) p111-130, and Wepman and Heine (1974).

but amenable to specific relationship when required. Furthermore,
it has become increasingly clear that the subjective element in
theory building is so strong for everyone, that we may as well take
that as the starting point and try to understand the subjective
nature of organisation theory. If it can be taken as axiomatic that
all organisation theories are subjective we have a new basis for under-
standing the "meaning" of theory.

My own personal experience as a member of many organisations during
my lifetime has drawn me towards seeing the value in a subjective
view of organisations as against the pretence that there is an
externally objective view. My experience of primary school, secondary
school, and university as a student was uniquely mine and I perceived
these institutions in ways that were peculiarly and exclusively mine.
Likewise a long association with the Methodist Church as activist,
reformer, critic and consultant made clear to me that the quality
of my membership was a direct consequence of my perceptions;
perceptions not always shared by other members. The 'meaning' of
all these, and many other organisations, was their 'meaning' for me
and had I been a novelist, poet, dramatist or journalist, I should
have expressed my meanings in appropriate form. Others would have
'understood' my meanings only insofar as they were able to fill my
words with echoes of their own experience.

One way of describing organisations, consequently, is to write about
one's experience of them. Such accounts must be totally valid so
long as a reader can accept the nature of the medium. Much socio-
logical and anthropological investigation uses narrative recollected
and recorded in the form of memoir, recollection or transcription.
The meaning of any social experience is at its purest as near to the

single actor as possible, for no two individuals can fully share

the same meaning of an experience - as the phenomenological socio-

logists have pointed out and as I shall argue later.

The need to understand for oneself the subconscious levels of

meaning leads to the construction of mental models - perspectives,

viewpoints, matrixes, algorithms, heuristics, or what you will.

The rational (or irrational) processes of the mind lead us to

create picture images that continue to precondition fresh experiences.

As we become attached to our own 'models' we elevate them beyond

their personal worth to seek more general acceptance and acknowledge-

ment. There are many of these models for organisations, such as

Goffman's[1] concept of the closed institution, Lawrence and Lorsche's

'integration-differentiation' concept,[2] Bertalanffy's open systems

models,[3] Festinger's 'cognitive dissonance',[4] and so on. All of

these we can make useful so long as they enhance our understanding

and do not restrict it.

A perennial problem with organisation models is that managers use

them for purposes of controlling what other people do. Hence they

become subjective in that they are used to interpret only one

standpoint. For example, if we take a model of an organisation as

a communication network we soon see it in terms of communication

upwards and downwards and perceive us ourselves as being either 'up'

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[1] Erving, Goffman. Asylums Penguin, Harmondsworth(1970).

[2] P R Lawrence and J W Lorsche, Organisation and Environment:
     Managing Differentiation and Integration
     Boston, Division of Research, Harvard Business School,(1967) USA

[3] See Articles by L von Bertalanffy and others in F.E. Emery (Ed)
     Systems Thinking, Penguin, Harmondsworth(1969).

[4] L Festinger: A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance, Harper & Row
     (1957).

or 'down' in the organisation. A model ought to rotate for each member if it is to be generally useful but even so the consequences of rotation may be incompatible. To continue the example, communication is (nearly) always perceived as being directional but it is equally possible by using another model to see it as a matter of shared values and hence not directional but pervasive. To argue that this view is metaphysical is only to add another label to the concept not to invalidate it and in any case, a member of an organisation who has this model and finds it valid for him will work on this 'model'. If others in the organisation use the directional model, all of those involved have to deal with the consequences of incompatible meanings (in both senses of the word) and perceptions.

I do not wish to deny the use of models since a model is only a way of structuring experience so that we can deal with it. Without models there can be no thought process. I have to admit that I think my own models are the best for the time being though I cannot deny the usefulness of other models for other people. But I always understand my 'own' models better than anyone else's. As a member of many organisations my concern is to try to understand the models my colleagues use and to be aware of how they use them and with what perceived consequences. A problem I have is distinguishing the different meanings when the same words are used or when concepts which have one significance for me appear to have quite different significance to others - the problems of semantics and general linguistics.[1] But organisations do not consist only of words but of other forms of behaviour - actions and non-actions (the things people do not do being as significant as the things they do). A

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[1]   One of the most disappointing developments in the area of the social meaning of language has been in the field of General Linguistics. Anyone who enjoyed S I Hayakawa on General Semantics, will have been disturbed by his political behaviour in practice at the State University of California.

constant frustration in being a member of an organisation is being

unable to share with others differences of perception particularly

when it comes to formal meetings where chairmen feel the need to

make 'decisions' without ever understanding what processes are

going on in the meeting.[1]

For me the intellectual break-through in understanding organisations

came through my experiences of sensitivity training and an awareness

that the fundamental aspect of organisation is the psychological

process. By psychological process I mean the experience of the group

at the affective level. If the cognitive level is the level of

rationalising or interpretation, then the affective level is that of

feeling or 'experiencing'. My work in training groups has demonstrated

to my own satisfaction that problems in groups do not arise at the

cognitive level but at the affective level. Blocks to learning and

mutual understanding occur primarily at the level of feelings, of

the emotions. Hence I need a theory of organisations which takes full

account of the various kinds of feeling that occur in organisations

for my theories of organisational behaviour are extrapolations from

my understanding of what happens in groups.

Thus my approach to organisation theory has been a psychological one.

I have tried to understand how people react to being members of

organisations at the fundamental affective level. This had led me

into strange and unexplored areas such as the idea that organisations

can have collective personalities and may exhibit classical psycho-

logical conditions, pathological, benign and benevolent such as being

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[1]   I have tried to deal with some of the problems of meetings
       in a booklet "On the Conduct of Meetings" NELPRESS 1977. I
       tried to show how meetings can be understood when one looks
       at the psychological significance that meetings have for those
       concerned whether they be attenders or non-attenders.

paranoid or naively trusting. I am inclined to believe these 'theories', however irrationally. But these are not the ideas I wish to develop here. This present study is a little more conventional, leaning towards a phenomenological or existential approach, though these words have got me into trouble before.[1] I should have thought that phenomenologists of all people would be the least concerned as to whether people correctly fall into prescribed categories but one can never win against determined critics. While admitting something of a debt to other scholars, I can only claim that my theories really are my own because I have put some effort into thinking them out (as their defects no doubt show) and they are the theories I am forced willy-nilly currently to work on. My own term is 'subjective' and I call mine a "subjective theory" of organisations by which I suppose I mean a theory of the subjectiveness of organisational perception, a form of existentialism.

In one way, there is no conflict between those who believe that organisation theory can be objective and those who believe that it must be subjective. Objective theories are always subject to subjective interpretation and subjective views are the raw material out of which objectivity (if it could ever exist) would be built. Clearly I betray my bias and I need to do this because what I write about has come to me through experience and by conviction. If I am irrational and illogical at times that too is 'where I am' but learning to live with this is as much a 'scientific' attitude as trying to ignore it. If I tie myself in knots, that too is part of

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[1]   Thomas B Greenfield tells me he wishes he'd never used the word 'phenomenological' because everyone tries to argue with him about whether he is truly phenomenological or not and ignores the more important things that he wants to say.

the intellectual process manifest in the way managers structure their own experience of organisations.

It may be helpful to think of models as metaphors.[1] Certainly the words used in models are often metaphorical. It is remarkable how consistent language is with regard to descriptions of organisation - mechanical, biological, architectural, military. The metaphorical perspective is a window into the mind of the person who uses it but not necessarily very illuminating about the organisation in other respects. I once complimented a Principal on "running a tight ship" but I did not consciously perceive the institution as a ship and indeed his managerial behaviour was quite unlike the behaviour of a naval officer. However, had he been militarily inclined, I hesitate to imagine how he would have interpreted my words. Managers frequently speak of their organisations as if they were engaged in military operations which makes one wonder why they perceive the world at large as so hostile and their colleagues so unbiddable and in need of control.

The shared use of metaphor, however, is often a way of avoiding the issues among members. The common vocabulary covers over a variety of responses and understandings and gives a false sense of agreement. In one educational institution I know there is frequent and heated concern about marketing, market penetration, customer orientation, products and product selling all at the expense of discussing the problems concerned with the primary tasks of the organisation which are concerned with training, teaching and helping students to obtain professional qualifications. In other cases, senior managers are so caught up in the metaphorical jargon of leadership that they cease to exercise any recognisable leadership function.

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[1] I borrow this idea from John F Morris of the Manchester Business School who has used it in lectures as well as writings. See John Morris and John G Burgoyne, Developing Resourceful Managers, IPM (1973).

Sometimes metaphors are very useful when clearly used as metaphors
and not used to compress any amount of unsorted ideas. John Morris[1]
uses a simple metaphorical idea effectively (in that I've frequently
heard managers quote it!) It allows quite free range to their own
ideas and does not force them into a narrow misinterpretation. Quite
simply the idea is that there are three levels of activity in organ-
isations, routine, ritual and drama, which can be represented in a
pyramid to suggest their frequency. Drama occurs least frequently
and routine most. There is no suggestion of time quantities for
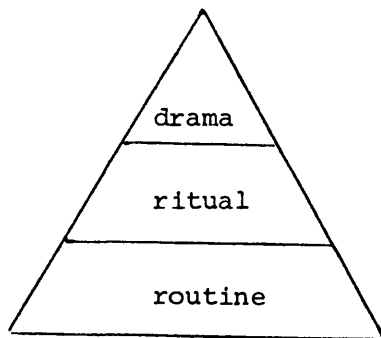
their appearance and it is to be hoped that no student decides to
"research" the idea with questionnaires and statistics. Personally,
I have found the ideas of routine and ritual the more useful since I
consider the shift to ritualised behaviour highly significant because
it represents a shift away from openness to change.

I began to write down some of my ideas about educational institutions
as organisations in the summer of 1975 and added a final chapter as
I began this present work.[2] In this monograph I tried to show how
thinking about schools as organisations had developed quite rapidly

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[1] See John Morris and John G. Burgoyne, Developing Resourceful
     Managers (1973).

[2] Gray, H.L. The Schools as an Organisation, Nafferton Books,
     Driffield (1979).

over a few years largely by attempting to apply ideas from

organisation and management theory to school situations. Some of

these applications were useful, many were not but I tried to show

how some of them could be made useful. I do not need to go over

the ground covered there though it was an important exercise for

me. This present work continues from these exercises and derives

from my thinking about and experiencing educational organisations

themselves and not solely in trying to apply theoretical models to

them. It is, I hope, experiential in the best sense.

I can trace the origin of my interest in phenomenological approaches

to understanding educational organisation to the summer of 1974.

I attended the middle section of the International Intervisitation

Programme (IIP) in Educational Administration in Glasgow. The most

impressive input had been by Professor Tom Greenfield of the Ontario

Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto. I was introduced to

him at the beginning of a visit to Edinburgh and I recall an important

conversation on the coach journey from Glasgow to Edinburgh when we

discussed the commonly held 'Open System Theory' of educational

administration than supported strongly by the International 'Ed Admin'

establishment. I owe a great deal to that intense conversation and

the subsequent friendship that Tom Greenfield and I shared. It was

from this meeting that I date the beginning of my efforts to develop

a coherent theory of change in educational institutions.

2. The Quest for a Research Methodology

2.   The Quest for a Research Methodology

Like any researcher, I have open to me a limited number of choices
with regard to research methods. I can use a design that has already
been employed and apply it to the situation in which I am interested.
Or, I might replicate someone else's research to seek confirmation or
disconfirmation. Or, I may use a modified form of another design
and perhaps add one or two other modified designs. Or, I may use a
'battery' of designs or tests selected to suit by own situation.
Or, I may develop my own design. For the reasons described in the
previous chapter, I am forced to develop my own design or at least
to try to develop my own research design because, to me, the import-
ant consideration in designing research is the learning process for
the individual in discovering what is a meaningful way of investiga-
tion to him.

I began to think about research at a critical period in the history
of sociological research which made the situation exceedingly frustrat-
ing yet also very exciting. Until the mid nineteen seventies research
was not academically respectable unless it followed the pure science
model. Even literature and the arts fell to the scientific approach
which imposed a mathematical logic onto non-mathematical phenomena.
Only in the late seventies did other forms of evaluation become
respectable so that even the Department of Education and Science are
prepared to consider 'connoisseurship' as a valid way of evaluating
alongside non-parametric statistics. But the frustration of being
in a period of methodological flux is that it becomes even more
difficult to latch onto a single approach and I personally have found
subjectivity to be more than merely persuasive. It has become totally
engulfing. Certainly this disposition has been reinforced by my
contact with progressive educationists who, in various ways, reject

strongly certain statistical approaches. Heads of identifiably

'good' schools have a concern about their institutions which goes

well beyond the collecting of numerical data and is much more

individualistic and phenomenological than is often realised. It

was, in fact, a head with a mathematics background who encouraged

me to make an evaluation of a school which was almost entirely free

of the numbers game. And, it was a Head trained in technology who

rejected quantitative approaches to management in favour of

sensitivity training.

To try to describe what goes on in an educational institution in

quantitative terms apart from some basic figures about size and

location does not appear to meet the urgent needs of teachers. In

Higher Education we have become accustomed to the fictions created

round a factual base which have little relationship with reality -

the mode of calculating and using Student Full Time Equivalent[1]

teaching hours (SFTE's) is a notorious example. No one runs an

educational institution on an objective interpretation of 'pure facts'

so what one becomes most interested in is how they interpret 'facts'

and why. There is, for example, the story of one polytechnic director

who uses the tactic of ante-dating instructions. When he is accused

of not having provided the information required, he has a letter or

memorandum typed with an earlier date; he destroys the 'top copy'

and produces the carbon as proof that the memorandum had been sent

on the date indicated and either lost or passed over. Whether this

story be true or not, it is interesting for what it says about

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[1] The financing and organisation of non-university institutions
of Higher Education is based on a variable formula for calculat-
ing the cost of running the institution in terms of student
hours - the hours a student spends in class with a teacher;
the total number of hours taught by the teacher multiplied by
the total number of students in his classes is his work load.

people in that institution. No factual databased investigation
would uncover the myths of the organisation and their importance
to members yet it is what people believe about an organisation
that influences their behaviour, not the anodyne facts.

So it is that I have gained a principle or criterion for research
which arises out of my experience of how people use - or more
generally do not use - research findings. By and large research
findings appear to be difficult to handle for most practitioners.
Most people who read "Which" look for the 'best buy' first and
give little heed to the discussion and comparison involved in the
research. I have found this to be true, too, of 'reports' presented
to bodies - committees and organisations - of which I have been a
member. We look for the conclusion and then try to rationalise our
response to them. In fact, we probably seldom need the research data
because we are only interested in the results. I can recall one
research group of which I was chairman (appointed in the mid-life of
the group) which had been set up 'specifically' (for that was the
expressed intention) to prove a positive correlation between two sorts
of activity while pretending that a negative relationship would also
be acceptable. It has been suggested elsewhere[1] that the tendency
for research is to prove what it is in the interests of the researchers
to prove - perhaps not quite the same thing as proving what the
researcher intended to prove, though there is plenty of evidence to
see or find what they believe is there.

A major criterion for research, then - for me - is utility. That is,
it must be usable by those who undertake it, those who commission it

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[1]   I can recall Barbara Wootten once saying so in a Radio broad-
       cast. The point is well made too by Tom Greenfield in
       'Organisation Theory as Ideology.' (1979)

and those who read it. That use may be different for everyone

involved, but nevertheless, utility is an essential consideration

for it includes the need for researchers to engage in research, of

Foundations to sponsor it and patrons to demonstrate that they have

'researched' whatever it is to which they are committed. It may be

part of the mythology or ethos of researchers that research does not

have to be 'practical' but that is not what I mean; pure research may

well have utility for others than the 'pure researcher' himself. On

the other hand, there is an unquestionable problem about how we can

make use of this research once it has come to our attention.

Miller and Parlett who have played an important role in re-evaluating

the nature of educational research allude to their own methodology

as the 'illuminative approach' which appears to be a name for one of

the current 'methods' arising in a response to a dissatisfaction with

classical statistical research in the Social Sciences and has strong

overtones of ethnomethodology and phenomenology. They describe the

illuminative approach as being characterised in the following ways:

a)   it is <u>problem centred</u> - beginning (as all applied
     research does) with issues and concerns as defined in
     real life settings;

b)   It is <u>practitioner oriented</u> - designating its chief
     function to provide information and insight for profes-
     sional educators;

c)   it is <u>cross-disciplinary</u> - drawing especially on psycho-
     logy, sociology, psychiatry and social anthropology for
     concepts and ways of thinking;

d)   It is <u>methodologically eclectic</u> - interviews, question-
     naires, observations and analysis of documents are used
     in various combinations, according to the circumstances,
     defined problems, and stages of the investigation;

e)   it is <u>heuristically organised</u> - the researchers progress-
     ively focussing and redefining the areas of enquiry as
     the study unfolds, in the light of accumulating experience

and as the crucial issues to be studied become uncovered.[1]

Parlett's concept of illuminative research is important because it marks an important stage in the theory of evaluation, arising from an increasing disenchantment with evaluation of the school curriculum. While it may be true that curriculum is what goes on in a school - that is, it is an embodiment of the task of the school - it had come to be seen as something separate and as existing in its own right. The need, however, is to know about the school rather than 'the curriculum' and that is why there is a coming together of curriculum research theory and the theory of research into organisations. Parlett's views on research are therefore quite pertinent to my own research on institutional change.

Parlett and Hamilton declare that illuminative research has as its primary concern "description and interpretation rather than measurement and prediction"... They state the aims of illuminative evaluation as being:

> "to study the innovatory project; how it operates; how it is influenced by the various school situations in which it is applied; what those directly concerned regard as its advantages and disadvantages; and how students' intellectual tasks and academic experiences are most affected. It aims to discover and document what it is like to be participating in the scheme, whether as teacher or pupil; and, in addition, to discern and discuss the innovation's most significant features, recurring concomitants, and critical processes. In short, it seeks to address or illuminate a complex array of questions".[2]

It is the very complexity of the situation that the researcher enters that presents methodological problems. But what many critics of

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[1]   Miller C M L and Parlett M. Up to the Mark SRHE (1974).

[2]   Parlett, M.A., Hamilton, D. p.89 in Tawney, David (Ed) Curriculum Evaluation Today: Trends and Implications, MacMillan Education, London(1976).

research seem to miss - or at least omit to mention - even those like Parlett and Hamilton, is that no researcher enters a situation blind. While it is true that one builds up a picture of a situation and checks and crosschecks data and interpretations, nevertheless, the researcher enters the research situation with considerable prejudices not only as to method but also his understanding of the situation and he cannot but avoid bringing values to bear. For one thing, he chooses whether or not to do the research which is one area of evaluation. He has an idea of how he would like the research to go perhaps in terms of methodology. He has a disposition towards favouring certain outcomes - such as to whether there will be a need for follow-up studies, and so on. It is for reasons such as these that I have presented by own model first because that is the framework through which I view my research and I seek confirmation and disproval in terms of my evaluation of what an enhanced or modified theory will do to me. There is just no way in which I can claim that my research is unprejudiced because though I do not want simply to confirm the theoretical concepts I begin with, I do wish to develop them and I shall find it very difficult to go back to a frest start particularly since the nature of my starting point is a 'general theory' rather than a comparatively simple hypothesis. And, of course, even the theoretical model I begin with changes and develops as my daily working experience of organisations changes.

I may illustrate the problem of subjective revision by reference to the research projects used as a basis for this present study. The opportunity to do research into an organisation came when my ideas were already quite well developed. There was no reason, so far as I could see, for adopting a conventional approach because that would not excite or interest me very much. I was invited to help a school

"to do an evaluation" of what had been achieved in the first five

years of its existence. The invitation came from the Headmaster who

had been a student on one of my courses. His Deputy has also

attended other of my courses so two of the three 'senior management

team' knew me, knew by philosophies and approaches and were pleased

when I agreed on the condition that we made an 'organisational'

approach rather than the traditional 'curriculum evaluation' approach.

We decided to think of the research as a pilot project because there

were so many unknown factors. The research was described in a paper

published privately[1] and was my first systematic attempt to work

out the relationships of theory to practice from a phenomenological

approach.

First of all, there were distinct problems in doing the research, not

least the time available in the school. I was working eslewhere full-

time and the time required to do anything like a full scale investiga-

tion was more than I could afford. The original design was for a

number of open-ended interviews and some participant observation. In

the event, the participant observation was missed out and written

answers were substituted for the open-ended interviews. I cannot

really recall why we went for written answers but I think it was

pressure of time as a consequence of the urgency of the job and also

a hope for representativeness which we achieved by a form of random

sampling. I did my work in the time allotted but the Head did not

do the 'quantitative' work (examination results, pupil turnover; jobs

of leavers; intentions of LEA when setting up the School) by the

end of phase I, when we presented the findings to the teachers.

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[1]   "Evaluating a school" (mimeographed) Organisation Studies
        Unit, Anglian Regional Management Centre, North East London
        Polytechnic, (1977). V. Appendix I.

It was, furthermore, our original intention to offer a summary of

the findings to parents but this was delayed probably because the

'findings' were simply not exciting enough. They indicated that

the school was successful as an 'ordinary' school but not outstand-

ing. It was doubtless a matter of pride to the Head to feel that he

had achieved something quite outstanding as Head of a new comprehen-

sive school. Only later did I discover that he had been exceedingly

upset when I said his school was 'ordinary'. I had quite misread the

significance of the research because I approached it as an academic

whose main interest was to prove himself to be an innovative researcher.

The Head, however, really did want to be shown to be a successful

innovative head despite all his professed modesty. Because I was so

concerned with my own self-interest I completely missed the signifi-

cance and importance to him - a friend who had consciously exposed

himself to my examination, and who saw me as an 'expert educational

critic'. I think there were other factors, too, in the relationship

of which friendship was in fact quite important. Professionally he

was as much in need of me as an academic acquaintance as I was of

him as a 'tame head' validating my theorising about education. But

naturally the social aspects of friendship developed in that strange

and somewhat intriguing way that blurrs the distinction between

professional and personal life. I continued to visit the school

and we continued to talk about further work but in this case develop-

ments were desultory in contrast with my work at Brookfield School.

My satisfaction that the research proved what I wanted - that the

school was average - was no consolation to him. So I bolstered his

morale by emphasising the uniqueness of the research concept and his

personal qualities in being open to this kind of thing and, indeed,

for even thinking about it. As a consequence he agreed to Phase
11 which was to be more of an OD exercise along with further depth
interviewing of a selection of parents, teachers and pupils. In
the event there was no follow up of this particular project for some
time and eventually, with my moving North the project lapsed.

While the 'data' collected from the respondents was of interest
because it supplied information about the different perspectives of
different members of the organisation, a particularly interesting
comparison occurred almost by chance. The intention had been to
subject the raw data to analysis by one or two other people and this
may have included the school management team. Because there were
some feelings of anxiety by teachers that the Head would see the
'answers' we did not ask the Head and Deputies to do an analysis.
But they did volunteer to comment on my analysis. These comments on
my comments are of considerable interest. They reflect the perspective
of the person but also, and more significantly, personality character-
istics because we can see as much of the person writing as we can of
his perspective. I have to admit that this confirmed my own view
that the link between personality and perspective is fundamental. A
question that arises, is whether answers can ever tell us much about
the object or only about the person who answers. By not focussing
on the respondent, we miss the real significance of much research.

My relationship with the school was terminated when I moved to Hudders-
field in January 1979 but the Head and I will doubtless continue on
terms of personal friendship. But there was one interesting sequel
before I left. I was invited to lead a group of teachers from the
school for an experiential training group entitled "Working Together".
This was a form of counselling T-Group, a method I have developed

in organisation consultancy and have come to call an "OD

Group". There were six 7 hour sessions and before the last session

in an idle moment I offered to teach a class in the school. I was

given a fourth form; and at ten minute's notice I took them for

English, the subject I used to teach in secondary school. The

lesson was not a success though there was no real trouble, only

indifference (and I sent one chattering girl to cool her heels with

the Senior Mistress). However, I shared my experience with my Group

and we used the event to form up a theory of school education. In

brief, we concluded that the problem of the classroom was the domina-

tion of lessons by teachers so that the children were lost when they

did not have a teacher exhibiting the anticipated or traditional

behaviour. The class had not learned to learn for itself, only to

respond to familiar teacher behaviour. In other words, teachers had

become an interference in the development of the class and of individ-

uals in the class. The pupils had become dependent and were lost when

given freedom to use their own learning and organisation of learning.

Each of the teachers in my group agreed that education should aim at

creating a degree of autonomy, or self-directed learning and regretted

that in that school all the organisation was towards teacher

dominated learning. The values in the school were such that the

most approved teacher behaviour was that which created this dependence

(a dependence which depended itself on teacher presence and domination).

The critical figures in this dependence creation were the Senior

Mistress and a newly appointed (male) Deputy Head (a second Deputy

(male) had been appointed only that term). But, of course, this

was also my preferred interpretation and no doubt I persuaded the

teachers to accept it.

But probably the greater significance was that I had experienced

one manifestation of the general state of dependency in the school.

A school takes many years to develop and the Deanes School was

only in its sixth year - that is, the first intake had just left and

for only the second year did the school have its full complement

of its pupils. It was still in a state of formation and the

discovery of values rather than the consolidation of values.

Consolidation would depend on the stability and permanence of

teaching staff and already there had been one very significant

change in the resignation of the deputy head. It was, in my view,

the deputy who was the ideas man, the ideologist, the theoretician,

and he worked well with the head who saw himself much more

managerially. They were a good team with the senior mistress as

little more than the "statutory woman". Educational values and

practices were still in a state of flux and I represented either

a challenge to the security everyone felt in need of or a support

for the kinds of changes some people wanted. Or even a mixture of

both.

Although there was the conventional excitement about a new school

for the teachers and the usual debate and interest in developing a

'good' school, much of this debate and discussion was superficial -

as it usually is. The school had experienced no controvacies or

conflicts over ideology, practice or values and as a consequence

there was, or so it seemed to me, a general atmosphere of puzzlement

and remoteness. People pointed to as 'successes' behaviours that I

felt were quite normal and to be expected and there was something

of a growing alienation with guilt feelings about being disloyal to

a new and likeable (but not dynamic Head). It seemed as if teachers

were just allowing the school to happen, rather than being personally

involved and dedicated to building a creative and purposeful

institution. It lacked the qualities of conflict and resolution which I believe to be necessary to a supportive institution. Because teachers accommodated to one another and could not seek more openly personal satisfaction, the general level of satisfaction was low. The situation could not change until a catalyst or facilitator could open the climate to exploring personal needs and perceptions of needs. The research findings appear to confirm this, among other things.

As I have said, part of the methodology of the evaluation research on the school had involved asking the Head and Deputies to comment upon my comments and in the published report the Senior Mistress had made her contribution. The Head of another school who had no knowledge of the researched school whatever read the report and among other comments made the cryptic comment "Senior Mistress' comment - perhaps this is the source of the problem" (sc the generally unexciting view of the school presented in the report). The Senior Mistress is, in fact, somewhat old fashioned, a 'typical' former PE teacher, tending towards authoritarianism, conventional and somewhat rigid in her views. My guess is that she is the critical factor in the development of the school towards its general lethargy and lack of purpose and dynamism. The really interesting factor about the situation is that one comes to a view of the school only by a number of different experiences and interventions. Most important of all is the dynamic exploration of the situation in a variety of ways, all of which depend for interpretation and understanding on the quality of my own subjective experience. No single approach gives me enough data to complete an analysis but I always react on the basis of my interpreted experience such as it is. Whenever the Head and I meet and talk

about the school as we frequently do, we are each talking about

a quite different place. Yet we manage to spend hours on end

talking about it.

The School evaluation left me feeling very dissatisfied. I had

collected data and could make some use of it. I could publish it

in various forms[1] so that it became acceptable and gained the

authority of print. I was amused at the idea that my research

could become one of those explorative pieces of tentative research

that gets into the literature simply by being one of a small

number. I was searching for a 'valid' means of interpretating

data and possibly a methodology that would link collection with

interpretation. But it became clear that the search for a

methodology was a research project in itself and could never

finish. New paradigms for research were opening up rapidly - the

inauguration of the New Paradigm Research Group was a significant

event [2] - and new approaches appeared to be leap frogging at an

accelerating rate. There was an additional danger that some of

the 'new' approaches would be little more than fashionable fads

and games rather than penetrating modes of analysis and I was

anxious not to get caught in a researcher's rat race.

During this period I was engaged in a good deal of training and

consultancy in educational institutions which I viewed very much

as a 'teaching' rather than research activity. Although I was much

involved at a deep personal level with many people in the institutions,

somehow I could not see this as 'organised' and well regulated

research. I had strong feelings that research ought to be 'scientific'

even if I had even stronger misgivings. I was thus unwilling to

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[1] TES, 26.8.77. Psychology Today, September 1976. Bulletin of
The British Psychological Society 31 (1978) pp.229-230.

[2] New Paradigm Research Group, Centre for the Study of Organis-
ational Change and Development, University of Bath, Newsletter
issued from October 1977.

think of my work as research even though an increasing amount of my writing was based on experience. In April 1978 I was invited to make a seminar presentation at the annual conference of the Association of Teachers of Management in Organisation Development in Education. I gave accounts of two projects, one on staff counselling at the North East London Polytechnic and one of the Brookfield School project. I described how the Brookfield School project was being written up and found that the seminar members continued to refer to my project as "research". I then realised almost unwittingly I was actually engaged on a piece of research after all. So persistent was my belief that academically credible research can only be in the form of a carefully constructed research programme well designed before it is commenced that I was unable to perceive that there are other and perhaps more 'real' forms of research. Indeed, it may well be argued that an account of what one is involved in may be at least as (and even more so) legitimate as conventional research. In fact, I had not taken enough notice of some major examples of biographical research which were well-known to me [1], were categorised as forms of participant observation but were in fact much more subjective and autobiographical than was generally admitted, even by the authors.

However, what I was involved in was a good deal more than conventional participant observation and action research. One of the most important elements in my own 'research' was the significance of myself and my personality. Rather than trying not to be a disturbing element in my research - an unobserved observer - I was the most important factor in my work. I was creating it and interpreting it, I was an integral part of the dynamics. In the school evaluation I was myself trying to be myself and in the groups I subsequently led in the school and it was my own influence which was a major critical factor. Even as I developed

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[1] For example, W.F. Whyte (1955) "Street Corner Society".
James Patrick (1975) "A Glasgow Gang Observed".
Elizabeth Richardson (1973), The Teacher, the Schools and and Task of Management.

my theories of educational change and internalised them so I made

the descriptions and analysis fit the situation as I shall shortly

illustrate.   Looking back over my activity as a teacher who had

to oversee 'research' by university and polytechnic students,

I became aware how important the personality and personal

disposition of them had been the key factor in their research

choices. Students who had been captivated by my approach to

organisation theory nevertheless chose to do their research projects

in their own way. Some chose a historical perspective, some a

literary; some used research instruments and some used traditional

quantitative methods. But all chose to 'do research' in a way that

was entirely compatible with their training, disposition and

personality. If they were acceptable to me, there was no reason

why I should not be acceptable to others - all of us doing our

'own thing' in our own way and that being the most critical factor

in the significance of the research and being the overriding factor

in any evaluation of the research. For far too long, too many of us

have tried to engage in research which is acceptable on certain

criteria only - the so called scientific school. But the reality is

that for research to be 'useful' it has to be acceptable to other

people on other criteria. The people with whom I was working - the

people who were in tune with my way of thinking and doing things -

did not want the quantitative style. At the ATM seminar it was put

to me that it would be quite inappropriate for me to try to put the

Brookfield School data into an objective form because the greatest

usefulness was feeding back the data collected along with all our

perceptions of it to as many of those involved in the school as

required it. Indeed, as I examined the responses about the effect

of the OD Groups in the School I realised that people were each

giving me a 'slice' of their reactions, the slice that had most

significance and meaning at the time. A standard instrument may

collect data (responses) on the same slice but that slice has quite different significance for each respondent. The one thing I did not want - in line with my own disposition towards organisational behaviour - was information on the same slice.

The final resolution about a research technology came from an American University colleague who suggested that for me, perhaps the most important contribution I could make in a study of this kind was to collect my various papers together, published and unpublished, in some coherent and ordered form and present that for evaluation as the research activity, an event terminated in time rather than content; ongoing rather than finite. This would be quite consistent with an approach to research that I was de facto developing - that I should present my findings and evaluation for further evaluation by others involved in the project and readers themselves as they so wished. I did just that with the School Evaluation when I included all the relevant papers that I had written and the comments of some members of the school who commented on my evaluation and it was of the essence of the Brookfield Project. In fact this has become common practice for me in various pieces of research. I like to reflect on thé situation, write up my ideas, analysis and some theory papers and then feed them back for comment and amendment. I now find that I automatically work in this way and a new project - a case study - is emerging that has begun to form up in this way.

I can give at this juncture an example of how the theories that one has about organisations and organisational behaviour are the major (perhaps the only) influence not just on any research design that one might adopt but on the interpretation of a situation. In my own mind, much of the work I have been doing over the last eight years is of

the same kind. I have been trying to understand how organisations function, what goes on in them, how we may better cope with organisations. There is a long way to go and I shall never finish but from time to time I need to take stock and then, perhaps, I change direction slightly. In my mind I carry a theory of organisational development which I try to understand and refine. May be it already exists and I am engaged in discovering it; or (more likely!) it doesn't yet exist and I am creating it. At any rate, it is for me all-pervasive and I find myself interpreting all organisational behaviour in terms of my theory. My whole professional life has become an exploration of organisations and the behaviour of people in organisations and I use OD strategies continually in all my relationships with professional colleagues. The analytic techniques I use derive from my style as a T-Group trainer and owe much to Gestalt psychology. I can illustrate this.

Part of this personal life-activity has been to set up an organisation, the Network for Organisation Development in Education which is, I am aware, an attempt to provide a legitimate vehicle for my professional activity; to legitimate my work and activity in my post of employment. To this end, I started a journal and organised a Conference to launch the Network. This was the National Conference on Organisation Development in Education held at Leicester University in April 1978. I had had considerable experience of organising courses and conferences so the actual organisation, especially since the University School of Education undertook all the administrative chores, was not difficult. I designed a Conference that in theory would do exactly what I wanted. In the event it both did and did not.

Forty-six people attended the three-day Conference of whom twenty-five knew me in some way or another. The event became quite explosive, there was a palace revolution; there was much discrediting of me and a later reconciliation; some people were hurt and others delighted; some thought the event a disaster, others a great success. It was what one might hope for in a lively conference though, for various reasons, twelve people had left by the morning of the last day. That some had intended to leave after two days (Saturday and Sunday) was a key factor in the dynamics. The Conference became a political and ideological event in which issues of power, authority and credibility were interwoven with issues of values, ideology and modes of learning. But the important factor, which I wish to consider here, is that each of us made an interpretation of the Conference in line with our theories about what happens on conferences. We all saw the same event in different ways on a continuum from viewing the conference as a piece of administrative engineering to a phenomenological interpretation of reality. I used all my 'knowledge' of group and organisational dynamics to explain to my satisfaction what was happening and also to justify my own behaviour and reactions. Naturally, the 'best' conference members were those who largely shared my interpretation and/or perspective and this was by no means everyone. My claim that some people were behaving politically was not understood by everyone and some were totally unable to accept my interpretations about the psychological process taking place. The major crisis was - in my view - when the leadership was assumed "willingly" by a visiting American (a close friend of mine) but he would never accept that he had "willingly". My evaluation. "Wilfully" might be a better word but that was not my perception. He continued to claim that this intervention was "necessary" for the good of the conference members and deliberately assumed leadership in order to offer his view of OD as a better alternative to mine. The point I make, of course,

is that it is very difficult to obtain agreement in organisations

upon what 'actually' happened and what people act on is always their

own interpretation of events, and the one that is most acceptable

(though not necessarily the most comfortable) to them. In this case

some people were totally unable to see, let alone understand, the

interpretations of others yet everyone acted according his own under-

standing. Furthermore, for me the whole conference fulfilled all

my theoretical interpretations about how organisations behave and

fits a pattern which I have written about - but one academic there

even denied that the conference was "an organisation". So it

would seem that we only understand organisations in terms of our own

internalised models, in the white heat of membership we find it very

difficult to accommodate other views, and enriched learning only comes

by reflection after the event when we re-interpret the interpreta-

tions of others. As a real event the OD Conference exists now only

in the memories of conference members and it would be hard to pick

up interpretations of what did happen because it has passed into the

storage systems of persistent, idiosyncratic and peculiar personal

perspectives.

It was something of a surprise that I had been engaged in research

all along. I think the factor that most influenced me was my own

feelings of inadequacy and academic inferiority. The academic world

can appear very competitive and is certainly highly elitist. Doctorates

are highly prized and there are a lot of myths around the level of

intellectual attainment they represent. One must be very cautious

indeed about commenting on PhD status lest one is accused of envy or

jealousy. While the frequent claim is that a PhD is awarded as a

result of original work, PhD's appear to be highly normative and the

process of awarding one, by means of a viva voce examination is

perhaps the most normative situation of all. I believe there is a

real sense in which many academics feel lacking or inferior against

colleagues with doctorates and this is especially so when one works

in North America as I do from time to time. So in a way one of the

problems that I had in this research was that I was looking for some-

thing special, almost beyond by ability as a test of my intelligence.

Such a view is quite wrong. There can be no originality when one is

only trying to imitate (though some people may surpass those whom

they imitate). True originality can come only out of the develop-

ment of what is natural and personal and for me to do any research

that is worthwhile it must be development of what I do, even if it is

also a development of latent abilities. The work, then, that I seem

to do best is in relation to other people and helping them to under-

stand themselves in their jobs and in their organisations. For a

long time I cast about trying to find a research population on whom

I could do a traditional and conventional study. But this is not my

way; I do not function as a person in that way. Even when the

Brookfield School project came along I did not recognise it as

relevant to my research study perhaps because I was undervaluing

myself and therefore discounting anything that I should think of in

preference for someone else's design. But the Brookfield School

project has been critical to my development of an understanding of

research and the developing of a research methodology.

In the Brookfield project, I had a potential mass of data to be

drawn from an exceptionally rich mine. I was very much a part of

an ongoing drama with information hurtling at me from all directions -

but there were no means for adequately handling it. For one thing,

I was living a long way (5 hours journey) from the school and in

the complicated position of consultant, counsellor and confidant.

Events occurred in such a manner that there was no way of recapturing

them and even events which I thought I understood turned out to be

substantially different in the light of subsequent evidence. I was

privy to some of the most personal and intimate information - informa-

tion absolutely critical to an understanding of what was going on

yet of such a nature that it has still to remain confidential. But

it was quite clear that any traditional research would be trivial

in the light not only of what I knew but of what continued to be

revealed to me. It was my experience at Brookfield that persuaded

me of the shallowness of so much organisational research.

Yet I had some 'data' in the form of written views about some parts

of the consultation. Much of this was revised subsequently as the

project took effect. Much of the earlier rejection was abandonned as

those with difficulties worked through them and those who had been

'hurt' came to understand their situations and changed their stance.

One of the most 'anti' became a strong and active supporter. Many of

the teachers moved from dependency to rejection and reacceptance on

their own terms - a good number came on a general training programme

I was leading a year after the last 'group' meeting in the school.

The original comments lie there untouched because analysis requires

some comparison with subsequent stances and revised views alongside

a variety of new experiences, autobiographical experiences. Anyone

reading the comments can identify the people who wrote them by their

style, their comments, the personal perspective they present. The

religious ones are easiest of all; the dilemmas are predictable; the

viewpoints well rehearsed. In talking to some of the 'antis' as I

had opportunity to, I was able to unravel some of the thought processes -

using my skills as a therapist. In doing so I was uncovering the
major themes in an individual's life and unravelling many tangled
skeins. This is the most humbling aspect of the therapist's job but
it made very clear how my clients perceived their world. But _my_
clarity about it all is not _theirs_. Most people are confused about
their world; few see the world as anything they create.

Yet as I talked with people, they seemed able to understand things
better. They seemed to come to see more clearly through the dark
glass and they welcomed the explanations and my interpretations. For
me this experience of shedding light has been repeated. I have been
told that I see things very clearly, can sum up a situation very
quickly, can analyse a situation in moments that others take days
over, that I can provide a turn of phrase that clarifies years of
muddled thinking. Quite possibly this is little more than an
expression of dependency though those who see me in this way do seem
to believe I have skills of this kind. That is a terrible responsi-
bility because it may mean that I impose, in some way, my world onto
other people. For I know that my way is not the only way of seeing
the world yet for many people my interpretation is held to be better
than their own. Naturally I am flattered when this happens and they
tell me so. I enjoy being God on occasion but in the case of the
Brookfield project I was the God who could give one acceptable explana-
tion on one occasion and an equally acceptable but different one on
another occasion. In the meantime, information had become available
to me which, had I known it, would have forced me to give a different
interpretation on the first occasion. So my inability to handle the
Brookfield 'data' in the report "Working Together in School" is not
just reluctance to use any particular method nor laziness or fear in

undertaking the necessary labour, but a searching awareness of the

deficiency of the data itself for the kind of purposes I have -

actually understanding what happened, how it happened and why. I

have a genuine feeling of being incapacitated because I know there is

more to be revealed than is in the available data.

Just as I change, revise and polish my own accounts of events and

on each subsequent reading add notes and qualifications, so do my

Brookfield respondents revise and modify their comments. Several of

them have intimated that I should not take their responses too

seriously or that I should ignore them or they say that they have

quite a different view now. Certainly, everyone has moved on from

then and the Brookfield story is what it is at the present time. The

analysis of the replies does not even have much historical relevance

though I can use the Brookfield experience as a model for future

consultancy programmes. And indeed this is exactly what I have done

in negotiating some new contracts in Huddersfield. From the Brookfield

project I have gathered support for my view of the rolling contract

which is particularly appropriate to me as a consultant restrained in

terms of availability by a full-time teaching job; I have to do my

consultancy in the times when my employers do not require me. But

the idea is realistic on other counts. My major activity is a

consultant in an educational institution where the members have the

same restraints as I do - they have a programme of teaching/lecturing

that must have priority and are available for consultation only

irregularly and spasmodically. Additionally the nature of the

consultancy task is to help in the running of the organisation but

in a form of action research. The clients are being trained to go and

do a job for themselves. The dependency issue is critical for - as

became exceedingly clear with the Hampshire Heads project[1] - the

client has great difficulties in crossing the actual threshold;

he wants to change his behaviour but back in the organisation he

does not have the courage, or the sense of autonomy.

The intended research design for the Brookfield Project was to ask

the question about the effect of the intervention - the training week-

ends - at periods over time and compare the answers to see what

changes had occurred. Also, the whole "document" was made available

for comment, and the responses too were to be part of the findings.

In conception, a considerable amount of raw data would be available.

In the event the research (though not the project) shuddered to a

halt once the booklet was presented and one can only speculate as

to why. Clearly I made some classic mistakes perhaps the most serious

of which was to confuse research with consultancy. The teachers did

not see me as a researcher; on the contrary for the caring, confiden-

tial counsellor to be suddenly revealed as the researcher after only

his own interest was a revelation for which I was bound to be blamed.

The error is so obvious that I cannot understand why I made it -

clearly I was very confused over my role and how people understood

me but I may also have been manipulative and underhand to gain my

own ends. Perhaps I have a mean and underhand streak and am a

unprincipled hypocrite. I will not discount that. But the natural

suspicions of the teachers about the Head as manipulator were also

confirmed by projection. All the anxieties about the project and

the questions around why the Head had initiated the scheme came to a

climax and he too, was revealed as the schemer some had always

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[1]   A training programme for a group of Hampshire heads arising
       out of the Brookfield project.

known him to be. If I admitted a secondary and hidden agenda I
would also expose the head. But all this is pure speculation. I
believe my confusion arose out of a wish to be most helpful and to
do a "proper" job. I genuinely wanted the whole project to be done
in the best way possible.

Furthermore, the information in the report was personal and confiden-
tial. Respondents felt they had been <u>deceived</u> into believing that
their replies would be treated anonymously. My interpretation of
anonymity was no one else's. My specious arguments about not
wanting to interfere with the data could hardly make sense to inno-
cent and unsophisticated respondents who themselves were not researchers
and were not at all interested in "research". Suddenly they saw that
I had exposed quite personal and intimate details wrapped up in a
lot of theoretical jargon; and I was the one who had been so sensitive,
understanding and discreet in the encounter groups. My experience
elsewhere (ie, the Essex School Evaluation) was that data in any form
fed back to respondents and clients is an exceedingly sensitive issue.
Even raw statistics in such a context can constitute a threat as they
did in Essex but the actual words people used and personal data
leading to recognition even more so. Of course, what seemed to me to
be subtly anonymous can never be so to people who know one another as
well as members of a school staff do.

So feeding back information was seen by almost everyone to be a
betrayal by both me and the head. On the other hand, the anger was
eventually overcome and the project proceeded in its own organic way.
It could be argued that exposure of what were after all real and
honest reactions helped to even up the very issues the training

itself was aiming to do. However, I shall not so argue because
there is no means of knowing. The feedback was just one of the
very many risks we took. But the fact that we received enough
comment from some teachers who allied themselves with us indicates
that a good deal of building of good relations did happen.

The use of the Head as intermediary in obtaining data and feed-
back was an important distinctive factor. I was handing over to him
the responsibility to be surrogate for the researcher who was being
rejected. Yet he himself was also suspect and had a whole host of
relational problems to deal with. It is bad enough to be Head and
ask staff to participate in research. It is worse when that research
turns out to be damaging and sensitive. But it is worst of all when
in addition you are an object of personal suspicion and mistrust
not just for this consultancy programme but all the host of other
anxieties the school staff are suffering from in a period of organ-
isational stress. The school was having more than its fair share
of 'normal' problems at this time including an attempted pupil
suicide. And by 1978 the rumours around the school and what was
happening (of which the consultancy project was simply a visible
part) led to a local authority inspection. What the exact cause of
the decision to inspect was, I could not discover but some people
preferred to believe it was about "what the Head has done to the
school". The training groups were part of this in some minds. On
the other hand many staff supported the Head and felt the groups
had saved the school from disaster, especially during a winter of
strikes, burst boilers and a flooded school. Many said that morale
was kept high and the school survived just because of the training
groups.

Another factor in the research was that it was first too sophisti-
cated a design both for me and the teachers. On the whole teachers
are not very interested in continuing research programmes. They are
over exposed to testing and are cynical about questionnaires. There
was very little, if anything, in it for them especially when all their
emotional energies were devoted to dealing with the consultancy and
the effects of the groups. To consider the research effects was a
burden no one wanted. I was able to press a few with whom I
had struck up special friendships to respond but I decided not to
pursue these as being far too selective and personal even for me.
I have no doubt that I could have obtained all the data I required
for a neat looking research paper had I pressed my personal needs
but that would have gone entirely against my principles. It was a
deliberate but very painful decision not to pursue the research
design because I could have obtained conventional data but it would
have been obtained under the dishonest circumstances of pressing
friendship. I do not feel smug at that, only a bit sick that I could
have done what others have done in conventional and traditional
'research' situations.

But there is a more positive reason why I did not obtain the responses
I wanted. For one thing some members of the staff were identifying
with me and my interests. That means that though they were willing
to support me if asked, they did not see the need for them to be the
objects of my research. They accepted what I was doing so they were
on my side - and that meant my side of the question paper. They saw
the nature of our personal relationship as making research unnecessary.
I had encountered this phenomenon before where individuals so ally
with me that they can no longer be (that is they can not perceive

themselves to be) the objects of personal research and do not feel

any need to be. More important - and this only became clear later on -

many of them were passing through the phase of counter dependence.

They were proving they did not need me and so rejected me as a

precursor to a later phase of collaboration. I should have known

that this would happen because it is central to my development model,

the phases of Organisation Development described later. But it was

real for me. I did feel rejected and exceedingly disappointed. I

felt the whole project had come to a termination but was unfinished.

Nor did I trust them to be able to manage without me even though

their own counsellor training group continued. Yet this was one of

the elements in the situation that led to continuance. From the

outset, the counselling training group had been "their" part of the

project and I had had very little to do with it even though the

schools counsellor (and group leader) had been on one of my Encounter

Groups elsewhere. So the counselling group continued and became

instrumental in numerous initiatives and events in the normal

organisation of the school. Patterns of behaviour changed and

individuals took stronger and more purposeful facilitative roles

in the ordinary events and special events at the school. They

were, however, different for each individual and the changes that

some noted as significant and remarkable went unobserved and/or

inexperienced by others: the evidence for this appears in the

research projects which are described in detail in the next

chapter.

The Research Projects

The Research Projects

The Projects appear in their final published form. The reports are an accumulation of material, built up as each project continued and made available for discussion. They illustrate the development in my own way of researching with educational institutions, the Deanes School being more formal and traditional than the later Brookfield Project.

Both reports were intended to be used by the members of the schools and were made available both when complete and in part during compilation. In the case of the Deanes school an earlier and shorter version was used and the final volume built up as comments were made. This was collated as a monograph available in the school. In the case of Brookfield School, the whole document, except for a few notes at the end, was presented to the staff.

By chance, both schools are 11-16 comprehensive serving similar socio-economic communities. This doubtless affects the attitudes of the staff to education but the research was not concerned with educational values as such. I have no reason to believe that the processes adopted would be eventually different in other kinds of educational institutions.   I shall use the same basic procedures again because they permit an exploration of the theoretical concepts expanded in this study - the importance of the self-concept in determining the creation of the individual's world and organisational change being a consequence of a changed self-concept.

Project 1

The Deanes School, Benfleet, Essex

Collected Papers on a School Evaluation Project [1]

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[1]   Reproduced here in its entirety.

EVALUATING A SCHOOL

(c) H.L. GRAY

N.E. London Polytechnic

April 1977

Organisation Studies Unit

Anglian Regional Management Centre

North East London Polytechnic

Evaluating a School

Introduction

This monograph consists of the working papers for a pilot

project on the evaluation of the school conducted by myself

at the invitation of the Headmaster and staff of the Deanes

School, Benfleet, Essex. The work and interpretation, except

where stated are entirely my own and commit no one else to an

acceptance of either the method or findings.

The papers represent the first stage of an ongoing Organisation

Development programme and the ideas here present will undoubtedly

undergo modification and development.

HARRY GRAY

Contents

School Evaluation

A Discussion Paper

by H L Gray
NE London Polytechnic

January 1977

I   Evaluating Schools

There have been few serious attempts to evaluate a school. The NFER

is engaged on a lengthy comparative study of comprehensive schools

and various other agencies are concerned with comparative or longi-

tudinal studies of types of schools, but apart from a few individual

studies there is little available material on school evaluation.

The National Foundation for Educational Research published in 1972 a

study of comprehensive schools entitled "A Critical Appraisal of

Comprehensive Education" written by J M Ross and others. It claimed

to be an evaluation of comprehensive education and was based upon the

defining of goals and an examination of how some of them were

achieved. Since no goals for comprehensive education had ever been

formulated, it was found necessary to invent some for the study.

> "To this end a working party consisting of two sub-groups
> was set up. One group was composed of educational
> theorists - philosophers, sociologists, psychologists and
> research workers; the other, the 'educational practitioners',
> included school heads, teachers, directors of education
> and inspectors. Each group formulated its own list of
> objectives or goals of comprehensive education and at a
> full meeting all members later agreed a Final Joint
> Statement." [n]

The Joint Statement was divided into two sections - organisational

structure and cultural content. These areas are defined in terms of

what the school "should endeavour to make possible" and hence are

subjectively defined and raise considerable questions of values,

meaning and (on the part of the researchers), interpretation (pp 179-182).

For the study, 9 schedules were used covering 19 scales of assessment

of qualities. These schedules appear to deal with perception - 7 with

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[n]   J M Ross et al. A Critical Appraisal of Comprehensive
       Education. NFER 1972. P20.

pupils' perceptions, 1 with teachers' perceptions, and 1 for pupils

and teachers. No investigations were made of parents or others

concerned with the school.

In a review of research into schools as organisations, Hoyle stated:-

> "With some exceptions........British studies have been
> less concerned with the formal properties of schools
> than with seeking to understand the significance of
> school as an agency of cultural transmission for
> different categories of pupil.[n]1   They have been more
> concerned with the pupils' world than the staff world -
> the studies tell us very little about teachers in any
> direct sense - and it is probably the case that extant
> theories of organisation are more applicable to the
> study of the élite of an organisation than its lower
> participants. This must be counted as a major short-
> coming of current organisation theory."[n]2

An article by Joanna Mack in New Society entitled "Assessing Schools"[n]3

makes an attempt to evaluate schools from a socio-political point of

view. Though the author raises the important question of 'evaluation' -

a term not common even in the 'evaluation' literature - she goes

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[n]1 These School Case Studies are:-

Hargreaves D H (1957) Social Relations in a Secondary School.
Routledge, Kegan Paul, London.

Ford, Julienne (1969) Social Class & the Comprehensive School.
Routledge, Kegan Paul, London.

Lacey: Hightown Grammar: The School as a Social System.
Manchester University Press.

King R (1969) Values and Involvement in a Grammar School.
Routledge, Kegan Paul, London.

Wakeford, John (1969) The Cloistered Elite. Macmillan, London.

Turner (1969) An Organisational Analysis of a Secondary
Modern School. Soc. Rev. 17 1. 67-86.

[n]2 E Hoyle: The Study of Schools as Organisations, (1973) p.46 in
Butcher H J & Pont H B (eds) Educational Research in Britain 3
ULP pp.32-56.

[n]3 New Society, 25 Nov 1976, Vol 38 No. 738, pp401-403.

little farther than the economic evaluators who look for quantitative

indices of achievement which generally means in effect that they are

simply looking for proof that "quantifiable" resources have been used

up in approved "quantifiable" ways.

In all fairness, no one has claimed total objectivity in education

evaluation though there has been little attempt to clarify the

distinction between genuinely quantifiable aspects of education - books,

salaries, maintenance costs - and the basically subjective inter-

pretation of the significance of the quantification. The very

exercise of discovering objectives for comprehensive education

illustrates how totally subjective evaluation must be, for agreement

among individuals is no nearer to objectivity than disagreement, and

the setting of objectives and the achievement of them can never be

other than a matter of dispute.

Yet the need to attempt some kind of evaluation of the school is strong

if only because those most emotionally involved in them feel that they

must understand better what is going on, what their effort and commit-

ment lead to. The Department of Education and Science has set up an

Assessment of Performance Unit but this is only a partial answer to

the wrong question. It appears to be generally assumed that what

schools are about is the teaching of subjects. If this is so, then

success can be evaluated in a comparatively simple way. If learning

mathematics requires a student to be able to perform on his own with-

out help certain mathematical activities, then success can be measured

by his being able to perform as desired and failure by in inability

to perform. Unfortunately, there are other questions. For one, what

is the nature of the difference between being able to perform and not

being able to perform? What is the learning in stages in between?

Also, what happens in addition to learning and not learning - in what

ways is learning and not learning significant to the pupil? Further-

more, what is the significance of the setting of the learning objec-

tives by the person who sets them? How do we evaluate the validity

of the preferences of the goal setter? And so on.

Expressed in another way, to start with assumptions about the

curriculum is to start too far away from the basic questions. The

prior questions have to do with the meaning that the education process

has to the people involved not, in the first instance, at the content

level (the level of 'subjects') but at the affective level of what

the educational process means to them. The important questions about

education are not concerned with instruction[n] but something different.

Even if we accept that education must pragmatically be institution-

alised into school and so become 'schooling' there are many questions

about what we are evaluating.

A different approach to evaluation is indicated when we acknowledge

that when we test 'content' we are making a priori assumptions about

the 'container' - the organisation or school. Technical approaches

based on some kind of administrative or management theory have

resulted in quasi-quantitative techniques like PPBS (Planned Programmed

Budgeting Schemes) of the kind we have already criticised. But the

emphasis is correct in that it deals with the organisation in context.

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[n] Recent studies by the author in the United States suggest that
in some school districts the emphasis is solely on instruction
which is very expensively evaluated but no questions are asked
about the social, economic and especially political functions
of the school. Yet in the areas studied the whole momentum for
curriculum reform was socio-political, the consequences of
Court Orders for racial integration.

Curriculum is in fact what goes on in the school - whatever goes on in the school is derived from the factors that go to make up the school. It is a mistake to believe that 'curriculum' exists in its own right apart from the school and that schools simply adopt an already pre-existent curriculum; yet many people seem to believe this to be the case for that is what talk of a 'core curriculum', nationally determined, implies. The idea of national 'standards' can only be an avoidance of the real issues because standards must relate not only to achievement but to use and there is no guarantee that two students with the same level of attainment can put it to the same use. It is use not achievement that is the polemical issue.

The important thing about understanding the organisational context is that we open the discussion to a different range of theories; theories about the nature of organisations and what they achieve for their members. Schools have the purpose of meeting the needs of their members personally and uniquely. No two people go to school for quite the same purposes and their membership can be described in terms of how their needs are consciously satisfied or dissatisfied. Even though a couple of dozen children are studying the same subject (or sitting in the same classroom), their needs will be worked out differently though generally speaking they will be accommodated to the activities available. In one sense it hardly matters what the accommodating activity is so long as it serves the maximum number of needs. On the other hand, some activities will be better than others over a wider range of needs but the considerations of suitability will lie in the needs of the students themselves and not in any intrinsic qualities in the activity. [n]

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[n] I have developed this organisational theory of a school in "Organisations as Subjectivities", NE London Polytechnic 1977

From the point of view of organisation theory, each member has needs, conscious and unconscious, which must be satisfied by the organisation. His evaluation of the organisation is based on the gratification of these needs and this he experiences emotionally rather more largely than just intellectually. No outsider can evaluate an organisation except in terms of the members; if they feel it is good for them then it is good for them. The may, of course, be helped to understand whether it is good for them by questioning their own criteria and understanding but no outsider can know what is happening in the organisation without understanding the people in it; a matter of understanding the culture which is a costly and unpopular requirement for those who are politically or ideologically motivated as many educationalists are. Since each school must be unique it would appear to be worth looking for the qualities of uniquness - needs and resources - before imposing 'agreed', 'national', 'common' etc curricula on them.

But the argument here is not with curriculum, for that is in another area of concern if we adopt an 'organisation' approach. If we view the school as an organisation (and there is no way in which a school is not an organisation) we are into almost unchartered seas where evaluation is concerned. As has already been said, we may evaluate in terms of money spent and usage of equipment (how many children for how many hours have watched slides shown on the school's audio-visual equipment, for instance), but this is unsatisfactory because it effectively ignores the members who, as we have also described, have needs that are individually and collectively personal or unique. We need to know what are the needs of the members and how being a member of the school satisfies them.

The problem is that needs may be idiosyncratically expressed and interpreted as well as unconsciously realised. A member may not be aware of his needs and when he is aware he may perceive them differently from anyone else; likewise with the satisfaction of his needs. I may think a school cold and unfriendly but a colleague find it warm and friendly. This is the subjective nature of our personal evaluation. The school will have as many subjective responses as it has members but do we need to know them all? Of course we do not need to know them all because in many cases needs will be 'accommodated' to what is available, but we do need to know to what extent individuals are making false assumptions about others and acting upon these assumptions in such a way as members move further and further apart and the school ceases to serve any useful function because everyone is at cross purposes. If parents want literacy and teachers only value verbal fluency, the school is achieving neither.

We have referred to 'members' of the organisation or school. In organisation theory membership is a crucial question because full membership consists of all those individuals and groups for whom the organisation has operational significance. For most schools we can identify four major member groups on a daily basis - pupils, teachers, ancilliary staff and parents. Additionally, there are such groups as the members of the education committee, governing body, local authority officials and various service groups - local suppliers, educational publishers, employers, etc. All of these groups make demands on the school to satisfy their needs and the functioning of the school is its response to these needs. In other words, the nature of functioning is the way in which the school accommodates the needs of all its members. An evaluation of the school is an assessment of how this happens.

An additional problem is that evaluation is a personal matter as we
have already suggested and so a generalised evaluation, while it will
have value as a generalisation, will have no value as an individual
evaluation because not only does no generalisation fit any individual
case[n] but each individual is concerned only with what he perceives
to be true to him. A school which has a 99% pass rate in 'O' level
English Language has not succeeded for the one student who is the 1%
failure. At the same time a school with a 50% pass rate may be
considered by all its students to have done a good job for each of
them. Clearly whatever evaluation we may make, we are in grave difficulties
if we make comparative evaluations against several institutions for
when we do that we are engaged in a different exercise. Too often
these different exercises have been confused.

Is, then, evaluation possible? We may also ask is it desirable
except for political necessity? My guess is that most comparisons
and evaluations are essentially political and other reformers will
argue that issue. Nevertheless, evaluation may be difficult but it
is certainly valuable because it enables us to examine what we are
doing and gain fresh insights without which we would be increasing the
likelihood of futile activity - something which many schools may well
be engaged in without being aware of it. To evaluate an institution
we need to know what people need of it and how their need is gratified.
We need to discover how conscious they are of their needs and how
conscious of their needs being satisfied. And we need to find out how
to do it.

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[n] By definition generalisations cannot be individual cases.

To begin with, we decided to look at one secondary comprehensive school, and to address ourselves to the question. How do we evaluate this school? In fact, we came across the school by happy coincidence, the Headmaster wished to assess the achievement of the school after the first intake of pupils had passed through. His needs and ours appeared to coincide. While knowing that the procedure would take a long time and expecting it to raise more issues than it would solve, we designed an approach to act as the first or pilot stage of our work. We would then use what we had done as a basis for discussion and development hoping to benefit from criticism - much easier after the event than advice before it. That account appears as part of this monograph.

II   The Ten Questions

The search for a methodology began on the assumption that because what
we were interested in was exposure of subjectivity we could not use
any of the traditional approaches of behavioural science. We did not
wish to be caught out by quantifying the unquantifiable or making
generalisations that masqueraded as universal truths. The urge to
quantify and reduce to statistical formulae is almost overpowering to
the social scientist but it is at the core of our phenomenological
thesis that this is the easy way out and the way of the compounded
error.

We assumed - hypothesised - that each member of the school would have
some essential uniqueness about his membership that would be critical
for him in terms of the organisation. That is to say, in some way
there would be something quite personal and unique that the school
would have to do for him. Schools are familiar with the 'academically'
exceptional child - the exceptionally gifted or intellectually slow
exceptions to the generality. But we were interested in more than
that, we wanted to know what people felt about the school and how they
responded to what being a member of the school meant. It could be,
for instance, that everyone thought the school was quite a mediocre
place but since it was comfortable why not settle for comfort. In
such a case the school would be "achieving" but much less than its
potential because members were apathetic. Or some people might be so
enthusiastic they give the impression the school is a fantasically
good place - but they would be the vocal ones while others felt differently .

Methodologically, a traditional questionnaire was out of the question
since we would be predetermining the answers by the questions we
asked. To ask "which subject do you like best?" assumes not only

that a pupil likes one subject best but that his 'best' was equivalent to another pupil's 'best'. In any case, we were interested in how members responded to the school organisationally because the school represents a total experience. The original intention was to make a series of taped interviews with a select (random) number of people, to analyse them and try to decide what they told us about the school. Given the time available and particularly the fact that for the Head of the school the important issue was to make an evaluation that related to the first five years, we decided to try an open-ended but written questionnaire knowing that as much good learning occurs by doing things wrongly and being aware of it as by doing things "properly" in the first instance. In any case, we needed to know what kind of written responses were possible. As well as the questionnaire, we would also produce figures about examination results, comparisons with national averages, etc, and what information we could about jobs that school leavers took, or their progress in the Sixth Form, College or University, and whatever.

Thus an important element in our evaluation was that we should meet our needs first. "We", then, means the researcher, the headmaster, the deputy head (male) and senior mistress. In this respect the four needs were by no means the same though the strongest needs were for the head and the researcher. Not only did our needs determine what we would look for, but also the methods we would adopt in looking.

In the event we decided to ask ten questions of pupils, parents and teachers. The questions were designed to raise answers about the respondents' response to the school as an institution. They were really designed as key questions in an oral interview and it is interesting to speculate why we asked them to be filled in anonymously.

Probably we were all still influenced by a belief that written

answers are more objective than recorded ones, or ones transcribed by

a researcher. There was also the matter of representativeness not

just in terms of selection itself but the time required to do a big

enough number of selective interviews. Of course, from a phenomeno-

logical standpoint it didn't matter how many responses we have because

each would be 'true' and totally valid in itself. Indeed, we did

not want to seek agreement and generality. Ideally we should inter-

view everyone and let each set of answers speak for itself. But

organisations also work on consensus and generality and for public

purposes we needed generalities. It would be quicker to send out

questionnaires and collect them in at almost the same time.

The ten questions were agreed and the contentious ones field-tested

on casual passers by the head's room. In oral situations they

produced satisfactory responses. All the questionnaires were the

same except for a more suitable re-wording of No.3 for parents.

Every teacher was given one, 1 in 6 of the children and the same

number of parents, both groups selected randomly from class registers.

(Every 5th child, every 6th parent.) The questionnaires were given

out with accompanying letters one Friday and were collected

anonymously the following Monday.

Previous to determining the method of research, a paper had been

prepared on the problem of school evaluation and circulated and

discussed at an international conference of educationists in America.

The paper received few substantive comments - which indicates nothing

at all about its quality - but since it included the ten questions

and was the preliminary thinking on the matter, it is included as

Appendix I.

The responses were analysed by the researcher by a form of content

analysis. In the first instance this was done by impression, because

the material was not great enough to be susceptible to minute analysis

at this stage and because the need to produce an interim report was

pressing. It was important, so it was felt, to provide evidence that

the responses had been read and used constructively because parents

and pupils had been promised that a report would be available. It

was also assumed that readers of the report would be less interested

in its scientific validity than its readability. It has to be

remembered that there will always be a discrepancy between what a

researcher does with his material and what appears in a report intended

for a more general and less specialist audience. In our case, the

report was seen to have greatest value as a stimulator of debate about

"evaluation" (a form of action research) than as a faultless research

paper.

Even before the questionnaires were distributed the researcher felt

that the best use of the questions, and perhaps the "answers", was

for general discussion among the three groups involved - class

discussions with the pupils, seminars with teachers, special meetings

with parents. This would be the beginning of an O.D. (Organisation

Development) activity in which the validity of the research would be

less an issue than the usefulness of the ensuing discussion. Indeed,

a critical issue of evaluation has to do with the use the school is

able to make of the problems of evaluation. If the school cannot

accommodate a lively discussion of evaluation issues what does that

mean as an evaluation of the school?

The obvious questions about evaluation are the ones that are not asked

at the beginning. One tends to be carried away by the idea and only

to ask fundamental questions later. The questions we need to ask

before we even start are who requires to evaluate?

Why do we want to evaluate?

What are we evaluating?

Let us assume that the Headmaster wishes to evaluate the school.

There are a number of matters here which inter-relate and may be

inseperable and even initially unknown. He may be wanting to know

how much he has been able to influence his staff to do what he wants

them to do. He may hope that the academic achievement of the pupils

is comparable with that of pupils at comparable (local) schools. He

may be looking for something unique and outstanding to help him

towards promotion. He may have difficulties with his governors that

he hopes to resolve by producing 'evidence' that shows him in a good

light. And there are other possibilities. Likewise there will be

various reasons why other people are interested in the evaluation and

what they require will be personal.

When we take an organisational view of evaluation, each of these

individual needs and standpoints must be taken into consideration.

Organisational evaluation is the sum total of all member and user

needs and is not an average, consensus or majority view. Although

organisations function on generalities - agreements, accommodation,

collusion - the problems of organisations arise from their so doing.

If we learn that 99% of the members of an organisation "like" the way

the senior manager makes decisions, it does not follow that the

remaining 1% is insignificant or are "1%" significant beyond that

statistic. If, for instance, that 1% includes the senior manager the

significance is considerable. Hence high among the problems of

evaluation are problems of organisational - not statistical -

significance. In the present study, one respondent commented, "I wonder if such an 'open-ended' questionnaire will highlight minority views. As with large meetings, those with a general agreement with what's said or done often refrain from comment, leaving a minority viewpoint to be heard". But there are also unheard majorities and either, for the individual, it is his/her views that matter to him/her. When we examine the ways organisations work we understand just how important individuals are in what goes on. Perhaps evaluation should be the _process_ of uncovering the needs of members and users and examining how they affect the functioning of the organisation. The question is not "how satisfied are you with something or other" but "what are the effects of your so feeling".

A criticism of a phenomenological approach is that it is still unevaluative and undiscriminating; everything goes. Hopefully, we have explained why at the outset and in the ultimate everything _must_ go. The phenomenologist still has the problems of what goes on before 'data' is collected and what is done to the data beyond simply storing it. In our case we looked for apparent agreements and trends but we also were very interested in the meaning behind what people wrote, the subconscious, and why they said what they did say. We were also very intrigued by what people did not say, for there appeared to be a significant number of questions not answered apart from the few completely blank questionnaires. We can only speculate about these no-answers but the speculation is an indication of the way forward with research.

Here are some of the reasons people may not have answered:-

they did not understand the question

they were in a hurry

they did not value the questionnaire

they were afraid of their answers

they were ashamed of their answers

they did not <u>know</u> the answer

they were suspicious of the whole exercise

they resented the questionnaire

The reasons for no-answers were every bit as important as the answers we received so far as evaluation is concerned because evaluation concerns everything about member and user reactions not for what they are prepared to share with someone else. It is not, therefore, enough to be content with a satisfactory proportion of questionnaires returned and there are doubts about using probability formulae to guess at what others think, though we may be left with that as the only solution. But there are a number of serious questions around why so many teachers did not complete their questionnaire.

Where does this bring us? We may state what we see to be the problems of the research so far and invite comment from readers. The following would appear to be major problem areas.

A large number of questions were not answered. A large number of teachers did not reply. Teacher answers, however, were fuller than those of parents and pupils. Many parents answered very briefly indeed (eg "No").

Answers tended to be what one would have expected - "standard answers". What was the reason? Were respondents telling us what they felt we

wanted to hear or what would be acceptable? Why were disapproving

answers equally brief? (Some full answers were given but they matched

with brief and/or safer ones; so as not to offend?)

Had we seriously enough thought out how the question would be

answered and had we asked questions meaningful to us but not the

respondents?

Overall the data - except for teachers' answers? - was not much use

for straightforward statistical treatment. How did we react to this?

Would we really have liked answers that could have been expressed in

neat percentages? We probably would. But then again how would we

have thought about the percentage type data?

There was a problem of confidentiality. Informally we were aware of

it among the teachers, some of whom were suspicious. We confused the

roles of researcher as an outsider, as Head and Deputies. This is an

important problem of entry since researchers need support for entry

but then become confused with the senior staff members. Would the

situation have changed if there had been fuller discussion with staff

and how then would parents and children have reacted? But one might

enter another school by presenting this whole report at a seminar and

build from there.

Furthermore, if the present report becomes the basis of an OD exercise

we are still engaged in the evaluation process - which then becomes

dynamic and not snap-shot.

Because the questions were open-ended and not conventional "yes/no"

answers many respondents may have been disorientated and have found

the questions difficult to deal with.

Likewise, because the 'report' is presented as a subjective analysis
it may be unacceptable to some readers. This raises, too, the
problem of validity for the research as a whole. How is it valid and
in what ways would some readers consider it not to be valid? Are
there other ways of interpreting the data? What are they? And what
effect would their use have?

We are aware of other tests and batteries of tests to 'measure'
organisational matters (eg organisational climate) but believe we
were right to reject them. What counter arguments are there? What
more and different might we have learned?

It would appear that the most fruitful method of anaysis is a form
of content analysis. They key to this will be the use of linguistic
analysis and exploration of the psychological meaning of language
use. Such an approach will involve an examination of other evidence -
linguistic and symbolic - in the organisation. We propose to develop
this approach in subsequent papers and show how linguistic analysis
requires to be embedded in a theory of organisation to provide a
satisfactory context for systematic analysis.

If this whole exercise is to be of much value we need the views of
other researchers. The publication of this monograph is their
invitation. [1]

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[1] Although the monograph was distributed to a number of key
    individuals such as an H.M.I. in the Assessment of Performance
    Unit, no one actually responded. It is a pity we cannot know
    why but the unconventionality of the approach may be the reason.

APPENDIX I

The originally circulated paper before the research

Evaluation of an Educational Institution

H L Gray
North East London Polytechnic

The concern to evaluate in education is over-riding. Currently almost

every aspect of educational organisation is subject to some form of

assessment and re-evaluation - curriculum, deployment of manpower

expenditure, use of plant and facilities. Much of this concern arises

from a concern for public expenditure; much out of a concern for the

needs òf students and much as a means of justifying the existence of

the huge parastructure that surrounds the primary activity of

educating the child, the adolescent and the adult. Yet the process

of education itself is nothing more nor less than the process of

growing up in society. This growing up consists of the full discovery

of the self and the acceptance of personal identity, and also the

adjustment of the individual to a social environment. For the most

part this social environment is normative and hostile and the prior

questions about evaluation must be about the whole organisation and

institutionalisation of education - questions asked by all educational

reformers, but never seriously asked by administrators.

Most of the questions asked about education in the UK are the wrong

questions because they are based on administrative needs and not the

personal needs of the client (pupils, students, parents and employers).

Because schools exist in institutional form, not to ask the prior

questions is to avoid the reality of their existence, so to attempt

an evaluation in terms of what exists requires a research perspective

that will allow the researcher to stand aside from the assumptions

that are in question and enable him to avoid accepting the adminis-

trative stand point. Such a perspective is "phenomenological" which

means a stand point concerned with discovering how reality is

perceived subjectively by individuals involved in the organisation

under scrutiny. A phenomenological viewpoint of an organisation views

that organisation as an arena of collective fantasies.[1] Each

individual constructs his reality in a subjective way - that is, he

sees the organisation in terms that are fully meaningful only to him

and hence differently from other members and observers. His behaviour

is consequent upon his understanding and not on anyone else's. Thus,

in practice, organisations are institutions where members work out

their personal fantasies in a collective way; that is, they learn to

accommodate their fantasies to one another. We may view organisations

as locations where individuals pursue their own purposes and try to

satisfy their own needs in a process of exchange and compromise.[2]

Actual activity is concerned with the exchange process at the level

of personal fantasy while generalised, abstract fantasies provide a

cover of justification for the existence of the organisation.

The school, then, is a location where the members try to satisfy

their personal needs. A general misconception about organisations is

that they have an objective existence. They certainly have a physical

existence but that is not the same as objectivity. The object fallacy

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[1] We define fantasy after Fritz Perls: "Fantasy activity...... is
that activity of the human being which through the use of symbols
tends to reproduce reality on a diminished scale." We have no
option but to live within our fantasies because we must select
from all the information available in our environment and this we
can only do subjectively.

[2] The view is expanded in H L Gray "Organisations as Subjectivities"
(forthcoming) and H L Gray "Exchange and Conflict in the School",
Open University (1976).

about organisations declares that they have existence in their own
right and hence have qualities over and above the collectivity of
members.   Thus it is claimed organisations have objectives to achieve
and their own purpose to fulfil.   It may well be that the destination
plate on a Number 11 bus says 'Piccadilly' but if the passengers and
driver decide they want to go to Regents Park then they will do this.
A major conflict exists between providers and users because providers
have to make assumptions about user needs and they can never be
completely right and in practice are more often wrong (whoever heard
of a bus service that satisfied customers?)

An educational institution is a collection of people who have come
together - some voluntarily, some compulsorily - for a number of
related purposes.   Each individual will receive satisfaction to the
extent that he is able to satisfy his needs and the success of the
collective organisation is a measure of these personal satisfactions.
The more compatible personal needs are, the more effective will the
institution be, but compatibility is the consequence of a network of
compromises determined within a power structure.   Each member of the
organisation brings an appropriate amount of potential commitment to
the institution but the amount of commitment energy he gives is
determined by the nature of the power structure.   Thus a pupil who
wishes to sit for school examinations brings only as much commitment
energy as one who wishes simply to pass the time without any intel-
lectual demands being made upon him but the power-coercive influences
in the school   (manifest in the attitudes and behaviour of teachers
and other pupils) either release or frustrate these energies with
specific consequences.

The reason each individual brings an appropriate amount of potential

commitment is that organisations can only function when individual

contributions are in balance. That is, they are not equal

(quantitatively) but compatible. By definition an organisation will

function effectively when the proper balance of needs and commitments

has been realised for those members who actually make up the

organisation. Thus, any group of people has an optimum level of

effective functioning that relates quite specifically to those who

make up membership. It is misconceived to view schools as stereo-

types; they are constantly changing unique institutions. The measure

of uniqueness lies in the nature of individual needs and contributions

overall and is worked out on the basis of social and psychological

exchange. [n]

It has become customary to employ open systems models to describe the

relationship between the school and its environment. While that is

an enlightened improvement on the formerly fashionable closed system

model, the open systems model is too complex for general use, and

indiscriminate, because it is not sufficiently subjective. In

practice, all the open systems models are eventually interpreted

subjectively by their inventors but the subjective reality of organi-

sations does not arise from the model itself, only the user's

interpretation. Furthermore, there is little value in making a full

open-systems analysis of an educational institution. Not only would

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[n] This is not to claim that schools are totally dissimilar from
each other. Language itself demands similarities. But
descriptions are generalisations and the term 'school' is a
generalisation which denotes similarities and dissimilarities
in the same way as the word 'pupil' denotes similarities and
dissimilarities. Sometimes we need to work on the similarities,
at others on dissimilarities and often on both. But
similarities are not samenesses and too much management thinking
has been based on the error of same identity.

such an attempt be virtually impossible but we should learn more

about the analyst than the people in the system because of his

selection of data. In an open systems model people are classified

into categories but the categories are not explored because its

greatest use is as an administrative device.

A phenomenological view of organisations is much less concerned with

categories of membership. Its concern is with how individuals

perceive the organisation. Each individual's perception is accept-

able and "correct". Even the question of scientific sampling and

representation is irrelevant since for each individual no other view

of the organisation is as important or relevant for him. Any one

individual's view of the organisation is 'valid' in a research sense

and the problem of understanding organisations is one of understanding

the nature of individual fantasies and subjective reality. To do

this the researcher must go beneath the level of collective norms,

game playing and imposed fantasy cloud - beneath the level of

conditioned response and brain-washing.[n] So far, research into

educational institutions has not penetrated this cloud of conditioned

responses.

If we adopt a phenomenological approach to the school it will be

difficult to devise a neat schedule in which questions and answers

are pre-codified. We cannot wish to discover answers to questions we

have already thought of asking, instead we need to discover what

answers are given to questions unasked.

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[n] The controversy over comprehensive and selective schools, for
instance, can only be understood by discovering subjective
meaning for individuals beneath the cloud of word and
symbolism.

If we ask a student "What do you like about coming to this school?"
we can be certain he will try to give the answer he thinks we would
like to hear or the answer which is uppermost in his mind at that
time. He may, in fact, not be aware of what he "likes" about the
school and even if he does know, we shall still need to discover the
significance or meaning it has for him. Indeed the whole idea of
'liking' comes from the questioner and is not necessarily in the mind
of the respondent. This suggests the need for depth in interviewing
but since depth interviewing reaches into the mind of the individual,
what significance can we draw from our findings if we must then
reinterpret in terms of a necessarily simplistic administrative
system? It seems almost as if no questions can legitimately be asked.
But if they are in the mind of the researcher, then they have legitimacy
and meaning (of some kind) to him.

The conventional measures of success for a school are the success rate
in public examinations and/or the obtaining of employment or further
study places for the students. There are no other quantitative
criteria yet these two criteria violently beg the question; [n] the
prior questions are still unasked and the questions that are asked
are irrelevant because they represent an interpretation of the past
not the present. Yet 'education' is about changing the future and
the awareness of the present.

Why is this so? Surely 'reality' is the obtaining of qualifications,
the finding of vocational opportunities, the earning of a living and
the fitting into the social and economic environment as it is.

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[n] That is, they assume the nature of educational success to be
those things that are measured.

Admittedly, this is one view of reality but its unreality is currently

(1976) demonstrated by the lack of teaching posts for 15,000 newly

qualified teachers, and the training courses for workers and managers

who have been made redundant in the present economic 'reality'. The

personal issue for the qualified unemployed is the uselessness of

their education and training because they are now placed in a situation

which neither they nor society can cope. We can legitimately ask of

a school in 1976, "What have you done that would better help your

students if they had been either 21 year old teachers without a job

to go to or 40 year old executives demoralised by being declared

redundant?" These questions relate to the world they have to live in.

A phenomenological view of education would at least be asking questions

like these. What answers would the administrators of the educational

system give? There is no way in which conventional measures of

evaluation of either the educational process or the use of educational

plant arrive anywhere near. In addition to the composite fantasy is

the collective mythology in which the school has an independent

existence (a different kind of existentialism). Until the myths of

the school as an educational institution have been blown away,[n] the

task of discovering what a school "ought" to be can never begin. In

this sense 'ought' means the discovery of the (real) nature of the

educational institution as the institutionalisation of individual

needs and perceptions.

A useful parameter in understanding the school is to examine the

nature of careers that are institutionalised. Careers are of two

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[n] Such as the myth that education in schools can change the nature
of society - a myth now undergoing considerable questioning in
the USA.

types - personal and organisational. An organisational career is the opportunity an organisation offers to its members; a personal career is the life pattern of an individual which may be in several organisations consecutively. All members of an organisation follow personal and organisational careers contemporaneously and with varying degrees of congruity. Greatest satisfaction arises from greatest congruity and least satisfaction from greatest deviation. Congruity in this sense is the way careers are compatible or in harmony. Congruity does not mean 'the same' - giving the same needs or satisfactions. In fact, congruity more likely means complementary opportunities and satisfactions. The measuring of congruity can be measured for each individual on the variable of career. The career variable is useful because it can be measured both in conventional research terms and also in phenomenological terms whether or not the two are related by the researcher. We can ask the basic 'question' (in fact, a cluster of questions) "What meaning does membership of this organisation have for you in career terms?". The added dimension of this question cluster is that it opens up the significance of time and encourages the respondent to link his answers into his understanding of the future. Conceptions of the future are highly personal - more than the past and present which are influenced by other people's responses. Though there may be conditioning about the future, contamination must be less unless the respondent is totally dependent on others - as indeed many teachers are!

Information about careers applies more fully to some members and users than others. Indeed a distinction between 'members' and 'users' may be made in terms of their career involvement. Members are operationally bound into the organisation while users have an independent relationship. (Sponsors and providers are operationally bound into the system.)

In examining member relationships we may ask "Who does what for whom?" and consider what meaning we give to the responses of each person questioned . For example, teachers and pupils both do something for each other and teachers are as much affected by teaching as pupils. Hence any evaluating of teaching must relate to teacher rewards as well as pupil rewards (ie exchanges or returns). Returns are both satisfactions and dissatisfactions and the only way of evaluating the success or effectiveness of an institution is in terms of personal evaluating of returns/exchanges.

How can the researcher compare answers from different respondents when each will answer from different levels of his own awareness? There is a wide variety of normative pressures which encourage a respondent to answer in certain terms rather than others. Local Authority Officers will be more cautious than teachers; teachers will be circumspect if they feel certain school or Local Authority loyalties; pupils may be most open but less aware of their own deep feelings. Perhaps there should be no attempt to collate and correlate but rather the researcher should report as professionally but subjectively as possible in the same way as the expert reporter and writer. Insight is a personal attribute as well as scientific quality. Even the most scientific research requires to be interpreted and it is the quality of interpretation that is most valuable to the researcher.

Postman and Weingartner[n] suggest a set of questions to be asked of the school (or indeed any 'system') as a basis for examination. They appear to equate 'examination' with evaluation but they do not press on to discuss how such an 'examination' may have meaning. Their

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[n] Postman, Neil & Weingartner, Charles, Teaching as a Subversive Activity. Penguin 1972, p118-119.

questions are:-

What are the purposes of the system?

What roles are people assigned?

What rules must be followed?

What rights and restrictions are given and imposed?

What are some of its critical, underlying assumptions?

What are its key words?

To what extent do the problems of the system require

decisions? choices? solutions?

To what extent is the system changing?

What are the mechanisms for changing within the system?

To what extent is the language of the system obsolete?

What are the critical, non-verbal symbols of the system?

To what extent are these changing?

What is the actual effect of the system on people?

To what extent is this different from the ostensible purpose

of the system?

Are there alternatives to the system?

Can we do without it?

How is the system related to other systems of knowing and

behaving?

These are all interesting general questions but they do not provide a

coherent approach to evaluation being of varying 'orders' and in most

cases open to much further explanation and definition. We need an approach

more systematic than this for asking questions let alone the analysis

of answers.

The 10 questions we used appear in Appendix II.

APPENDIX II

The Deanes School

School Evaluation 1976

An important part of the evaluation was to collect responses from those

who were most concerned in the life of the school - pupils, parents

and teachers. Instead of drawing up a detailed questionnaire, which

would have required the presentation of findings in a conventional

statistical manner, we decided to use an open-ended questionnaire

which would reveal major and basic feelings about the school. The

intention was not to predetermine the answers people would give but

to leave them free to say what was uppermost in their minds about the

school. A more detailed report[n] will appear in due course with an

explanation of why this method was chosen, the kinds of problems it

raises and the ways in which it might be most usefully employed. In

the meantime, we present a brief and abbreviated report which gives

the salient findings and will be most easily appreciated by the general

reader.

The findings are presented under each category of respondents and

represent general impressions conveyed by all the respondents not a

detailed breakdown of answers. Ten questions were asked of each

groups (pupils, parents and teachers) all identical except in one

instance and accompanied by the briefest information about age, sex

and relevant year in the school. Obviously, the ten questions would

have a different significance for each category of respondent, but

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[n] The introductory chapter of this monograph.

this was intentional as one way of making comparisons. Ideally the questions would have been asked in a personal interview and answers drawn out at some length but the time required for such a procedure was not available and we had to be content with much less detailed information than we would have liked.

The ten questions were as follows:-

1. What are the sorts of things you like best about this school?

2. What sorts of things do you like least?

3. What do you think the school will have done for you (or for your child) by the time you leave (he or she leaves)?

4. What do you think the school is best at?

5. What do you think the school does least well?

6. What does the school not do that you think it should do?

7. How do you think this school compares with other schools?

8. How do you see the school fitting into your career patterns or future plans?

9. What sort of people would you say make up the school?
    Can you say what their importance is?

10. Are there any other questions you feel we should have asked?
    What are they? Would you like to attempt an answer?

1. OUTLINE OF PROCEDURE

Questionnaires were issued to all the full-time teaching staff, to

approximately 10% of the pupils and to approximately 10% of the

parents (addressed to either father or mother). To obtain a propor-

tional response from the school, three pupils and three parents of

pupils in each tutor group were chosen 'blindly'. In the case of

pupils, the 8th, 15th and 22nd on the attendance register (normal

arrangement being girls' section followed by boys' section, each

section in alphabetical order) received a questionnaire; in the case

of parents, the 9th, 16th and 23rd on the register. This selection

procedure was modified in some cases - by taking the next name on the

list - to avoid a family receiving questionnaires for both pupil and

parent.

It was intended to issue all the questionnaires to pupils at the end

of afternoon school on Friday, 3 December, for return (hopefully) by

the following Monday. However, some questionnaires were not issued

until the Monday owing to the absence of pupils on the Friday and a

few questionnaires were not issued at all owing to the absence of

pupils on both the Friday and the Monday. (This method of issue was

not the best way of ensuring that all the questionnaires reached the

parents!) Questionnaires were issued also to the teaching staff on

the Friday. A box was placed outside the school office for the

return of questionnaires - a process that was adjudged to have been

completed by the Thursday morning.

2. QUESTIONNAIRES: ISSUED/RETURNED

2.1 PUPILS

Year	1		2		3		4		5				Totals
Intended issue	27		27		30		27		18				129
	b	g	b	g	b	g	b	g	b	g	b	g	
Actual issue	18	9	11	15	17	12	16	10	12	6	71	52	126
Returned*	12	7	11	9	11	8	11	10	4	1	49	35	84

(67%)

* Completed at least in part. (In addition, one was returned blank.)

2.2 PARENTS

Year	1		2		3		4		5				Totals
Intended issue	27		27		30		27		18				129
	fa	mo	fa	mo	fa	mo	fa	mo	fa	mo	fa	mo	
Actual issue	12	14	14	12	17	13	14	13	8	8	65	60	125
Returned*											41	31	72
Not possible to classify 4 additional returns:													76

(61%)

* Completed at least in part.

2.3 TEACHING STAFF

Issued: 64   Returned: 28   (44%)

2.4 COMMENTS ON METHOD AND TIMING OF ISSUE

1. During fifth year mock examinations - particularly heavy

   work load for that year and that staff involved in

   examining.

2. Unreliability of communication to parents when pupils

   used as messengers.

3. Timescale of issue/return (Friday/Monday) - stated in letter issued with questionnaire - too specific and/or too short for some?

4. Selection procedure produced bias towards probability of boys being chosen.

Pupil Answers

126 pupils were invited to fill in questionnaires, 85 replied, of

which one was blank and one gave no designation as to sex or school

year.   19 first year pupils replied of whom 12 were boys and 7 girls.

Of 20 second year, 11 were boys and 9 girls, of 19 third year, 11 were

boys and 8 girls; of fourth year pupils, 11 were boys and 10 girls,

and of fifth year, 4 were boys and 1 was a girl.

On the whole, pupils did not take advantage of this opportunity to

say things about the school. There may be several reasons for this -

the questionnaire was forbidding or difficult; the question of

anonymity was unsettled; there was general lack of interest; there

was uncertainty as to who would read it or what would be done with it,

or other reasons. We cannot know why more questions were not

answered more fully but we are aware that this kind of exercise can-

not have much meaning for respondents unless they are actively

involved with the research or researcher. For this reason we are

aware that oral questioning is preferable and discussion in the

school should accompany the findings.

Although most pupils appeared to be well aware that they are members

of a large institution, the school, we can tell very little about how

they see the school except in very crude terms. Pupils do not see

themselves as active participants in the school but rather as people

responding to what others have decided. This is, of course, to be

expected but it means pupils will leave school ready and probably

willing to be dependent on the decisions of others. Pupils see the

school as a place in which decisions are made for them and they do

not seem to want the situation to be much different for their requests

are modest, confined to such things as a request for a swimming pool

and cheaper holidays abroad.

Most pupils are vaguely aware that in some way the school will prepare
them for a job or career. Very few seemed to be clear about what job
they wanted though the rare few who were quite specific did not see
the school as being specifically helpful. There was no sense of
being really well prepared for life after school and the impression
is one of waiting for the time to pass. Subjects were referred to in
terms of interest rather than usefulness and subjects were felt to be
irrelevant. The question for this school as well as all others is
what does secondary education really do apart from filling in the time
between primary school and life after school - jobs, training for a
trade or profession or college? It may be wrong to expect teenagers
to have much sense of purpose but the response from first to fourth
year is far from an interest in subjectsto a concern with the social
aspects of life - third and fourth year pupils were more interested in
'discos' than formal subjects, their leisure time rather than learning.
There is, of course, every reason to believe that these responses are
typical of all pupils in all secondary schools, and a question need-
ing examination is the extent to which pupils reflect their parents'
attitudes and uncertainties.

Pupils are much concerned with discipline. Overall there is expressed
an appreciation and need of good discipline. Pupils do not like
unfairness by teachers nor do they approve of disruption by other
pupils. While there is a lot of expression of liking for teachers,
there is also a need for more support and organisation. Pupils are
aware that good organisation is necessary and would appear to be
willing to tolerate more discipline than they perceive but this is not
the oldfashioned firmness of the old classroom so much as the good

order of the well organised teacher and the efficient running of the school. There was no mention of the school as a place where self-discipline is to be learned (a view teachers might hold) but only expression of the dependence pupils might have on others to create order and discipline round them.

Sports, athletics and the variety of subjects to study and things to do were mentioned frequently. There was natural criticism of sport in adverse weather conditions and a dislike of being in cold or draughty situations. There was a general concern for minimum comfort - somewhere to be with friends in the lunch hour, safe keeping for belongings, corners to retire to. There was also much criticism of school lunches (surely quite characteristic of secondary school children in general) and concern about how to use the lunch hour. Obviously the use of the lunch hour is a problem and it is worth considering how essential lunch hour is to the organisation of the school - in some way the arrangements for school dinners fall outside the organisation of the school and is a matter that requires further research.

The newness of the school buildings figures prominently in comment about the school. Pupils appear to like the newness and the physical provision that goes with it. Many comments were pleas for greater material provision for sports (eg a swimming pool). Some pupils expressed concern about the size of the school and moving about the buildings was a matter or concern to many. Though all pupils admitted they had no experience of other schools to compare it with, they nevertheless feel very well satisfied with the physical provisions of the new building.

Overall there is no great sense of satisfaction or fulfilment.

Teachers come in for both praise and blame but appear to be distant

from the pupils - indeed, pupils even seem distant from one another -

there is almost a sense of anomie though there is no evidence that

pupils are not content and happy. Indeed, an interpretation of the

responses may well be of general commitment since many pupils seem to

like quite specific activities. However, there is also a sense of

unfulfilled need at a personal and emotional level and one is bound

to want to know more about how schools can make pupils fill an active

part of their education and to see education as being as much concerned

with personal and emotional development as the learning of subjects.

On the whole, the answers of pupils did not show a high standard of

verbal expression and there was a good deal of bad spelling.

Parents Responses

One hundred and twenty-nine questionnaires were issued, of which

seventy-six were returned. Of these forty-one were completed by

fathers and thirty-one by mothers. Four additional returns were not

completed. Answers were fuller on the whole than pupils but a

considerable number of answers were entirely blank. Few of the

responses were unexpected and even fewer took advantage of the

questionnaire to express well thought out views about education. Many

reflected the response of pupils, particularly in reference to dinners

and games. A few parents took advantage of the questionnaire to

write fulsomely about the school at some length and lengthier answers

tended to be approving. Attitudes tended to be conservative and

traditional and there was very little expression of understanding of

educational methods or theory except in a reactionary way - that is,

in favour of older methods and approaches. Very few parents seemed

to be actively involved in the education of their children as opposed

to being supportive of it: 'education' at school and 'education' at

home were not identifiably part of the same process. Overall, what

one parent approved of another would disapprove of so that parental

views effectively cancelled one another out on such matters, for

example, as mixed ability teaching, school uniform, discipline, boys

and girls doing both woodwork and needlework, and the competence of

the teachers. Parents had more awareness of the Head as a figure

than the pupils and there appeared to be a general wish to engage in

a closer relationship with him. There is an impression that parents

do not really understand the nature of school organisation though

that is hardly surprising in the case of any school and the relation-

ship between staff in the management sense must be exceedingly confus-

ing. Clearly we expect, and assume, parents to understand much more

about education and school organisation than is reasonable.
References to staff must be largely a reflection of their children's
perceptions.

Most parents expressed approval of the school, the staff, staff-pupil
and staff-parent relationships but it was the buildings which had
overall approval because they were modern and new. Most approved of
comprehensive education at least so far as this school was concerned;
some reserved judgement about other comprehensives and some thought
of it as a grammar school while others as 'not a grammar school'.
Physical provision was a dominant feature of responses and there was
a preoccupation in some cases with physical access and transport
facilities for pupils.

Almost every kind of opinion was expressed about discipline, school
uniform and behaviour. Clearly on the issues of most common public
comment there is no agreement at all among parents, yet it would seem
that for most parents these are the major educational concerns. Some
were puzzled by modern mathematics while others singled out maths
teaching for excellence. Teaching woodwork and needlework to both
boys and girls was to some parents a social and sexual affront.
Teaching sport was almost universally approved though there were many
'complaints' about sport, varying from the bad weather in which
children were outside to the school's success and lack of success in
specific sports. Swimming was a common concern and all parents who
mentioned it wanted more and better facilities for swimming. Some
parents wanted an emphasis on the '3 R's' - others welcomed the
varied curriculum and even mixed ability teaching, though many
approved of some form of streaming. There were a significant number
of comments about 'rapid' and 'considerable' staff turnover. There
were complaints about examination preparation and examination standards

in general (ie not in the school specifically) but parents were wary

of making unreasonable claims for their own children or excessive

demands of the school.

Parents were less concerned about careers than the pupils: few

mentioned careers specifically though many wrote about 'good general

education' or something in similar terms. Parents seemed content

with general education, good manners, self-knowledge and social

adjustment. There seemed to be the vague terms that educationists

have generally been accused of using and the question remains to be

answered as to what parents really understand by the education they

want for their children. Parents see the school as doing something

on their behalf but feel themselves to be outside the process and not

concerned with influencing it.

Parents felt the school was good at sports, good at fund raising and

there were good communications of all kinds yet, with regard to this

latter view, many parents wrote of lack of knowledge about the school.

Only one parent referred to the school newsletter as a useful source of

information and communication.

While the school was almost invariably thought of as being better

than most other comparable schools (ie not grammar schools) there

were complaints about poor discipline and a variation in standards

and expectations among teacher and pupils. Some parents wanted more

traditional teaching, more homework, more equably distributed homework

and less wasted time in the lunch hour. Other parents expressed

contrary views. On the whole parents felt unable to make comparisons

with other schools and were somewhat lost so far as information about

examinations and examination successes are concerned. It is clearly

unreasonable to expect parents to have much knowledge of other

schools unless they have children at several schools. Parents are

bound to accept largely a school for what it is.

Questions 8, 9 and 10 were difficult to answer because they required

a fairly clear view of education and most parents seem not to have a

well developed "philosophy" of education. Hence the question about

the school and future plans puzzled some parents while others stated

clearly that they would not leave the district while their child was

(happy) at the school. (eg "But for our girl settling in so well we

probably would have moved".) Mothers tended to give fuller answers

on the last 4 questions than fathers and question 9 drew out those

parents who had a well developed concept of the school commitments.

Nearly all who replied to this question spoke of the value of mixtures

of people of different kinds. All who wrote valued variety of back-

ground and ability among children. High expectations about teachers

were general as were misgivings about them, especially about younger

staff on matters of ability, experience, values and even morals.

Some parents spread themselves on these questions, others ignored

them.

A few parents commented on the questionnaire and expressed a preference

for simpler questions and boxed (yes or no) answers. Perhaps this

was why some respondents left questions unanswered but it had been

hoped that parents would give answers without prompting. That many

gave no answers is more useful to the researcher at this stage than a

large number of standardised responses.

Parents tended to make the same basic spelling mistakes as the

children.

Teachers

Each of the sixty-four teachers were given a questionnaire. Twenty-eight were returned of which one was unanswered. On the whole questions were answered more fully, there were fewer blanks and some were answered in considerable detail. Many answers covered or included technical or professional matters that pupils and parents could not expect to be concerned with. Some of the major concerns were in accord with those of parents though it would appear it is not often realised just how much parents and teachers are concerned about the same issues. In this respect there is no reason to believe this school to be exceptional.

Without exception respondents appeared to like being on the teaching staff of the school. (Invariably teachers refer to themselves collectively as "staff" which is a characteristic of the teaching profession. Are there no other staff?) They expressed relations of all kinds as being good and the atmosphere of the school is congenial. Clearly they like their colleagues and found the pupils agreeable and from a congenial social background. There seems to be some social matching between teachers and parents and there was considerable similarity in responses over a fairly wide spectrum of attitudes. Of course, teachers tended to have more faith in possibilities of formal education but one wonders how many parents see education as a sort of irrelevance, judging by their replies. Because teachers have a professional and career commitment to education they spoke in more detail of teacher-pupil relationships and school organisation. Teachers referred to the pastoral side of school organisation but parents never mentioned it.

Some of the issues on which teachers were in some kind of agreement
with parents were uniform, the problem of school size, communication
difficulties, organisation problems, standards of pupil behaviour,
difficulties over agreed objectives for the school. Mostly they
shared the same disappointments as parents and it is worth noting that
both parents and teachers were concerned about discipline and moral
values. There was no major conflict over social values either though
these are usually expressed in such vague terms as to be meaningless;
teachers seemed no clearer than parents about what the school should
"achieve" though there was much talk about a sense of community and
"belonging" as conditions for education. Teachers expressed much
more 'commitment' to education than parents who seemed to accept the
idea passively.

Most teachers appeared to be in a state of uncertainty - though
professionally informed uncertainty - about education and educational
methods. There was a tendency to prefer traditional approached but
an awareness of the importance of new methods. Maths was the only
subject commonly mentioned and it was always with praise: yet the
maths is also an area of curriculum innovation. There was further
uncertainty about careers and most respondents seemed to be conscious
of their next promotion. Parents usually fail to understand that
teachers have the same career needs as other adults and need to be
made aware how promotion occurs in teaching. Parental references to
staff turnover reflect the career uncertainty of the teachers.
Because teachers were looking to promotion they tended to see inade-
quacies and opportunities in the school in terms of areas of pro-
fessional experience such as administration, the 16+ pupil, pastoral
organisation. But there was also, overall, a lack of clarity about
school organisation and many teachers were puzzled by role behaviour

of senior staff and how the management hierarchy worked.

Teachers, like pupils and parents, would like a great deal more
certainty in their life. Not only would they like well behaved child-
ren but well-ordered curriculum, clear cut methods of instruction and
a clear line of control and command as long as they were able to do
what they feel most strongly about, are consulted and informed, take
part in the decision making and are in close contact with parents.
Teachers must suffer more from frustrated expectations than pupils or
parents. Many of them seemed to feel a degree of personal under-
achievement and dissatisfaction with what could be offered the pupils,
though all thought the school better than average and was providing
them with rich career experiences.

The teachers come over as being a professionally concerned group of
people but pragmatic and uncertain. One might have expected a little
more conviction about education and certainly more confidence in what
they were doing and how they were doing it. The question arises as
to how much energy teachers are wasting on worrying and puzzling when
they might be using it more directly to define problems and work out
practical solutions. One felt they were waiting to be told what it
is all about because the answers suggest concerns and worries rather
than defined and controlled situation. But maybe that is the nature
of the game.

Some teachers commented on the form of the questionnaire; some were
in some way threatened by it, perhaps wondering who would read the
answers and what would be done as a consequence. One question was
about the generality of answers and the significance of minority
views. The reason for the adopted format was to give opportunity for

minority views to be expressed because for each individual <u>his</u> views

are the only ones that really count, however unique they may be.

The remarkable thing about the questionnaire is that it showed so

much consensus as well as individuality. Organisations act on the

generalisations but it is left to the individuals to act on the

specifics. We are trying to learn how to accommodate both, which is

one of the purposes behind the research.

APPENDIX III

What Schools mean to Teachers Ø

H L Gray

Current work on the evaluation of schools raises the important question of how the school satisfied the career needs of teachers. Most interest in school evaluation is concerned with pupil needs, and curriculum evaluation is supposedly directed towards discovering the extent to which pupil needs are satisfied in the activities the school provides for them. In many ways the interest of parents is made concrete in curriculum terms in that the major evaluation for parents of a school would appear to be examination success, particularly those of a parents' own child. It somehow seems almost churlish to suggest that schools exist as much for the teachers as the children yet we can only understand how schools work and change if we devote our attention to teachers as well as to other users such as pupils, parents and employers.

Schools are important to teachers in a way that they are important to no one else; they are places of employment for people whose whole training has prepared them solely for the educational system. If schools close down, teachers will suffer more than any other group and it may be an indication of the public esteem in which school teachers are held that the transferability of teachers' interests to other occupations during the decline of educational opportunity is taken for granted. No one assumes that doctors, dentists or lawyers will be happy with other employment should the Health Service collapse.

If we are ever really to understand schools we need to know a good
deal more about how teachers see their jobs in career terms and not
just, as all the research to date implies, how well they perform as
instructors or educators. Indeed, for teachers to speak of ambition
or career is almost indecent and one has heard many headteachers deny
that they were ever motivated by ambition. I have even heard it
suggested that some law of divine pre-ordination applies to the
selection and appointment of heads. Yet heads are (or have been)
ambitious people who have spent long hours filling in application
forms and attending selection committees. There is probably as much
mobility - or there has been until quite recently - among teachers as
any other non-migrant profession.

In a mobile society it tends to be assumed that people can always go
elsewhere if they do not like it where they are. A good deal of
innovation is due to the mobility of workers and those who seek
promotion tend to work for innovation so as to receive the approval
of their superiors. In the '50's and '60's much educational innovation
was brought about by high-fliers who were anxious to pack a good deal
of achievement - or potential achievement - into a few years with a
school before moving on to higher things. Typical career patterns
were to start an innovation and gain promotion on the promise rather
than the fulfilment. Now things are different and the attractions
for moving are less than the opportunities.

In a highly mobile profession, hierarchies are useful as steps on a
ladder. In a immobile profession they are something quite different.
The idyllic days of English education so far as the teachers were
concerned were the prewar days of the small grammar school. The
difference in pay between a Head and Assistants was a few pounds.

Chronology was a steady career step upwards to retirement. Now we
have a highly complex pseudo-managerial structure for comprehensive
schools with lots of layers, lots of steps and a considerable
encouragement for everyone to block everyone else. The consequence
is that schools are likely to seize up as enormous amounts of energy
are devoted to achieving quite marginal differences for each individual
over his colleagues as he desperately fights for acknowledgement and
promotion.

Some data on the way teachers look on the school as an organisation
became available during a pilot project on school evaluation under-
taken at the NE London Polytechnic, for an Essex comprehensive school,
the sample we had available for the education research is too small
to satisfy conventional researchers but it is useful if it helps us
to ask questions that lead to further enquiry. We had 31 replies
which was about half the staff and skewed slightly in favour of men.
The two questions which are relevant here were - "What do you think
the school will have done for you by the time you leave?" and "How
do you see the school fitting into your career pattern or future
plans?" The questions relate to a different context from career
expectations and were not designed to produce comprehensive answers,
but the responses have some significance.

In answer to the first question, almost every teacher used the word
"experience" - of type of school, of type of children, of kinds of
teaching method, of administration, etc. The importance of the word
'experience' is that not only does it express a sense of the incomplete,
it much more strongly implies, in the context of an experience of an
institution, that the user is in process of moving on to new
experiences and new institutions. The important question is to

discover if teachers feel that membership of a school is simply a
stage in a career; that inevitably they will collect several
'experiences' and hence several schools. If an endemic quality of
being a teacher is experience of different kinds of school etc then
provision for such will have to be made irrespective of normal
promotion prospects. Such a view is consistent, of course, with ideas
of staff development which involve job rotation and membership of
several institutions on a temporary exchange basis. But it may be
that mobility is an essential element in teacher satisfaction and that
if schools are to develop and continue to innovate, staff turnover
will have to be positively encouraged and carefully managed.

Another way of looking at this expressed need for experience is to
understand it as indicating an awareness on the part of teachers
themselves to be continually educated and trained. Many references
are to experience of other ways of teaching, other methods of
managing schools. We perhaps underplay too much the importance of
institutional retraining for teachers as being more acceptable and
effective than training 'courses'. If we come to see staff training
as essentially a function within the school then we have a major
shift in policy but also we open new opportunities for organisational
development and change. It is only when people are involved actively
in an organisation and when they are liberated from the fear of
authority by knowing they will be able to move on that they will take
the initiative to innovate. And by innovation we mean simply the
process of natural change that must occur if an organisation is to
fulfil its current purposes.

The second question had more varied answers ranging from a quite
positive view of the organisation to a quite negative one. Positive

reactions were about the school as a good based for future activity -
"a launching pad", "a stepping stone", "an opportunity for promotion".
There was again much emphasis on experience - "a chance to follow
through personal experiments in the organisation of children and
departments", "valuable if only for the experience". There was no
impression that teachers saw themselves as members of the school for
life unless, perhaps, it were on their own terms - "a good foundation,
but I will have to move for promotion and personal reasons" (a young
woman teacher). There seemed little difference in responses by age,
although the oldest respondents were under 50.

Gradually, in the responses we have collected, there also creeps in
a sense of disappointment, being undervalued and overlooked. "There
would be no future for me to pursue my ideals here" - which seems a
perfectly legitimate response of any individual in any organisation
since few of us can know the prevalent values until after we have
joined. Another wrote "likely to be a short stay because the school
is likely to be unable to offer the opportunities I look for", which
again is fair comment, provided the respondent is able to move on.
But one respondent was clear that "when people find what they want
they do stay". And this is a really critical finding because it
reminds us that individual needs are overriding. No head can achieve
anything if his staff are going to be dissatisfied. Many teachers
are aware of a need for experience of all aspects of the running of
a school - "I see no future for me because there are no opportunities
in pastoral work". The desire (or need) for experience of "pastoral"
work is remarkably evident and this suggests that one of the needs of
teachers is to have deeper personal relationships with pupils -
though evidence from elsewhere suggests that pupils are less concerned
for the same kind of relationship.

There seems to be little altruism on the part of teachers even
though one fantasises that teachers are among the more other-concerned
of professions. In straight questions about themselves and the
school, teachers come over as being self-interested as anyone else.
The satisfactions they look for are for themselves not to be of
service to others. Of course, this is a very healthy attitude because
it is realistic, but it is yet more evidence that we need to pay much
more attention to teacher needs if we are ever to bring about a
healthy climate of educational reform. Perhaps we should consider
how schools are in fact the artifacts of the teachers rather than
places whose major purpose is to attend to the needs of the pupils.
If we can focus our attention on schools as organisations rather than
vague locations where children spend most of the day, we may be better
able to develop the kind of educational system that the '80's and
'90's are going to require.

APPENDIX IV

The Deanes School
Comment by Headmaster

COMMENT ON HLG's PRELIMINARY REPORT

1. PUPILS' ANSWERS

    a) 'Do not see themselves as active participants in decision-making'

        At what levels is this possible? Do all pupils take part in
        the process, irrespective of age, attitude (to society in
        general) and ability (closely allied to specific expectations)?
        To what extent is it possible and desirable in a mixed
        community of 11-16 year olds and trained adults.

    b) 'Vague awareness that school prepares them for job/career.
        Impression of waiting for time to pass'

        Agree that pupils ought to be better aware of the society they
        will enter as employees and that some courses are inappropriate
        and possibly boring. Part of the present 'great debate?'
        Others, however, regard what we offer as an essential stepping
        stone to the next stage in a structure created and maintaned
        by society.

    c) 'Concern with discipline' "Pupils do not like unfairness by
        teachers nor do they approve of disruption by other pupils"

        Has not this view always been held by most pupils? Does it
        infer that what is being offered is of some value?

    d) 'Arrangements for school meals'

        Agree a major problem that can be solved only at national level
        by a change in the law.

    e) 'Newness of buildings'

        An obvious attraction, although newness of equipment and
        furniture could be a greater attraction. (As with parents'
        comments there is a tendency to confuse "newness" with "good
        design", ie presumably facilities conducive to "good"
        educational practice. I do not believe that the school is of
        "good design" in that sense.)

    f) 'Concern over size of school and movement'

        Present pupil roll exceeds design maximum. Being "new", space
        provision in both corridors and rooms is less than in past
        eras. For example, main ground floor corridor is only six
        feet wide.

    g) 'Teachers distant from the pupils'

        Very hard to believe, particularly when age range of staff is
        considered.

2. PARENTS' ANSWERS

a) 'General approval, particularly physical provision'

Comment similar to 1(e).

b) "Almost every kind of opinion about discipline, school uniform and behaviour"

Reason why the school steers a middle course?

c) 'Staff turnover'

Apparent confusion in assuming that a regular annual influx of new staff as the school grew in size meant a considerable replacement of staff leavers.

The facts for full-time staff:

	In during year	Out	Establishment
1971/72	11	0	11
1972/73	9	3	19
1973/74	11	5	27
1974/75	26	15*	44
1975/76	25	3	58

* The "year of the young females migration" (for non-professional reasons in most cases).

d) "Parents were less concerned about careers than the pupils" Content with "general education, good manners, self-knowledge (?) and social adjustment".

Mrs Williams please note!

e) 'Good communication, yet lack of knowledge about the school'

Are we supplying the wrong kind of information? Too much concerned with events and activities? Recent introduction of parents' meetings to discuss items of general interest and possible introduction of a 'school review' (annually) for parents may help to create better understanding.

f) 'Poor discipline and variation in standards and expectations among teachers and pupils'

System relies heavily on staff with special responsibilities carrying out their duties effectively and liaising with others to obtain agreement on overall standards. If agreement reached by a majority, does minority conform? Is firmer decision needed? More in-school training?

g) 'Expectations about teachers'

Continuation of 2(f) theme. Is firmer, tighter control needed?

The Deanes School
Comment by Deputy Head

School Evaluation

Comments upon the pupil/parent sections of the preliminary report.

Pupil Answers

I suspected that the survey would present an ideal medium for youthful

frustration to give vent to rather formalised graffiti-like comments

upon the school and its staff, but such vitriolic outbursts were

limited to just one pupil, who, nevertheless, made some very telling

points. This could indicate a basic acceptance of the institution,

its values and members, or, alternatively, a large degree of apathy

or a basic neutrality of response.

That "pupils see the school as a place in which decisions are made

for them" and that "they do not seem to want the situation to be much

different" should not surprise us, for most pupils and indeed most

parents, appear to have a fatalistic approach to formal education.

Education is often regarded as something that must be tolerated

before real life can be enjoyed. It is rarely seen as participatory,

but rather as being imposed upon one by authority. Swimming pool,

sports, lunch hours, discos etc, could be regarded as being outside

the main stream of formal education and, therefore, an area for less

inhibited comment. That the curriculum was rarely commented upon

might be the result of a sustained campaign by teachers to surround

it with the mystique of professional concern, in an attempt to remove

it from public debate, or in the case of pupils, deference to adult

authority.

That "most pupils are vaguely aware that in some way the school will

prepare them for a job or career", and even the "few seemed to be

clear about what job they wanted though the rare few who were quite

specific did not see the school as being specifically helpful" should

not be too surprising since for the majority of respondents vocational

decisions appear to be located well in the future and, therefore,

outside their immediate concern.

To some pupils "subjects were referred to in terms of interest rather

than usefulness" probably reflects the emphasis by educationists upon

a broadly based individual curriculum which seeks to avoid premature

restrictive specialisation and yet "some subjects were felt to be

irrelevant" seems to suggest a vocational criteria being applied to

the curriculum.

"Overall there is expressed an appreciation and need of good discipline.

Pupils do not like unfairness by teachers nor do they approve of

disruption by other pupils", allied with the view that pupils "are

aware that good organisation is necessary and would appear to be

willing to tolerate more discipline than they perceive but this is

not the oldfashioned firmness of the old classroom so much as the good

order of the well organised teacher and the efficient running of the

school", is a point worth recognising by those of the teaching pro-

fession who uncritically advocate that pupils should accept a code of

self-discipline and despite the school's adoption of a Code of

Behaviour based upon a high degree of pupil self-regulation.

The teaching staff will not be surprised that school lunches and the

problems of the use of lunch time elicited a high response, largely

critical. The arrangements for this area of school life have been

constantly modified during the life of the school and until there is

a more realistic accommodation provision or a severe limitation on

the numbers of pupils remaining on the site, then less than satisfactory

arrangements must prevail.

Our two main contributory primary schools are housed in buildings
considerably older than those of The Deanes and with little, if any,
specialist accommodation. This factor may account for the numerous
comments which suggest that the pupils "like the newness and the
physical provision that goes with it". As most people tend to base
opinions upon their own experiences, pupils, who in the main come from
small (pupil numbers) primary schools, inevitably "expressed concern
about the size of the school and moving about the buildings was a
matter of concern to many".

Likewise, the question inviting comparisons with other schools
produced a minimal response. Knowledge should surely precede comment.

One could hardly quarrel with the statement that "the responses may
well be of general commitment since many pupils seem to like quite
specific activities", and with the Great Debate in progress, there
may be even less emphasis in formal education upon the "personal and
emotional development" of pupils and more upon "the learning of
subjects". The personal and emotional development of pupils may then
become once again a major responsibility of the family.

If one of the survey's aims was to provide effective pupil feedback,
then it could be argued that it had failed, but the very blandness or
neutrality of the replies may be construed as an implied support for
the organisation and its aims. One must not fall into the trap of
only considering 'anti-' opinions as being useful, sure an organisa-
tion can take some strength from supportive opinions even if labelled
conservative and traditional.

Parent Responses

Parents, like the pupils, largely ignored what to educationists is

central to the Great Debate, ie curriculum, methodology, quality of

staff, discipline and behaviour. When such areas were touched upon,

there was "no agreement at all among parents".

That "attitudes tended to be conservative and traditional and there

was very little expression of understanding of educational methods or

theory except in a reactionary way - that is, in favour of older

methods and approaches" and that "very few parents seemed to be

actively involved in the education of their children as opposed to

being supportive of it; 'education' at school and 'education' at home

were not identifiably part of the same process" need not surprise us.

Ever since the introduction of formal education, educationists have

been enlarging their empires either by design or at the behest of

society. As a consequence, the teaching profession has created a

restrictive form of communication (jargon), made a strident call for

the professionalism of the service (additional obstacles to communi-

cation), and failed to see themselves enjoying a client/supplier

relationship. In economic terms, the education service too often

acts as a monopoly supplier, with such a supplier's apparent disregard

for the true interest of its consumers. If this is true, then many

parents will inevitably defer to the so-called expert and justifiably

rely upon their own educational experience to provide them with a

bench mark by which to measure this school. Thus in a"comp"serving

a mixed social area, there will be no common educational experience

and that "parental views effectively cancelled one another out on

such matters, for example, as mixed ability teaching, school uniform,

discipline, boys and girls doing both woodwork and needlework, and

the competence of the teachers", was not too surprising; indeed, it was predictable. The new position of the Head in relation to the size of the school, its organisation and the degree of delegation required to ensure an effective institution, would, I suggest, lead to a conflict with most parents' own educational experience, and for many "a wish to engage in a closer relationship with him".

It is my subjective judgement that many parents may see HOY's/HOD's/ HOS's[1] etc, as lesser mortals whose sole aim is to protect the Headmaster from parents and who, in themselves, have little responsibility for the major educational decisions affecting the lives of their children.

If this comment is valid then parents will be forced to direct their concern to physical provisions and to limit their observation re comprehensive education, to The Deanes and areas of education which have been subjected to innovation, ie Maths, Integrated Studies, Technical subjects (male/female problems) and mixed ability teaching, all of which represent a threat to their own experience and, therefore, in many cases, uncertainty and apprehension.

That "there were a significant number of comments about 'rapid' and 'considerable' staff turnover" might be the result of poor school/ parent communication, ie a failure to explain the problems of an expanding school especially the correlation between increasing numbers of pupils, increasing staff provision on the one hand, and internal promotion on the other. This might suggest instability.

As one of the longest serving members of staff it was pleasing to read that "Parents seemed content with general education, good manners,

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[1]   Head of Year, Head of Department, Head of School

self-knowledge and social adjustment", and also reassuring to note
that "All who wrote valued variety of background and ability among
children" being one of the strongest arguments of those who support
comprehensive schools.

Perhaps the staff might address themselves to the general misgivings
of parents, "especially about younger staff on matters of ability,
experience, values and even morals".

In all, the pupil and parent comments rarely touched upon the funda-
mental areas of school life, but on reflection, this was probably
inevitable, given that the teaching profession often appears reluctant
to meet the clients on anything other than its own ground. In my
opinion, there is often little more than lip service being made to
accountability, and too often, our collective image is that of a God-
like figure, a custodian of education, a defender of the faith, to
whom the great mass should defer. This viewpoint surely cannot
prevail much longer.

The Deanes School
Comment by Senior Mistress

Pupils' Answers

1. Numbers answering   Interesting that such a small number of 5th
   year replied. Indicative to the general attitude - their response
   to duties, etc, etc.

2. Advantage of opportunity Reasons - questionnaire forbidding is
   very likely! Only 25% are really literate in the true sense and
   even those only by 3rd/4th/5th year stage - probably in a
   comprehensive school this means of communicating to pupils (and
   some parents) is the least likely to succeed.

3. Participation   Comments about pupils "not seeing themselves as
   being active participants" in the school are reflected generally
   in pupils' attitude in school. Generally a low response to
   invitations for ideas, eg what do you want in your assembly?
   How shall we raise money? Like us all of them would rather
   react to a starting point and knock the "system". Hence the
   string of complaints through pupils' committees. By this gradual
   process they hope to see things changed.

4. Curriculum and Careers   It is understandable that pupils are
   vague about the role of school in relation to careers and work.
   They are at an age, when the present is important and yesterday
   is a long way off. The future in that sense is "boring", and
   those teachers who have been closely involved with the "develop-
   ment course", social education programmes, etc, know that the
   young people find it difficult to relate to those things which
   do not yet concern them. For some the content of the

curriculum is merely a tool to be tolerated for examination
success, for others even that is irrelevant unless it is
"interesting".

5. <u>Discipline</u>   This section would seem to be of considerable
interest and in this school especially of interest to the staff.

Pupils would seem also to have a dependence on staff to enforce
learning, ie "it's the teacher's fault we are not quiet and
do our work", not "it is our duty to learn all we can from each
lesson" (the theme of our methods of study document). Are the
pupils suggesting that the highly structured pastoral/academic
organisation in the school is not working as efficiently as we
think it is? The discipline in the smaller school of the past
rested in the hands of the Deputy Head - usually a person of
some <u>considerable</u> experience. At Deanes the "main force" of
enforcing discipline is in the hands of HOY, some of whom have
little experience yet resent any authority being taken away
from them. Do all HODs see that the most difficult pupils are
taught either by experienced staff or in the easier classrooms.
How can we in the school give more help to the staff who find it
difficult? Pupils <u>are</u> uncontrolled when not being taught, most
do take a long time to settle to work. Are staff so defeated
by pressures of teaching (at the coal face - administrators
don't have to face this) that they haven't the energy to control?
We give our most experienced staff the most time to administer
and some of the weakest greater time in front of pupils. Is
there anyway we can avoid this?

6. <u>Lunch Hour</u>   Yes, it is a problem. However, are we in a position

   to alter what at present is a National structure. Perhaps this

   problem echoes the need for stability at Deanes School. Duty

   staff, mid-day assistant, as well as pupils, need to know the

   "system". As the school has grown the "lunch hour" system has

   constantly changed leaving those people in positions of control

   in an insecure position. Perhaps we need to strive to hold the

   best features of this system, ie

        Split - reduced numbers free
        Detention - readily available to all duty staff
        Getting pupils used to the idea they are outside the
            buildings.

   Future improvements within this system could be increased

   activities available for pupils, ie

        Use of disco equipment
        5th Year running clubs for 1st/2nd years
        Better sealing off of NO-GO areas, eg toilets,
            teaching areas

7. <u>Physical provision</u> - comments expected in view of large per-

   centage of pupils who come in from junior and primary schools.

   The problems of movement are real. Would we get the necessary

   support for a more regimented form of movement? Future plans

   for use of demountable classrooms could assist those newest to

   the school. Entry to science, design, PE, drama, etc, would

   avoid the main pressure points on staircases.

8. <u>Summary</u>   This view of "unfulfilled need" could be linked with

   the adolescent phase of the 11-16 range. It is very difficult

   for pupils of this age to involve themselves and <u>admit to it</u>,

   especially compulsory atmosphere. Many resent any activity

   of that nature for the sake of it.

Parents' Comments

<u>General</u> Would it be fair to say that the most articulate bothered
to fill up the questionnaire and actually return it. It may well
take some courage to do it. Therefore, this could influence the
"traditional and conservative" trend. Hence views of Headmaster.
A lack of communication could explain the parents' lack of under-
standing of the "nature of school organisation". If staff and pupils
working in the school have been confused by our constant changes -
it is a little wonder that parents get confused.

<u>Physical Buildings</u> This would seem to be a positive concrete fact
of which parents can be proud. Those who really wanted selective
education for children, who failed to make the grade could see this
as a redeeming feature.

<u>Comments on discipline, curriculum, behaviour etc</u> Fairly obvious,
again perhaps a lack of communication on our part, eg intro of
HE[1] to boys, TS[2] to girls. Staff turnover an anomaly of a growing
school. This is where an annual newsletter could inform. Comments
about staff could be reflected in light of statements made by me in
this report under section 5 of the pupils' comments. Pupils, of
course, tend to identify well with 'young' teachers, and parents one
would expect, to be more concerned about this point.

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[1] Home Economics

[2] Technical Studies

PROJECT 2

Organisation Development Project

("Working Together in School")

Brookfield School, Sarisbury Green, Southampton

The following is a reprint of the booklet describing the Brookfield

Project which was made available to all the staff of the school

for comment. Unlike the previous (the Deanes School) project,

there was no 'research' element. This was entirely on OD consultancy

from the very beginning.

HLG/MAS   22 June 1978

Mr Stanley Putnam
Brookfield School
Sarisbury Green
Sarisbury
Southampton

Dear Stanley,

I enclose ten copies of the report on the Brookfield Project. If
you can accept it I suggest we make it available to the staff and
ask for comments. Something like the enclosed rubic would be
appropriate.

I am looking forward to seeing you at Leicester (or Northampton)
when we can discuss progress to date.

As Always

Harry

Harry Gray

"WORKING TOGETHER IN SCHOOL"

We have put together an account and rationale for the 'project'
on "Working Together in School" which includes comments provided
by staff in February. All staff are invited to read the 'report'
and make comments which will again be shared among staff.   In
this way we hope to have a rolling evaluation of what is going on.

Many thanks for previous co-operation - and in anticipation of
co-operation this time.

Harry Gray

Stanley Putnam

"WORKING TOGETHER IN SCHOOL"

H L GRAY AND S G PUTNAM

"WORKING TOGETHER IN SCHOOL"

An account of an in-service
staff development programme

by

H L GRAY* AND S G PUTNAM

*   The Text was written entirely by H L Gray

1. HOW THE PROJECT AROSE

Brookfield School is a typical 11-16 comprehensive school - if 'typical' can ever be used to describe a school. There are 1300 boys and girls from the neighbourhood which has a good cross section of social mix from well-to-do to council estate families. There is nothing remarkable about the school or its environment. The buildings are a hodge-podge of pre and postwar designs; some convenient and comfortable; others awkward but not especially unsuitable. The pupils look and behave like pupils from any other secondary school and the staff are qualified in the same way as other secondary school teachers with a slight age bias towards the younger rather than older age groups. It is the sort of school that would be at the centre of any statistical or demographic description, though it is perhaps worth remembering that 11-16 comprehensives with no sixth forms offer a slightly truncated career prospect for teachers.

For present purposes statistical data about the school are not necessary, though the teaching staff consists of 72½ of which 36 are men; 36½ women. There are 18 Departments each with a Head; four houses, each with a House Head; and work experience and community service programmes that provide additional opportunities for staff to work outside. The Headmaster arrived in 1974 after a period of school history with a little uncertainty. He had previously taught in the West Indies and for just less than a year in a local comprehensive school immediately before taking up his Headship. The Deputy Head had been Acting Head for 6 months and the Senior Mistress was previously Head of Art.

To begin with, the Headmaster tells his story of how the project came to take place:

"It is difficult to know where the starting point to any development is to be found. It seems that for me a growing discontentment, firstly about my own teaching and secondly about my functioning as a Head, was around seeing a great deal of futility in what I was supposed to stand for. The futility was that everything was being measured by a false criterion of examination successes offered uncritically as the key to the future as far as young people were concerned. It was not safe for me to question cherished beliefs with statements such as "the irrelevance of material taught", "that examinations were testing the teacher and not the pupil", "that it is impossible to teach without the motivation of the examination at the end of the course", etc, etc.

"My training in the early fifties was against a background in which it was taught that intelligence was a fixed and measurable thing, that it was set at the moment of conception that it was the average of the parent's IQ's and that it did not matter what influences were brought to bear. No changes could take place and it was final and irrevocable. Everything in me fought against these conclusions, both in terms of my own development and from my understanding of the Christian message, which rang with a possibility of the rich development of personality.

"Intuitively, I discovered that young people achieved more under my teaching as and when a good relationship was established and I was able to convey to them that the limits they set themselves were much too low. There were periods of self doubt for I sometimes felt I was taking great risks - that I could be 'conning' young people so that even if they had achieved more in terms of external examinations as a result of the personal interaction, it would raise false horizons for them when they went into the world of work.

"After becoming a Head it also became very clear that all the vision and expectation that I had of what I would accomplish as a Head were never to be realised. I saw this in terms of the faults of my colleagues and I could not understand why they could not see what I was trying to express and explain to them. Such was my dissatisfaction that I felt like leaving Headships altogether. Brinkmanship lasted for some little time and it became increasingly clear that success in personal development, which can be interpreted in terms of learning and personal relationships, was connected with a person's self-image. This made me more determined to work at convincing my colleagues that this was an area that they should be concerned with if learning was to take place.

"I came to this School in January, 1974 and found a very strong pastoral organisation, so the field seemed ready for sowing the seed of work connected with the development of pupils' self-images. I saw the means to this end as the so-called middle management of the school being trained in the joint skills of organisation and personal relationships,

for by implication the latter would have to be concerned
with questions of self-image. It was at this time that
three seemingly unconnected happenings were to occur.

"Firstly, in order to validate "education management" courses,
it was decided to send Heads of Department to a number of
courses in Management and assess their value as far as this
school was concerned. The first Head of Department went to
a management course where complete emphasis was on Encounter
Group work. He came back with entirely new perspectives
which, while interesting, did not entirely make sense as
far as the traditional organisation skills were concerned
that we thought held the answers. However, we were aware
that the course had been of extreme personal benefit to the
Head of Department concerned. Secondly, one name began to
stand out from all the literature that I read, namely that
of Carl Rogers, and I read his book 'Client Centered Therapy'.
I was particularly impressed by one Chapter of that book
which was entitled 'The Attitude and Orientation of the
Counsellor'.

"This chapter was a revelation and after I read it the
reason for this revelation, in terms of my previous thinking,
became apparent. These paragraphs will suffice to show why
it appeared to open the door to the things that I hoped for.

> 'The primary point of importance here is the
> attitude held by the counsellor toward the worth
> and the significance of the individual. How do we
> look upon others? Do we see each person as having
> worth and dignity in his own right? If we see this
> point of view at the verbal level, to what extent
> is it operationally evident at the behavioural level?
> Do we tend to treat individuals as persons of worth,
> or do we subtly devaluate them by our attitudes and
> behaviour? Is our philosophy one in which respect for
> the individual is uppermost? Do we respect his
> capacity and his right to self-direction, or do we
> basically believe that his life would be best guided
> by us? To what extent do we have a need and a desire
> to dominate others? Are we willing for the individual
> to select and choose his own values, or are our
> actions guided by the conviction (usually unspoken)
> that he would be happiest if he permitted us to
> select for him his values and standards and goals?
>
> The question may arise in the minds of many, why
> adopt this peculiar type of relationship? In what way
> does it implement the hypothesis from which we started?
> What is the rationale of this approach?
>
> In order to have a clear basis for considering these
> questions, let us attempt to put first in formal
> terms and then in paraphrase a statement of the
> counsellor's purpose when he functions in this way.
> In psychological terms, it is the counsellor's aim to

perceive as sensitively and accurately as possible all
of the perceptual field as it is being experienced by
the client, with the same figure and ground relation-
ships, to the full degree that the client is willing
to communicate that perceptual field; and having thus
perceived this internal frame of reference of the
other as completely as possible, to indicate to the
client the extent to which he is seeing through the
client's eyes.

Suppose that we attempt a description somewhat more
in terms of the counsellor's attitudes. The counsellor
says in effect, "To be of assistance to you I will put
aside myself - the self of ordinary interaction - and
enter into your world of perception as completely as
I am able. I will become, in a sense, another self
for you - an alter ego of your own attitudes and
feelings - a safe opportunity for you to discern
yourself more clearly, to experience yourself more
truly and deeply, to choose more significantly.'

"It was in terms of non-directive counselling that I saw the
developmental work of the House Head. Certain problems would
be solved by such a method, particularly if it was extended
to group-therapy in that problems of transference which plays
such a large part in psychiatry would thus be, if not removed,
dispersed. However, there was an area of doubt in that the
the problems of projection would still remain unresolved as
far as the House Heads were concerned. I began to realise
that projection was closely related to emotional blockages
and that it might be possible to deal with it by using
sensitivity training or Encounter Group methods, as individual
analysis was impracticable in terms of the finance and the
number involved.

"The third significant event was the return to the school of
a member of staff who had undergone a years course of training
in Counselling at Swansea University. His new brief was to
make him responsible for the development of staff rather
than of children in the first instance.

"These apparently separate events were now to meet and
determine the next stages of development. We invited
Harry Gray to the school to discuss possible ways of providing
training for the teaching staff in personal relationship
skills. He visited the school and met myself, the Deputy
Head and Senior Mistress over lunch. The upshot was that
we agreed that he should take a four day group for Heads
of Department and/or Houses based on role analysis. From
our meeting together it seemed clear that a good working
relationship could be developed quite quickly with our
'consultant' and we began to look forward to an event for
which we had high hopes."

The basic condition for working together in a team and for a team

to work with a consultant is for there to be a large area of shared

values and orientations. A consultant cannot work in a school if

his values about education are incompatible with those upon whom he

relies for emotional and moral support. There have been attempts in

other institutions to use constraints whose basic life philosophy was

different from the head's or principal's but these have broken down

at points of crisis because the consultant is working for a change

that is unacceptable to the principal or head. In this case we found

a growing empathy and agreement not only in our educational philo-

sophies but also our life values and philosophy of life.

Our educational philosophy coincided in what we consider education

to be primarily and fundamentally about. From our own perspective of

being middle aged we saw that many of the claims and assertions about

education were little more than deceptions. In the end, when a man

or woman is alone, they need to draw on inner resources that are

fundamentally emotional, the affective domain. Education overtly

concerns itself with cognitive learning almost at the total expense

of affective learning; the tragedy of modern education is that it goes

hell for leather at avoiding the essential areas of personality which

are the soil for intellectual growth but which are not themselves

intellectual. This is not by any means to declare ourselves as anti-

intellectual; far from it. But we consider that unless emotional

growth has taken place and been nurtured no useful intellectual growth

can occur. The emphasis in school organisation, almost exclusively

on managing 'content' as opposed to 'context', is an abuse of the

young person. Before a pupil can learn he must have a strong sense

of himself and confidence in that self. He must know who he is, what

his abilities and talents and inclinations are and he must learn to make his own choices.

All children want to learn and are enthusiastic at learning and discovery. The reform of the infant school has been to create a learning environment for more and more children to learn - at their own pace, in their own way in a very carefully structured environment. The need to learn is continual but the nature of that learning varies. Children need periods of rest and consolidation and to engage in other kinds of learning. The adolescent needs long periods for emotional learning and brief but intense periods of brain work. Secondary schools are finding it increasingly difficult to organise learning on traditional patterns and the reason lies more with teachers than social change forces. Teachers would be able to cope better if they, too, had a better sense of personal identity rather than a conventional role concept. If a teacher can be helped to a fuller understanding and acceptance of himself as a person, he will be more versatile in his behaviour, more accepting of his students and more able to engage in a more open yet supportive relationship with students and colleagues. In other words, attention to student needs is conditional upon awareness of teachers' own needs and skills.

In brief, we both believe that the condition for growth to occur in a child, young person or adult is one of emotional awareness, self-acceptance and personal development. Children cannot learn to grow if their elders are stunted or blocked, but when teachers are released from unnecessary emotional restraints and can be more self-accepting then the environment in the school becomes conducive to emotional and intellectual growth. The full-flowing of the intellect, accompanied by the relevant emotional development, leads in turn to

a spiritual awareness that unites the personality and makes life
itself most meaningful and purposeful. Thus for us spiritually is a
consequence of the educational process whether it be 'religious' or
'humanistic' and for this latter reason we discovered that our own
values were compatible both with 'religious' and 'non-religious'
members of staff - so that in some strange way our own strong views
were a bonding factor rather than a devisive one even though some
would see us as committed idealists.

In the very beginning, further activity to the one group was not
planned though its possibility was accepted. The most critical factor
was the acceptability of the consultant and confidence in him both as
a person and a professional with integrity. To move into the area
of personal discovery, which is inevitable in an analysis of the
person in the role, was to move onto unknown ground the implications
for which could be as terrifying as they were exciting. Little or
nothing had been written about such consultancy apart from
Elizabeth Richardson's work at Nailsea which was in the Tavistock
Tradition and by implication far too risky. As things turned out
there were also to be risks in this project but it got underway with
enthusiasm and the course of events is roughly chronicled hereafter.

2. THE THEORY OF THE SCHOOL

Behind our thinking about bringing about changes in the schools is a
theory of education and a theory of educational institutions. By
'theory' we may mean no more than our rationale for our behaviour
but, nevertheless, we believe there to be a coherent and rational,
logical, idea of what a school is. It is in terms of this theory that
we explain what we do and why we do it in the way that we do.

Schools are organisations and organisations are associations of people.
No one makes an entirely free association in school but some have
more choice in the matter than others and those have have least choice
are the students - certainly in an 11-16 comprehensive school. The
idea of 'association' is important because at the core of our theory
is the real and actual behaviour of people when they come together
for some common purposes. Schools are established by law for the
education of children and it is reasonable to assume therefore that
the purpose of a school is to ensure or facilitate the education of
students. This requires a definition of 'education' in practice even
if there is little agreement conceptually on the nature of education.
We have attempted to define 'education' for the 11-16 age group in
the first chapter, but here we are concerned with the process of
association among all the members of the school community.

Those members of the school who claim to know most about education are
the teachers. They have a professional* concern in the organisation
of education because their careers and salaries are depended upon how

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* whether teachers are professionals or semi-professionals we
  leave unargued here. Such questions continue to occupy
  sociologists but we are not over concerned with a precise
  definition at this juncture.

education is organised and financed. The teaching and teacher
training professions, the administrative and support systems for
local and national educational organisations are part of the immense
eco-system in which schools must exist. These larger systems have a
greatly under-estimated influence in the organisation of each
individual school but we shall largely ignore here wider influences
for the sake of clarity in this description of one school. Effectively,
the day-to-day running of the school depends on the collaboration
between the Head and his colleagues, among all the teachers them-
selves and the quality of relationships overall. At the present time,
teachers are far and away the most significant group of people in the
management of a school and there is little reason to force any
significant change even with a reorganisation of governing bodies.
Various other groups like caretaking and ground staff have critical
importance from time to time and the impact of students is subtle
and significant but largely unacknowledged and overlooked. Because
the relationships among teachers are so critical, any change in what
goes on in a school must begin with them. Any development work with
teachers must be completed at their level and not directed to the
level of students. Until problems among teachers have been dealt with,
problems between teachers and pupils and among pupils themselves
cannot be resolved.

Most work on changing schools has avoided the issues by concentrating
on the curriculum or upon pupil's needs in the first instance rather
than by dealing with teacher needs as being of the primary importance.
Development of the curriculum cannot be effective before those who
have to implement curriculum changes are agreed not only on what
those changes should be but also upon how they ought to be effected.
Blockages to educational change do not originate in the student but

always in the staff who have to bring about the changes. Ideally,

structural and content changes should follow from ideological and

attitudinal changes in the teachers. Programmes of curriculum

development only do part of the job because they concentrate on the

content of teaching not the process of teaching in its implications

for the teacher himself. Most educational reforms assume a common

identity of interest among teachers and, of course, this cannot be so.

The idea of organisations as associations is important in helping us

to understand what goes on in institutions where an educational reform

is underway. While people associate for a commonality of interest

they also, and more importantly, associate for personal interests.

Since each individual can only know himself best, he is bound to act

in terms of his own preferences. This may be called 'enlightened

self interest' but it is nevertheless 'self-interest' and our theory

of association is that self interest is uppermost. Awareness of self-

interest is the only certain measure of understanding and therefore

the best motivator of behaviour. In other words, in every organisa-

tion the best or optimum development will occur when the most people

are most aware of the nature of their own self interest and behave

accordingly. A corollary of course (and the moral dimension) is that

the best self-interest is also the best altruism because association

of negotiation and bargaining by each member to gain maximum personal

satisfaction, will result hopefully in personal satisfactions at least
cost to other members.

Organisations can be described in terms of the bargaining process of

social and psychological exchange and the various opportunities and

restraints individuals (and groups) perceive in the situation, the

organisational setting. There is no doubt that externally originated

sanctions exist but none of them is totally unsusceptible to some

form of bargaining or manoeuvre. However, all organisations exist

within a cloud of myth and fantasy which are assumptions about the

organisation - assumptions about every aspect which are untested and

about which there is often universal collusion not to test. For

example, the actual power that a Head has is more often a figment of

imagination than anything that can actually be confirmed.

Indeed, authority structure is one of the prime areas of fantasy,

centring on what the Head and Heads of Department etc are able to do

and are believed to be willing to do. All members of the organisation

behave on a huge number of these untested assumptions that become

ghosts - real enough in belief but quite intangible upon investigation.

For example, teachers assume that certain behaviour would be dis-

approved of when often quite the contrary is the case. Heads, too,

assume willingness and unwillingness on the part of teachers without

ever testing them out. All these fantasies are real enough in that

they are what people act upon but few of them have any real substance.

In building a creative community, members must push back the

boundaries of assumption and test out much more of their untested

and unspoken assumptions. Assumptions which are current among a

large majority become myths and they may persist for years as

unanalysed perceptions about the school and the nature of education

itself.

In order for changes to occur the membership of the school must be

brought to an active re-sorting of the assumptions and fantasies.

By questioning and testing out and seeking more realistic alternatives

and working on these new ideas a school can enter a period of dynamic

change. A dynamic change in this sense would be defined as a process

whereby members are seeking to work to a greater reality or

congruence of perceptions about the school and its members, and
member needs. While it may be debatable as to what is an ultimate
'reality', there is no doubt that in functional or operational terms
'reality' means accord and congruence in behaviour and a basic
similarity of personal values. Indeed, the basis for agreement is a
common acceptance of values and by 'value' is meant a disposition
towards objects, people or ideas.

A school, then, is a location in time and/or place where the
negotiation and bargaining processes are concerned with the education
of the members. This is true, however one defines education whether
as individual learning, mutual learning, or teaching and learning or
whatever. The teaching/learning relationship is one in which
contracts are made, changed and sustained, and sustained and changed
again, in a continuous process of social and psychological relation-
ships. In each of these relationships each individual must give
primacy to self-interests. The ability to understand fully the
nature and implications of self-interest is the basis on which
relationships are successful or unsuccessful. Blocks to learning
occur only when an individual is unaware of his self-interest and
when his colleagues are unaware of the self-interest needs of others.
Thus, altruism is an ability to contain self interest to the self and
accept the self interest of the other. So that if a student really
does lack an ability or skill nothing can be gained by coercing him
to do what he cannot do for coercion is a frustration of two sets of
self interest - the self interest of the student to learn and the
self interest of the teacher to be perceptive of the needs of the
student.

In practice, the situation is one in which the blocks to a relation-
ship arise simply out of lack of self-knowledge and self-awareness.
The block of my relationship with you is my lack of understanding of
myself so that I project in some way my problems into you and expect
them to be solved in you. For example, my inability to accept untidy
work has less to do with an abstract acceptability of untidiness and
much more to do with the personal upset that untidiness has for me
because of the meaning of untidiness in my psyche. Teachers are
frequently hung up on personal problems that they transport and
transmute into problems which they perceive as being in others. Under-
standing of the emotions leads to stability, tolerance, understanding,
creativity, collaboration and good order in society. It is because
affect has been so long and so much neglected that our society is too
emotionally and culturally fragile. Children who have been coerced
throughout their lives have no alternative but to rebel destructively
and the large destructive elements in our society are the result, we
would argue, of students being neglected in the affective domains of
their personality.

This being so, in our belief, the effort in a school should be
directed towards psychological negotiations in the first instance at
the affective level and only secondly at the cognitive. These
negotiations are, of course, never unilateral but involve everyone
in each 'person set'. A 'person set' we would define much in the
way of 'role', that is, as all those people relevant to the key
individual in any given situation. In school terms this will usually
mean a student and his teacher as the basic unit but will involve
parents as well as other students and other teachers. All relation-
ships are complexity of negotiations and only certain ones are
critical for a given situation. It is a matter for experience to

discover what situations are critical and hence what 'person sets' are critical. The key activity of a school can be described in terms of critical situations and each of these critical situations must be resolved at the emotional or affective level for each individual involved. That is what running a school is all about. Routinised procedures for doing this are the organisation of the school. How it is done, is open to negotiation and does not assume any premium on precedence or status. The ability with which members cope with the problems of precedence and status is a measure of its creativity and openness to change and development.

Organisations are characterised by order, routine and anticipatory procedures. It appears to be within the nature of human organisation for it to settle down into familiar patterns and for precedents to be preferred to novelty. In other words, human organisations have a strong tendency to conservatism but there is a critical point at which conservatism becomes destructive just as there is a critical point at which open order leads to self-destruction. Somehow the balance between order and chaos has to be maintaned but it is done only by moving towards chaos and not towards fossilisation. Since the natural tendency of organisation is towards increased organisation the continued tendency must be towards disorder. This is to say, creativity in other people - colleagues as well as students. The process of bringing about personal attitudes which lead to change (as we defined it earlier) is the process of helping individuals to self knowledge and personal coping. We explain this further in the chapter on the counselling technique.

However we define education, it cannot take place unless the individual psyche is involved. Education is not the plastering over of the

person with commonly accepted veneers although, in practice, this is
all education only too often is. Students may learn to do things in
the same way as animals perform tricks and it may be that in practice
schools settle for something much like circus training (or ideological
indoctrination) but essentially, education is about the growth and
maturity of the individual and that can only come about by discovery
of the self and the development of that discovered self. It may be
almost impossible to define self (indeed, it must be, if growing up
means discovery and exploration) but the commonest experience of
adults growing up is that they find out more and more about them-
selves and thus discovery is most valued when it is perceived to be
of the 'true' or 'real' self. All forms of psychiatric medicine are
about the discovery or rediscovery of the true self; so are all
religions and substitute religions.

Nothing of what we have said is intended to refute the value of
cognitive learning - the learning of facts, ideas, skills, processes
or whatever. Clearly our own writing depends on the validity of
content in education. But the condition of learning is at the
effective level of our minds; without the necessary emotional base
there can be no cognitive learning. Yet almost all institutionalised
learning is based almost exclusively on a denial of the affective
base being concerned almost entirely with the acquiring of cognitive
learning which is always defective without its affective setting.

The adoption of a cognitive emphasis to Western education is a grave
imbalance that may well be politically sinister since cognitive
learning is hierarchical, coercive, authoritarian, elitist and
socially exceedingly powerful. We mention this rather than argue
for it but it is clear that an emphasis on affective learning may be

seen by some as anarchical, subjective, debased, incohesive and anti-
scientific. We do not believe that but rather that education that is
based on affect and the development in management is always slightly
towards the new and slightly away from the old. Destructive manage-
ment is always towards the old and familiar. Of course, this propor-
tion is an expression of values but they are the values on which we
have worked for there is no objective or impartial view of organisa-
tion theory (and still less of management theory, which is always a
justification for preferred practice).

In order to bring about in a school an innovatory climate that is
permanent it is necessary to create a situation where members are
fundamentally disposed to change, not one where rewards are given for
eccentric and wild innovations or else retrenchment conservative
backwoodmanship. Such a sea change can only take place at a deep
personal level characterised by a psychological disposition to change
rather than an aggressive surge towards superficial and isolated
reforms. Hence, a change is required in the fundamental concept of
order in the institution. For us the move is away from the imposition
of new methods or procedures towards encouraging commitment at a
level where the individual psyche is not under threat. Most changes
brought about in organisations make a threat to other members (changes
may be a threat, too, to those who introduce them). An individual
is threatened when he is subject to a change in which he had no part,
where he was not a negotiating partner. But change is also threaten-
ing when it uncovers the power structure of an organisation and so
destroys some of the illusions that people had about the security of
their situation.

In a school, the Head is seen to be all powerful, the chief
authority. To know that the Head is powerful is to feel secure; to
know that he wishes to share that power is a threat to the self
confidence of others. All effective changes in a school are dependent
on the working through of a change in the power/authority structure -
made all the more difficult because the situation can never be totally
resolved; the Head will always be in a superior position of authority
however much he may try to share it. Here then, is a constant
dilemma; the Head wishes to create a climate in the school where more
people accept responsibility for innovating yet by offering freedom,
he poses a threat to confidence and self-esteem. Furthermore, to be
truly liberating, he can never give freedom freely, only demand that
freedom be won; this is the first paradox about organisation.
Organisation implies some form of control - patterning and order -
yet a static organisation would be moribund. Once an organisation
begins to function there is conflict because functioning is a state
of disorder and hence conflict. No organisation can be free of
conflict and no process in the organisation can be conflict free.
Conflict implies coercion and the winning of freedom. Should there
be no winning of freedom there is no disorder. If an authority in
the organisation gives total freedom he merely transfers all his
authority and the change is sterile; only if he retains and fights to
retain authority does energy become available to bring about changes
in the organisation. Conflict, we can say, is the operation of the
energy of an organisation. Conflict resolved by successful and
proper negotiation is dynamic and creative; conflict suppressed or
won by improper negotiation is destructive and sterile.

Organisations may be changed by the exercise of power on the part of the supreme head but the price to pay for the short term gains is high. In an environment where members can leave easily for alternate organisations, heads can push ahead with what are often nothing more than personal ambitions. In an environment where people cannot easily leave, a potentially explosive situation arises. It is axiomatic that the more creative an individual is, the more conflict he will generate. It is also axiomatic that creative individuals represent a threat to the head of an organisation and to the stability of the organisation (hence to other members) so another paradox of organisations has to do with leadership. The most effective leadership consist of liberating people not coercing them to do what the supreme head likes. The ability to give freedom to others is entirely dependent on the degree of personal freedom an individual believes himself to have and this personal freedom is a condition of self-knowledge. Only if a leader knows and accepts himself will he be able to accept other people because then no one can threaten him. Few leaders really understand this but even those who do can never be totally free from threat. Yet as he gains self knowledge and self-acceptance, the head can give more freedom to his colleagues and sustain the struggle for their freedom. To struggle in order to lose is a more difficult struggle than the struggle to win, yet that is the lesson of the encounter group we used in order to help teachers to understand themselves better and so take greater responsibility for their own freedom.

Many people find the idea of conflict difficult to accept because they understand conflict as always destructive. What we mean here by conflict is those differences in perception and understanding that

are inevitable between individuals because each of us has a different experience. When we bring our differences together and work through them we have an increased understanding of an idea or situation. It is this working through which is the creative conflict and when differences are not worked through they develop into destructive relationships. Fear of conflict is a fear for the self, an anxiety that the self may be changed. Confidence with regard to conflict is not being afraid of having to change. Perhaps not surprisingly most people are very much afraid of having to change, though in the end this fear is most often unjustified.

The successful resolution of conflict depends on there being a consistent and coherent sharing of values by members of the school. Unless there is a commonality in what is valued by members there can be no certainty about the direction in which conflict is to be resolved. A common value system is the basic pre-requisite for an organisation to develop in a way that increases the worth and esteem of individuals. Any organisation whose members have a common value system will grow and sustain itself. It hardly matters what these values are as a condition for growth and sustenance but a commonality of values is essential. In our case, the common value system includes regard for the individual, sharing of responsibility and encouraging independence and autonomy. It was to achieve these common values, among related ones, that the technique of group sensitivity training was employed, in the use of Encounter Groups for staff.

3.THE GROUPS

The purpose of the groups was to help teachers to understanding better
how to work together. The approach is one that has been used quite
often in team building with groups of people from the same organisa-   .
tion, particularly teachers in schools and colleges. The groups were
advertised as an opportunity for teachers to explore their under-
standing of their roles and the focus of attention was intended to be
their job in the school. The groups were entitled 'working together'.
The first group met in May 1977 and consisted of senior staff - the
Head, Deputy Head, Senior Mistress and nine Heads of Department.
Subsequently, by voluntary request, there were two more similar courses
in September and October and for 1978 a third open course was planned
and two departments (English and Mathematics) each agreed to a
weekend residential course. Harry Gray was the facilitator* for each
of the groups.

The groups lasted for four days - Friday, Saturday, Sunday and
Monday - and were held, non-residentially, in Gosport Teachers' Centre
where lunches were provided. The times were 9.30 to 9.30 on the
Friday and Saturday with evening meal taken at a nearby pub; on
Sunday and Monday the group met from 9.30 to 5.00 with the evening
free. Undoubtedly, residential courses would have been better for a
number of reasons but particularly because the break of going home
was a problem of mental orientation in changing from one atmosphere
to another. The room was reasonably comfortable, refreshment
facilities were available and the non-residential arrangement was not
a considerable disadvantage since the group members were quite

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* terms used interchangeably are facilitator, trainer or leader.

isolated from other people while they were meeting.

The intention of the first group was to concentrate on 'role performance' and to look at the personal problems of managing people. In the event the group soon veered away from the mechanical aspects of job performance to the personal aspects and from this in turn towards individual perceptions of jobs and job behaviour. It quickly became very evident that people needed to talk about themselves and quite soon the group moved into a mode of personal counselling, whereby individuals could talk through their personal problems in the group and resolve them with the help of colleagues and the facilitator.

Groups can be run in various ways from straight 'group dynamics' to group psychotherapy. How they are run depends largely on the facilitator's preferred (or natural) style. In this case, the facilitator's style was a counselling style, largely Gestalt. In such a group, individuals have an opportunity to talk with the facilitator about their problems and to gain insight into their situation. A counselling style of facilitation encourages individuals to open up with their problems and to share them with the group while depending on the facilitator for a resolution. It becomes an important expectation of the group that an individual will be able to talk through his problem to his satisfaction and as members successively do so, fresh discussions can take place at a deeper level. There is a "going round" the group until one individual feels he can share a problem, the problem is talked through to some form of resolution; this is followed by a period of 'coasting' and again, a new personal problem is introduced. This is the familiar pattern of the Encounter Group but the whole group depends and centres on the skills of the facilitator who becomes a therapist or counsellor.

This method was adhered to deliberately because of the context of the organisation in which the groups were occurring. There was never any intention for the groups to be unstructured T-Groups or free-wheeling Encounter Groups. That is not to say that unstructured T-Groups do not have value; they have great value outside an organisational context. In our groups we were concerned not to upset the relation-ships back at school but rather to work through the group into changed and improved relationships there and then. We felt the group had to be tightly controlled for reasons of personal security and it was essential for there to be a general confidence in the professional ability of the facilitator; one of the risks for the Headmaster was that the facilitator might prove unacceptable to the teachers and the whole exercise could turn out to be counter-productive.

The use of sensitivity training in education is controversial; there are a lot of justified and a lot of unjustified fears. Certainly, groups are a way of working unlike those usually found in educational institutions, particularly secondary schools. One of the problems is that there are so many kinds of groups. Types of groups cannot be clearly defined in practice and like all teaching groups, depend almost entirely on the style of the leader and the psychological matching between leader and members. As with any class or lecture, things can go wrong for simply the best of reasons - such as incompatibility. There is a general area of fear that surrounds sensitivity Training and T-Groups that has become part of the mythology of groups. Usually it centres around the idea of "someone having a breakdown and no one putting the pieces together". There seems little evidence of this happening for the simple reason that people do not suddenly have breakdowns. Perhaps more to the point is the fact that everyone has

a number of personal problems that are near the surface and these are easily uncovered when there is an atmosphere of intimacy, secure or not. That some people have a bad experience of groups cannot be denied but that is only to be expected since no group is unanimous in its opinion about an event and when that event makes demands on each individual some are bound to respond readily and others to refuse.

The groups were aimed to bring people in the school closer together. It is a matter of personal values as to whether people who work together should be closer together psychologically. It is our belief that schools are about getting closer together and that more intimate relationships are essential for better working together. All organisations subject members to cultural and ideological pressures. An alternative might have been for the Head to require everyone to be better qualified in terms of academic distinctions. To do so would have put some colleagues under unwelcome pressure because they consider themselves unacademic, or practical people or whatever. No school is free of preferred values which put some colleagues at risk and under a painful threat. In our case, we are aiming for psychological closeness because we believe people work better when they are psychologically close and have greater self confidence and personal security as a consequence. We chose a counselling mode of working in the groups because we believe that the counselling mode is the key relationship between people in organisations and that the ability to counsel (and be counselled) is the primary management skill. We would say that the best managers and leaders are also the best counsellors and that whatever other skills a manager has they only become usefully integrated in management performance when bound together with counselling skills.

We adopted a counselling mode for the groups because we wanted to demonstrate how counselling skills could be used. Our original intention was to help to release personal blockages in relationships but we came to the conclusion that it would be most useful if teachers could also be trained themselves in counselling skills and we later developed an idea for maintaining the momentum from the groups which will be described later. In truth, we also chose a counselling approach for safety and security but were by no means certain that 'counselling' would occur; we were prepared simply for a more superficial level of role consultation.

There is no need to describe in detail the sorts of things the groups dealt with. It is, however, important to understand the relationship between professional behaviour and personality. One does not step into a role or position and leave the personality behind. One functions in any role basically as oneself and prescribed role behaviour is only a veneer. Hence, any personal problems or hang-ups that we have become blockages in our role behaviour. If an individual has problems in his role behaviour they can be traced back into his personal life; likewise, problems in personal life and relationships obtrude into role behaviour. We can never be two distinct people. In the group we learn to face up to our personal problems because the other members of the group will not allow us to hide behind the protection of role or office.

Our counselling groups were intended to be supportive and safe. But that is not to say individuals did not feel threatened in them; indeed, feeling greatly threatened is often the beginning of an awareness of a need to share a problem and the opportunity to start to talk about it. In the group, members experience strong emotions of

rejection and affection, of anger and sympathy, of security and

insecurity, of loneliness and fellowship, of dependence and autonomy

and so on. In the group one learns to use one's feelings publicly

and to become aware of enormous personal resources to help oneself

and others. Each member has first of all to 'buy into' the group -

to negotiate terms of membership and to accept the group and what it

does by being committed to the group. Without commitment a group can

do nothing. Uncommitted members learn least though the nature of

commitment is very personal. In the group, people share burdens and

learn that they are just like other people.They learn that their

problems are not unique and they discover that other people accept

them for what they are. Gradually a great deal of love and under-

standing comes out in the group and people find that they "walk taller"

than before. Little things that an individual may have born for years

are seen for what they are and burdens are released. Big things fall

into perspective, are seen to have a different value, become accepted

and even rejoiced in. Groups are about self-acceptance and liberation

from psychological bondage and about discovering strengths that have

been forgotten or discounted. People are able to see themselves more

clearly and others, too, as a consequence.

That a single group could be effective was hardly in dispute. We had

plenty of experience of groups elsewhere to know what kind of learn-

ing would occur and that a sufficient number of people would feel

helped to make the experience worthwhile. We knew, too, of the

euphoria at the end of a group and how difficult it is to take this

away into a new situation. Yet carry over into the school life was

the raison d'etre of the groups. In the event our fears were

unjustified for after the first group there was a voluntary impetus

in the school for more. Though there was some social coercion among peers no compulsion or even encouragement came from the management team - the Head and deputies.

The Head was a member of each group. The Deputy Head and Senior Mistress were both members of the first group and took it in turns to be members of the following two. This meant we never entirely resolved the problems of authority of the Head and indeed he tended to be protected by the facilitator. Only in other groups (3) outside the school context did the Head himself work through some of his own personal issues. This would seem to be a reasonable situation. Certainly, having the Head present on early groups was helpful in establishing transferability of learning in the groups to the school and issues about the Head and his personal values were frequently raised. The important thing was to demonstrate that the facilitator was independent of the Head - we believe we were reasonably successful in this.

The major problem of a counselling style in group relations training is the creating of dependency upon the facilitator. He becomes a sacred and religious figure around whom a web of fantasies is woven. These fantasies involve the attribution of qualities, skills and perceptions that he does not actually have. His insights are seen as almost magical though the truth is that his training simply allows him to pick up what is already apparent and his interpretations are no more than the responses of clients when a problem is being talked through. Later, dependency can lead to rejection both of the facilitator and of the personal learning a group member has undergone when he tries to relate his newly discovered self to old and familiar situations. Some learning puts clients at odds with their associates

and in some cases problems that had been ignored and avoided become

persistant. Relations with a spouse, for instance, may become

strained not because something new has been discovered but because

something neither would admit has at least been made clear. With the

counsellor no longer able to give support back in the school, the

client may become angry and dismiss the validity of the group

experience.

Yet the issue of dependency is concerned with the winning of individual

freedom and autonomy. If education is about freedom and facing the

realities of autonomy, then teachers must be themselves as autonomous

as possible. Teachers cannot make excuses for accepting personal

responsibility by requiring the Head to think and act for them and

they cannot blame the group counsellor when he stands in for the Head

and shows them the nature of their dependency, their fear of freedom

and responsibility. To be totally responsible we must be totally free

and while this is a state of perfection, we must go some way towards

its attainment. Freedom of members in organisations is a thorny

problem because the nature of organisation is to restrict freedom.

Only self knowledge and consequent self assurance will mend matters.

After the group experience the members must take their learning back

into the school and try to make the freedom and self knowledge so

hardly won, a reality in the daily ongoing organisational situation.

We have no long term plan or strategy for this project. Indeed, it

would be against our principles to have had such; rather we preferred

to move slowly as things developed. The only structural development

in the school was to begin the development of a 'counselling core' of

people who wanted to learn more about something and to practice with

colleagues. There was an official trained school counsellor and he

was invited to form such a group of volunteer members and with no official limits on membership. This group would develop by finding its way into a support role for teaching staff as well as students in the school. The other group was the senior management group of Head, Deputy Head and Senior Mistress who would continue their own team building but with some outside help, for example, from Harry Gray. All members of staff would be encouraged to look elsewhere for further 'training' such as attendance on Encounter Groups, Counselling training, sensitivity and such like. In this way, it is hoped that a dynamic cadre of people in the school would begin to work on the dissemination of a common set of values for teachers. This dynamic would be centred on the two-fold fulcrum of counselling group and management group. The expectation is that energy for the further development of the change process will come from these two 'nodes' though hopefully, initiatives will come from elsewhere too. The essential condition for sustained change is a commonality of values as described in the chapter on the theory of the school. These values are learned in the Encounter Group but become personalised in the organisation when individuals are thrown back on their own resources and initiatives.

Future plans are by no means clear. Further support in groups and by individual counselling is certain. There ought to be an extension of the mode to the students themselves in addition to normal school counselling provision. It is likely that other schools in the locality will be engaged on similar programmes or ones that derive from this one. A re-examination of administrative procedures in the school is inevitable and an already introduced of 'staff appraisal' will be affected by the group training project. Hypothetic designs

for other schools can be extrapolated from our current experience
but the important thing about what we have done has been its
spontaneity and lack of planning. We believe that the strength of
any school-based project to be its responsiveness to the present
rather than planning in anticipation - there are enough school-based
activities that demand to be planned without staff development having
to be one of them.

4. EVALUATION OF THE GROUPS

The evaluation of enterprises such as ours is exceedingly difficult.
We have been concerned with changes that concern the individual as a
whole person not just as a teacher and colleague and what has been
achieved may or may not relate to the school. Naturally, those of us
involved in the planning and implementation have a vested interest
in success and will see 'success' more often than others. We may
also have a different definition of success - or even general defini-
tions to suit our case. We are not entirely sure that success can be
measured within the school alone, or even at all. Above all we do not
know what would be an appropriate time scale to make measurements even
if we knew how to make measurements.

We decided to invite all teachers to make comment on the groups,
their effect on the school or on individuals, in answer to an open
ended question that appears below. The invitation was given out a
fortnight after the third group to everyone. Of 70 members of staff,
22 replied and there follows a rough categorisation of their
responses. Replies were returned in sealed envelopes and unseen,
direct to Harry Gray.

> "BROOKFIELD SCHOOL AND "THE GROUPS"
>
> It would be helpful if we could make some assessment of the
> effect of 'the Groups' that I conducted at Brookfield
> School. It would be useful if we could share the opinions
> of both those who were members of the Groups and those who
> were not. I should like to invite every one of the school
> staff (and ideally we should also invite parents and pupils
> where they are aware of the Groups) to express a view
> about how the group experience has affected what goes on
> in the School. If you would like to do this, perhaps you
> would be good enough to let me have your views, at any
> length you wish, written informally on a sheet of paper.
> Please indicate which group you attended (1st, 2nd or 3rd)
> or if you attended none.

There is no need to give your name, though you may if you
wish. Eventually we can share these views collectively
but anonymously by collating the views expressed.

The question is, "in what way do you think life at
Brookfield School has been affected by attendance of staff
on the Groups on 'Working together' (led by Harry Gray)"?

Please give your replies, in a sealed envelope, to
Mick Davies by 14th November. There is, of course, no
compulsion to respond; we shall keep no record of who replies
or not.

Thank you,"

Those who were members of a Group:

1.   As I do not know the composition of the other groups (1 and 2)
      I cannot really assess the effect on the rest of the staff -
      certainly the immediate effect on Group 3 was a spirit of
      mutual co-operation and uplift.

      Unfortunately, most of the uplift has disappeared under the
      strain of every day working life - where a large staff using
      the staff room much as a main line railway terminus, has very
      little time for the niceties of life; although there does
      appear to be more communication between some members of staff
      when they are on 'free' periods.

      My immediate reaction was to re-establish the intangible
      virtues within the classes I teach - I hope I do not allow
      myself to drift into a laissez-faire attitude where I become
      partially blind, not vocal when necessary, nor passing by the
      chance to do something of use or benefit to others.

      Although nominally I have a small teaching commitment, I have
      a very large personal workload. I never have enough time to
      do all that I want - there is always a great deal of work
      'postponed' for future action, some of it inevitably suffers.

      My personal relationship with members of staff with whom I
      come into contact has been given a boost. I had made the
      break through six months before the course having recovered
      from my latest operation to feel physically fitter than at
      any time during the previous nine years.

      For me the opportunity to share experiences in and with the
      group enabled me to open the doors of friendship to a large
      section of Group 3. The doors are still open, and I am sure
      the effect will endure for quite a long time.

      When we have completed the alterations at our house I will
      invite some of them to come and share our hospitality.

      (3rd Group)

2. I have deliberately written this under pressure so as to let
    the thoughts flow freely. The end section will summarise and
    comment - perhaps more objectively. What I have to say falls
    into two categories:

    a) myself and others relating to the day-to-day activities
        of Brookfield

    b) aspects of my own learning.

On a day-to-day basis a number of things emerge. The groups
seem to have sensitised some staff to a more self aware state.
This in turn has led to a greater empathy between those who
have been on the courses.

Some have found this self awareness painful and searching
for the answers relating to the questions of a "who am I"
type, has caused some difficulties. The core of these
questions and the answers seem to be linked with self centred
motivation. The more self-less they try to become the more
"I need" or "my needs" confuse the issue. Sometimes "the
issue" is about them but they actively avoid this by saying
I don't want to hurt "X". In this sense the courses have
stirred up a number of people so that they have undergone a
re-evaluation process for themselves, their colleagues and
the school in general. This seems to have been healthy,
although a bit traumatic sometimes.

Those who were in my group seem to have stabilised some of
the things they learned and as a result I find them easier to
work with - but this may be because I know more about how
they think and feel. In our case the post-course catch
phrase became "feel free". I'm not convinced that any of us
have learned to fully utilise that freedom. Whilst I include
me in this observation, it is not wholly about me!

The polarisation of strong pro or anti the groups seems to
have evaporated - but there is a "Have and have not" process
which is still working itself out. Some of the strong anti
feeling has surprisingly come from people who seldom appear
to have strong views. On occasions quite aggressive dis-
cussions have taken place, but the end product has been no
apparent change of viewpoint on either side.

Apparent communication between group members (all groups) seems
better - although whether the label allows us to talk more
freely, or whether the common experience is about knowing more
about ourselves enough to let others in is confused by my own
subjective involvement.

On a specifically personal level I have found an increased
interest in looking at the school and evaluating performance
as well as a consideration of educational objectives. This
has led to a lot of reading on tests and testing. It seems
sometimes that "learning" occurs without people fully questioning
the what can we do? Why do we do what we do? What do we hope
to achieve? etc.

In a sense the presence of Alan Booth in the school is very useful since he provides me with an excellent sounding board for ideas.

This is often worked out in a working together process which enables us to critically refine the work we each do on any given project. This for me, is a radical change of attitude toward the Educational process. Up till your work on the "school" I avoided all contact with the theoretical side of school life. In a sense the renewed quest for myself has led to the questioning of why am I here and what is Brookfield about? It seems odd that this should have come about as a result of the Head of Department weekend.

My personal 'void' had to do with parenthood, fatherhood and responsibility, etc. I have worked through some of these and this helped to resolve some personality clashes.

More directly, I have been able to resolve my own need for father figures whom I sought to remove or resolve problems. Both Stan and Don will happily do this and I have become more careful about how I handle situations which carry this trap for me.

In a sense this must affect the school since by taking more decisions in my own right occasionally I make mistakes that have more far reaching consequences. When I do, I am no longer able to step aside and let the conflict go elsewhere.

To sum up

a) Amongst those who went on courses no one has remained unpolarised.

b) Greater empathy appears to exist between those who attend courses.

c) Many of the course attenders are more self aware and therefore more receptive to ideas.

d) We have, all of us, yet to fully interpret what "freedom" means.

e) Those who did not attend courses are resentful (some-times) of the time; and can see no obvious change.

f) What I learned was invaluable to me as a person and an "educationalist".

Hope this provides some basis for a useful end product.

(1st Group)

3.   Definite improvement in relationships between members of
     each group.

     Certain empathy between members of other groups since their
     return and members of earlier groups.

     Some hostility from those who have not attended (even though
     they have no wish to attend themselves) - which has led to
     hardening of an 'us' and 'them' atmosphere (this from outsiders
     not from those who attended courses).

     Overall I remain unconvinced that any expansion of this type
     of activity will necessarily improve the efficiency of what
     we are doing. Although many staff have benefitted at a
     personal level, I feel many others need clearer guidance from
     somewhere on basic classroom techniques in order to become more
     effective class teachers. Rather than have more groups with
     Harry, I should like any money spent on more in-service training
     of teachers.

     Personally, I am glad I attended the course, have gained from
     it, but do not feel I am significantly better at my job because
     of it.

     (1st Group)

4.   Slow to start. Very conscious of roles. Perhaps the group's
     brief was the cause of this - to examine our roles in the
     comprehensive school. Once the barriers of role had been
     broken down - the learning began. Stan was a very real threat
     in this group. Therefore he was a target for feelings.

     I felt very vulnerable because of what I thought were my
     inadequacies. I recognise now it is a basic shyness and a
     searching for reasons with my heart rather than a verbalising
     with my intellect.

     Much learning took place in the informal smaller groups, over
     meals, etc. I can see what value a residential course would
     be in this aspect. Many role barriers with each other were
     sorted out in private.

     Very conscious of identifying with each other through this
     experience when we returned to the working situation. We have
     had to be careful to avoid 'clique' situations forming on the
     staff - they can pose a very real threat to those colleagues
     who have not had this experience.

     The question posed is how best can we help those colleagues,
     including certain senior ones, who have chosen not to be
     involved in these groups?

     Stan has played a big part in supporting and encouraging us.

     (1st Group)

5. As I am the sole member of my Department (Business Studies)
I cannot think at the same level as the others in Group 1
who have direct responsibility for departmental staff, ie to
be able to say that relationships with staff in their
departments have changed since attending the Group. But I
can think at a personal level as to how my relationships
with:

1. others of my Group have been affected, and

2. my feelings now towards those who have attended the
second and third groups.

1. At the time of attending Group 1 I felt a nearness to,
and a great sympathy with, co-members. This has not evaporated
since. I find myself, when there is time, wanting to talk to
each more openly, more warmly, and with a kind of love.

This rubs off into my school work somewhat in that I am also
aware of being a member of a good team, and I wouldn't want
to let my team down.

At the same time I feel that members of my group, and the two
colleagues who have had this experience previously, care about
me. There is a kindness and understanding which has come out
of this experience. I can illustrate this by quoting what some
members have since said to me.

   i) I used to think you were just a silly old woman
     (a young man talking!)

  ii) I didn't think you felt things so deeply (another
      young man)

 iii) There is a lot of goodwill here for you.

I feel (iii) to be true, and am grateful for it.

2. With those few members of Groups 2 and 3 I have talked
to, there has also been a sympathy grow. It is true to say
we cannot - any of us - completely put into words all that
the experience meant to us, except to say it was a valuable
experience we wouldn't - any of us - have missed.

If my remarks seem to be on too emotional a level I can only
say we lose if we are afraid of our feelings. We gain by
wanting to move towards people and recognising their needs.
We need to relate to each other at school at a reasonable
emotional level, and these Groups have opened up channels
for getting closer to people who have shared the experience,
and there is a further wish to draw in those people who
have not been group members. We care.

(1st Group)

6. Communication with people is deeper especially with many who have been on the courses and in some cases with those who haven't. A greater aliveness and tranquility is apparent in some people. Although the feelings may be fading a bit now, there seems to be a will to develop the good things begun by the course.

There were little flares of defensive resentment expressed to me but they don't seem to have been long lived. Those who felt able to talk about these feelings (those who elected not to go on the course I mean) seem now to be as friendly as ever.

I don't really know what effect the course will have had. I don't think it will be sudden and dramatic but I feel it will be good if we work to keep it alive. As far as my personal experience is concerned I have found [ ] and lost [ ]. Now I only have the will to love [ ] and not a lot of that. I suppose my feelings are basically hostile. In fact they were becoming that way, impatient and irritated, before the course but I pushed them down then. Now I'm letting them surface but I'm not always sure what to do with them because its too late. This isn't a request for help, I'm leaning on [ ] but I felt that I should tell you, otherwise I should only have written half truths.

(2nd Group)

7. I think one of the main overall effects on the life of the school, because of the participation of members of staff in the 'working together' groups, will be a greater concern and understanding of how people relate and what effect one's action has upon others. This is something I feel but I think it will take some time before it will be more operative in fact.

For myself, I feel a greater affinity and closeness to the members of staff who were in my group and feel certain I could approach them with ease on any school or personal problems should they arise. It certainly helped me to understand myself better and hopefully, gradually that understanding will be effective!!

There was one thing that is very interesting which relates to my first paragraph. Before I went on the course I had a discussion with a colleague on a personal/departmental question, which was amicably and usefully resolved. This colleague has told me subsequently that had he not been to one of the group sessions he felt that he would not have understood the issues as well or been able to discuss it as usefully as he (we both) thought he did.

One thing did concern me at first ie "the follow up", particularly for members of staff whose experiences might have been very traumatic. But perhaps I should have more confidence in people coping themselves.

I have heard from Stan that you would be coming to school
to work with some departments. Nice to think we'll be seeing
you again.

(3rd Group)

8. Much quicker to get moving than the Heads of Department Group.
A tremendous lot of helping each other through problems and
situations. I was worried that some interrupted too soon and
too much, thus preventing others being given the chance of
talking and working something through on their own. How valid
this concern is, I do not know. I only know that I found it
slightly irritating at times. I've also been left concerned
about the "business that still needs to be done". I'm thinking
of [   ] and [   ] in particular. In the busy school situation
we just have to literally make time. I'm worried that there
won't be sufficient time to "make".

On a personal level, I felt I learned a lot more about myself
and about helping others. I find that "verbalising with the
heart" (I'm sure there must be a Harry Gray expression for this!)
is very much me! I have begun to recognise and identify my
own feelings and reactions to things with a perception that's
again of my heart (and not the head??!!) I've discovered a
very real need to "share" with other people in any aspect of
living and being.

I've found myself with much more courage in following up matters
at school ie a difference of opinion with one member of staff;
a telling remark from another; a concern following a per-
ception about another.

I've found it wonderful to have nearly 30 other colleagues
with whom I can relate on this new level of learning. I have
found that I was able to go straight into a problem with a
member of the second group as we were both talking the "same
language" - even though we weren't together on the 3rd Group.

I've also discovered a real awareness of the sensitivities
needed for helping the children, particularly on a one to one
basis.

One of my biggest discoveries, though I'd had feelings that
this was so, is that my 'role' has tended to blot out my
personality to a large extent. The real me doesn't shine
forth to those who don't know me very well. I've vowed that
I must devise ways and means of getting to know certain
colleagues rather better as a result.

(3rd Group)

9. Although very sceptical before going on the course of its likely value, I found it of great personal value. I think the main effects on me have been as follows:

a) I have more self confidence or a higher opinion of the value of myself as an individual - and linked to this I now see the value of 'the individual' in the mass more clearly. Before I had difficulty in seeing how some people could be of any value - now I think I can see a little more clearly the intrinsic value of anyone.

b) I think I can see other peoples' problems more easily.

c) I can talk about my emotions more freely - especially to my wife - and recognise that this may be of some value.

d) I have been able to recognise the need for others to develop their own self esteem.

e) Recognition that I must develop and recognise my own self esteem, and that this isn't a selfish activity (if kept within reasonable bounds).

f) It has helped me to be less defensive when challenged - or at least to recognise when I have become defensive. (Perhaps 'over-defensive' would be a better word.)

Perhaps this has been the one thing of most practical value since the course last summer - especially in my work at school - and relations with other staff. Though the other items have had as much if not more effect in my life out of school - family, friends, my attitude to my painting.

Another direct practical effect has been the sense of having been through a common experience with some other staff from Groups 2 and 3, though I still feel a deeper bond with my colleagues of Group 1. I have also recognised the very clear beneficial effect the course had on one or two members of Group 1 especially.

In relationships with pupils, I think my experience has helped - although this is in understanding their problems a little more than previously - though not in being able to help them much - yet.

I think it is still too early to assess the real value of the courses, I have had a lot of experiences which have affected me, perhaps helped me for a short period, but when seen in a longer time perspective have disappeared from view, and haven't turned out to be the turning point I thought they were at the time. Ask again in 5 years time.

I would sum up by saying that it hasn't helped directly in solving problems (ie in revealing ideas to act on) but has made the understanding of people (and myself) much clearer.

I thank you, Harry, for developing the skills, ideas and expertise over the years that you now have, which have enabled you to help me in the way you have.

During the course I was reminded of the feeling I had when I first went to College - away from the restrictions of school and family and talked at depth, with new freedom and made new discoveries about myself and others.

(1st Group)

10. I find it difficult to assess the effect of the first two groups. I have looked with a fresh insight at those colleagues who I know attended the first two groups, but can't honestly say that they are different in any tangible way. I am more aware of my colleagues of the 3rd group than I was previously. Some colleagues have remarked that I seem, more "light hearted". I find that I have been able to communicate with the pupils less self-consciously than before, particularly those in my tutor group. Conversely, however, no one in my tutor group, has approached me confidentially, so perhaps they don't see that I am more approachable?

I certainly feel less tense and more light spirited.

(3rd Group)

11. The general running of the school does not appear to have altered at all. There are different relationships amongst the staff, who seem to understand each other on a different level. The few who have not attended the course may have noticed this affinity more, because when you are personally involved it is difficult to explain your own reactions to someone who cannot understand the 'language'.

I find Stan easier to get on with - the barrier has been removed - and may be this to me has been the greatest benefit in school terms.

The personal benefit I would place much higher.

(3rd Group)

12. I think if you had not mentioned parents and children in your letter to us all I perhaps would not have written my comments as I am sure others will express the same opinions. However, the mention of parents and children has prompted me to put pen to paper.

As [   ] deputy I come into contact with parents very much (something which many staff do not except on the occasional Open Evening). Their comments on "all those teachers out again" have left me wondering what they think we have been doing when their children have been left without proper lessons at a time

when staffing has been particularly difficult due to illness.
As many staff are very reluctant to talk about the "weekends"
the parents in some cases feel rather shut out.

The effect on the children cannot really be measured as yet
but the reactions of the staff are still a daily topic of
conversation.

A few of the staff who did not go are still curious to know
why [   ] have changed so much are are more convinced now
that the 3rd Group is over that its even more a case of "them"
and "us". I know those of us who did go are more tolerant
towards each other, although I for one wish I had not had to
share the secrets of one member of the 3rd Group.

Hopefully, in time when we have all readjusted to everything
we have learned about ourselves and others it will be put to
the good of Brookfield. Until such time we must live with
the daily antagonism of one or two who did not join a group
and accept the changed personality of [   ].

(3rd Group)

13. 1. Residential Courses
     2. Departmental Courses

I do not think that the groups have made any noticeable
difference to life at the school. I do think, however, that
for particular individuals the courses were most beneficial
and this is bound to have some effect on the school, even
though it is not an obvious one.

It is a great shame that I have not seen certain members
of the group which I attended sufficiently to improve my
relationship with them.

I feel strongly, therefore, these groups based on departments
and held residentially would have more of an effect 'after'
the course has finished. This, is when the real 'working
together' should take place.

(2nd Group)

14. Perhaps it is because ours was the last Group, and therefore
the most recent that I feel unable to answer the question
about the way in which life at Brookfield has been affected
by staff attendance at these courses.

We have not been asked to give opinions about our own
reactions so if the following is irrelevant please disregard
it.

The course has left me with a feeling of intense loneliness,
I have had a glimpse of the 'agony in the garden' and it
frightened me. My confidence lies in fragments at my feet and
I am left with only one certainty and that is my love. When

I look at the wreckage, that is the only thing I have left
which I now know is for real. Maybe it is enough, but it
is too early yet to tell.

I do, however, value the lesson I learned about the manner of
giving of that love and at this moment I am content just to
"be".   It will take me time to adjust, and the future is only
a stumbling from hour to hour; the nights are the worst when
I wake in the small hours and face the fact that perhaps the
last two years have been in vain. Needing to hold on to
something I have decided to give myself until Christmas.
Perhaps then I can answer your query about the effects of the
Harry Gray course.

Re-reading what I have written - it could well be immaterial
to your question as I have only written about me. But my
relationship with other staff at the moment have an unreal
quality. Relating to anyone is difficult right now. As to
the others and how they are reacting - I am unaware.

(3rd Group)

15. Positive - For me:

1. a much richer, less distrustful relationship with [   ]

2. a happy "marriage" with [   ] - we now accept each other
    even to the point of going away together in January on a
    course (Mr Headmaster didn't quite bargain for that, I
    don't think!)

3. A good working relationship with members of Engineering
    Department (ie those who went on course) - it was almost
    there before but now a feeling that "air has been cleared" -
    mainly in my attitude to [   ]

4. No fear but an affection for [   ] and a freedom to say
    what I feel to him.

5. This may not belong in the positive box but I don't
    think I am any longer ambitious in a career. I feel it
    is enough to do my bit in my own little area and not
    crave for any kind of 'power' in the job sense.

6. I have given up M G work which I did 'enjoy' in a sort of
    way but it was too time consuming and I have had the
    strength to make that decision. I have left options open
    and may return (perhaps if I chuck in teaching!)

Negative

A bubbling feeling of antagonism towards Harry Gray - even to
the point of not wanting to admit anything positive in case it
reflects on him! Can't resolve this one. Would like to hurt
him sometime.

(2nd Group)

16. I attended the 3rd Group and as a result feel closer, not only to the people I spent four days with but also to members of the other groups. I have found I can talk about general issues which emerged from my group with members of the other groups and without mentioning names and details achieve a deeper insight into what happened. Although the loyalty built up within the group is strong to the point of being unbreakable, I feel a definite rapport with some members of the previous groups.

The staff at Brookfield now fall into four main groups (as far as anyone can fit into a group and these are only my interpretation of the effect of your groups). These are:

   i) Those who went but possibly failed to really be involved and came away feeling it a little "high-flown" and not a mind shattering experience.

  ii) Those who went and felt they really benefitted in some way whether it be personal or as a generally interesting experience.

iii) Those who did not go but feel quite happy that those who went possibly gained something and, finally,

 iv) The small group of staff who feel insecure about themselves or about their ability as teachers and who now feel very ang that they have had to cover at some time for people who have been on the course. It is between the first three groups and the final group that a definite rift has occurred, although I feel a little more tolerant because I can understand a little what they are feeling.

Some have discussed the value in having a departmental group and while I think that would be very valuable, my Head of Department is someone who fits very definitely into one such category and when [   ] brought the idea up at a Department meeting the Head of Department looked positively terrified for a couple of seconds and then gave excuses to last until the summer term, so under those circumstances I fail to see how a departmental group could be formed. That particular 'instance' has added to the Department's frustration a little because we see what we could achieve but do not feel able to do so. While I feel a little more understanding towards someone like [   ], when I have to work closely with him I feel helpless as the problem appears too deep to solve.

The 'course' has helped me as teacher and as Acting House Head to clear the irrelevant details when someone is talking and to keep to the point. I have found this not only with children but at subsequent House Association Meetings too.

With regard to Stan's ideas in the school, I feel he is still open to a lot of misinterpretation but I think this does stem more from those who did not go on the course than those who did. The immediate group which spring to mind ar the other House Heads. Two did not attend for varying reasons and one

has had a limited experience of group work but has not been
on one with Stan. As the House Heads work closely with Stan
in making decisions in the school, I feel the experience
would have been invaluable as there seems to be a barrier
there between theory and practice.

Generally, I think the course has made people more aware of
one another, has created closer relationships and has helped
tolerance although, of course, friction and frustrations still
exist. I do think that the real testing ground will probably
be in Staff Meetings. The Meeting held between the 2nd and
3rd Group was an absolute shambles. I am now wondering how I
shall view the next one.

(3rd Group)

Those who did not attend a Group:

17.   It was my intention to attend the first course but circumstances
      prevented me from doing so at the time.

      I do not feel that the time spent on the courses and the
      subsequent staff absences can be justified at this time.

      Possibly there will be or have been benefits to individual
      members of the staff who have attended. However, I do feel
      strongly that the hundreds of pupils who have had no teaching
      throughout these courses, have a genuine grievance and some
      of the repercussions in terms of poor attitudes, general
      apathy, etc can be attributed to the disturbing effects of
      the non-teaching situation and the 'baby-minding' exercises
      which were necessary evils for the staff left to 'hold the fort'.

      The nature and content of the courses has not been discussed
      or explained to me and I assume that it is difficult for staff
      who have attended to divulge the contents of their course. In
      no way do I decry the need for the courses to be held.

      I object to the timing and would suggest that any future course
      be held in the vacations. It would be interesting to see if
      staff response would be the same. The benefits of this would be

      a)   no pressure in terms of one's teaching commitments

      b)   no guilt feelings for the staff left to carry the can.

      Arrange a course of similar length in a vacation and commitments
      elsewhere permitting, I would attend.

18. How the children were affected:

  a) Disruption of lessons was considerable.

  b) Although large group activities were arranged - the same
     children were involved each time and the novelty
     definitely wore off by the 4th (?) time.

  c) Definitely led to discipline problems with so many
     staff out of school - and the children routine upset.

The effect on the staff:

  a) There is now a noticeable split in the staff - those who
     attended the course and those who didn't (or to put it
     another way - the treated and the untreated) - each group
     fairly scornful of the other. The secret whisperings
     of the 'treated' is really quite nauseating!

  b) A worrying tendency towards amateur psycho-analysing
     seems to be developing - in the hands of the untrained
     I feel strongly that this is dangerous.

  c) Any beneficial effects towards improved running of the
     school, coping with difficulties, foreseeing problems,
     general discipline and organisation are not noticeable
     to me. I must add that none of the departments I work
     in have been 'treated' and strangely enough we relate
     well, manage to discuss all aspects of our work without
     coming to blows or talking behind each others backs and
     are achieving reasonable success.

  d) When the members of staff were on the course there was a
     considerable extra work load on those at school, which I
     feel is extremely hard to justify.

Finally, may I say, that from what I have seen and heard, I
don't feel that I have missed anything vital by not attending
a course and don't feel inspired to attend one in the future.
I don't find difficulty in relating to staff or children -
the more I see the more I become convinced that you either can
or can't - will or won't - and gain most experience from bring-
ing up your own family. I certainly resent an artificial
situation to bare one's soul - it rather sounds like brain-
washing and lie detectors!!!

19. In the sort term the effect of so many staff being absent at
    one time appeared to have an unsettling influence on the pupils
    and the remaining staff. I think perhaps the proximity of the
    two courses had something to do with that.

    In a positive way I have noticed greater use of communication
    between some of the staff who have attended the course and
    the rest of the staff. At least one of my tutors, who was
    particularly unbending and ill at ease, seems more relaxed in
    the tutor situation and certain difficult pupils have benefitted.

20. As far as I can see, the "Group" work has been (to some
    extent) successful. However, whether that success in any
    way aids us to do the job that we are here for (that job
    being to educate young people) is debatable. If the work
    has directly helped the children then the disturbance to
    school routine is justified. If it has indirectly helped
    the children through making the adults work more in harmony,
    the the time taken is justified.

    I myself did not attend any of the groups and feel that my
    observations may be of some interest.

    There has been some positive change in one or two people. A
    deputy house-head, when approached on house business, seemed
    less ruffled at some slightly bad news. But she was always
    very fair and this change occurred one day after returning from
    the course (perhaps the effect of a couple of days away from the
    chaos?). In another member of staff, there has been a greater
    change - he is pleasanter, more approachable and helps make
    the staff room a pleasanter place to be in.

    Although not a participant of one of the Groups, the whole idea
    of "working together" has influenced me and I have applied some
    thought into it. I believe many of the staff (both from the
    groups and from those who have not attended) are thinking on
    these lines. In that way the Group work has been beneficial to
    all. Perhaps ironically, I chose the week between the 2nd and
    3rd Group meetings to "sort out" my head of department. (No
    more or less approachable after the Group session than before,
    apart from an initial cheerfulness on the first day back common
    in all after in-service courses.) I will admit that at the
    back of my mind was the thought that having been to one of the
    Group sessions he would be willing to listen to what I had to
    say. I am now happier in my work and believe I am doing my
    job better now. But I expect I would have made that approach
    eventually anyway - out of desperation.

    Many members of staff have expressed the view that the Group
    work has had a positive effect on their marriage. And in that
    field there seems to have been the most benefit to participants -
    but at double cost to the tax-payer! Surely, if marriages are
    in such a state that they affect the way one does one's job
    a marriage guidance person should be consulted.

    Many people have not changed at all - not in any way that
    seems significant. But then, they always did work together.
    In some there is a change for the worse - or so it seems to
    those who did not participate in the groups. It is a case of
    a barrier between the "haves" and the "have nots". So for
    many, the group sessions have either been detrimental, of none
    but a personal significance, a waste of time and for a very
    few positively helpful.

    My reasons for not joining the group sessions were as trivial
    as those some people had for joining - forgetting about it
    until it was too late - and forgetting because of a little
    reluctance to think about the whole business and to give up

my precious weekend. With work pressing I also feel obliged
to dedicate every healthy moment to the work in hand. I also
still have the reservation that people ought to do this with-
put guidance.

One can see that such work could be effective but as yet does
not seem to have been over so. Perhaps in order to be effective
it must involve all the staff - and gruadually, not in one go?
And if we are happier with one another do we really work
better?

21. I did not attend the course, and know very little about it.
    (I have wondered what sort of a course it was, that people are
    so reluctant to talk openly about it!)

    How has it affected life at Brookfield School? I can only say
    what I have noticed in the staff room:

    1. Those who attended the course now tend to sit in small,
       whispering groups and exclude the non-participants.

    2. One member of staff is in some sort of euphoric state
       (most out of character) wondering when "the bubble will
       burst". What bubble? And what should we expect once
       it has burst?

    3. One lady said the course had worked wonders for her
       marriage!!! Really!

    4. Another lady became quite emotional simply at the thought
       of answering your question.

    In short, the course, seems to have had some sort of effect on
    their emotional lives. Was this the aim of the course? If
    so, I do feel it should not have been at the expense of our
    non-teaching periods, and possibly, in these hard times, at
    the expense of repairs to various parts of the school.

    The general impression seems to be that people have been
    "sorted out". I find this extraordinary. If teachers in
    charge of "almost adults" don't know their own shortcomings and
    how they should behave towards others (whether or not they do) -
    then one shudders to think of the effect they might have on
    their pupils.

22. First of all, thank you for the opportunity of commenting on
    the "Working Together" courses, none of which I attended.

    I have seen much change in various members who attended the
    three courses. Of the three, the first appears at any level
    to have produced little in the way of obvious change. My
    relationships with other heads of department have not noticeably
    improved nor deteriorated. On the other hand, it has provoked
    much discussion between [   ] and myself on our journey to
    and from work. The one clear area highlighted by the first

course is a greater understanding of the way in which the
Headmaster has approached and still attempts to approach
his running of the school.

I have been exceptionally pleased with the effect the courses
had on individuals in 'sorting out' or 'resolving' various
problems, and/or bringing to the surface feelings which have
been dormant for many years.

To a large extent traumatic experiences have been resolved to
a greater or lesser extent, depending on the individual. For
those in my own department, who attended, it has opened up a
number of areas, which for one has improved general relation-
ships but for another it has put a strain (which is still
there at the time of writing (7.11.77)) on the situations
which arise in the future depending on how that person copes
with issues thrown up by the course.

For my own part, Stan opened up a conversation which implied the
questioning (not necessarily his) of my own lack of involvement
on any of the weekends. To which I shall make reply: 'Much
of the 'opening up' of individuals is very much a New Testament
principle and a great deal is to be gained by individuals
baring their souls to each other and not allowing the self
defence mechanisms to hinder any possible help or involvement
from others.

Question to you Harry, "What is your ultimate motive?"

Question to you Stan, "Why did you organise such courses?"

For my own part, my motivation in the church situation, is to
ensure that the individuals which make up the group entrusted
to me are fed spiritually (and helped in any other way) and
brought into a maturity in Jesus Christ.

Brookfield School is seeing a spiritual renewal/awakening -
not through anything any member of staff or pupil is doing,
outside of praying through a word given in the New Year of
1977 'Stand back and watch me work' and God has certainly
done that. Without mass evangelism etc, children and staff
are showing greater interest in spiritual matters and at least
two staff have become Christians. So for me there is a major
question, Who gets the Glory? The Harry Gray Working Together
Courses? or ... Almighty God?

Let's put the whole thing into perspective, two members of
staff who made that commitment to Christ have been very much
challenged and opened up by 'the Working Together' or similar
courses. For one it was a stimulus to search, for the other
the commitment came during the course. But could such a
course be an "Angel of Light?"

The decision not to attend is/was a personal one - not to be
pressed on anyone else of a similar or dissimilar persuasion
to my own; but I felt it right to stand by what God has shown
me, So I share with you my own thoughts on the matter, which
I hope will be of value to you.

23. From Alan Booth, School Counsellor:

    1. Increased openness, friendship and affection between many staff who attended the course. This has resulted in a move towards opening up, instead of convering up, differences; in particularly I feel it has been shown in rejecting the formal staff meeting in favour of free discussion, and the more tolerant attitude of many staff towards appraisal.

    2. Several staff had had to re-align themselves in a personal sense, and are still working through issues with husbands/wives/staff, etc. This has tended to produce a 'problem-orientated' atmosphere in the staff room, which I am hoping will become more positive and developmental as new experiences are related to teaching and professional relationships. (The counselling group should be under way shortly.)

    An interesting innovation; two staff who have attended the groups brought a third staff member, who had not attended a group, for counselling by me. In other words, my own position appears better understood now.

    3. I sense a hopeful path, staff have spoken of their lack of faith in people to "sort things out for themselves", and now see a helping relationship in a more constructive sense, ie leading towards independence for pupils instead of dependence.

    4. Personal issue. Considerable strain can be put on a counsellor who is already involved in personal issues with staff. Vetting of staff before arranging groups would be very difficult. However, in all but one case, these people have gained considerably from the experience. I remain tentatively hopeful about the one!

    5. Observation. At the recent Head of Department Meeting it was generally expressed that the school was in a stage of regrowth, that the curriculum as it stands needs to be adapted to meet the needs of pupils and staff. The concept of change to meet these needs was welcomed. I wonder if this attitude is in some part a reflection of the confidence of more staff to accept change?

5.LEADERSHIP AND ORGANISATION DEVELOPMENT

Once the project got underway and the single proposed training group
became one of a series, we were into a programme of organisation
development.   All organisations 'develop' in some way or another and
there is an increasing use of the term 'organisational (sic) develop-
ment' to refer to planned change in organisations. However, there is
also current a somewhat restricted terminology with a specific usage -
Organisation Development or "OD" which refers to a programme of planned
or deliberate change working consciously at the psycho-sociological
level of the organisation. 'OD' is an Applied Behavioural Science
approach to the management of change with a respectable twenty year
history. Careless use of the term "Organisational Development"
obscures this particular and important view of organisations and the
management approaches associated with it. The theory of the school
described in Chapter 2 [1] and the whole programme at Brookfield School is
most accurately described as an 'OD' project or programme.

The major critical issue in any change programme - or indeed in any
soi disant non-change situation - is the problem of leadership.
Generally speaking, the success of a change programme depends on the
attitude and behaviour of the leadership of an organisation. If the
leaders are against change it will not take place, certainly not in a
natural developmental way. If the leaders are in favour of the change,
then there are problems about leadership and dependency. An Applied
Behavioural Science view of organisations sees leadership not as a
matter of personality and personal behaviour alone, but rather as a
function of the group or organisation as a whole which is exercised
by all the individual members separately and collectively. Traditional
theories of leadership speak of personal quality, of 'great persons as

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[1] i.e. of "Working Together in School".

leadership qualities - courage, decisiveness, humour, firmness, clarity and singleness of mind and so on. Research suggests that this is not the case. Although leaders will exhibit such qualities, they do not originate in the individual so much as in a response to circumstances. A man who is brave in one situation will be a coward in another; a man who is normally cowardly may be forced into bravery by virtue of the needs of his colleagues. Furthermore, there are at least two levels of concern in a group - concern for task and concern for process. The concern for task takes place within a concern for a good climate of relationships. While one member(s) is leading in the definition and accomplishment of the groups tasks, another member(s) is concerned with morale and the affective conditions necessary for the effective performance of the task(s). Experiments with groups make clear that leadership changes continually from person to person and from task leadership to climate (sometimes called 'maintenance') leadership. So, leadership is a manifestation of needs and conditions in the group. In the same way, organisations exhibit the same characteristics. Much organisation theory is based upon the theory of groups which is a rich and very complex field of study.*.

More recently, in "management theory", there has grown up the idea of contingency theory of leadership. That is to say, not only does leadership behaviour derive from the situation but it can be contrived to suit the situation. Various writers have prepared types of behaviour that the manager may engage in if he is to reassert his leadership position but all these leadership ideas for 'management' assume that it is possible to make a conscious effort to behave in a

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* One of the best accounts of group theory and practice appears in Blumberg and Golombiewski (1976).

certain way in a certain situation. Not only is it very difficult

indeed to read the needs in a situation 'correctly' by observation

but such views forget that individuals are always already a part of

the situation in which they intend to interact and are, therefore,

already subject to the dynamics of the group. It may be that members

of the organisation expect appropriate role behaviours but that is too,

a function of group history and not evidence of non-dependent inter-

vention behaviour.

It would appear much more likely that leadership behaviour is

a function of both the situation and individual personality. One

cannot change one's personality and so however a leader behaves he

will behave characteristically of himself. We may say that the

important characteristics of personality are persistence and coherence.

Were people fickle and unpredictable we should be unable to relate

to one another; it is only because there is a very high degree of

predictability in personality that we can both relate to others and be

aware of our own individuality. Hence, all leaders behave funda-

mentally in a characteristic fashion. Studies and theories of

personality stress this coherence albeit in a variety of ways. Psycho-

logists like Eysenk place people into categories and are much occupied by

'types' as are in a different way Jungian psychologists. Possibly

coming more into vogue are most existential or phenomenological views

of personality such as the theory of 'Personal Constructs' propounded

by George Kelly.* According to the theory of 'personal constructs'

we each construct our perspectives on the world in terms of a wide

range of opposites. What we see is either one thing or another matched

as like as dissimilar to something else. In this way we create our

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* Bannister and Fransella (1971).

own personal world. What we see is either approved or disapproved, pleasant or disagreeable, disagreeable but familiar, familiar but not common, and so on. No two people have the same construct matrix and hence we all view the world slightly differently.

Whether one accepts the theory of Personal Constructs or not, it is a valuable reminder of the creation of individual worlds and the differences between perceptions as well as the similarities. Gestalt psychology (deriving largely from Jungian) also stresses the uniqueness, differences and wholeness of personality. Instead of classifying individuals into neat boxes it allows a much more holistic view of being a person - the wholeness of Carl Rogers and the originality of Frederick Perls. We used a Gestalt approach to counselling and group behaviour in the Groups and tried to illustrate the importance of understanding situations in the reality of the here and now rather than the fantasy of recollected past or imagined future. So into the picture of leadership as a function of the group, a manifestation of personality, we also add the relevance of contemporary experience. Thus, what one experiences may or may not be leadership at the moment but is believed to be so on reflection (or expected to be so in anticipation). There is a great need to be able to understand human action and interaction for what it is in the present rather than in the imagination of recollection.

A further factor in the concept of leadership is important for it has to do with the dynamic of development. By its very nature, development is progressive and is most likely (a priori) to involve identifiable stages or phases. Experience suggests that events occur in phases and patterns and we should need to understand these phases of group and organisational development. There have been several

suggested regular patterns or features of group behaviour but we have

chosen a comparatively simple one development by O J Harvey* in which

all development of groups and of individuals themselves occurs in

four phases. The idea is simple but rich and relevant to the nature

of organisational development because of what it implies for leadership.

Organisations may be considered to pass through four stages which are

characterised by dependence, counter-dependence, interdependence and

independence. That is to say the behaviour of the members, particularly

in their relation to the head, is of one of these kinds, by and

large. Though individuals may be in different relationships, these

terms describe the general relationship overall. Thus, in the early

stages of its development, members will tend to be dependent on the

head in all kinds of emotional and material ways. It is in the

interest of a leader to maintain and encourage this dependence because

it ensures that he stands out as a leader, possesses power and is

important in the eyes of others. Most theories of leadership describe

leader behaviour in a dependence situation. Types of leadership such

as democratic, autocratic, or liassez faire** refer to leadership

behaviour in dependency situation; so do many contingency theories such

as those that describe behaviour on a continuum from autocratic to

consultative.*** Theories which suggest that the leader has a choice

of behaviours ignore the situation in which he must act in a certain

way and according to the dynamics of organisation rather than simple

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*   Harvey O J et al (1961).

**   Lewin K, Lippitt R & White R K, "Patterns of aggressive
        behaviour in experimentally created social climates", J. of
        Soc. Psych. Vol 10,(1939) pp271-99.

***   See, for example, Fiedler Fred E, "The Contingency Model:A
        Theory of Leadership Effectiveness" in Proshanski and
        Siedenberg (1965).

"situational" requirements.

A theory of development phases states that during the phase of dependency it is in the interest of all members to maintain the relationship (as perceived by them at that time) but it is also in their interests to change it, if the creative energy of the group/ organisation is to be freed up. Although development is inevitable, everyone works hard at resisting change and leaders offer freedom because that is to offer greater dependence (a paradox but true - "I will let you do as you want because I do not want to smother you." This is a dependency creating statement). As freedom is offered it is resisted because freedom implies acceptance of responsibility and members are afraid of taking on a new burden. Refusal to take freedom pleases the leader who reaffirms his leadership by authoritarianism, benevolence or patronage but this is less acceptable to some members now than it was because they have tasted some freedom, gained some emotional strength and now see it being taken away. There is a very strong sense of hierarchy in this phase and 'senior' members are very status conscious.

The second phase is one of counter-dependence when some members begin to assert themselves and work for greater independence. Conflict is generated between the members who wish to remain dependent and those who wish to move on. Soon the leader is faced with two irreconsilable groups. One demands freedom which he may wish to give but is unable to because of his own need for security (felt in his need to be still in charge especially in view of outside constraints), the other group demands more correct and appropriate 'leadership' behaviour from him which he is again unable to give because they all require a different kind of leadership (authoritarian, supportive, benevolent, firm,

gentle, relaxed, non-interfering, etc). Because the leader can no

longer satisfy any of the demands satisfactorily, a general discontent

arises and eventually the leader is rejected or discounted. Rejection

occurs even when the leader wishes his colleagues to be free because

freedom can only come by rejection.

The point of rejection is the most traumatic event in the life of an

organisation and one which most organisations go to great lengths to

avoid. But there is no way in which it can be avoided except by

retreating into dependency and this is usually what occurs. Leader-

ship can only be retained when it is given away because the nature of

leadership must be transmuted from dominance and dependency to

behaviour appropriate to the organisational role - and whatever

external determinants there are; the status and statutory position of

the Head according to the articles of government. Many, if not most,

organisations exist on the edge of counter-dependence fearful to move

into the anticipated chaos yet unwilling to go right back into

dependency unless there is some frightful breakdown. Escape from

brinkmanship may result in a false mutuality (interdependence) but

only too often that is little more than a benign dependency. For a

true resolution to occur, the organisation must move into a state of

rebellion and the leadership must actually be rejected even if the

rejection is symbolic. The leader can only return on terms laid down

by the other membership and it takes little imagination to realise

why many leaders cannot do that because their personality structure

is such that they can only survive if they are dominant in situations.

But some leaders can survive the trauma of rejection and acceptance

in new terms and welcome a mutuality and sharing. Again, this is

dependent on their personality but many such people are prevented

from discovering the true mutuality that they need because organisations

make such great demands about dependency. For many leaders, it is
imperative that they pass through these phases if they are ever to
reach personal contentment.

The third phase of interdependence is one of interdependence or
mutuality. Power is a real sharing of responsibilities and tasks but
it is also a highly normative stage when there is a general expecta-
tion about agreed values. There are pressures put on people to con-
form, not punitively but by negotiation and persuasion. An easy life
is possible for anyone who does not rebel but a ruling clique will
determine how things are done. The clique may be a large one but
there will be much expression of values and affective concern often
at the risk of losing sight of the need for tough and rational dis-
cussion. On the other hand, in a phase of mutuality more use can be
made of creative conflict because the level of tolerance is higher
than in the other phases. Although there will be strong normative
and pacifying influences they will be able to tolerate differences
because they are more secure, less vulnerable. Individuals are not
really at risk in this phase because the need that the organisation
has for everyone has been worked through. Tolerance is not a pious
hope but an achieved reality. The dominance of the leader falls into
place here. He works with more people and there is little conscious-
ness of hierarchy, either on his part or of others in the organisation.
Often organisations exhibit mutuality during a respite from the
conflicts of the previous stages. There may be a false mutuality
during the dependence phase especially when the leader is being
particularly benign or patriarchal. But true mutuality is a working
together with a consciousness of shared values.

The interdependence begins to break down as it is realised that there are significant differences in expressed values and in the interpretation of them. People rationalise value systems into ideologies and the validity of alternatives becomes apparent and significant. Mutuality is seen to be often little more than collusion and accommodation while individual differences have been undervalued. Furthermore, as individuals develop a sense of personal security they need to try out their independence by breaking away and trying out new ideas and projects. There grows up the need to affirm individuality and to break away from the group. In the organisation, small groups will form to develop new ideas and programmes but they will not last long because members are seeking a greater independence. For the boss, there is an appearance of breaking up and he will try to bring things together again by gentle and subtle strategems. The designated or formal leader will endeavour to be supportive, facilitative but co-ordinative; he will try to bring things together again and will be tempted to coerce. He is under threat again for he sees his idealised commonwealth falling apart and for him the fear is a regression to rebellion, lack of responsibility on the part of his colleagues and their turning away from him to pursue personalistic and hedonistic but anti-organisational ends.

Once more a crisis has to be worked through as everyone learns what is meant by winning true independence; personal autonomy. Autonomy is both independence and interdependence. Autonomy without responsibility is actual anarchy or dependence/counter-dependence. Autonomy means being aware of others and interpersonal responsibilities but it means working on relationships freely and without support being forthcoming. It means making decisions for oneself without ignoring the consequences. Alliances must be consciously and

deliberately negotiated; there is no more taking common values and

interests for granted but there is no refusing to consider the needs

and demands of others. Autonomy is achieved by rejecting the mediation

of the leader but also by denying the support and success of colleagues.

It is concerned with learning to be alone, with the acceptance of

the self and the loneliness consequent upon such learning. In an

autonomous institution, members are both alone and together reconcil-

ing rejection with personal growth. This is the stage when the ideas

of Carl Rogers on 'Becoming a Person' become meaningful and is where

counselling help is very much at the one to one level rather than

group support.

Organisations pass through these phases on different levels and in

different time spans. Each phase will be manifest in some way most

of the time. Individuals will be at a number of stages in a number

of relationships. Each individual person to person relationship

must pass through these phases. Each individual is growing and

maturing in himself through these phases. But overall, personality

will be largely at one of these phases of development. The dependent

personality is the most common and the autonomous the least common.

Individuals, then, have also to match their personal needs, deriving

from their own phase of development, with the organisational climate

deriving from the phase of development most characteristic of the

organisation. Some of these phases are mutually compatible and some

are not. A simple matrix indicates the position.

Phases	1	2	3	4
1	Yes	(Yes)	Yes	No
2	(Yes)	Yes	Yes	Yes
3	No	No	Yes	No
4	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Personal Dimension

The autonomous individual can find himself in a compatible or congruent situation with an organisation in any of the phases because his personal autonomy helps him to rise above what goes on. Nevertheless, his reactions in the first three phases will be largely defensive and will be creative only in the last phase. Dependent individuals are dependent on others in all situations but find autonomous situations most difficult to cope with since they are constantly being disappointed. Counter-dependent individuals can enjoy phases of autonomy because they can react against others to their heart's content. Everything they see they can rebel against but no one necessarily takes much notice. They also rebel against mutuality because that is an ideal state for counter-dependency. Of course, the matrix is an over-simplification because of all the levels of response we are involved in and because we do not relate on a single personality dimension.

By and large, however, the best match for an individual is when his personal disposition matches the overall climate of the institution. This means in practice that most individuals and most institutions are in the first phase of hovering around the commencement of phase two. Few people and even fewer organisations are in the fourth phase. By and large heads of organisations will believe themselves to be most

secure when they have created dependency upon themselves. That gives

them more perceived control and they feel more able to influence

their subordinates. Management 'styles' are merely different ways of

retaining control and dependency and this is even true very often of

collaborative styles. Yet the tension that arises from the leaders'

wish to control and members' need to be free is vital. Unless

members have resistance to work against, they cannot gain their

freedom and continue to mature as organisational members. Hence,

senior managers have no option but to resist even when they want their

colleagues to be free and members have no option but to penetrate

behind their fantasies about the leader and boss.

There is almost an inverse relationship between a feeling of personal

security and aggressiveness and domination. The more a leader feels

the need to dominate, the less personally secure he is. This

frightens members because they fear the hurt and punishment of

resistance. We under-estimate the amount of fear in institutions

and the amount of vulnerability felt by members even those who have

no apparent neurosis. Within organisations there are normative

requirements for promotion and approval and they always stem from the

boss. We should never under-estimate the amount of power the senior

manager has and there is a point where his perceived use of it

becomes dysfunctional. He must be able to give what his colleagues

need and he cannot in the long run afford to be a bogeyman. On the

other hand, a boss who is far too gentle and pliant creates another

kind of anxiety, the fear of being unsupported. Although it is better

to be kind and considerate because people feel more comfortable and

at ease, too much acceptance creates anger and frustration because

people are not sufficiently acknowledged and affirmed. People need

to feel they know where they stand with regard to the boss. In the
dependency situation, there is no way of preventing dependency
inducing behaviour on the part of the leader and dependency reinforcing
behaviour on the part of the other members. Events must move to
crisis if the impasse is to be resolved.

In the process of the Brookfield programme, the problems of dependency
became very clear. For some staff the project itself created
anxieties and as time went on there were pressures to conform to the
ethos of groups and the new cultural norm of going on a group and
having good things to say. There was some clique forming and there
were also reactions against the idea of the groups. Both in the
groups and out there was a great deal of concern about the position
of the Headmaster; most people wished to know what he expected of
them. How were they to behave, what did he want; how could they
please him. His replies that he only wanted them to have their free-
dom came across as confusing. It was impossible to understand how one
could be free while fulfilling one's responsibilities as a teacher in
a school. The groups themselves were seen as a kind of demand - how
should we react to the groups so as to please you? Some individuals
extended this outside the group into their school life - what does he
want me to do. Others believed they were accepting their freedom by
continuing much as before - "he just wants me to carry on and do what
I feel is necessary." But even this was to misunderstand the nature
of freedom - because freedom is not a retreat into oneself but a
challenge to become more fulfilled, accept more responsibility and
take more initiatives. Refusal to take responsibility is a form of
dependence; a sort of stepping aside from the thrust of events.

Gradually the counter-dependency and reaction began to occur. There

began to grow up an increasing impatience with the Head; an annoyance

at his inscrutability and obscurity. Those who were most with him in

favour of the project became irritated and frustrated. A reaction

against his dependency - creating behaviour began to arise and he was

criticised for his avuncular and patronising attitude. This was

pointed up in a related activity. The Head had gathered a group of

other heads together who were interested in group work and organisa-

tion development approaches. A group was arranged as a residential

weekend and it was to be a pure Encounter Group using a counselling

mode of facilitation by the trainer (again, Harry Gray). All the

members of the Heads group found the experience worthwhile and a

second group was arranged with the purpose of exploring counselling

as a mode of working and to provide some training in counselling for

the Heads. One of the group members was a County Adviser and all of

them attended in a private capacity - that is, the groups were not

seen as an "official" training event. One of the major issues for

this heads group was the attitude of the "education authority" towards

the idea of group work. The group members expressed a great deal of

personal commitment but it gradually became clear that they felt that the

initiating Head was not the best advocate for the course because he

had focussed onto himself the widespread fears about group work

(which some people outside the head teachers group had). During this

second weekend group, the issue of Stanley Putnam's relationship was

faced up to an there was a rejection of his role as 'leader' of the

whole innovative project - even though the theory of group development

as explained above was shared with the group and there was under-

standing at the cognitive level about what would happen. Nevertheless,

the rejection had actually to be experienced with the genuine pain

that was involved.

All group dynamics theory includes the reality of pain actually being experienced and it is fundamental to experiential learning that cognitive understanding is never enough, it must be preceded by emotional understanding, by the actually passing through the total experience. Full understanding and cognition only comes later. It does, however, appear to be helpful for some theoretical explanation to proceed or accompany experience but the timing of explanation is critical. Too early an explanation is meaningless, It is usual in encounter groups for the facilitator or trainer to be subject to rejection and in the normal situation; groups form as temporary organisations with a life-span contemporary with the time the group meets. When the group is part of an institutional programme, the significant leader is the initiator of the project; in this case the initiator was the headmaster of Brookfield. That is not to say that in each group the dynamics with regard to the facilitator (Harry Gray) did not occur but there was also the contextual level that was more important; the relationship of group members to the project initiator and this is the relationship that requires the most critical attention.

The time-scale of the project is such that the full development of organisational dynamics will take a long time to work through and there will be other considerations that will complicate the situation. Environmental pressures will change. But, after the first group experience, the members can move into a new group experience when the group can accomplish work and complete tasks. This was the experience of the Head teachers Group, the first weekend was one of encounter and personal discovery. Counselling was used to aid personal insight

and the solving of some personal problems. Confidence was built in the group and a close spirit of comradeship was engendered which carried over for several months until the second group meeting. By the time of the second residential weekend the group members were ready to experience a variety of modes of working including counselling and personal discovery but moving into the completion of tasks relevant to the group in its outside relationships. Other modes of working were experienced such as breaking into sub-groups and pairs; engaging in the activities like taking walks, reading papers and books on group and organisation theory; lectures on theory; problem-solving. By building a psychologically close group, the group became more efficient at its work and experienced a truly shared leadership where leadership really was a function of the group. This is how the departmental weekends are expected to work - on tasks with the aid of a facilitator and in discovering new ways of working together.

Brookfield School

Memo from the Headmaster:

: Staff:

1.   You will recall at the last Staff Meeting that the confidential

       nature of comments made in the Harry Gray - SGP Report was questioned.

       I promised to raise these matters directly with Harry.

       The reply was as follows:-

       (a)   What was said in the letter to Staff was, "... There is no

               need to give your name, though you may if you wish. Eventually

               we can share these views collectively but anonymously by

               collating the views expressed."

       (b)   It was felt that if he edited what had been said then he

               would automatically have brought a bias into this interim

               Report and would also have extracted pieces of letters which

               were, in themselves, complete points of view. The only selec-

               tion process was that of printing the letters in an order

               going from those most warmly in favour to those most critical

               of what had taken place.

       (c)   Harry is quite willing to be accountable to you for what has

               been done and will in fact, be about the School during the

               latter end of next week.

       (d)   The aim of the evaluation is to get a continuing reaction to

               what we are doing so that it stands (i) as a guide to use in

               any continuing work that we may do in this field and (ii) as

               a feed-back into the system so that further comment appertain-

               ing to new perceptions may be seen e.g., some who had doubts

may now see it differently and others who were warmly dis-
posed may now be sceptical and it is helpful to us all
whether we have participated or not in the group activities.
The Reports are for School use only.

2.   My personal viewpoint:-

(a)   The Encounter Groups that originally took place are probably
now at an end unless others request such groups. There pur-
pose was to give those Staff who wished, a greater insight
into themselves.

(b)   The stage that we are now at is that of giving Departments an
opportunity of working through Departmental Development. The
Agenda is the Department's but an independent trainer who has
no investment in the School other than to facilitate the
development takes part in order to reflect back to the
Department what he sees is going on in the Department. It has
no direct bearing on Encounter Group work.

3.   Harry Gray would like comments from you either verbally or in writing
as to (a) the Report, (b) your perceptions of what is occurring as a
result say, or such things as the English Departments get together
etc.

Stanley

6.TEAM BUILDING WITH THE ENGLISH DEPARTMENT

Two departments had asked for team building workshops, English and Mathematics. The English Department was scheduled for June 8th and 9th and Mathematics for 23rd and 24th. The Head of English had not been in a Group but the Head of Mathematics had. Any resistance there was came from those who had not been on a group, but those who had were anxious in case the group was as "heavy" as the Encounter Group. In the event, the Mathematics group was cancelled partly because John Gannon obtained a promotion and so no longer felt able to encourage the others to attend and partly because some in the Department who had been on a previous group did not want a departmental workshop.

Eleven members of the English Department met including the Head of Department, Maurice Hallets. My intention was to run a conventional OD group - more on a Miles and Schmuck model. However, rather than plan the day ahead and structure the events, I intended to respond to needs and to keep the atmosphere fairly light. I explained at the beginning that my intention was not to run a 'T-Group' and this view was accepted.

There is no real need to describe the pattern except in briefest outline. We began by writing an agenda of important items, taking them at random while I wrote them on a sheet of newsprint. After about ten minutes, I divided the meeting into three groups and they were asked to "select five and place them in order". This took ten minutes. We displayed each list again on newsprint and I asked the groups if they could accommodate their own list with another. This they attempted in small groups and tried to reach an accommodation with other groups. This event went as I expected. Much accommodation

was possible except in the group with the Head of Department. We

were able to talk about the blocks to accommodation, to discuss

Maurice's position and to open up his relationship with the others

in what appeared a quite unthreatening way.

In this manner we worked through the day. At one point we put up a

list of over 40 jobs to be done in the Department - nearly all of

which Maurice laid claim to.   We hung the list, on a role of

white paper in an archway in the room as a symbol of Maurice's

management. We gave all the jobs away to members of the Department,

everyone taking what he/she wanted and Maurice was still left with

some. He took all of this in good part and gradually seemed to ease

his position. Certainly, I got the feeling that others had a better

sense of sharing.

Other activities were colleagues of the department and of the subject

of English offered in the school. There was much drawing and

creative work and people became quite excited. By the end of the

two days there was an enthusiastic desire to have more team days and

they finally agreed to ask for another day off school so that they

could work together as a departmental team. And they would offer

to supervise for other teachers if another department wished to come

on a weekend or have a day. My feeling at the end was that everyone

had had a good time, that morale was high and the Head of Department

was closer to his colleagues than when the weekend began.

Now there are all sorts of research problems. It really wasn't

possible to monitor what had happened in the group or in the school.

I couldn't use questionnaires even if they would look impressive in a

written report. I don't believe the members would have valued testing

and that would have only added the dimension of my research interest

as against their personal and professional concern. Although I

heard there were lots of things going on in the school and a polaris-

ing of pro- and anti-Harry Gray people with a vocal strengthening

of their anti's, even if I could have reached other people it would

have ruined the programme by making it an external research project

and in any case, my own time was limited I still had my job to do.

An additional complication was that the Heads Group was demanding

further training and attention and I was beginning to have release

problems from my work which could not be solved by buying me in.

My new boss was becoming very difficult over my working outside the

Polytechnic and at one point it looked as if the whole project would

be at risk.

CHRONOLOGY

1977

February 14	Meeting at Brookfield School between Stanley Putnam, Mary Quarry, Don Tremayne and Harry Gray
May 13-16	1st Group for Heads of Department and Houses at Gosport Teacher's Centre
June 17	Follow-up meeting of 1st Group at Gosport Teacher's Centre
June 24-26	Encounter Group at NELP. Stanley Putnam and Alan Booth attend
September 30 - October 3	2nd Group at Gosport Teacher's Centre Harry Gray meets other Heads
October 14-17	3rd Group at Gosport Teacher's Centre
December 9-12	Encounter Group for Hants Heads at Park Place

1978

March 10-12	2nd Follow-up Group for Hants Heads at Park Place
April 21-24	4th Group at Gosport Teacher's Centre. Mostly teachers who had already attended
June 2-4	NELP Encounter Group. Some Brookfield spouses attend; some teachers from "Hants Heads" schools
June 9-10	English Department Training Group
July onwards	Internal Counselling Training Group continues
	Withdrawal of Harry Gray
	Initiatives now taken autonomously by school staff. Further training and some attend Network for Organisation Development Conference 1979

4. <u>The Structure of Organisations</u>

4. The Structure of Organisations

In order to illustrate how the two projects led me towards an existential theory of organisations and organisational change, it is necessary for me to indicate how I dealt with the problems of generating a theory of organisations. I began with a commitment to a systemic view of organisations - open systems overlaid with the Burns and Stalker[1] organistic concept. I had to deal with the apparent reality and objectivity of organisations which I explored in several ways - one of which was to use the idea of 'careers' in order to explain the human and personal dimension. By and large I tried to explain what was going on in organisations by interpreting what I 'observed' in terms of a theory I had in mind but I also tried to be open to new evidence or data that would allow me to develop theory. This theory building was going on while the research projects were underway and there was a constant inter- change between my understanding of the projects and my theorising and writing in other contexts.

One of the persistent problems of management is that of structure and organisation theory has tended to overlook the importance of understanding the nature of structure. Managers tend to look to structural changes as solutions to organisational problems with- out considering the underlying determinants of structure. Clearly if structure is static the assumption is that organisations are static. But if one believes that organisations change then one has to look for organisational explanations of change not 'structural' ones.

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[1] Burns T. and Stalker, G.M (1968)

It is impossible to talk about organisations as if they do not exist. In all sorts of ways they do exist and there is a common vocabulary for talking about them albeit a vocabulary much less clear than many (including the open systems theorists) imagine. There is a legal framework which binds employees, and systems of rules and regulations which determines membership of all formal organisations. In practice formal organisations are much less formal than is often supposed; the formal aspects having more of the significance of myth and legend than functional concreteness. It is usually necessary to use terminology from an administrative view of organisations at least as the starting language for consultancy and analysis. I tried to give a social psychological view of organisation theory in my book (more properly a monograph) "The School as an Organisation" [1] and much of the common vocabulary appears there. Even a phenomenological perspective cannot avoid the use of terms in common usage and I need to describe now how I see some of these key terms fitting into a phenomenological world.

One of the primary problems is the problem of structure. Structure is a description of what happened (or is believed to happen) in terms of the personal interactions that occur. Thus structure is dynamic not static as many theorists would have us believe. Many approaches to solving organisation (sc management) problems are structural in that a changed structure is imposed. This seems to be the commonest tendency among novices in management but the view is also held by some other organisation theorists and consultants. This seems to have been

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[1] The Schools as an Organisation: Nafferton Books, Driffield (1979).
     An expansion of the basic ideas will be published as "Organisational
     Aspects of Education Management" in 1981.

the basic error in the restructuring at the Hospital Service and the reorganisation of local government. I frequently encounter it within educational organisations. By definition, if structure is a description of what happens (or is believed to happen) it must change. But if structure is subject to change (and does not cause change) there is the question of what causes change.

The answer lies in the nature of organisation. Commonly the concept of formal organisation is taken for granted,[1] on the unquestioned assumption that we know the nature of the "formality" of organisation. In my theory, organisation is a natural consequence of people coming together. Whenever two people come together, they organise the situation in that they move towards creating an 'order' that leads to recognition, familiarity and predictability. The hypothesis is that order is a consequence of human association and that people do not like or tolerate disorder or chaos. Formal organisation is the formalising of familiar patterns of order not necessarily because they are the best (ie most appropriate or functional) but because they are familiar and preferred. But the concept of formal order translated to practice is a considerably simplistic concept; organisations are set up and managed (controlled) on very crude ideas of order and control. The natural order of people in association is much wider than the formal requirements of legalised constitutions and so on.

A great fear of civilised society is that the natural tendency of people is towards chaos and disorder and destructiveness. Hence the great popularity of novels like William Golding's Lord of the Flies which awakens deep seated fears about civilisation. Yet everything

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[1]   Blau Peter M & Scott W Richard: Formal Organisations: RKP,
       London,(1963).
       Katz D & Kahn R C: The Social Psychology of Organisation,
       John Wiley, London,(1964). Among others.

in that story was 'ordered' even if there was conflict and carnage.

The point at issue is simply whether people naturally organise them-

selves or not. Whether for approved or disapproved reasons is

irrelevant to this issue. Quite plainly people do order and organise

themselves so it is self evident that order is a natural phenomenon.

But whether they organise themselves appropriately is another matter;

and whether observers approve or not is yet another matter. So if

order is of the nature of things the issue for formal organisations

(and moral societies) is what are the values expressed in that order.

One of the problems of established order is that the longer the imposed

structure remains the less appropriate it will be because the dynamics

of an organisation are active at a level below formal order. Hence

all order imposed, however functional it may be at the beginning

becomes increasingly inappropriate to the situation - because people

are themselves changing and consequently the relationships they develop.

In a sense, formal organisation is an irrelevance to any organisation

since the formal description does not relate to what is"now"going on.

I have been criticised for saying that formal organisation is an

irrelevance[1] but I am well aware that people may consider it to

matter - though that is quite another thing from its being what they

believe it to be. In my experience, most management problems in

education centre around the 'false' perception of role and structure

of managers. The problem of role is that role relates to structure

and most studies of role assume a static role structure[2]. In fact the

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[1]   D A Howell in the Education Service, In or Out. BEAS Annual
        Conference(1977). Report of Proceedings, p 94.

[2]   See A A Coulson (1976 a and b) for an examination of the
        problem of role in schools. One of the better descriptions
        of role in formal terms is in Katz and Kahn op cit.

static term, in terms of the organisation picture (or chart) should

be 'position'. An incumbent of a position when activating that

position fulfils a role and role is a dynamic aspect of (dynamic)

organisation.

My contention is that organisations are totally dynamic but that

we impose non-dynamic models onto them confusing labels that serve

administrative purposes for descriptions of organic situations.

The fuel for organisational dynamics (change) is the interpersonal

contracting and negotiating for membership and continued membership

(which I explain at length later in the paper "Exchange and Conflict

in the School). Contracting occurs in response to the individual's

perception of himself and his needs. If he believes he needs

financial security he will negotiate with other members of the organ-

isation to receive this for an agreed 'price', the price of member-

ship.

The individual or personal dimension of organisational description

lies in the description of how positions (the relationships between

individuals) are actively expressed and the dynamic for this derives

from the self concept and the development of the individual. Clearly

individuals do change and develop (or regress) and I have preferred

a simplified version of the developmental theory of Harvey, Hunt and

Schroder to explain this. If individuals change, then so must organ-

isations. Even if organisations were figments of the imagination

a changing individual would (presumably) have changing fantasies.

My guess is that "organisations" do actually change and develop in

some way and I have described this on the Harvey, Hunt and Schroder

model because there is considerable evidence that people associate

with compatible or congruent people and that any description of a

group that accurately describes the nature of congruence will be

valid as a group (or organisational) description. I hesitate at

this stage to characterise large organisations except in terms of

key people, but small organisations do appear to have collective

characteristics.

Another term that I have found useful is the word 'career' which I

use as a focus for describing the path or thread of movement of

an individual in an organisation. In earlier writing I treated this

concept somehwat carelessly [1] but my paper on how people feel when

they start a new job recaptured the phenomenological perspective.[2]

A career is the individual life line through one or more organis-

ations and as a concept is one of the more useful ones, in my view,

for describing organisations. One of the sadder aspects of dealing

with managers is the extent to which they identify with the organ-

isation as if organisation and their personal interests were the

same. An individual who is highly career conscious will have a

great need for the organisation to serve his own purposes if necessary

at the expense of the needs of others and it is easy to fudge the

issue of identification by assuming that a senior person is more aware

of real needs and issues than subordinates. I have expressed this

idea forcibly in a paper on the "Entrepreneurial Innovator" [3] where I

describe one type of career association with the organisation.

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[1] LEA's need new ideas on Recruitment and Promotion in Supplement
to Education Vol.143, No.13, 29 March 1974.

[2] "On Starting a New Job" in J. Occ. Psychol.48, 1975, pp.33-37.

[3] The Entrepreneurial Innovator in Management Education Develop-
ment, Vol.9, Part 2, 1978. Everyone who read this paper
thought they recognised the individuals described but hardly
anyone guessed the actual prototypes I used as a basis of the
narrative.

I am becoming less sure of the collective reality of organisations but this is certainly a contentious area. It is almost certain that whatever else organisations are they are also 'games' in that there are rules and winners but members have choices which they can exercise in such a way that they are only marginal players in the game. I have an idea that certain assumptions about organisations are sufficiently useful to be worth making but they may simply be descriptions of the game rather than the whole story. Certainly I am caught up in writing about organisations and their development. Organisation development (OD) is my professional catch phrase and currently my career depends on it. I do see organisation developing and I identify strands of description.

In terms of innovation I see organisations passing through four

stages -   exploration of innovation (feeling the need)

implementation of innovation

consolidation and establishment

reaction against the innovation.

But the literature of innovation is replete with ideas about phases. It is almost as if the identification of phases is the sine qua non of change theory. The Harvey, Hunt and Schroder theory suggests the

phases of   dependency

counterdependency

interdependence

autonomy

It is not difficult to force these two models together into compatability but I am not certain what would be gained. It seems very likely that individuals who are in a state of counterdependency in their organisation would be able to introduce an innovation as part

of their counterdependence but need for security or recognition.

I have not tried to reconcile all the ideas of development but

have preferred to use ideas as aids to understanding for clients.

So long as they helped us to make sense of a situation, the ideas

were useful. It has seemed to me that unless there is cognitive

understanding (that is, the understanding of theory) individuals

find it difficult to make sense of experiences. I have always given

theory inputs on all my training programmes as aids to conceptual-

isation and a basis for practical action. I have earlier shown the

Harvey, Hunt and Schroder model has been used in my research and

consultancy in the Brookfield papers.

Perhaps the most persistent influence on my own theory building has

been the concepts of Gestalt Psychology as developed by Fritz Perls

and the Encounter Group movement as described by Carl Rogers. In

fact the idea of 'counselling psychology' and the personality

theories built in the self-concept develop from there. The value of

this study has been the opportunity of developing critically my own

views of organisational change and necessarily this had meant a good

deal of unlearning and discarding quite a lof of written material.

Gradually I find myself sloughing off the skin of systems theories

but since many people use open systems theory and the vocabulary

of systems theory, this is part of their world perspective and has

to be accommodated into my phenomenological interpretation.

I find the term 'accommodation' useful to describe the way in which

people with difference and incongruent perspectives "accommodate"

their differences under organisational or personal pressure. Not all

functional behaviour is congruent; very often accommodation enables

progress to be made or allows issues of conflict to be passed over

unresolved because individuals simply accommodate to one another.

Much of the progress made in organisational consultancy is little

more than collusion and even emotional withdrawal - as the two

projects at the Deanes and Brookfield school illustrate.

Having explained my interpretation of some of the traditional

vocabulary of organisation theory, I can turn to a description of

organisations that is more consistently phenomenological.

A Theory of Organisations

Looking through my work on organisations over the last ten years

it is easy to trace my shift from open systems thinking to a phenomen-

ological stance. The earlier drafts of this present study include

an open systems model in which I try to relate a number of dimensions

of organisational description and to incorporate some of my preferred

parameters "systematically". It is quite a wrench to put twenty pages

of work aside especially when they contain the kind of diagram that

delights students and forms a framework for several weeks work. One

of the faults in the 'model' is that it is rather like a child's toy

where shapes have to be placed into the appropriate holes. You

can put the shapes into holes without problem but there is a consider-

able choice over what names you give the shapes. Perhaps this is the

strength and weakness of all models.

But a searching question for me is why I used to use (and like) open

systems models and why do I no longer like them. Of course, I find

them inadequate but I also find them exceedingly clumsy and difficult

to use. Although I enjoyed drawing them - because they are attractive

to draw - I always ended up by leaving them unfulfilled; I used to

start them off and them never complete them. I guess others do

the same.[1] The people who like them are the cybernetics enthus-

iasts and the computer people. Now it fits with my personality

very well (as I understand it) to be impatient of completing diffi-

cult tasks and unhappy with pictures which do not need to be

completed for one to see satisfactorily what they are about but I

believe the main reason goes back into my consultancy work.

The consultancy role that I have always been happiest with is

essentially that of a counsellor. This itself derived from the style

I developed as a T-Group trainer. Although my early T-Group

experience was of Tavistock Style groups, other experiences were on

an NTL pattern and when I commenced co-training it was on a Gestalt

(Perlsian) model. So far as I can recall, Fritz Perls was a much

greater influence on me than Carl Rogers possibly because he was a

cult figure in my peer group in those years. However, I believe I

have a certain independence of mind that makes me unwilling simply

to copy anyone else. But the important fact is that I have developed

my theory of organisations from my theory of groups - and this theory

of groups is eclectic.

My basic premise about groups is that development occurs. Groups

pass through stages of development. This seems to be generally agreed

in most theories of groups though Bion indicates states rather than

phases. Perhaps the most striking thing about theories of group

development is that they are similar but not the same and the process

of identifying phases is so complicated that it is almost impossible

to agree on the temporal boundaries (or even the nature of the states).

Two trainers may perceive entirely different processes occurring in

the same group and this is one of the problems of co-training that

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[1] cf Cuthbert R E & Latcham J. A Systems Approach to Management
      in Further Education, Coombe Lodge, Working Paper 1411,(1979)

I have already mentioned.

I used to believe that the developmental phases were fairly easily observed, at least by me and I persisted in seeing certain patterns. In a weekend group there would be a fairly common pattern with little 'happening' on the Friday, a full crisis late on Saturday morning ("it takes 8 hours for a group to start", one colleague used to say) a big 'bust up' on Saturday night, real cathartic experiences on Sunday morning, and 'work' and running down on Sunday afternoon. I saw this pattern time and again. But I also began to change my training style, I know that at the very beginning I used a tough withdrawn "Tavvy" style and passed into a phase of personal counselling the group. One explanation is that I found it easlier to counsel - less stressful. Another is that member need changed over the years. Whatever it was, some of my more recent groups have been group therapy groups (Encounter) and it may be I have come to set myself as a guru - there's certainly some evidence that I have a "following".

I think this development is really an enrichment of my experience. The critical phases of development still exist but I have come to experience a different level in the process and am happier working there. As I have indicated I developed a theory of organisational development based entirely on small group work and using the ideas of Harvey, Hunt and Schroder and also Stephen Fink.[1] I think this paper a good conceptualising of some important insights about organisations, particularly the role of the leader or boss. In terms of a model of organisational change I have used similar models for describing organisational behaviour as I use in describing personal behaviour and the development crisis in the self concept. The following is the paper as it first appeared.

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[1] A Theory of Organisation Development ARMC (mimeographed) (1975).

first appeared.

A Theory of Organisation Development[1]

Most theories of organisation development arise from the study of the behaviour of people in small groups. There are a number of reasons for this -

- organisation development is concerned with the study of the behaviour of people in organisations and people relate to subsidiary groups rather than the organisation as a whole

- it is virtually impossible to study large organisations as a whole because their complexity is too great

- the behaviour of people in small groups, while the most manageable aspect of organisational behaviour to observe, seems to provide models that help us to understand (by extrapolation) organisations as a whole

- in any case, few organisations permit examination by outsiders of the whole organisation though many do ask for help with key or difficult groups.

The implications of the theory presented in this paper are:-

1.   behaviour in organisations can be predicted in broad terms though not in detail

2.   behaviour changes over time, therefore any theory of organisation development must take the passage of time as a major variable

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[1]   The theory explained here derives from a series of organisational groups held at the Anglian Regional Management Centre from 1975 to 1978.

3.   while behaviour cannot be totally changed or prevented it

can be understood; the understanding provides a marginal

but significant advantage in enabling managers to deal

successfully with the behaviour that arises

4.   if most management is a form of crisis management, a

primary managerial skill is to understand the nature of

crisis and how organisational crises occur and are

resolved.

The basic theory is simple. It suggests that all organisations pass

through a cycle of four phases in all parts of the system but that

the phases do not coincide at any time for all parts (or levels) of

the organisation. Nevertheless, an organisation can be identified as

being in one phase or another which is, therefore, over-ridingly

characteristic. The major determinants of this general characteristic

are both the leadership style of the senior member or leader and

the stage in its development which the organisation has reached.

This basic theory has been described by Fink and others and is appended.

Similarity to Tavistock theories based on the work of W R Bion will

be apparent.

Simply the theory suggests that organisations, and distinctive parts

of organisations, develop cyclically through the four phases of

        DEPENDENCY

        COUNTERDEPENDENCY

        MUTUALITY

        AUTONOMY

Passage is through these phases in the given order. Entry into each

phase is dependent on the successful resolution of issues in the

preceding phase. Phases cannot be omitted nor can the work necessary for conflict resolution be avoided. In fact, it may be that little can be done to accelerate the progression other than by helping the members to 'work through' the problems in each phase. An O.D. intervention would therefore be a means of helping the resolving of issues rather than preventing them or avoiding them.

DEPENDENCY

All organisations begin in a state of dependency. That is to say, every member waits on others, generally his superiors, and the phase is characterised by an unwillingness to take individual or group initiatives and responsibilities by claiming reliance on superiors or leaders. Overall, members of the organisation are dependent on the senior manager or boss and require him to accept responsibility and make all major decisions. It does not follow that they will like or even approve of his decisions, simply that they are unwilling to depart from what they believe he should do. Of course, no manager can fulfil such expectations since he will inevitably wish to share some responsibilities and tasks. Subordinates will do as they are asked but with no personal commitment or identification. Though they may appear to be obedient (to secure favour) they make little investment in the organisation whatever the protestations to the contrary - they wish essentially to be absolved of any responsibility. When things go wrong they can blame the boss because they had no part in the decision-making process even if the organisation has set up a highly complex formal decision-sharing mechanism. Members require and need an autocrat at the head and always respond appropriately and obediently or otherwise as they see fit.

This state of dependency occurs irrespective of the style of

leadership of the boss and irrespective of any formal structures

which are set up in the hope of a different response. Autocratic

and paternalistic bosses find this stage a reasonably agreeable one.

Disagreement from subordinates only adds savour to the exercise of

authority. But in fact members do not see the boss as he sees him-

self, anyway. Everyone has an irrational group of expectations and

fantasies about the boss which are continuously augmented retrospectively

("I always thought a good boss would do such and such", said after he

has done the contrary). Many of these expectations are quite

bizarre but are still firmly held - thus a boss with a declared

production background is expected also to be a financial authority.

Given a benign environment outside the organisation, this phase

of dependency may last for a long time. ('Benign' in this sense

means non-threatening to the organisation). But few environments are

benign and so the dysfunctional effects of dependency begin to

proliferate. A major problem for many bosses is their inability

to delegate fully responsibility for the execution of work but they

are on a hiding to nothing whatever they do. If they really do

delegate, subordinates refuse to accept the delegation yet if they

do not delegate, subordinates demand that they do so. Additionally,

much apparent rebellion is just a means of proving dependency - such

as disagreeing with the boss but seeking his approval for the

expression of disagreement.

COUNTERDEPENDENCY

Counterdependency follows from a facing up to the fact of dependency.

It is characterised by rebellion, truculence, diffidence, destructive-

ness and ganging up both on the boss and other groups. Yet there
is still a basic need for dependency and any efforts by the manage-
ment to return to dependency will be supported, because the new
state is so uncomfortable. Most organisations survive by remaining
in a state of retreat from counterdependency which is the "political
condition" and the reason why most organisations (especially non-
commercial organisations like schools and colleges) are run on the
basis of political behaviour (power blocks, influence groups, back-
stair agreements, vote collecting etc. etc.) There is a great deal
of personal cruelty in this phase. Scapegoats are set up, reputa-
tions destroyed, fall-guys presented, front-men sacrificed and intriguers
brutalised. The weak and innocent are always hurt first as they are
presented to the boss for slaughter - an individual set up as a
counter-leader to the boss who has to be destroyed in order that
neither the boss nor the subordinates lose too much face, and to
prevent progress into counterdependency which everyone recognises
as being too uncomfortable.

In most cases, counterdependency is resolved by"sacking"the boss[1]
whereupon the organisation returns to a period of dependency on the
new boss. In this period of long term crisis and disruption, the
boss loses the support of this superiors, probably people outside
the organisation who are very concerned with the public image. But
none of the organisation's problems have been resolved and the process
starts again. For counterdependency to be resolved satisfactorily,
the membership/subordinates have to prove to themselves that they can
manage without the boss. To do this they must actually dispense with
him totally in the psychological sense. However, this experience is
traumatic for the boss since he has to face the reality that the organ-
isation <u>can</u> do without him. In experimental groups that I have facili-

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[1] Not necessarily in actuality; he may simply be removed or posted else-
where temporarily. In the experimental OD Group, the facilitator is the
boss who is "sacked" - perhaps by being ignored.

tated this abandoning of the boss has been achieved only when it was discovered by subordinates that the boss was in fact vulnerable; that he was not only human and frail but actually incompetent or ineffective. And the boss actually experienced this failure and desolation himself.

The explanation is perhaps obvious. Counterdependency is simply the reaction to dependency. Having discovered that they are not independent of the boss, the subordinates try to force him into accepting responsibility for them, that is, to force him into dependency again. Insofar as they rebel against him, their rebellion is dependent on him (since it is him they rebel against). To achieve real independence they have to act without him quite independently and <u>know</u> that they are in fact independent.[1] If the boss did not also feel their independence, then there could be no real independence. However, having achieved independence, there is no need to continue rebellion and a sorting out of new relationships among the whole membership is necessary for entry into the next phase. The boss him- self can be a partner in the establishing of new relationships and he is invited back into the organisation. (In the real organisation he is invited back "psychologically", in the experimental group, the expulsion and return are also physical).

At this juncture a specific crisis occurs. The members invite the boss back on their terms and the boss apparently accepts. However, he cannot accept on their terms because he still holds the position of boss in relation to the formal structure of the organisation and the world outside. Hence, he reasserts his position and a battle ensues until an agreement can be made in which the needs of the subordinates and the needs of the boss are reconciled. The problem

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[1] This was the experience of the Head at Brookfield. Although he wanted his colleagues to take their freedom (independence) he could not "give" it - it had to be won by hard battle.

is now of both collective and designated authority. The boss

retains certain areas of authority and these have to be reconciled

with the organisational need for authority to be shared. If recon-

ciliation can be agreed, the organisation can move into a period

of mutuality.

During Dependency and Counterdependency, a number of behaviours occur

which are employed to avoid facing the real but deep and frightening

issues that face the group or organisation. Organisationally the

most significant is a preoccupation with order and structure, in

fact for its own sake and as a means of dealing with the disturbances

and uncertainty in the organisation which is seen as a move into chaos.

People deal with uncertainty by seeking new structures, setting up

committees and working parties, holding meetings, presenting reports

and generally trying to make the intangible appear more certain.

Bosses themselves are often a part to this process because they are

themselves uncertain about the real issues in the organisation.

Setting up structures is an attempt to exert control but since real

structures <u>follow upon</u> reality, no structures can be imposed with-

out the deeper reality being known (and hence can never actually be

'imposed', they can only emerge). Furthermore, since all organisa-

tions are dynamic, structures themselves must evolve and change;

to reassert structures will inevitably lead to conflicts.

A second feature is the throwing up and testing out of new leaders

and leadership 'structures'. On the basis of Bion's theory of

groups, there will be sub-groups that bid for leadership, sub-groups

that make alliances (whatever their inherent incompatabilities) for

their own ends against other sub-groups and the boss, and sub-groups

that escape from the conflict either by pretending it does not really

exist or that they can manage without the rest of the organisation.
(Of course, some groups may have already developed themselves
beyond rebellion but insofar as they relate to the larger organisa-
tion, their behaviour is parallel to that of other groups). Another
characteristic is the need for "completeness". Decisions are called
for which have complete and total agreement among all the members
of the organisation. When votes are called for it is demanded that
majority decisions (even of 1 vote) are upheld by everyone. Deviance
cannot be tolerated nor can differences of action/behaviour or even
opinion. Much effort is put into the political activities concerned
with achieving power, agreement and controlled behaviour. A typical
behaviour sequence concerned with the avoidance of facing up to
conflicts and disagreement is for fragmentation to occur whereby no
one will take any initiative at all but there is a high rate of
activity in small groups; then there is a general feeling of unease
in which activity almost stops - a waiting period; next is the public
expression of anxiety followed by attempts to resolve the 'problem'
by structural methods - that is, by some expression of unanimity or
general agreement. If this unity is openly denied, the possibility
of finding the conflict and resolving it becomes possible because the
situation is now open to admitting and facing up to conflict. But
most organisations shy away from even admitting the existence of
significant conflict.

When the boss adopts a high profile and an interventionist approach,
progress will be impeded and overall behaviour will be regressive.
The answer seems to be for the boss to take a low profile, to avoid
taking initiatives but to be aware of the inevitable progress of
events so that he can survive the process. He can do this by con-
cerning himself with protecting the organisation from outside inter-

ference but letting events within take their natural course. In

practice, he will be able to gain natural allies from within the

organisation if he himself is familiar with organisation develop-

ment theory and practice; if he has a reference group of O.D. experts

as personal counsellors and has been trained in group counselling.

Without such personal support it seems unlikely that any boss can

both understand what is happening in his organisation and act

appropriately. The alternative would appear to be a form of political

behaviour in a political organisation as described earlier.

MUTUALITY

In this phase, the problem of the boss's authority has been largely

resolved. Groups and individuals function interdependently and

there is a strong sense of organisational ethos, with well understood

norms of behaviour and generally accepted values. It is a fairly

comfortable phase but not especially creative since deviance is the

great fear. However, most organisations would have done pretty well

to reach a situation in which people could really communicate with

one another and where the over-riding wish is to help rather than

interfere. Many bosses will not find this phase particularly challeng-

ing because they do not have a dominant role within the organisation

and will need to go outside to achieve many personal satisfactions

deriving from power, influence, prestige and significance.

Mutuality becomes a form or dependence which must be dealt with by

the same processes of rebellion that characterised counterdependency.

Probably this process will be less upsetting to individuals since

groups are involved, but the most creative members of the organisa-

tion will be fighting for their individuality. Eccentrics and 'odd

balls' will have a bad time as the cleverer members move towards

autonomy. There will be much resistance to change and many of the

old familiar behaviours will recur.

There are often false instances of mutuality in the earlier phases of development. These are generally attempts to avoid conflict by denial - "We are a happy organisation and we all understand one another - go away and do not disturb our happiness". Mutuality is a common fantasy in organisations unable to face and deal with their problems. True mutuality (not pairing) has to be won and can only come after the traumas of rebellion. In any case, mutuality will not suit everyone and so this third phase of organisation development may not be so easy as many may hope for.

AUTONOMY

This is an ideal state of interdependence among individuals and groups whose individuality is valued and supported. Most organisations experience periods of autonomy when they are at their most creative but it must be doubtful if "autonomy" is compatible with 'organisation', in the formally established or institutional sense. For there to be real autonomy in an organisation status differentials would have to be of no consequence but most organisations offer promotion and salary increases as aspects of a given structure. Since few organisations are the only example of their kind but have parallel organisations competing for members from the same resource pool, one organisation cannot stand out against the others. However, departments within an organisation may move towards autonomy and the larger organisation can learn to deal with differences within itself. Certainly, near autonomy is possible within organisational peer groups like a management committee or governing/managing board.

An Organisation Development Strategy

The question arises as to whether an organisation can be helped to pass through these phases of development. According to the theory, the development is inevitable, occurs in its own time, is reversible but inexorable. What kind of intervention is possible, and by whom, to ease this development? Some indication has already been given with regard to the boss and the boss is the most critical figure. It must be recognised that the boss is as integral a part of the development process as any other member; indeed he is the most critical. Unless he is part of the intervention, there can be no progress. Hence, it seems essential that he be trained in under-standing the theory and also in the counselling/consulting techniques which are necessary to weather the storms of the organisation. Such training is 'experiential' by means of Organisation Development groups which are a form of T-Group in which the members are enabled to experience the behavioural phenomena of the developmental process. With this training the boss is in a strong position to understand what is happening in his organisation and how to help the process constructively. Additionally he needs personal support of a ref-erence group that ideally remains totally unconnected with the organ-isation. This group is his personal support when the outside authorities threaten him as head of the organisation during the second, rebellious, stage.

The training that the boss has should be shared by as many people in the organisation as possible, but certainly key position holders, Probably some form of simple T-Group on an NTL/Leeds model rather than a Tavistock model would be best; a counselling approach being used by the 'trainer'. Those groups should be on a section or

departmental basis because the section/department is a key unit

in Organisation Development. Each department will develop separately

and differently and the managerial task of integration concerns

departments rather than individuals. In practice, not all depart-

ments/sections will agree to this group work so only the willing

groups should be trained initially. It is, however, essential for

the senior management group to work with a counsellor/consultant

for the whole period of the intervention which may last several

years.

In this intervention, the work of the consultant/counsellors is

confined to group work and does not extend to the daily normal work

of the organisation. The reason for this is that the members of

the organisation must work out their own problems among themselves.

In any case, consultants cannot deal with the organisation as a

whole. The expectation is that the learning in small groups will

transfer to other groups and larger groups. Of course, for many

people this transference will not take place because behaviour mod-

ification cannot be made on such a grand scale but the more creative

members of the organisation will learn and their behaviour will be

effective, and it is this that really matters. The job of the consul-

tants is to give support and help not to create their own organisa-

tion. As the intervention takes effect, structural and administrative

problems will be solved by the members themselves in a dynamic way

and there is no need at all for the consultants to concern themselves

directly with such matters even though these are the issues for

which the organisation will first call them in.

Title   Organisational Crisis and Change

Fig 2   Phases of Organisational Crisis

PHASE	INTER-PERSONAL RELATIONS	INTER GROUP RELATIONS	COMMUNI-CATION	LEADERSHIP AND DECISION MAKING	PROBLEM HANDLING	PLANNING AND GOAL SETTING	STRUCTURE
Shock	Fragmented	Disconnected	Random	Paralyzed	None	Dormant	Chaotic
Defensive Retreat	Protective Cohesion	Alienated	Ritualized	Autocratic	Mechanistic	Expedient	Traditional
Acknowl-edgement	Confrontation (supportive)	Mutuality	Searching	Participative	Explorative	Synthesizing	Experimenting
Adaptation and Change	Interdepend-ent	Coordinated	Authentic Congruent	Task-Centered	Flexible	Exhaustive and Integrative	Organic

TIME

Stephen L Fink, et al.   JABS   Vol 7   No 1   1971.

It was this developmental theory of organisations that was continually
in my mind during the Deanes and Brookfield School Projects. The
Deanes School project began, as I have described, as many OD inter-
ventions begin. A client feels a need for change and explores
possibilities with a consultant. Often the consultant is contacted
via a third party but sometimes, as in these cases, the consultant
is already known. In my early days as a professional (academic) in
education management, it was difficult to negotiate entry to an
organisation (sc. school or college) and more particularly when I was
on good personal terms with the heads. Management assistance is
often unwelcome especially when it is feared that the head's current
practice may be questioned and threatened. Working in a friend's
institution is most difficult to arrange; indeed, one ought not to
work with a friend unless the personal value systems on which both
work have been proved to be compatible. In both the Deanes School
and Brookfield projects the personal relationship was established
through a professional not informal association. The head of the
Deanes School had worked with me as my student and (I assume) had
gained respect for me as had several of his staff through being on
my courses. Hence my behaviour had a largely known quality. At
Brookfield I was introduced as a consequence of the enthusiasm of a
member of staff and my negotiation with the school was on a purely
professional basis; friendship developed later.

My approach to both projects was based on the theory that I have
just outlined so my expectations were that there would be a
particular form of progression in my relationship with the schools
and key clients, and the schools themselves, if the development were
to be completed satisfactorily would pass through the four phases.
But I was very acutely aware that I was not working with an OD or
T-Group but a whole organisation where the dynamics would be much
more complicated. To start with, however, the two heads were quite

different and their expectations were different. I would characterise
them as follows:

The head of the Deanes School was anxious over a number of major
points. He was still career-minded and seemed to be experiencing the
mid-forties life crisis in much the same way I was myself. We were
the same age and both nostalgic for the North of England. Clearly he
did not see being head of an 11-16 comprehensive as his ultimate
career goal and he applied for several other headships during the
period I worked in the school. Being a successful head in
educational terms was important rather than the personal satisfaction
of just being a good boss. It was generally said in the school by
teachers that he was not a particularly good boss being distant and
inaccessible (though I saw and sensed no evidence of this). Many
other teachers in the school were also anxious and many saw the
school as a stage in career not a final position - a common
characteristic of teachers in 11-16 comprehensives because many
want Sixth Form experience if only to bolster their qualifications
and experience. He was not a typical leader figure - he was not
paternal or charismatic though he was in my view perfectly able,
efficient and professionally well informed. But he was not highly
inspirational to his colleagues.

The head of Brookfield School was different. He was almost charismatic
and was certainly a father figure, apparent in his bearing and manner.
He was deeply committed to education and not at all career minded. As
he explained in the Brookfield account he was concerned not about
technical developments in education but social and emotional ones. He
believed passionately in the importance of each child and saw the in-
adequacies of the system in personal affective terms whereas the head
of Deanes saw success in the examination system an essential indicator
of the success of the school as well as of individuals. Brookfield

was a much 'warmer' emotional climate and, of course, the school
had endured a great deal under a couple of previous heads. While the
head of Deanes was perceived as boss and manager, the head of Brookfield
was seen as a leader in competition with the Deputy (who had been
acting head for eighteen months or so previously). At Brookfield
there was an element of competition among senior staff; at Deanes
of co-operation in realising career success (such as a close relation-
ship between head and deputy to both find satisfactory promotion).
The deputy at Brookfield had little expectation of promotion and as
a non-graduate was unlikely to obtain a headship elsewhere.

Both heads were highly committed to me. Growing friendship in each
case was an aspect of this but both wanted to introduce me to other
heads and other schools. Through the Brookfield head I was able to
embark on the Hampshire heads training programme which lasted for two
years. The Deanes head introduced me to other heads and urged them to
use me for consultancy in their own schools though none took me up on
this. There was unquestionable warmth and attachment between each of
the heads and me. I do not believe that in either case we "progressed"
beyond this professional dependency and I believe counter-dependence
was too risky though the Deanes project did not continue perhaps
as counter-dependendency threatened and in the case of Brookfield
the head and I worked through the problems in our personal way. At
one time, Stanley Putnam (Brookfield) became quite afraid that I would
let him down and that the whole project would fall apart especially
when he began to receive strong negative feedback - rejection - from
some of his staff. Gordon Taylor (Deanes) did become anxious about
the intangibility of the work I was doing and saw the danger of
discontented teachers grouping themselves around me - nurturing a
potential viper in the bosom. And he found some senior staff less
enthusiastic for my sort of help than I believe he would have wished.

Clearly the simplistic use of the Harvey, Hunt and Schroder model

was not enormously helpful. It worked well enough with groups but

organisations are far too complex for phases to be observed except

in individual cases and with small discrete groups or in grossly

generalised terms. I could only use the theory as a background to

whatever else was happening and a way of explaining what I saw to be

going on. It provided me with intellectual security and was the

underpinning of my own confidence as a consultant especially when

matters became difficult and I became afraid of what I was uncover-

ing. Time and again, Stanley Putnam and I had recourse to the model

to help us through periods of depression and low spirits when the

going was tough and progress seemed to be halted. I do not believe

we doubted the validity of the 'theory' but while we were unprepared

to follow an ideological standpoint slavishly we did need to have

some kind of external reference. That this was the theory provided

was doubtless more important than the theory itself.

What we were each doing throughout the projects was to find ways of

explaining our worlds as we moved into new and unfamiliar part of it.

Without a theory we had no way of making sense of what we were doing

and no way of measuring what we were achieving. Gordon Taylor was

as familiar with my theory as Stanley Putnam but he had a different

use for it. It gave him an assurance that I knew what was going on

whereas Stanley Putnam was able to adapt it to his own theoretical

stance. For instance, the Deanes project was essentially a structural

approach - research meant security, objectivity and that consequences

could be dealt with by technical devices. But the Brookfield project was

about intangibles from the beginning albeit both heads desired a change

of climate in their schools and expected there to be tangible and

measurable results for themselves and others. I believe, too,that

Stanley Putnam was much more personally secure than Gordon Taylor
and had spent longer (in successful) self analysis. Gordon Taylor
knew the need for analysis but was unsure how to go about it.

The deputy head at Deanes School was much more like Stanley Putnam.
Highly energetic, exceptionally committed to educational reform and
the school but also professional, ambitious and desperate to obtain
a headship - which he eventually did. He valued the personal develop-
ment approach and was most enthusiastic for it (he attended three of
my courses in which personal development was the key orientation).
But the senior mistress at Deanes was not so committed and took a
very conventional and traditional view about educational change and
organisation. This meant that OD at Deanes was risky and not likely
to be well supported from the top - though by no means actively
opposed. At Brookfield the Deputy Head was intellectually committed
to OD only because he believed that was a loyalty requirement though
as events progressed he became very supportive. The senior mistress
was at first suspicious in case OD was an alternative to evangelical
christian experience but when she discovered them to be compatible
(and even almost the same!) she became a convinced and active
supporter.

In each school, then, there was a triumvirate of top managers who
all had to work out the relationships among themselves in highly
personal ways before any work could start on the school. The opening
up of these relationships in Brookfield in the expecation of
resolution made the Brookfield project possible. The closing of
these relationships to being worked through meant that the work at
Deanes could not go beyond the first phase.

The position in which I found myself was that I wanted to write
about organisations as some kind of entity yet as I experienced the

problems of working with them I became disenchanted with the idea

of treating them as capable of aggregate data because for my

purposes, the continual interposing of highly personalised factors

which had to be retained in their individuality was the kind of

material I was really interested in. I had to find some way of

explaining why and how the personal element was important, how it

could be expressed in terms that fitted the relevant theory and

how I could deal satisfactorily with organisational situations

where much of the important material became significant only when

it was too late to capture it. In other words, I had to have a

methodological explanation for the way in which my theory could be

supported and I had to have a theory which would indicate how to

collect and present material that it would call forth.

In addition to all this, were the relational problems between myself

and the two heads which were largely skated over. That we were each

of us in a state of complete dependence upon one another was

acknowledged but never explored as much as it could have been.

However, Stanley Putnam and I shared a good deal of our concerns

about the project and also acted as co-counsellor on a number of personal

problems, not least of which were my own anxieties about my work and,

latterly - as explained later - about my position and relationships

back at work. In many ways both projects were for me a justification

for my academic work and the Brookfield visits especially were

important because I was away from my place of employment and felt more

able to function personally as the person I believed myself to be. In

both schools, I received the strokes and affirmation that was often

missing at the polytechnic. I have no doubt at all that I enjoyed

creating dependency on myself because it made me feel good and

wanted.

I have tried to make clear why I have felt unable to process the
raw responses of those who were part of the research projects -
though I did do this with the School Evaluation, I hope not un-
professionally. I could have "processed" the Brookfield Responses
but to do so would have destroyed the essential quality of the
responses, their narrative quality and the personal stories from
which they are excerpts and it was this dilemma that began to lead
me to the subjective, phenomenological and eventually existential
stance that I have taken.

There are two similar remarkable events on two of the Brookfield
groups that illustrate the importance of narrative and story as the
medium in which we create our world. On the very first group one
of the Heads of Department - a department of only one full-time
teacher - felt the need to share something personal and private with
the group. As she began to open up some members felt uncomfortable
because they feared an intrusion into privacy; that Dora was being
coerced into revealing too much of her personal life. But I
encouraged Dora to go on and the others to listen. She told of her
life as a jewess and how she had married a christian much against
her father's will. The marriage had been happy and there was a
daughter, but no reconciliation with her father had occurred before
he died. Dora felt that she had let her race down and also her
father by denying her Jewishness and she felt considerable remorse
and yet could find no way to atone.   The issue was less a need for
counselling than to share her burden with the group. We did offer
counselling, collectively, and she was able to return to her mother
and rejoin the Jewish group without denying her husband. A recon-
ciliation and atonement were made and it appears a full 'catharsis'
occured. She was certainly continually grateful for so long as I
knew her. The important point to me was that she had a 'story' and

had to tell it. Until that was done she could never feel at one

with her colleagues. Clearly denial of race and religion is of

enormous significance to a jew and her story-telling was a way

to meeting and joining her colleagues - for her, honesty and

openness required that she tell her story.

In another Group, Ron held our attention (off and on) for two whole

hours while he told us virtually his whole life story - uninterrupted.

Some were bored, some embarrassed but all listened. After his story

he was a transformed person and his whole outlook on work at school -

where he had felt unacknowledged and disaffected - was changed.

Even that weekend his view on life changed, his sexual relationship

with his wife improved and he brought a selection of sweets and

chocolates to share with us to show his gratitude to the Group.[1]

Both cases were of stories that had to be told, that had been

bottled up but which had been carefully composed over the years so that

every anecdote, every memory, had its form and significance. Not

everyone has such a story to tell, though many do. In the group

the telling becomes part of the discovery of the self and a new

personality/character may begin to emerge. One can see this with

the Brookfield responses and in some cases one can guess how the

story will unfold.

But not everyone had a full story to tell. One of the more

remarkable experiences that occurred on the third Brookfield group

was the inability of one of the men to tell his story. A highly

supportive climate had built up and there was a good deal of

sharing experiences. There was a demand for analysis and therapy

which I believed to be important. People were opening up about

themselves in order to explain why they were like they are. I have always taken the view that not all personal matters are relevant to the group; that people have a right to privacy and that some areas of their life are remote from professional life. On the other hand, we are not different people at home and at work and the well-adjusted person is essentially the same wherever he is. Domestic problems have some significance for work and work problems have some significance for how we live at home. But on this occasion, when a number of people had told their stories or related them in a series of fragments, one man began to unfold a tale that involved him in painful memories. So painful were his memories that he only created an "untrue" story to describe them. Put simply, he had had a homosexual experience with an older man, the minister of his church, when he was a youth but he was unable to accept that it was a sexual experience; he could only express it as a particularly sinister form of religious relationship. There is no transcipt of the group so I can only indicate crudely how the group members recognised his experience as homosexual while he was unable to admit it to have been even though he described how they 'slept' together. No one pressed him to his revelation but when he had difficulty in describing it many of the men in the group admitted to youthful homosexuality and one young teacher spoke of his teenage homosexuality with warm and agreeable recollection. But Henley was unable to understand how the group could interpret his experience in this way and no resolution was possible in the group even though the memories of this adolescent experience had apparently spoilt his whole marital relationship for over thirty years.

A psycho-therapist will recognise the situation at once but I am less concerned about the psychotherapy or the problems of using

sensitivity training. The incident, for me, illustrates the

importance not just of psychotherapy by working through problems

that have a psychological nature a long way in the past. Nor am I

saying that the telling of a coherent story is the key to self-

discovery and maturity. Henley's 'case' illustrated the way in

which certain terms become the only acceptable ones for construing

our world and in this case the miscontruing was highly incapacitating.

Henley was an exceedingly religious person of a 'fundamentalist'

upbringing and currently still bound up in an extreme form of

christianity. There was no way in which he could receive psychological

release because there was no permissable language for it. While we

could see clearly what had happened in those teenage years, he could

not conceive that such things could have happened to him.

Henley's world could not contain the peccadilo of his childhood

sexuality but the mental frameworks (intellectual and emotional)

which distorted this perception of reality also helped him to distort

his other experiences. He was a poor teacher - timid, unable to

keep dsicipline, he blamed children for misbehaviour and saw himself

blameless, he avoided difficult classes and kept a low profile in all

matters of staff activity. He had a poor self-image in which

suppressed anger and aggression were transmitted into false

humility, rectitude and moral arrogance. In my view, the experiences

he had had as a youth could have been liberating had he been able

to view them then or later "realistically" but the guilt and pain

he carried with him for the rest of his life was dysfunctional at

the least and destructive of his relationships within organisations.

Ironically, as a result of one of these "pieces of data" that prove

so elusive in organisational research but which came to me in my

extended activities as consultant to the school, an interesting

piece of information came to me later. This was that one of the

best adjusted of the staff who had a very clear and positive self-

image had also been seduced as a youth by his vicar but had accepted

the relationship, worked through it and developed away from it. When

this story was told to me, the details were clear and the narrative

form exact and precise. By being able to tell the story, this client

was able to place his experience into his life story in such a way

it became useful to him because he was able to give it a meaning that

did not distort any of his other experiences but rather enriched them

because understanding was a reinforcement of his sense of identity.

It further helped him in his understanding of others and in his

ability to emphasise with others in similar problem situations.

One of the respondents in the Brookfield Project gave me an opportunity

to talk at some length later on. Paul (respondent 22) was highly

religious and one of the group of evangelical christians at the

school who met regularly for religious purposes. He was an elder in

the local church that several school staff attended and they were, in

many ways, a close group. I found Paul one of the most interesting

of those who did not attend a Group because clearly he wanted to do so

but was afraid of something. As I explained, the senior mistress was

also "religious" and one of the group, and Paul was torn between

hostility at what he perceived as a rival to christainity and the

good experience several of his colleagues had. The Group would be

acceptable only to him if they could be shown to be compatible with

his view of christainity. In a lengthy conversation we explored this

and he was almost convinced. I must admit to knowing a good deal

about evangelical christianity and can argue pretty forcefully with

its proponents. I believe Paul was almost convinced and he promised

to consider coming on a Group should one be available (in the event, it wasn't). I can glibly offer explanations of Paul's state of mind and personality and make a good few informed guesses about his psychology. I see him in a highly dependent state in which religion replaces the need to examine his unacceptable self and obtain the autonomy of personal insight, self-knowledge and self-acceptance. That is my speculation; whether it is true or not can only be discovered in psycho-therapy but there is no doubt that the relationship between what Paul perceived in the Groups and his perceptions about himself is very close. That is to say, his crisis of authority and his yearning for a 'valid' experience that will not shatter his beliefs determine the way he perceived the project.

It is difficult to know just what impact the Groups had on Brookfield School though quite a number of people were anxious for the effect to be considerable - not least the head. There were several events quoted by different individuals as being significant and as indicating a marked change in behaviour of at least some members of the school. From time to time different people would give me different examples but in conversation so that there was no chance of making a proper record. Naturally, the head saw many incidents that he considered showed a significant change in behaviour largely with regard to people accepting greater responsibility for themselves, showing greater openness and honesty and indicating a considerable change in climate and atmosphere, especially when school business had to be done in a formal way. One such event was a Head of Houses and Departments meeting and Stanley Putnam provided the following account because he believed the content to be significant. It follows in full:

Head of Houses and Departments, Meeting on Thursday

7th December

The meeting agreed that there should be no need for a Chairman.
Mary* said that she had worked under a number of Heads and
that I was the first to allow such freedom of expression and
she added that she hoped that the truth would be spoken in
love. Mike Gooch asked her what she meant and Mary said she
meant that respect be shown for the person addressed.

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* Deputy Head(s)

Questions were raised about what had been said at the
previous meeting by me. The feeling was expressed that I
often use the device of making a blanket accusation with-
out giving instances and that the innocent were accused with
the guilty. It would be preferred if I spoke directly to
individuals concerned. I argued that the issues had been
raised following two items (i) setting and (ii) homework.
The issue was not that it had been raised at a Staff Meeting
but that it appeared that the various Departments were unaware
of the discussions that had taken place between Don* and Heads
of Departments. I also cited a previous case which concerned
class size when it was thought that Departments had been
consulted by the Departmental Heads which was not the case.
A discussion started from this point and I said that ever
since I came to the School I had made it clear that I expected
that the Head of a Department be the HEAD of that Department
and that as consequence if I dealt directly with members of any
Department then I could be demeaning the Head of the particular
Department. Further to this I felt that Heads of Department
and Houses seldom if ever ask me to deal directly with a
member of the departmental staff either for issues of indis-
cipline or for praise. Thoughts were expressed about the
priorities of the House or Departmental Heads, some claiming
that teaching was their first priority and to these I argued
that they had applied for a Head of Department Post and that
was what their allowance was about. This led to a discussion
on the matter of time. John Bunday said that he had agreed
with my ideas but he wondered if they were feasible because
there was not enough time. Ena Griffin, Tony Strong and John
Curtis also felt that because of time they were unable to see
members of the departments concerned in the teaching situation
and this made the appraisal scheme** difficult to operate. I
asked about their willingness to negotiate for additional time.
Don pointed out that over the last two years Staff allocation
had increased by 1.7 periods whilst Heads of Departments had
dropped by approximately 2 periods to 30 teaching periods per
week. Mike Gooch suggested that the House Heads had received
an additional teaching burden of 4 to 5 periods per week. The
question of priorities was again discussed in terms that what
you take from one part of the teaching allocation must be
replaced from time taken from elsewhere.

The leadership issue was discussed and once again, I defined
leadership which meant in my terms, standing with people and
helping to facilitate their ability to make decisions. I
said that no one wants advice or will act upon it and that
they were capable of working out their own decisions. A
number of people wanted more direction from me and such
phrases as 'captain of the ship' were used. It seemed that
three lines of discussion developed from this:-

(1)   Heads of Departments. Some seemed happy to bear the
       full responsibility whilst others wanted the big stick
       used.

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*   Deputy Head(s)

**   Staff Appraisal Scheme

(2)   The House Heads were similarly divided with Mike Gooch saying that they needed someone to make them work together whilst Pat McAtasney felt this unnecessary. Reference was made by Mike to how successful it used to be when Don hammered out the issues with the House Heads. I indicated that Mike of all people did not need the direction from above that he claimed he needed and that the House Heads were quite capable of working through all their problems without external direction. This led to the role that Mary plays and that will be dealt with below.

(3)   General School discipline. The question was asked as to who was responsible for it. Comparisons were made with other Schools and whilst it seemed that we did not suffer in the comparisons nevertheless we should not be satisfied. Again I stressed that I could not do anything about this on my own and that the greatest problem was to get Staff to carry out the joint decisions made at Staff Meetings. Instances were cited and one Head of Department felt that younger teachers would not carry these out because they sometimes see more Senior Staff not doing so. I think it would be true to say that quite a number present wished to lay the whole problem at my door and this I was not prepared to accept. The issue of General School discipline became confused with those of Class Room discipline. The referral system was discussed and defenses of the part played by House Heads and Heads of Departments were put including the the issues of time, support for young inexperienced teachers. Once more the theme of whose responsibility it was to see the system worked was raised. I think I felt some hope here because a general willingness to see the issue as one of corporate responsibility was in evidence.

Attention became centred on the Roles of Don, Mary and myself. In answer to a question about my priorities which had been prompted by the fact that Staff hardly ever saw me or knew what I did with my time, I said that they were:-

(1)   To be available to individual members of Staff and to give them as much time as they required.

(2)   To be available to parents should they wish to see me.

(3)   To liaise in many differing ways with outside and community groups.

(4)   To attempt to fend off some of the pressures that might otherwise come to Staff.

I said that the problem of being about the School was one that continually worried me and to which I had not found a satisfactory answer. It was said that my being in the Staffroom in the mornings was appreciated but it would help if I could 'pop-in' to classes much more so that I was seen to be

interested. Could I be away from School less frequently
and could I find a way of letting the Staff know what I was
doing. Don added that it was not realised what demands were
made by such agencies as the Area Office and which could not
be avoided.

Don was contrasted with me saying that perhaps I was the
benevolent uncle whilst he was a successful policeman. Don
said that he could play that role but if that is what Staff
expected of him he would leave the profession as he had
wider aims than that of policing. He was questioned on
whether or not he hid his true feelings out of loyalty to
me and the example of the issue of mixed-ability was quoted.
It was pointed out that in no way were we going to pretend
that our views were identical for Don could only be Don and
I myself and we felt staff should see that we could discuss
things openly. However, we were more concerned that our
value system was the same.

Mary was pressed as to her role. The historical perspective
was given and she was asked to define the meaning of catalyst.
The issues of Mike Gooch's preventing her carrying out her
job was aired but Mary said she felt uncertain about her role.
Again it was said that Staff wondered what her role was and
I defined it as (i) a catalyst and I gave the example of
the role of the tutors which she was unable to get off the
blocks because of the attitude of Mike and (ii) that of
ombudsman in cases where Tutors or parents felt aggreived by
the action(s) of a House Head.

Maurice spoke about consensus for he saw that there were times
when I could not be fully democratic and he thought 'consensus'
was a better word in the context of the School.

In summary, the following was agreed upon:-

(1)   That an in-service day be held on (a) the aims of the
       School (b) discipline and (c) leadership.

(2)   That I would work with House Heads and Heads of Depart-
       ments on the issues of leadership and priorities.

(3)   That the roles of Don, Mary and myself be reviewed by
       the three of us. That the roles of the Heads of
       Departments and Houses also be reviewed.

Stanley Putnam
Headmaster

The original purpose of the consultancy project was to open up

possibilities for collaborative action in the school, for a responsi-

ble acceptance of freedom; that seemed not to be happening. Power

was moving away from being located almost solely in the head and was

being shared.   There was tangible evidence that individuals were
feeling more capable and confident in themselves and in their jobs.
An example can be quoted.   One response came from a teacher who had
wished to identify with me from the beginning but felt he had a lot
to learn and went on a one term counselling training course -
supported in some measure by the climate created by the consultancy
project itself.   I should like to think that this account is
representative of the view held by a number of others.

To: Harry   From: Pat Macatesny   2nd January 1979

How do I see the development of Brookfield over the past
year.

I'm writing this, having just had a two week break.

I felt more secure in my job last term than at any time since
I arrived at Brookfield.   I felt that tutors spoke more
openly to me during that time. They were not afraid to
criticise and I'm aware enough to realise that I can stand
criticism more.

My house staff meetings seemed to go better and although I am
still anxious about these meetings, I feel I am less so than
previously. Assemblies are still a mess, we did some work on
this issue but as yet have arrived at no real solution.

I am pleased that I have worked out to my own satisfaction a
way to appraise tutor staff and I completed the experience
with one of my tutors.   I have just finished writing up the
outcome and I look forward to hearing her comments about what
I've written.

I feel good about the care that goes into the development of
pupils in Vanguard (House).   I recognise that we have at least
ten pupils who are disturbed to some degree and I have no
answer to that problem as yet.   I hope to look at this problem
more closely in the New Year.

The big problem is working with the other House Heads and with
the triumvirate, i.e. Stan, Mary and Don.   I think we had one
meaningful meeting in the whole of last term and I just feel
so far out that I'm going my own way by and large.   To me
this is because so much business piles up that we never shift
it.   I share the responsibility for that.

We had a long meeting with HOD's but such a lot of scape-
goating went on that I wondered if we'd gained anything from
our group sessions with you.

I teach Maths now, mainly to the remedial groups. What a
creation - "remedial".   I dug up a phrase to fit this!

"We create their wretched status then malign them when they
abuse us."

These kids feel shame in their low status. How can we break
through this. If I'm to create a learning by discovery
approach then I need more skill and more material.

We placed the 1st years in bands of ability and how remark-
able it is how quickly they all live up to the positions
given them. Not just the children of course but teachers
and parents. I felt only disappointment about the movement
of 1st years. This turned out to be mainly demotions and
I'm pretty certain damage has been done. Only time will
prove that point.

Stan talks about moral education. Where is the morality in
all this?

I feel that Brookfield is a place where I can grow. Certainly
I am allowed to work through my frustration.

It would seem that I have some how to overcome the problem of
working things out with the other House Heads, but it's not a
job I relish so I am likely to go on avoiding it.

I am more able to conduct meetings with parents either
individually or in groups as a consequence of the group work.

The letter has a generally despondent tone yet Pat was enthusiastic

in the two Groups he attended and spent a term on a counsellor

training programme at King Alfred College. He was honestly express-

ing his mood of the day and would almost certainly have responded

differently if an outside researcher had chosen a time to question

him. I saw Pat a good deal and always he expressed positive feelings

about growing more confident.   But I am clear that I am attempting

to make his unsolicited comments suit my preferred hypothesis!

By May 1979 events were still developing. I advertised a group

facilitation training programme at Huddersfield and three of the staff

booked to come. One was the School Counsellor, two others had

attended the Network for Organisation Development in Education (NODE)

Conference at Leicester. I understand that a good dozen would have come

had arrangements been possible. As it was we arranged a southern

venue for a similar course in the autumn. Of course, the group

facilitator course, although it required experience of Training

Groups or Encounter Groups, was not an Encounter Group trained just

be me. It was a collaborative training group in group facilitator

techniques. I had run a three day workshop for the English Depart-

ment which was well received because it applied group training

principles to problem solving but was not a process group so the

expectation was that the group facilitated training would have a

task, albeit a 'process' task. And the three were fairly aware

and able people, they knew what they were letting themselves in for

if the group got into difficulties. But the significant thing was

that they were coming as a group trained by me which suggested that

in some way my rehabiliation at Brookfield was taking place and that

they were becoming emotionally independent of me. I like to think

that I moved out of the school and was no longer identified with

the movement for change, but that the teachers themselves took

responsibilities and saw themselves differently from before the

project began. The Deanes school, was much less dramatic, however.

The accounts of perceptions in the Deanes School project did not

reveal the importance of individual perceptions of self and the

way the self-concept influences the perception and understanding

of the organisation. Yet the comments of the senior management

team do provide some data illustrating this and initially we over-

looked this entirely. The clue lies in the comments of the Deanes

Deputy Head. At one time I misread this section and ascribed the

comments to the senior mistress. As I read I was exceedingly

puzzled because it did not read like the senior mistress. I was

reading to hear not what was said but what she was saying. We often

do just this as we can recognise a letter, say, not by the hand-

writing but by the way it is written. It was a freudian slip on my

part to try to make Roy Whitaker's comments read like Jill Ainsley's.

But Roy was the only one to refer to the one response that threw us

all. One of the fourth formers had filled his questionnaire with a

tirade of criticism, using some 'bad language', and castigating the

school for its failures. The Head was hurt but explained the

comments away by saying, "I can guess who wrote that; we can ignore

those comments". The senior mistress thought at first of punishing

the boy for swearing in a school activity and I had to point out

that the questionnaire was anonymous and there was no way in which

we could betray that confidentiality. The head consoled himself by

saying that the boy must think a good deal about the school if he

had taken the trouble to write at length. In fact it was one of

the fuller and potentially most useful of the responses but we just

had no way of making use of it. So here, once again we had examples

of people able to view the school in different ways but in terms of

the kind of people they were.

I express this by saying that we each view our world in terms of our

personality, but of course our personality - as the case of Henley

seems to show quite clearly - developed in terms of the way we see

or are permitted to see ourselves. If we define self-concept as

the way we see ourself then we point the existence of something that

has a distinct existence. And for something to be open to influence,

it must have an existence without 'influence'. Religious theory is

reasonably clear about the pre-existent self and it is at the core

of psychology - or would be if more psychologists would concern

themselves with what is central to psychology but so frequently

overlooked. The social conditioning of the self, in the view I

shall present in the next chapter, is possible only when the self

exists. All experiences - which includes here for our purposes, experiences in organisations - are experiences of the self and therefore are self-determined.

Theories of personality in psychology are unsatisfactory when we come to examine the behaviour of individuals in organisations. The social psychologists do not really seem to have got to grips with the nature of the individual and the self-concept, being too concerned with what they believe to be social behaviour. Some newer ideas are beginning to surface but there is still a long way to go. However, I was introduced to the ideas being developed by Rom Harré [1] and others just too late to take the full notice of them that they require. I do not believe they lead us much beyond where I am in my own theories but they suggest that an exciting new area to develop is that of the individual self-concept of the individual in the organisation. For the present, I shall simply explain some of the ideas about personality that stood out as being important in my own study to date.

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[1] e.g. Harré, Rom (1976).

5. <u>The Self-Concept and Subjectivity in Organisations</u>

5. THE SELF-CONCEPT AND SUBJECTIVITY IN ORGANISATIONS

My subjective theory of organisational change developed as I

reflected on the experiences I had as an organisation counsultant;

it is my way of making sense of what goes on in organisations as a

consequence of my kind of involvement. Unfortunately, the key

words in the study - personality, phenomenological, subjective,

organisation, change etc. - are not capable of easy definition.

Even some of the world's greatest personality theorists have been

non-commital on the concept. The Penguin Critical Dictionary of

Psychoanalysis does not define the word but refers to Personality

types. Radford and Kirby [1] in a student's introductory text dodge

the definition and quote Gordon Allport as an excuse - "He regarded

the person as a concept for the future of the psychology of

personality - a field which is also sometimes known as personology" -

and conclude by distinguishing between problems of "individual

differences" and problems of the "self". Peck and Whitlow [2] in

another volume in the same series spend 40 pages exploring their

opening answer to the question; "there is no single, generally

accepted use of the term amongst psychologists, indeed, some would

maintain that in the sense that is ordinarily used by psychologists

there is no such thing as personality..."

George Kelly 'defines' personality as "our abstraction of the activity

of a person and our subsequent generalisation of this abstraction to

all matters of this relationship to other persons, known and unknown,

as well as to anything else that many seem particularly valuable."[3]

Gordon Allport defines personality, after some discussion, as "the

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[1] Radford, John and Kirby, Richard "The Person in Psychology",
Methuen (1975).

[2] Peck, David and Whitlow, David: Approaches to Personality
Theory, Methuen (1975).

[3] Lee Sechrest in Wepman and Haine, Concepts of Personality (1964)
p.229.

dynamic organisation within the individual of those psychophysical

systems that determine his characteristic, behaviour and thought."

And Perls et al speak of personality as "the system of attitudes

assumed in interpersonal relations: is the assumption of what one is,

serving as the ground on which one could explain one's behaviour,

if the explanation were asked for ...   Personality is a kind of

framework of attitudes, understood by oneself, that can be used

for every kind of interpersonal behaviour".[1] My own view is consonant

with the self-theorists (the "phenomenologists") and holds that

personalities can only be understood as a reflective understanding

of the self and others in relation to that self-understanding. I am

not entirely clear what form "reflection" takes and I have assumed that

it takes a coherent verbal form that I call narrative but it may

be that for some individuals it takes a pictorial form and for others

a three-dimensional theatrical form. The material here is all verbal,

and all written and that is how it must be left for the present.

I describe in what follows how I came to hold my view of the nature

of personality and it will be clear how much I owe to the psychothera-

pists of the new humanistic psychology, or as it is coming to be

known, Counselling Psychology. Although I have never practised as

a psychotherapist purely and simply but always in a counselling or

group counselling situation, I do refer to relationships as "psycho-

therapeutic" and to "clients" who would generally be group members.

From time to time I have given counselling to individuals in a

private capacity but I have chosen not to distinguish the type of situa-

tion in what follows. Suffice it to say, my theory of personality

derives from my own reflection about myself and others in group and

organisational situations, and reflecting about myself alone or in

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[1]   Perls, Frederick et al Gestalt Therapy. Delta, N.Y. 1951
        p382

counselling training. Much of my theory must derive from my

counselling style and also my consultancy style - a factor that is

well illustrated in Richard Ottaway's "Change Agents at Work." [1]

It is necessary at this point to describe my theory of personality

at some length because it is fundamental to my understanding of

organisational change. When I was involved in the design of an

M.Ed. in Educational Change [2] many people made comments about its

form, its structure, its academic level and the quality of the

teachers but only one referee commented that it ought to reflect

in itself those same principles that it aimed to explore. I

found this an interesting comment on the academic (or pseudo-

academic) mind because some academics seemed more concerned with

theoretical and conceptual standards - by which they probably meant

difficulties and obscurity - than questions of practical consistency.

I believe the issue raised to be quite critical to true academic

standards; we cannot explore a field by using methods that are

incompatible with the values themselves that we are examining; to

observe human activity we must understand the values on which people

are operating and not impose our own values.

This is my own special pleading. I have come to a view of personality

that may very well be highly idiosyncratic but which is consistent

with the experiences that led me to develop it. In other words, my

view of personality comes out of ten years (and more) of practical

experience of working with people in groups, and sometimes alone.

During this time I have read and reflected on what others have written

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[1] Ottaway, Richard: Change Agents at Work, Assoc. Business
Press, London (1979).

[2] At Huddersfield Polytechnic from January (1979). The award was
accepted by the CNAA late in 1980.

but what I have come to understand by personality I have come to

for myself and only then looked for confirmation in what others may

have written. This is very much an existential approach and does not

I think undervalue any one else's view. But it means that I am not

interested in applying someone else's theory of personality - how-

ever distinguished he may be - only in developing my own. Though

that is not to say I am uninterested in other people's theories of

personality; what I cannot do is hold various separate theories of

personality in my mind and operate quite separately on my own.

I believe I have "internal consistency" here too. I can recall

fifteen years ago when working on a curriculum development team

exploring the possibilities in moral Education for 15 and 16 year

olds, that I claimed (in some bravado) that I did not read books but

preferred to spend my time thinking. A university colleague expressed

mock horror (since he did not believe me[1]) and declared that he never

had enough time to read everything he wished to. Of course, I did do

some reading but I discovered a facility of learning ideas fairly

quickly from talking to people who had read the books and developed

an economy of learning which put me at no disadvantage in my intellec-

tual peer group. Infact, I was elected chairman within a matter of

months and this must have said something for my understanding of

philosophical thinking as well as presumed ability as a chairman

and whatever personal characteristics were appealing.

Another incident, I recall, was when studying for my MA and an

(American) tutor censured me (I took it as disapproval) for "learning

by disconfirmation". I never really understood the comment, perhaps

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[1]   Why not I wonder? Is an active mind and quick wit only or
        always the product of reading? But of course he was right
        not to believe me - I did read but rather less than many
        colleagues because what I enjoyed was meeting people and
        talking with them about intellectual ideas.

because it was true, but it is true to say that my manner of working is to put ideas up and seek for confirmation. When I write a paper I write first and research afterwards. Sometimes I revise extensively and at other times hardly at all. So far as publication and public asteem is concerned there seems to be no special dinstinction. But I should add that when I was an undergraduate I wrote a lot of the theatrical revues whereby I developed some sense of timing and form. I also prepared an endless number of sermons from which I learned the craft of beginning and ending with some dramatic impact even if I also learned the skill of filling up the middle bits with padding.

This process of reflection and of thinking on one's feet, so to speak, is at the core of the task of being a group facilitator or trainer. Just as the writer-producer of the play is watching and listening with intensity to the whole of what is going on on the stage, so the T-Group trainer is watching and following with an extreme intensity what is going on in the group. One becomes literally spell bound and unable to make an intervention as the dynamics of the group unfold before one. Let a moment pass and a new thread begins to appear and a new trail is followed. It is always easier to stay quiet and watch rather than interpose a process comment. In facilitating the group one is not looking for confirmation of past patterns, of traditionally accepted manifestations of group dynamics theory. One looks for the original, the unique and that which is special to this particular group. The worst trainers are those who mouth the text book; especially, in my view, the "Bionites" who know already what phase the group is into and what its problems are. It is no mere truism that no two groups are alike and the trainer has to experience the uniqueness often at some cost because it can be very

demoralising to feel that you just cannot make sense of what is going on 'this time'.

Others will trace other continuities and causes than the ones I contrive to see, but I think that my biographical experience explains why I am interested not only in the uniqueness of personality but also its consistency and integrity. In the T-Group one observes the continual unfolding of the life story of individuals which becomes increasingly coherent as the layers are peeled off - the skins of an onion being a common metaphor for the psychotherapeutic process. Reading papers written over a period of several years as I prepared them for publication[1], I have been impressed - and often greatly surprised - at my own consistency. Just the other day I read some papers written while I was at N.E. London Polytechnic and was quite surprised to find that they applied better than ever to my new institution, Huddersfield Polytechnic. It is clear that this last decade has been for me one of observation, the development of ideas and concepts and the real life testing them out. For consistency does not mean not open to development. Indeed, it means the contrary, that development is consistent and occurs in harmony with previous systems of thought and value systems. Above all, this consistency derives from something unique and fundamental to the individual, deeper than what he is taught or learns just through social and educational pressure.

Most of my colleagues will seek to describe personality in terms of the systems of other writers because those writers are well known and acceptable names. But in choosing well known writers they will exert some personal preference or disposition - preferring Jung to

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[1]   "Management in Education" Nafferton Books 1980.

Adler or Allport.   What they generally do not acknowledge is the

importance of their making this choice, for this may be the most

critical factor in the whole of the research, more important than

any of the findings. I glanced over a colleague's MEd thesis on

classroom interaction. It was a model of statistical analysis and

not surprising since two of his statistical colleagues had done his

sums for him. But the question he never gave any attention to was

why he had chosen to use Bales' Interaction Analysis Schedule. On

the answer to that question hangs the whole validity of his research.

(Apart from the question of whether he was more interested in the degree

or the research).

I do not intend just to be cynical - though I am. The question that

increasingly fascinates me is about the self-awareness of the

researcher and the writer. I do put myself completely into my

research - whoever I am - and what I write about and how I write about

it are a reflection of me and, in total, of me alone. This section

is written with this over self-consciousness; is the product of any

other researcher any less so?[1] If it is not, is that difference the

consequence of his 'conforming' to what he believes will be acceptable?

Then it is still a reflection of the kind of person he is. Is it an

"objective", dead, depersonalised statistical style? Then that too

is a reflection of facets of himself and probably more than facets,

probably his inner self. It seems to be generally accepted that we

each have our own literary style. Much Biblical criticism (Form

Criticism) is concerned with stylistic patterns. Patterns of writing

are put onto magnetic tape in computerised analysis. In this way it

is decided, for example, which epistles were written by Paul and

which by John; and which sayings can be legitimately attributed to Jesus.

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[1]   W F Whyte in his Appendix to "Street Corner Society" makes the
       point that his research could have been impossible had he
       conformed to the requirements of a university PhD. Yet his is
       a seminal work.

Additionally there is among academics the issue about game playing
and honesty - the very issue that leads to the first crisis of the
T-Group. Are we playing games with one another or are we to be
honest, to be our real selves? Can break throughs occur in science
only if we conform or only if we play our hunches, try out our
instinctive feelings, break the generally accepted codes of practice?
Do we take risks in our research and explore new ground or do we play
safe and replicate (duplicate even) the work of others?

Perhaps I overstate the general case, though not the specific. The
individual himself, in all his complexity, is the key factor in what
he does. His actions, whatever they are, are simply manifestations
in behaviour of a complex integral person that really is uniquely
himself. For me, the importance of my experience with groups and in
personal psychotherapy with clients is that for the most part I have
been dealing with normal, healthy people. Though I have become
interested in what I might call 'the 'pathology of the normal', I have
largely been concerned with people who would under no definition be
declared mentally sick. So I have been spared the extremes of the
psychiatrically and medically trained. While I have engaged in a
good deal of psychotherapeutic behaviour, my clients have always
been healthy individuals, and I have never had to concern myself with
people so out of temper with themselves as to exhibit totally disab-
ling behaviour on a single (or few) dimension(s). So I have had no
experience of individuals mentally 'unbalanced',[1] and I see individuals
as wholes rather than a collection of parts. I think too that even
as a young teacher, I taught John and Mary, not English and Latin and
I have never had much interest in highly discrete 'subjects' or parts
of subjects.

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[1]   Actually, this is not true. I worked as an Orderly in a mental
        hospital for four months when I was 21 but they were all
        chronic hospitalised cases.

My view of people then is of what E M Forster called "rounded
characters" rather than "flat" ones. In the group I experienced
the whole person rather than a sequence of the same psychological trait.
In groups one gets to like people better whether one is a group member
or a trainer. I have never experienced a group where I liked anyone
less after the event. And this liking is for the whole person with
a great deal of overlooking of faults and blemishes. Indeed, in my
own practice, which is to build people up emotionally, I and my client
look at what other people consider faults and invariably discover them
to be assets, at least in some way or another. In my personal life,
I prefer to like people rather than dislike them and even people
who I dislike intensely often appear to have good sides to them when
I am actually in their company - which must make me seem fairly
hypocritical at times.

I am not, however, bland about people. People affect me very greatly,
they excite me, upset me, infuriate me and delight me. I have strong
feelings and passions where people are concerned and maybe I try to
compensate for my emotional excesses. Perhaps if I could be cold
about people I should view them as cases, or samples of single dimen-
sions but I do not so see them; to me they are full blooded, delight-
ful and repellent never wholly dismissed and never wholly understood
either. I cannot categorise and label and leave it at that, though
I do categorise just to try out for size and help myself to come to
an understanding of a person. "Understanding" a person is very import-
ant too; I cannot bear not 'understanding' anyone. I must be able to
'explain' them and sometimes simple categorising has to make do
for the time being. I discovered that when interviewing applicants
for jobs, I make a quick mental assessment and then consciously look

for confirmation or disconfirmation of my assessment. In this way

I try to be clear about my prejudices and to be fair in my decisions.

So I people the world with people I create for myself. Even though I say I take people as 'wholes' not 'parts' they nevertheless are people I create even the most intimate of friends. I cannot put between me and them objective and neutral filters. When I was nursing geriatrics, I found ways of distancing myself from them when what I saw was too painful to bear but this was my distancing not an objective reality. Although we created a game in the hospital (a charade?) in order to survive amongst chronic illness and frequent death we each of us created it in our way in a fashion that was necessary and meaningful to us.[1] The delimitations on personality are not made by the person who is experienced but the one who does the experiencing. If I say 'he is mad' or 'he is a dull conversationalist' I am making labels for myself: they are not labels that are intrinsic in the other person.

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[1]   When I worked in the geriatric hospital I experienced the ways
       we coped with the unpleasant and unbearable. There were some
       dreadful diseases such as multiple sclerosis where a man would
       be in full control of his mind but have almost no control over
       his body. Around him he could see other people in advanced
       stages of mental deterioration. We tried, each of us in our
       own ways to be both sympathetic and detached. Some nurses
       were cruel, others harsh, some silly and others strained.
       The rituals of hospital organisation were one way of coping
       and perhaps the strong hierarchies were a part of this. Ordering a nurse or orderly to do an unpleasant task shared the
       responsibility; none of us experienced the whole context of a
       relationship or incident. When a patient died and it came to
       'laying out' the body, our relief was expressed in laughter and
       secret fun. The horrific was transmuted into a dramatic or
       comic episode. We developed a whole ancillary life of the
       ward for the nursing staff that was in counterpoint to the
       life of the patient with occasional bridges where content
       could be tolerable. But each of us knew that we were playing a game according to rules and so far as we could we filled
       roles as actors not as ourselves. For me, the great tension
       was that I was never allowed to be anything significant of
       myself (a young university graduate, a trained teacher doing
       his national service as a conscientious objector). I was
       allowed to be only a ward orderly and though I clearly was
       not the sort of lad who was usually a ward orderly, no one
       wished to know that or would seriously let me be otherwise; at
       least, not while we were on the wards.

I give my own meaning to all the people I meet, and I people my

meanings with what I create. When I make a statement about

another person, I am saying more about myself than I am saying

objectively about him.

In the T-Group, the trainers sees just so much: he does not see

(perceive, observe, understand) everything that goes on. Two people

co-training observe different processes and many be naturally disposed

to perceive things differently. Finding a co-trainer with whom one

can usefully and comfortably work is very difficult. Even a colleague

with whom one has great rapport may not be a good co-trainer because,

we say, we have 'incompatible styles'. But it is more than that.

There have been very few people I have been able to satisfactorily

co-train with but so far as I can tell they were all of different

personalities. The initial issue appears to be that you can both see

the same phenomena going on: that you can interpret with congruent

frames of reference, that you can share the same world. No trainer

is 'right' in this interpretation; he makes a selection from what

he sees and his perception is itself selective (to state the phenomen-

ological position). But congruence and compatibility are essential

for a useful, co-operative, working relationship. The trainer sees

what he is able to see, what he is able to cope with and it speaks

more of him than the people he observes even though his insight may

have enormous and traumatic value to them - as I shall discuss later.

I had another example of the mismatch of worlds at work. I am

constantly frustrated by my Head of Department because he is quite

incapable of seeing our world as I see it. (And no doubt he feels

the same about me though he would not express it this way). But I

am consoled and supported that many of my colleagues appear to think

as I do. They, too, feel they cannot get through, cannot make him
understand, cannot connect. We say that we inhabit different
worlds and explain by saying that our experiences of educational
institutions are different. Many of us have taught in several institu-
tions of Higher Education, our Head of Department has taught in only
one, this one. So we say that he sees everything in terms of an old
fashioned Further Education College while we see things in terms of
polytechnics. We think of ourselves as cosmopolitans and see him as
a local in Merton's terms. But when we use the same words we imbue
them with different meanings both connotatively and denotatively.

I am not saying here that experience alone conditions perception.
Clearly experience provides the models for future perceptions. Here
is another factor and that is how the individual is able to make sense
of his experiences. This is not, I hope, the argument between
nature and nurture because I shall explain later why I believe in
something unique and personal at the centre of being. The world in
which my Head of Department lives is a world he creates and contin-
ually recreates and for some reason is unable to break out of. These
reasons are deep at the heart of his understanding and knowledge of
himself because if he had a different perception of himself he would
construe his world differently. At least, it is clear to me that
this is so. The interpretation of any situation of which one is a
part requires one to include oneself in that situation. There are
times when we cannot do that because the situation is too threaten-
ing - that is, we undervalue our life or see ourself at risk and so
cannot respond. There is a whole class of activity where individuals
misconstrue the situation because they feel threatened. This class
is that of public violence or terror where individuals fail to see
themselves as part of the situation. For example, a cyclist is

being beaten up by a gang of youths and the passers-by ignore the

situation. The usual explanation is that they are afraid but there

is another element perhaps more critical as in Stephen Fink's model

of shock followed by denial. I was once walking on the beach with

my nephew on a beautiful summer's day. Faintly in the distance

there could be heard a sea animal calling. "That's someone calling

for help", said my nephew, "No it's not" I replied, "it's probably

a sea lion - you can see it out there. Or else it's a rock." In

fact it was a soldier who had fallen out of a boat and was blowing

his whistle and calling for help. After a while we realised what

the calls were and went for the inshore life boat. But I can well

recall that I passed through a period of denying that there could be

a man out at sea because I was quite uncertain if I could cope with

the situation - would I be thought silly if I was wrong, could I

manage to raise the alarm, what if I started going for help and

couldn't find it and had to give up? I believe that the importance

of my self-concept in my willingness and ability to construe the

situation was critical. Basically I saw myself as being unable to

cope with this new and unprecedented situation and so I tried to

make the situation other than it was.

Much of my clinical work has been of the same kind. Clients have

been incapacitated in dealing with their world because they could

not deal with themselves; they had a poor self-image; held themselves

in low esteem. As one built personal self confidence so they became

surer in their world and it became firmer, clearer and more manageable.

A depressed world became alive as a depressed individual lost his

depression. Many counselling starting points occur when a client

complains about his world and talks of the way in which all around

is threat and plots. One soon discovers that the paranoia lies in the

individual and as his personal fears dissolve so his view of the

world changes and behaviour which had been self-destructive

becomes positive and proactive again.

The other day, a group of us were discussing approaches to under-

standing organisations. One colleague described himself as a

structuralist which he defined as one who believes that if you

change the structure you change the behaviour; if you get the structure

right you get the behaviour right. I suppose a great deal of organ-

isation theory is based on this view and that is one of the reasons

I embarked on this study. My view is quite different and I describe

structure differently - structure is a description of what is seen/

believed to occur not of what is desired to occur. That I do not

believe in structuralism (or structural functionalism) is not import-

ant to me, to the point of intolerance and impatience with the alterna-

tive view. The structuralists are distancing themselves from what

actually goes on because, in my view, they find involvement threaten-

ing of their personal integrity. Distancing is a defence.

I found this recently in a young colleague who I have known for several

years though we have only begun to meet again professionally. He

knows me as a "phenomenologist"[1] and I think this presents him with

a threat. In a way phenomenologists are (or I believe them to be)

both more self-conscious and more self-indulgent. When you are

older and more advanced professionally you can afford this indulgence

and be careless about your reputation and academic stance. But a

young man, intent on making a respectable career may not feel so able.

Rob thinks me too careless and casual and my existential stance to be

too indisciplined - and too risky. I can sympathise with his concern

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[1]   I'm not entirely happy with this labelling but many of my
       professional colleagues use it of me so it is a useful shorthand.

for intellectual rigour but I see it as a concommitant of his

intellectual immaturity. So he adopts a 'systems' approach to

organisation and looks for concreteness and quantity in his pictures

of organisations. In practice, this means little more than lines,

circles, arrows and Venn diagrams but he believes it to be more

respectable. What I see him as doing is distancing himself from

his theories. If his theories can be shown to be 'objective' then

they are not his (ie, of him). Though he has created them (by

reading other writers and digesting their ideas, reordering and re-

evaluating them) they do not exist so much as his but as common

property. Under attack he is not being attacked, only his theories.

The phenomenologist has no such retreat; he is too closely associated

with his theories and attacks on the theories are attacks on him, on

the integrity and validity of his perceptions. The older phenomen-

ologist does not care about this because he has came to terms with

himself and that is why he can offer himself at the same surface

level as his theories. But I am not saying that all 'objective'

theories are invalid; I only say that it is my belief that in this

case my young friend is using his models to distance himself from

them and so avoid the pain of vulnerability.

Structuralists can consider personality (the self-concept) as only a

secondary variable while I see it as the primary variable. It is

not the positions that I and my head of department hold that makes

us behave as we do, nor even other personalities alone because we

behave differently when not in the roles. But it is our perceptions

of the roles that is critical and this perception, in my view, is

determined by personality and not experience. Of course, experience

affects personality but only in so far as it hinders or helps the

individual in his discovery of himself. This is a therapeutic model

described very persuasively by Carl Rogers,

> "One simple observation, which is repeated over and over
> again in each therapeutic case, seems to have rather deep
> theoretical implications. It is that as changes occur in the
> perception of self and the perception of reality, changes
> occur in behaviour. In therapy, these perceptional changes
> are more often concerned with the self than with the external
> world. Hence we find in therapy that as the perception of
> self alters, behaviour alters."[1]

I admit that this position is arguable, but not conclusively so,

and I am forced to relate it to my experience (or my interpretation

of my experience) which is the only verification I have. Most therapy

proceeds on this basis and I take it is axiomatic in my theory of

organisational change. It is at the core of my paper, "Training

People to Understand Organisations: A Clinical Approach".[2] Rogers

continues to explain how an individual deals with his experience and

changes his self concept.

> "The individual is continually endeavouring to meet his
> needs by reacting to the field of expereince as he
> perceives it, and to do that more efficiently by different-
> iating elements of the field and reintegrating them into
> new patterns. Reorganisation of the field may involve the
> reorganisation of the self as well as other parts of the field.
> The self, however, resists reorganisation and change. In
> everyday life individual readjustment by means of reorgan-
> isation of the field exclusive of the self is more common
> and is less threatening to the individual. Consequently,
> the individuals first mode of adjustment is the reorganisa-
> tion of that part of the field which does not include the
> self."[3]

This means that we prefer to change our view of organisation rather

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[1]   Some Observations on the Organisation of Personality in
        Lazarus, Richard S et al, Penguin 1972, p 106.

[2]   B. J. of In-Service Education, Vol 3, No 1, Autumn 1976.

[3]   Rogers, (1947) op cit. p.112.

than our view of ourself. We see the organisation as hostile

rather than seeing the cause of alienation to be in ourself -

perhaps we were over ambitious or unrealistic in what we thought

we could achieve. I knew one Vice Principal who gave in his

outward appearance all the signs of being well adjusted, well organ-

ised, in control of the situation and coolly efficient. A psycho-

analyst (Freudian) would, of course, immediately recognise the

over-control of the obsessive and threatened personality. His

clothes were smart and neat but in dark and subdued colours. His

handwriting was small and neat, highly controlled and over precise.

His facial flesh was sickly, blotched and greasy and though he talked

calmly he talked obsessively. He would speak at length at meetings

for up to an hour and a half and leave only a few moments for

questions and then leave abruptly. He would be absent for several

weeks at a time with undisclosed illness. In spite of his awkward

calm he was deeply emotional and a vein in his neck would throb when

he was challenged. He had been second in command to an entrepreneurial

and maverick Principal and in the new organisation (an amalgamation

of colleges) he was one of three Vice-Principals. For five years he

had bridged the chasm between the two uniting institutions represent-

ing the older but smaller one. Gradually, however, he became prone

to making emotional outbursts about his former colleagues as having

let the (former) college down, of not having taken the opportunities

offered, of letting down the established values of the old institution.

But he was increasingly isolated not only from his old colleagues

but from his new ones and began to make disastrous political mistakes.

He was described as a "good No 2" but out of his depth in the new

post. Increasingly he came to be resented and isolated. He never

consorted with his old colleagues from whose ranks he had been once

promoted; he took his coffee breaks alone and sent out for lunch-
time sandwiches which again he ate in isolation.

Of course, this is my interpretation of the situation and the man.
I was part of his organisation and I created him even as I wrote
about him. But I pieced the story together the very day I wrote
it and everything in the preceeding paragraph I heard today, the day
I write. The point I make about this Vice-Principal is that the
frightened little boy inside him responded to his world and created
it the way he felt most able to cope. The fact that he could not
cope[1] was part of his tragedy. I can guess what would happen to him
in psychotherapy or counselling on the basis of my previous clinical
experience. He would be very defensive at first, trying to reinforce
his image of a man in control, able to behave objectively and dispas-
sionately and at a cerebral level. But suddently he would break,
there would be a catharsis, he would admit to something about him-
self that he had been trying to hide and deny. But he would discover
that what had to him been unacceptable was no horror to the therapist
but, on the contrary, both normal and acceptable. From this acknowledge-
ment and acceptance by the other, there would be acknowledgement and
acceptance by himself and the process of building up would begin.
In the end, he would be more realistic about himself and come to view
his world differently, as no longer hostile but welcoming (or at least
neutral). As his perception changed and was reinforced by experience
so the new experiences would reinforce the perceptions. As he behaved
differently, so his colleagues would behave differently and their would
be a collective change in "the Organisation".

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[1]   Strictly speaking, of course, he was coping but defensively and
       at great personal (and organisational) cost.

My experience as a therapist is that this is what always happens though there are enormous variances on the time scale from a few minutes to several days and weeks. The more normal and uncompli- cated the problem the shorter the time. Highly complex and convoluted problems take a great deal longer and there are aspects of the time scale I do not fully understand. Therapy seminars - and I am usually speaking of a group therapy seminar of between 20 and 30 hours - do seem to have a natural form of development in the same way as holidays of whatever length have a similar pattern of development. Long term therapy may have a pattern conditioned entirely by the common aware- ness of the time available though I have come to experience some quite brief therapy seminars which seemed to permit all that was needed to happen in a very short time indeed.

My point about therapy/counselling is that the rediscovery of the self always follows a certain pattern either openly in a group client therapist episode or vicariously by being a sympathetic group member 'observing' a therapy episode. The presenting problem which the client obviously 'presents' in some way is always followed by denial in the area where therapy is needed. The therapeutic episode always resolves itself in catharsis and this leads to a revaluation of the self and leads to a changed self-concept.

Somewhat diffidently I have come to use the term 'natural' self [1] though I appreciate difficulties around the idea of what is 'natural'. By natural self I mean that self which is centred on an integrated unique self-consciousness, the core or basic self. This is the ultimate sense of "me" or "I" in which I am conscious of the different- iation from "other", perhaps the same as Buber's 'I - thou' concept. Because I can only experience myself through 'other' (and that usually

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[1] e.g. in "Change and Management in Education" (1979)

means other people and 'other selfs') my sense of personal identity

becomes confused, overlaid with other people's sense of identity

and, even more unfortunately, other people's ascriptions to me of

my sense of identity. So often I am forced to interpret my

experience of myself in terms of other people's interpretation and

other people's language. On the two major dimensions or levels of

cognition and affect (mental and emotional awareness) I take to my-

self the interpretation of others and this begins in early childhood

and even at conception. In normal conversation we are all of us

subjected to a whole barrage of interpretations of ourself by others

so that it is no wonder it is so difficult to gain a clear sense of

ones-self.

I recall the commencement of a new training group today; not a full

blown T-Group but one where group process skills were being used to

facilitate the task of learning about management. We began with

sharing expectations about the programme, what we were hoping for

and what we count as indicators of a successful course. Everyone

who spoke immediately had his words 'interpreted' for him by someone

else, either by false identification ("yes- that's just what I feel")

or reinterpretation ("What you really mean is ...") No one 'heard'

what others were saying; no one was aware that what 'we heard' was

not what was said; no one wanted to clarify what was said. In the

process of facilitation and helping people to listen, the enormity

of not hearing and interpreting become apparent and we begin to

realise (and I include myself in this) how much we hear what we want

to hear and consequently how much we distort for the speaker him-

self as well.

One type of episode that occurs with constant frequency in the groups

I facilitate in a counselling mode, has to do with the relationship

between an individual and his parents, most particularly his/her

mother. Although I have kept no records of therapeutic episodes,

I can recall no instance when the critical relationship has not

been with the mother. The influence of the mother (or mother surro-

gate) in the development of a self-concept seems to be absolutely

critical. The catharsis occurs in killing off emotionally the mother;

that is, in losing emotional dependence on the mother. Characteristi-

cally the mother fixation is to do with the granting of permission to

be oneself. Mothers 'put on' to their children a complexity of demands

that the child cannot fulfill and for which the child suffers extreme

guilt feelings. In my own practice, I have not used the theories of

Transactional Analysis nor have I employed a complete Jungian inter-

pretation though I believe my thinking has been considerably influenced

by Jung and also Fritz Perls. So I do not go so far as to make a

neat model on the Parent Adult Child pattern/matrix or the Jungian

model of persona, animus (a) etc. I believe the Jungian perspective

has a lot to commend it and I have used the Briggs-Myers Type inventory

to help people to understand themselves. But I have found that in

working with people in groups and individually, the most useful part

of my intellectual resources is not having too defining a model other-

wise I look for confirmation of interpretations rather than seeing

the problems unfold in their own right.

There is, nevertheless, something of a dilemma here. There is no way

in which I can be free of ideas, models and preferences and the

greater my experiences the more solid an unconscious model I have

in my own mind. I am bound to interpret what I see and hear in terms

of my model.[1] Am I, the therapist, simply replacing the

mother and imposing my interpretation of the desired 'self' on the

client? There is a danger but I do not think that the facilitator

or therapist is in that sort of relationship with the client.

The child is in almost every way dependent on the mother and the

mother is an authority figure who draws the child towards her. The

therapist on the other hand while still an authority figure (an essen-

tial element in the contract that gives the relationship coherence and

stability) is pushing the client back towards himself, ie, away from

the therapist. This does lead to dependency[2] but at a different level.

In therapy the client discovers a level of autonomy or independence

critical to his being 'self-actualising' and the dependence is more

generalised.   I emphasise the problems of dependency because

they are crucial to my theory of group development but at this point

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[1]   I found this happening again the day I wrote this. In a new
group one of the members (in fact, the one who brought the
group together) began to describe his problem which was that
there was a tension for him about being efficient, competent,
neat and correct and wanting to take things easy, allow things
to look after themselves, not be unduly pressurised or made
to complete business in the bureaucratically required way.
I at once found my mind ticking over and providing me with
an interpretation which suited by theory of an internal
authority figure from childhood (mother plus father plus
teacher etc, etc.) from whom he would need to be free if
he is to discover himself. Because I found him an attractive
person, I was anxious to give this interpretation and so
'help' him though I guess I was more concerned to win his
approval and allegiance. As a method of technique, I see
the sharing of the therapist's interpretations openly with
the client to be a forceful method of therapy, but we must
do this openly and consciously for otherwise we may find ways
of forcing our personal interpretation onto the client, make
him a dependent in our self-dominated world.

[2]   One thinks of the dependency of authority in prison camps
and penal institutions.

I wish to explain only that the intention of bringing the client to

catharsis is to free him of his inhibitions and blockages and give

him freedom to be in control of himself, and so discover more and more

his true or natural self.

A central issue in the discovery of the self is that of freedom and

the handling of freedom. All therapy is concerned with helping

the client to discover greater freedom for himself and to be more

autonomous.[1] Fear, as Eric Fromm so forcefully illustrates, is the

great problem of the man who would be free. If we are free then we

are responsible only to ourselves and this makes us feel exceedingly

insecure. Bondage takes away freedom but it gives security. Many

individuals are unable to discover themselves because of their fear

of self-responsibility. Yet this very fear is one of the hangups

that the therapist must help them to overcome and in a sense fear is

overcome only when the individual fully comes to terms with himself, -

is totally self-accepting by recognising that in the end there is no

one but himself. Solzhenitsyn describes in the Gulag Archipelago, how

in the prison camp he eventually found (experienced) full freedom when

his guards had taken away from him every worldly possession. Then

they had no more power over him.

The most spectacular experiences I have had in therapy groups -

actually in Encounter groups - were when individuals came to an

awareness of their ultimate loneliness. This is a terrible condition

to be in but an absolutely fundamental one. In one case, the client

went into a state of collapse, physical as well as emotional, when

she 'realised' that she was "nothing"; that at the centre of her very

being she was "nothing". This is a frightening state to be in for

both client and therapist but it is of fundamental significance. In

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[1] This is exactly what the Head of Brookfield School wished for his
colleagues. It is the core of the dilemma over ceasing to be dependent.
Because of fear, members wish to remain dependent or counterdependent.

the end we can only experience ourself; the inner me. The more I
look within the less I see except for a great emptyness. But this
is only to realise the essence of self - of course, there can be no
one else within but myself and while I appear to be a hole, a
vacuum I am at least aware of that vacuum and it is I who am aware
of it. In looking into the Black Hole of myself I discover my own
true self unaffected by anyone else, and I can begin to build myself
up from this experience by an increasing awareness of my autonomous
actions of self recreation. To say (as this client did) "I am
nothing" is actually to realise the essence of being 'someone'; only
'someone' can experience "nothing".

I have feelings of some anxiety around this view yet I have clinical
evidence of the state on several occasions and it fits in very well
with the conceptual model I am building. My anxieties arise from
the problem of professional code of practice and the problem of
accreditation and professional acceptability. To take - or be
responsible for - people to the point of their discovering an inner
being where they find nothing is to enter the realms of religious
experience - subjectivity par excellence and not the subject of an
'academic' study. And I am also conscious of an episode that Jung
relates which I take as a terrible caution to the therapist and a
dire warning to the amateur. In his "Memories, Dreams, Reflections",
Jung relates a case where he was unable to continue therapy because
he discovered that if he took his client deeper into himself he would
discover that there was just nothing there and that would tip him
over into madness. I think this is a fear that many therapists have
from time to time.

In my view, the idea that right at the centre of our being we have

only ourself is fundamental to a theory of personality. But I

see this central self as a complete consciousness of self, the nucleus

around which we can consciously build a consistent and integrated

self. I prefer to think of this as a discovery of self because it

is already present but needs only to grow and develop as we do

physically. Often, the self-concept is bound up with the sense of

the physical self; certainly there are many inhibitions about the

physical self though we can never see or experience ourself from out-

side; we simply project our perception into the surrounding physical

context. That is, my sense of height or growth, beauty or ugliness

is a projection into the world that that is how others see me. But

I can never know how they see me.

The discovery of the nothingness of the self is the ultimate freedom.

At least, that is what we really are discovering. It is not that

there is 'nothing' but rather that I am alone, on my own - it is that

that is the fear. As Jung expresses it, "Wherever there is a reaching

down into the intermost experience, into the nucleus of personality,

most people are overcome by fright, and many run away."[1] This

discovery of nothingness is coming face to face with oneself and though

it is the ultimate loneliness at least we know that we are there; it

is proof of our existence and holds the needs of security. This is

also the nature of the religious experience. The worst in life that

can happen is for us to be left alone but left alone and not tortured,

brutalised or maimed, we can always survive and grow. German and

Turkish prison camps provide examples of how individuals survived by

retaining their integrity. The Christians recall Dietrich Bonhoeffer

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[1]   Memories, Dreams Reflection p 164

and the secular world also recalls Solzhenitsyn. And there are others. The final loneliness is being isolated in prison but that is also where we find ourself.

A gloss on this view is the hospital experience. Being ill is a curtailment of the self, a physical diminishing. I am not sure whether lack of fear of hospitals and surgery is a concommitant of a well developed self-concept or a poorly developed one. If one views hospitals as places which 'cure' then the self-concept will be enriched but if one sees hospitals as destructive places which take something away from us then they will threaten the self-concept. Perhaps hospitals provide some people with affirmation, prove that they matter and that people care while for others they represent ill informed inter- ference with natural processes. I recall that when I started to pay regular visits to the dentist in my early twenties having overcome the dreadful fears of school dentists in childhood, I had a great confidence in my dental surgeon who had a considerable reputation for competence. Going to the dentist became no problem, indeed going without fear became a matter of pride and I had no qualms about receiving treatement. More recently I had a bad experience of a new dentist as a consequence of which I find it exceedingly difficult (and often impossible) to permit him to probe deeply in my mouth. I believe this change, however, to be more than just the consequence of experience, I believe I have become more concerned about myself and less able to accept that I am so naturally healthy as to need little or no treatment. In some way, my self-concept has been damaged and there is now a fear where once there was none. One change I identify is that the attitude of the dentist to me is much less accepting than my original dentist - and in the dehumanising atmos- phere of the dentist's surgery, I find it difficult to retain my high

self-concept. The change in cure rate of patients has notably

changed as a consequence of the way hospitals see patients and

disease. Operations that once led to weeks of incapacitation are

now followed by little more than a few hours of being confined to

bed and there would appear to be a close relationship between the

self-concept and the messages we perceive from others.

To overcome the essential loneliness we have first of all to accept

it. To accept that we are always in the end on our own. This is

the hard thing to do. But when we can accept the loneliness and

see that it is 'good', that this 'last thing' is ourself and we can

cope and manage, then growth and development can occur. I believe

that many people have discovered this through the Personal Growth

movement though not nearly so many people think they have because so

many simply discover a dependence on a system, an ideology, a guru.

I find one of the oddest features of the Personal Growth Movement,

the number of trainers, facilitators and therapists who list as of

primary importance in their qualifications the pundits under whom

they have trained. It reminds me of the lady I know who is constantly

telling me that she is an 'autonomous' person and therefore she can

manage without me; but she keeps telling me this every time she asks

me for a job.

One aspect of personality that has continually impressed me is a

quality that I call integrity[1] or wholeness and which others have

called "consistency"[2]. I sometimes used the term "persistence" of

personality because it has become increasingly clear that people do

behave in highly consistent ways. Indeed personal relations are only

possible because of the predictability of behaviour; a predictability

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1 Storr A: The Integrity of the Personality, Penguin Books (1977).

2 Lecky, P: Self-Consistency: A Theory of Personality, Island
   Press, New York (1945).

of which the individual is often himself unaware. For example, only today a young colleague said to me, "You're not like the other staff here, you're different". I was somewhat startled to hear this but on reflection not only is it true but I want it to be true. However, I am quite unconscious of this "being different" because all the time I seem quite familiar (and comfortable) with myself. I have found the same consistency in others in that I can be quite certain how they will behave in new circumstances by guessing that they will behave 'characteristically'. And this is how we often decide who to invite to a dinner party and who to exclude from an excursion.

I am aware of the problem of phenomenology in that it is likely to disappear into its own swirl and P E Vernon makes a comment both wry and conclusive. He says

> "If a persons behaviour is determined solely by his phenomenal
> field, this notion of 'field' lacks any explanatory value;
> it just is his total psychological process."[1]

But the biggest arguement is that phenomenological theories do the other psychologists out of a job, particularly the psychometricists. My own view is that we have to work with what is available and the psychotherapist, the counsellor and the group facilitator has to deal with the whole person not the parts that can be conveniently abstracted and studied while the person has passed on. The perseverance, persistenace and/or consistency of the personality is the experience we share with the other person but our predictions are not about the 'surface' activities observable now but our recollection of character-istics which we experienced in the past, are now in abeyance, but which we are reasonably certain will exhibit themselves in a desirable future.

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[1]   P E Vernon, Personality Assessment, Methuen, London, (1966).

My leaning towards this holistic, phenomenological approach doubtless derives from the activities in which I have had professionally to relate to people. As a teacher, I have always had to remember that each pupil is a whole person and not just a student of English literature, social psychology or whatever. I have sometimes had to remind myself forcibly that a student who just cannot do my subject is nevertheless a totally worthy person and possibly more likeable than some who are good at it. As a teacher of management I have always had to remember that managers are just complex people who need many talents and skills and who never behave as managers on a single behavoural dimension. As a group facilitator, I have constantly to keep in mind a whole, rounded person for each group member trailing together all the threads of personal understanding and interpretation. And as a counsellor I have always tried to see the full potential person and not just the distressed 'personality' presented to me in session.

But, of course, my personal preferences do not constitute a theory even if they point in the direction of one. The theory came in 1971 when I was introduced to the theory of Harvey, Hunt and Schroder where an integration is made of personality concepts and concepts about group behaviour, group processes. As I have already explained, I have used this as the basis for much of my thinking about group and organisational behaviour and I have given examples of its application earlier. In this theory the integration of the individual and the organisation is 'theoretically' complete. But for me it was not quite enough.

The frustrating aspect of studying human behaviour is that so much is unknown both to the observer and the subject of study. Time and again in group seminars information is withheld only to be revealed much later on; information that may totally change the picture and inter-pretation. A well known experience of facilitators as of therapists

is the sense that what is being said is phoney; somehow one
knows that this is not really the problem or the explanation even
though one can work through to an explanation. Not infrequently
in groups, information is uncovered quite late in the process that
changes the interpreation of a wide range of previous events and
provides a different explanation/understanding of events that have
occurred. This is even more common in organisational consultancy
where critical factors are totally hidden and surface only at a
very late stage of investigation, sometimes changing the understanding
completely. Again, in the Brookfield case this kind of thing happened
quite often of which the case of Henley is a mild example.

So the interest of the therapist, consultant, counsellor is in the
'total' scene so far as he can understand it and theorise about it.
Traditionally, the training of the counsellor has been concerned with,
among other things, helping him to understand himself and his own
way of looking at things so that he does not interpose his own inter-
pretative models on the situation he has to counsel and so miss the
significance of his clients interpretations. But if interpretations
are a function of personality (the self concept) there is no way we
can avoid making interpretations which are idiographic, idiosyncratic
and we shall always make at least part of another's picture part of our
own. Furthermore, if we take a holistic or gestalt view of the self
concept, our pictures are persistently holistic themselves, complex
gestalts which can only be understood in a gross and complex long
term sense. That is to say, my perceptual models are built into my
perception. They are not easily isolatable components. My world
view is always the same world view and I shall consistently and
persistently think in this way.

As I glance at P E Vernon's book on personality assessment, which contains erudite summaries of different psychological theories academically and urbanely treated, I realise that even though he is familiar with a host of views and theories nevertheless he continues on his own view of things. Although his opinions and ideas may be modified, challenged and improved, the basic personal disposition that leads to his adopting and maintaining a certain view remains constant. It is this general disposition of personality that is the critical factor. On the other hand my personal disposition is towards the self-theorists so I do not even bother to read about the others. But suppose Vernon were to change his views. Suppose he were to espouse an existential view of psychology; would that mean that his basic personality had changed? I think not. Whatever the intellectual reasons for the change, the resultant attitude would have an affective base consistent with his personality. If it is true that evil men can be concentration camp guards under Hitler or prison wardens under Adenauer; then priests are still priests under both Hitler and Adenauer without changing their basic personality characteristics and still retaining the same basic self concept. Though, of course, we grow and mature and our superficial values change accordingly.

I came to understand the persistence of personality and developed a way of explaining how personality expresses itself in our own self-awareness in a series of organisational incidents in which I was the main actor. Circumstances arose when I had to face and come to terms with understanding about myself which were very uncomfortable and in which my personal sense of esteem was put very much to the test. I describe how it happened in an autobiographical episode. This is part of my own narrative "story".

This is an account of an episode in which I was the principal

actor during my last eighteen months at N.E. London Polytechnic.

I kept no diary of events and can do no more than draw on my

recollections. To that extent this is an auto-biographical account

of the sort that goes to make up any number of published auto-

biographies. There were two factors during the course of the events

that relate to the present manner of their recall. One is that

single events did not always have great significance at the time

they occurred; it was only after the event that the story unfolded.

Second is that once I became aware of a sequence emerging, its

recounting was too painful for me to set the record down. Both these

factors, are, of course, significant in themselves and point to an

area of interest - the emotional situation and its relation to

recollection: Wordsworth's "emotion recollected in tranquility" and

also the ability to recount events that occurs in psycho-analysis

when an event is too painful to be voiced or recalled.

I joined the North East London Polytechnic in May 1973 from the

University of Keele where I had been lecturer in Educational Admin-

istration. My position was Principal Lecturer in Education Management

at The Anglian Regional Management Centre, a faculty of N.E. London

Polytechnic but operating at the margins as an entrepreneural

institution in management education. The innovative atmosphere and

pressures were such that encouraged me to set up the Organisation

Studies Unit in the Faculty in 1974 with the promise and hopes of

resources but they were never forthcoming, and the move was in any

case enmeshed in a political situation of which I was only partly

aware - or which I was not willing fully to apprehend.

I never felt very ppy about myself at N.E. London Polytechnic.

Try as I might to find a significant place for myself, I never obtained

the position - status - I needed and although I was Head of the

Organisation Studies Unit, I knew this was my being shunted into

a siding. My real interests were always in educational institutions

not industrial and commercial management and the Anglian Regional

Management Centre was not the right environment for me. However,

I began to build up my work in education and there were very distinct

opportunities to develop further. Clearly my position at ARMC was

at risk in a proposed reorganisation especially since I had developed

a mutually shared antagonism towards the Dean of the Management

Faculty.

In the autumn of 1978, George Chadwick, Head of the School of Educa-

tion, began to encourage me to seek a move to the Education Faculty.

This was by now my own inclination and I colluded with his desires.

He suggested that I use my influence with Jean Rossiter, Dean of

Education and Humanities who was also like all the Deans an assistant

director. I had always had a good relationship with her since I had

started at the Polytechnic and it seemed eminently sensible to

enlist her support. She agreed and we tried to use the system to

enable me to obtain a transfer not initially into Education but into

her central division, the Division of Staff and Educational Develop-

ment (DSED). Events seemed to be going well though I detected

problems over bargaining for posts and the reluctance of Bryan

Littlewood, Dean of the Management Faculty, to let me go without

a replacement. This was understandable in a period of retrenchment

though it had never been an issue with any previous reassortments

initiated by members of the directorate.

By Christmas 1977 arrangements had been made. Bryan Littlewood was

somewhat peeved because I had not initiated my move with him; the

reason being that I felt already that I was no longer persona grata, having opposed him on a number of occasions. I was happy to be moving to work with George Chadwick because we had become very friendly and had plans for cooperation and because I had always got on well with Jean Rossiter. In spite of warnings from many people, I felt I could cope with her very well. By the end of the autumn term, every-thing was arranged for a two-term secondment, prelude to a full time arrangement.

Now I am aware that there are a lot of factors in the situation that already I have discounted as of any great significance. There are questions of my relationship with the Dean of Management, the Head of the School of Education and relationships with a number of other people both passing and substantial. There are other factors I could guess at and more that I am unaware of. Even recalling information and processing it into a literary form presents problems of omission, bias, interpretation and order - logical and temporal. My written perception is less than my mental perception for I can juggle with more ideas in my mind than I can order on paper. And there is the need to arrange events and interpretations to suit my purpose and theoretical standpoint. But the gist of what I have written and will now continue to write seems fairly clear to me. I am certain of one thing, in October 1977 my relationship with Jean Rossiter was very good but by October 1978 it had degenerated to the worst I have ever experienced.

Just before the end of the christmas term 1977, as the plans for my move to Barking were completed and I had helped to interview the woman who was to be my shared secretary, Jean and I went for lunch. Taking lunch together was part of work culture whether in the poly-

technic or a local pub. People often went out for lunch to a

local pub especially if they had a personal relationship as well

as a business one. Hence it was quite natural to go out with a

colleague for a chat and to plan things. But this time things had

begun to change. We were no longer friends but boss and subordinate -

at least things began to point that way. The gist of what Jean Rossiter

had to say was as follows:

> "It is very clear that you have enemies in the poly. I have
> had a Dicken's of a job getting you for this post and as
> it is it is only a temporary arrangement. Someone has
> been telling George (George Brosan, the Director) about you
> and he doesn't like you. You are believed to be disloyal
> and subversive . Now if you are to merit this change you
> will obviously have to justify yourself and prove your
> ability. I have every confidence in you but obviously no
> one else has. You will have to deliver now and not just
> talk about things. On no account must you communicate
> with the Director because that will only make things worse.
> I know you can do things but you will have to prove it.
> There is, of course, no chance of you getting promotion
> so you mustn't think about that. I can't promote you over
> the other three in the division (two senior lecturers and a
> Lecturer II: I was Principal Lecturer) as you would be
> unacceptable to them. I hope you are going to make a good
> thing of this job as I am expecting a good deal of you."

Naturally I was disturbed. This was hardly the way friends talk to

one another and it augured badly for my new assignment. Who were

these enemies, colleagues who had put the boot in? She would not

say. But my relationship with George Brosan was good, I protested,

"I don't expect he even knows who you are," she retorted. So it

went on. When the term began I tried to work furiously but to no

avail. Whatever I did was wrong. I had spoken to the wrong people

or not spoken to them. I had written papers instead of taking

action or taken action when I should have considered things at greater

length. My mail was intercepted, opened and comments written on it.

I had an increasing amount of negative feedback and could clearly do

no right. Several times I was told that promotion was not possible

nor should I look for it. I was criticised for producing nothing

and what I did produce was discounted. She declared that my written

work was of a low academic standard as she had shown it round and

asked for opinions. She even said this of work which was subsequently

published. I took this hard but was consoled that her opinion was not

substantiated by referees whose opinion I valued more. My spirits

fell and I became depressed and moody. I stopped seeing her whenever

I could and behaved so as to deliberately avoid her.

Outside I had much support and many friends and there was much amuse-

ment that I, of all people, should have this happen. Others were

clear about her and in no circumstances would they work for her. But,

of course, if anyone could cope it was me - that was the general

agreement. The situation began to get worse as more and more nega-

tive feelings were directed towards me and eventually I could stand

it no longer - though just how 'desperate' I was I shall never know

because I applied for another job and was appointed to Huddersfield

Polytechnic in October 1978. Once I had the new job, I sent in my

letter of resignation and avoided meeting Jean Rossiter for the rest

of the term. Apart from one brief phone call, we never even spoke

and I just faded away from the scene.

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The foregoing will serve as an account of events. Details could be

filled in and additional information elicited by asking questions of

me and it might well be useful if the questions and answers were

recorded at this stage of proceedings. But now I want to embark on

an analysis of the events. As I recall, illuminations came to me

over a period of reflection lasting a year from the lunch time

meeting in December 1977 to a counselling training session I led

in December 1978. On this latter occasion, I presented my own

situation as a case study and the members of the group helped me

with an analysis.

My first meeting with Jean Rossiter was when I was invited to her

home in my first term at N.E.L.P. She had invited some of the

senior members of staff known for their originality and energy to

a supper party to discuss the future of the polytechnic. She was

one of 5 assistant directors at that time and her responsibility was

for staffing and Personnel. I enjoyed the experience, was flattered

to be included in an elite and as the only new comer there, among

about eight people, as polite and socially active as was my usual

inclination. I can, I believe, be a lively and stimulating member of

any group if so in the mood.

There were several of these events over the years and I treated

Jean's attitude as one of friendship as well as a professional

relationship. Again, it was within the cultural norms of the poly-

technic for social and professional activities to interleave. On

one occasion I was unable to attend a soiree and we met for a meal;

on another I was invited with one or two other colleagues for a

social evening. Over the period of four years we must have met on

several occasions; we met just the two of us about three times when

I had matters I wanted to discuss and on one occasion I invited her to

my home for a purely social event at which others were present. I was

always aware of her position as Assistant Director but have never

considered status differences to be important though one must be

discreet.

I have always found Jean Rossiter physically unattractive. A

single woman "of a certain age" is always an enigma to a man. I

am unmarried myself, apparently quite attractive to women but not

interested in older women sexually. I've always had my own

reasonably secure relations with women and know where I want to be.

The fact that I am unmarried does not make me any more available than

any other discerning man. So, as far as I can deduce, I gave no

signals of interest in Jean Rossiter although it seems clear that she

perceived my thoughtfulness and friendship as perhaps something more.

She had, in fact, declared our relationship as one of 'friendship' and

I was quite happy to think of it in such a way. All relationships

with women do not have to be romantic. Or do they?

One of the 'facts' in the situation is that none of the men I knew

found her attractive and few of her colleagues, as I understand, hold

her in any esteem. She is generally disregarded, disliked and derived

as ineffective and inefficient. In all my dealings with her she was

a laughing stock in the estimation of most others and the joke arose

"Dean, Jean the Casserole Queen" in allusion to her supper parties.

Certainly I tended to offer her regard and respect that most of her

colleagues would not give - but I believe that to be part of my

considerate nature. And I think my behaviour would have been the

same even if she were not in a superior management situation.

The last of these supper evenings was in the first term of my working

with her when I visited her for supper to try to sort out our relation-

ship and the job. She invited me to talk things over alone at her

home. I had sensed that things were not working out well. I had

firm ideas about Staff and Educational Development and was quite

clear about the direction I wanted to go. I perceived that there

was plenty of room for me and three or four other colleagues

all in the same Division. I felt I might be a 'threat' in some

way as a professional academic, theorist and trainer while her

training and qualifications were all in administration. She was

not, nor had she ever been an "academic" and I was increasingly

aware that she did not understand how academics work, research and

organise their lives. Quite soon, our relationship was at risk.

Clearly we were by this time fighting and I was a threat to her

authority. I must admit that my defence was to offer her help and

counselling but she flatly refused this - and I now well understand

why - and stated clearly that my relationship at work was subordinate

to her. There was no way I was going to allow her to boss me but the

evening was cut short by a mysterious telephone call and I was

unceremoniously bundled out of the house and on my two hour journey

back to Colchester from London . I can't say what would have trans-

pired had we argued things out but our friendly relationship had come

to an end and I guess I was naive if not innocent. I believe her

phone call was from a boy friend (do women have "boy" friends at 53?)

and she had claimed to have a boy friend before[1] - an idea which

seemed to amuse everyone who heard it.

So here was I saddled with a woman as boss for whom I felt almost

physical loathing, yet to whom I had over the years been (unusually?)

gallant. Having women of my own to occupy me, she was no object of

my romantic desire yet was I an object of hers? Did she unbeknown

even to herself desire something from me that I would not give and

she wouldn't even know how to ask for? My colleagues in the Counsel-

ling group say this must have been the case. They say I gave

unwitting encouragement to her, led her on, gave signals of caring

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[1]   This, of course, is one of my fantasies around the situation;
       a way of seeing her in a comic light and so justifying myself.
       It is also scurrilous and perhaps that is one of my ways of
       dealings with difficult situations.

for her more than any of her other colleagues who actively and openly despised her. The fact is that that explanation makes some good sense - "hell hath no fury like a woman spurned". That would explain a lot but would it explain everything?

I believe the relationship that developed to be quite complex. There's no doubt that I was flattered in the interest shown by a senior person and I am fairly certain I would not have chosen her friendship had she been an equal in the organisation.[1] On the other hand, she did make a good deal of the running, took initiatives and I should have responded under most circumstances. I guess, however, that there was some playing politics and clearly I did that badly. But what were the alternatives? I had to deal with the situation as I perceived it - even if I had a clouded perception. I achieved a good deal and I lost a good deal but my view of the organisation and my consequent behaviour were entirely influenced by my view of this one person. All my other relationships were affected (and I had some very good ones) but my friends were made to suffer not only by my own unhappiness but my preoccupation with this one woman. She became an obsession which perverted my judgement and once caught up in the situation I was quite unable to behave rationally.

There is no doubt that my move to Huddersfield was brought about by my dislike of my position at N.E.L.P. and to some extent my new position is put at risk because I accepted a level of job lower than I could have expected had I stayed at N.E.L.P. Of course, there is a good deal of learning about myself and about the politics of organ- isation so that I am exceedingly cautious on what I do. I have used the experience in my model building of organisations and like a good

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[1]   I believe I have been unfair on myself here. I believe I would always return the offer of friendship with friendship.

applied behavioural scientist make the most of my experience.

Perhaps the best learning is about the uncontrolability of situations

in which one finds oneself. If so, there are many questions about

coping and the discovery of help within organisational settings.

One feature of the foregoing narrative is that my view of the

situation is modifed each time I read the account. I put a good

deal of emotion into recalling the situation and there was a

real need for purging myself. The more I contemplate the episode

the more aware I become of the complexity of feelings and inter-

pretations. After the event, alternative explanations come to mind

and alternative strategies. Had I been recounting to an investigator,

he would have heard only what was my current interpretation affected

additionally by my affective disposition towards him. There is no

doubt that not only did I create the narrative but also the drama of

the situation while it was going on. It was impossible, of course,

in this instance to obtain a comparable narrative from the other

key protagonist.

Maurice Natanson quotes James Agee in a relevant comment.

> In a novel, a house or a person has his meaning, his exist-
> ence entirely through the writer. Here, a house or a person
> has only the most limited of his meaning through me; his
> true meaning is much huger. It is that he exists, in actual
> being as you and I do, and as no character of the imagination
> can possibly exist. His great weight, mystery and dignity
> are in this fact.. As for me, I can tell you of him only
> what I saw and only so accurately as in my terms I know
> him; and this in turn has its chief stature not in any
> ability of mine but in the fact that I too exist, not as a
> work of fiction, but as a human being. Because of his
> unmeasurable weight in actual existence, and because of mine,
> every word I tell of him has a kind of immediacy, a kind
> of measuring, not at all necessarily "superior" to that of
> imagination, but of a kind so different that a work of imag-
> ination (however intensely it may draw on 'life') can at best
> only faintly imitate the least of it.

The important learning for me about the N.E.L.P. episode is that

we do create our own fictions out of life and sometimes we see the

reality we experience less clearly than the reality on which we

reflect. The problem of discovering "reality" in sociological

research as in psychological investigation is that everything

becomes a form of fiction. And organisations are the greatest

fiction of them all.

One major contention that I would hold is that not only do we

develop a congruent composite perspective - but we give a kind of

order to that perspective. In my case, there was a literary

perspective which must owe something to my early training and

experience. My first degree was in English language and literature

and while I was an undergraduate I wrote a lot of plays and variety

sketches. My own account of my episode at N.E.L.P. was a literary

creation informed by a sense of narrative and my ability to construct

events into a prose style. While an obvious method of analysis would

be that of literary criticism, I have experienced "English Literature"

as highly value-ridden and judgemental (sc F.R. Leavis et al). What

seems more significant here that in order to make sense of my

experience I need to force it into a literary pattern. That literary

pattern is idiosyncratic to me but I am unable to handle material

without being selective and conscious of composition. Indeed all my

research has taken a literary form.

It would appear then, that I make an underlying research hypothesis

that we create our worlds in a literary or dramatic way. We actually

write stories - novels, anecdotes, jokes, plays. This we do on

reflection and we only ever make sense by reflection, retrospectively.

The episode I 'narrated' was a "story" and I contain it in my mind

as a story. Now the question arises as to whether I also create
the story while it is happening - that is, in anticipation. As
I unfolded the episode to my listeners on the counselling course,
they began to try to make sense of it in terms of their own stories -
looking for the romantic (ie romanticised) elements. They picked
up clues about the male-female relationship and looked for confirma-
tion that created and confirmed their own story. And no doubt as
I told the story I too was looking for an 'explanation", a key factor
that would piece it all together, make it all make sense.

Was this also happening in my own life while it was going on?
Was I creating a story; was Jean Rossiter creating a story, and
was it essentially the same story? Perhaps this is the area of
myths and of life scripts. As I indicated, one of the learnings
for me was I must not let it happen again. Do I know that it
will happen again, that it is one of my scripts[1], my stories? There
is some evidence that this is true. Another episode involved me and
a female colleague which went in a not dissimilar way and where
observers observed a sexual element - again, a woman whom I related
to as a professional colleague and a friend but who turned on me and
abused me in the relationship. As another female colleague commented,
"Either you tried to rape Una or you did not try to rape her, but
whatever it was you would have been wrong."

Perhaps this does no more than underline the way in which I am
learning what other phenomenologists and existentialists have already
learned and the implications are clear. If we are to understand
organisations, we need to look more closely than we do at the personal
scripts of individuals. We can observe the scripts because they are

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[1]   I shall explain this term later.

played out as little dramas made up of related episodes. The key

to the whole Brookfield research lies in the personal dramas, the

personal scripts of all the people involved. But also of interest

is the way in which they structure their interpretation of events,

the stores and novels that they write of which we have some examples

in the Brookfield account where staff evaluate the group work. And

of equal interest is the way in which we revise and change our

narratives usually in terms of a greater personal honesty and with

less emotional distortions, though sometimes in order to perceive

some personal privacy.

What I am now suggesting is that we structure events, after the

event, in the form of short stories or episodes in a novel and they

will go to make up the collected works of that individual. Reform

and innovation are events in the novel - the playing out of the raw

materials in a highly structured way and having all the characteristics

of the personal novel. Educational change in a given institution is

not an arbitrary play, a chance happening or an objective platonic

conglomeration of events, but a highly personalised interaction of

actors. Given Hamlet, Gertrude, Horatio, Polonius, Ophelia etc. there

is only one kind of play they can perform. Given the members of any

institution, there is only one play they can perform. So when we

look for abstract ideas about organisations we are doing little more

than look at the theatres;   we do not see the dramas. Polytechnics,

colleges, schools, etc. are all theatres and they present different

shows. Or, they are all picaresque novels told by each of the

characters or members.

Change and innovation are no more than the distinctive playing out of

the dramas on the various stages. Whatever is present in the environ-

ment provides no more than the scenery, the settings, the props and

the location for a drama portraying a myth as essential as Oedipus,

and the great Greek tragedies. Furthermore, the critics are theorists

who are themselves part of that same universal dramaturgy who

fill roles only by being type-cast, for we are not actors but

players for real - as Shakespear showed in Hamlet. Perhaps it is

an insight into real life that the critics are always also part

of the play, part of the novel - as John Fowles shows in some of his

novels.[1]

I did not expect to reach this conclusion as this point. The seeds

must have been sown somehow, though I had not yet read Ian Mangham's

book.[2] (For one thing, it is part of my script to find things out

for myself). If we want to understand organisations and what happens

in them, we must understand the members as actors and look at the

ways in which they are bound to play out their scripts; that will tell

us more about change and innovation than anything else. And now the

question; are there any standardised ways of doing this? And do we

need standardised ways since interpretation and explanation are them-

selves aspects of personal scripts.

Perhaps the script or story concept (plays, novels, short stories,

poems etc.) is the key to understanding all the theories of organisa-

tions and organisational change. General systems theory which is a

singularly powerful concept can only be fully understood when we

examine the behaviour of the actors and see how they use the systems

information as material for their own subjective dramas and narratives.

My interest in Huddersfield Polytechnic is enhanced as I listen to

the various interpretations my colleagues give to the same phenomena,

the same situations. The reason for the differing interpretations lies

in their stories, their very personal stories which are themselves

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[1]   Especially, The French Lieutenant's Woman and The Ebony Tower.

[2]   I L Mangham: Interaction and Interventions in Organisations.
        John Wiley, Chicester, 1978.

the major critical factor in their perceptual frameworks. It is not

enough to say, as the phenomenologists tend to, that we view the

world through our own perspectives, for these perspectives derive

from a life pattern, a life history which may originate in the family,

the genes or in the deep structure of the human mind - a view of

personality that owes much to both Jung and Chomski - the great

common consciousness and deep grammar.

Change and innovation, then, we can examine in terms of the life

stores of the individual actors and hence gain much more understand-

ing than by seeking objective criteria. Paradoxically, the greater

objectivity is achieved only by isolating the nature of the greater

subjectivity. The world that one man sees as hostile, and another

man sees as friendly, may well be the same world but its perception

is part of an active dynamic life process which forms up in the

individual consciousness as a story or story line. We make sense of

our world by making up stories about it.   Collectively, these stories

are the great myths of mankind, individually they are the jokes and

anecdotes of day to day living and the structured boredom we impose

on our daily patterns of life.

If I go back, then, to the evaluative comments of the teachers at the

Deanes and Brookfield Schools, and if I want to find a way of dealing

with them for purposes of research, I must look at them to see what

personal stories they are part of. Many other approaches are possible,

of course - linguistic analysis, psycho-analysis, structural and philos-

ophical analysis but whatever way I use is part of my script, my story -

the story of me as a linguist/psychologist, a philosopher, etc.Objectivity

is approached only as I try to understand the story of which each of

these extracts is a part and as I try to piece together and extrapolate.

And I am entitled to do this because I have the same entitlement as
a reader of a novel, the audience of a play, the watcher of a film.
I interpret my story and his story but they may or may not be the
same. (As with art and sculpture.) There is no good academic reason
why they should be the same, only that they should be equally reliable -
my view and the author's view equally valid.

This is what "actually happens" in real life. We each act out our
own plays, live our own novels, of which we also are the authors.[1]
I see you through my eyes and you see me through yours but we still
make our own plays willy-nilly just as Jean Rossiter and I were on
the same stage, had the same co-actors but created different plays
and played to different scripts. For me, the important feature of
understanding organisations has become the understanding of the way
people are apart within the organisation rather than the ways in
which they are together. We shall never understand the "togetherness"
of people in organisations until we have discovered the ways in which
they are apart.

The link between this theory of the self and the way in which people
create stories around themselves, and the way individuals make sense
of organisations is the idea of organisations as collective stories
or fantasies. The next chapter describes how I developed the idea
of Organisations as collective fantasies or "subjectivities".

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[1]   Though in some sad cases we may be the actors in another
        persons play; the pathological state.

6.   The Individual and the Organisation: Personal

Fantasies and Individual Change

6. THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE ORGANISATION : PERSONAL FANTASY AND
   PSYCHOLOGICAL EXCHANGE

If we are to understand the self-concept as a socially conditioned

phenomenon (even though the integrity of the personality maintains

the persistence of the natural self) and we can describe the nature

of social conditioning in the same terms as we describe personality,

then we have an important conceptual link between the individual and

the organisation. Most social and organisational psychology treats

social phenomena as if they were capable of being described in a

commonality of terms. Where there have been attempts to bring social

and psychological ideas together they have not been very successful.

The Tavistock School is a case in point with Richard De Board's book

'The Psychology of Organisation' a particular case in point. I have

myself often been tempted to describe organisations as if they were

simple collective psyches and to ascribe qualities of personal

psychology to them. While I think this can be done to an extent, I

believe the explanation to be different from the existence of a

collective psyche greater than the individual psyche. For I do not

believe that it is of the objective nature of a group that it appears

to have a life of its own, rather it is the complexity of personal

action and interaction that each member finds so difficult to deal with.

By analogy, we sometimes think that a complicated piece of machinery

"has a life of its own" when the explanation is simply that it is too

complicated for us or too difficult to handle on our own.

By acting as a consultant to organisations - that is, as a consultant

to members of an organisation - I found that I was always moving in a

single certain direction rather than others. That is, I was always

moving towards T-Groups and Counselling rather than 'Structural' con-

sultancy and dealing with tangible problems. From counselling theory

I had picked up the importance of the 'presenting' problem and an

understanding that problems always had to do with something underlying

the problem as described and presented. I found this approach very congenial and invariably acceptable to my clients. As the years passed acceptability increased as more and more people became familiar with counselling and also group work (which made a surprisingly late entry into education) and I have recently experienced an eagerness for my group members to move into a counselling and therapeutic mode of working. I saw counselling a key element in organisational consultancy round about 1976 and published a paper on the theme[1]. I had obviously moved into an approach to understanding organisation which centred on the individual member rather than the collective organisation. The same process as was occurring in my group facilitation and my work at Brookfield School developed in this way.

My interest (and emphasis) on the individual has continued and I find I explain 'organisational' behaviour in terms of people individually rather than collectively. I see problems in organisations as occurring as a consequence of how individuals perceive the organisation and try to deal with what they perceive in terms of greatest supposed comfort. To the counsellor the individual therapy lies around supporting of comfort. Most people perceive comfort in terms that are a good deal worse than they can be counselled to enjoy. Just as individuals learn to cope with life problems by having their perceptions (of self and circumstances) changed, so individuals can be counselled to perceive organisations differently.

In one organisation with which I am concerned marginally, the problems of the organisation are clearly the consequence of the self-esteem of the individual managers, all of whom seem to be virtually incapacitated in organisational terms. All subordinates argue that leadership

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[1] "Counselling and Management" in Management Education & Development. Vol 5 (1974).

is inadequate (though this is by no means uncommon) but there seems

in this case to be a remarkable collusion in being inadequate. For

historical reasons, the position of these men can be understood as

'yes' men being appointed by a powerful leader who has now left them

and left them with no support. The obvious form of consultancy is

a programme of personal counselling - ie, group counselling - to

change the personal self images and so help these men to change their

behaviour. In this way weak men will become strong and the organisa-

tion will change. If this doesn't happen, the morale of the organisa-

tion will deteriorate and the leaders will continue to interpret the

world as threatening and have incongruent and destructive perceptions

of the organisation. If they do not change, circumstances will change

and powerful influences will either arise from within (rebellion?) or

from without (collapse of the market?).

The model of organisation development I have described earlier assumed

an active, and prevailing, leadership. The boss is energetically in

charge of events and has a clear understanding of where the organisation

can go. It is a "healthy" model. In the situation described in the

previous paragraph the situation is pathological; that is the natural

development process is impeded by the perceptions of the leaders being

at odds (incongruent) with those of other members. The consequence is

that other members seek various ways of withdrawal - living at a distance

in agreeable surroundings so they do not have to come to work more

often than necessary[1]; finding personal professional interests that

can be traded against organisational commitments. The developmental

process is retarded or held in suspension and while this can be described

in organisational terms, its causes can only satisfactorily be explained

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[1]   It is an Institution of Higher Education!

in terms of individual personality problems.[1]

Another way of expressing this is in terms of fantasies and I
developed this idea for a seminar at the Ryerson Polytechnic, Toronto,
in 1977. The title of the working paper was "Organisations as
Subjectivities" and was presented during a three day consultancy
programme on organisational problems.

The institution was at the beginning of a period of radical reappraisal
and assessment. The previous years had been administratively turb-
ulent with a number of rapid promotions and sackings at directorate
level and some eventual sideways shifting of people. In order to
bring some stability, order and sense of purpose a well known Ontario
educationist and politician was appointed to the Presidency (Principal-
ship). In my view he was exceedingly able, modest, exceptionally well
able to get along with people and politically astute. We had developed
rapport on a visit he made to England and I was invited to give a
number of seminars with key members of staff. I understood my position
to be non-threatening because I clearly was very much an outsider and
completely outside the Canadian/Ontario educational power structure.
Furthermore, I was very much an innocent in the internal politics of the
institution as I later discovered when a public scandal arose. Neither
the President (nor indeed myself) were party to the scandal and the
President handled matters very well but what occurred was an indication
of the kind of things that were strong undercurrents.

In essence, the scandal was around a Vice President who had been using
the institution (and hence government funds) to further his own
considerable personal interests one of which was the setting up of

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[1]   Personality problems are not objective syndromes but a consequence
       of a malfunctioning self concept.

a private university (sic) by obtaining a government charter under false pretenses. Of course, I knew nothing of this when I prepared the paper in the Canadian wilds but the situation provides an important gloss on what I wrote. Here were people whose personal ambitions and needs were such that they were able to function on two dimensions - privately and publicly - yet whose personal perceptions of the organisation were at one time compatible with other members perceptions and only later at odds with them. In this instance there were no real victims within the institution but there was a current awareness that all was not well. Quite strangely, as it turned out, the Vice President concerned in a personal interview shared with me his plans for a Canadian School of Management which I took to be an official reality. He cautioned me to confidence only because (as I understood him then) the plans had not yet come to official fruition but I felt able to urge my own institution back in England to make official contact with the new organisation as management education was our common business. I had no reason to suspect that the resources of Ryerson Polytechnic were being used to finance a personal business venture on such a scale.

Organisations as Subjectivities

by H L Gray

North East London Polytechnic

The purpose of this paper is to suggest a new basis for a general model of organisations by which we can examine what is happening in an educational institution. A model is simply a way of describing in a coherent and systematic way what happens in the organisation and of expressing the ways in which various parts relate to one another. All models make basic assumptions which amount to a 'perspective' and

naturally no model can account for all the phenomena that go to make

up an organisation. To be useful, a model must be capable of being

understood and interpreted by a reasonably informed reader and not so

complex as to be unmanageable. The basic assumption behind the model

presented here is that organisations function in terms of the under-

standing of them that members bring to them and the problems of organ-

isations arise as each member acts on his own perceptions which are

in greater or lesser degree not shared by (ie, are incongruent with)

those of other members. This model presents a psychological view of

organisations in that its concern is with the psychological aspects of

the people who are members of the organisation.

We may describe an organisation as a 'collective fantasy' in that each

member behaves on the basis of assumptions he makes and these assump-

tions are never fully tested and confirmed both because there is never

time or need to test them and also because the situation to which the

assumptions refer changes once the assumptions are acted on. Further-

more, behaviour in organisations <u>anticipates</u> consequences rather than

responds to conditions; that is to say, most behaviour of members of

organisations is based on assumptions about what is going to happen

rather than what has 'actually' occurred. The fallacy of human organ-

isations is to assume (sic) that members of an organisation respond

in the same way as material phyiscal phenomena occur (for example, as

the response of electric current to the completion of a circuit). Human

behaviour is normally and usually anticipative in some measure. Hence

what we are largely concerned with in organisation is not a series of

expected <u>responses</u> but a sequence of <u>anticipative</u> behaviours. Because

what is anticipated never happens, organisations consist of patterns of

largely disconnected behaviour. We may offer the hypothesis that

the ability of an organisation to change and adapt lies in its

developing ways of permitting members to behave in unexpected ways

and to cope well with other members' unexpected behaviour.

We need to define the concept of fantasy more precisely. Broadly

speaking, the term is used as in Gestalt Psychology by Frederick Perls

and is not used here pejoratively. Fantasy for each individual is

the operational aspect of his interpreation of 'reality'. For

each individual, of course, his fantasy may be his 'reality' and I

use the term to indicate the existence of a multiplicity of 'realities'.

Whether there be a 'Platonic' reality or not does not concern us

operationally though there may well be an 'actuality' that several

members of an organisation see in almost the same way - though it can

never be "the same". 'Fantasy' is the experience each of us has of a

situation: for example, each reader of this paper experiences it

differently and ascribes different 'meanings' to it. (We could test

that by asking the question, "Why are you reading this paper? Each

answer would be in some way different and some of these differences

would be significant depending upon the depth with which we explored

the answers). Individual fantasies are the expression of the percep-

tions of reality that each person experiences.

Fantasies are dynamic and not just snapshot views of the organisation.

They range from quite personal experiences of the organisation that

relate largely to the individual - such as whether he finds his

study congenial and physically comfortable - to shared fantasies[1]

such as a suspicion of student associations. The further we move

away from the individual towards the 'organisation' the more complex

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[1]   We should call these "collective fantasies" or "fantasy sets" or
      "fantasy clusters" to acknowledge that each individual's fantasies
      differ in some measure.

will be the incongruities among members' perceptions. We may be able to deal with one member's fantasies about the comfort of his room by changing the furniture but when we look at the discontent about the organisation felt by all the teaching faculty, we find as many complexities of reasons as there are people and no two will coincide exactly. (It is theoretically possible that reasons do coincide but the odds are enormous when we remember how complex reasons are. Simple responses like feeling too hot may be so nearly congruent as to be effectively congruent).

Each member of the organisation makes his assumptions about other members and develops a number of expectations which are evaluative. For example, teachers may assume that students wish to learn, and select and evaluate the types of learning behaviour they will accept. Students who do not fulfil these expectations are evaluated positively or negatively but generally negatively - for example, students who exceed expectations may make life uncomfortable for the teacher by making him work harder than he wishes. As members work through their fantasies they evaluate the outcomes, and evaluation determines their future response to the organisation - setting up a new set of expectations based on a new set of assumptions.

Assumptions	→	Expectations	→	Realisation of Expectations	→	+ Evaluation of - Realisation
Revised Assumptions	→	Revised Expectations	→	Realisation of Revised Expectations	→	+ Evaluation of - Realisation
ditto etc	→	ditto etc	→			
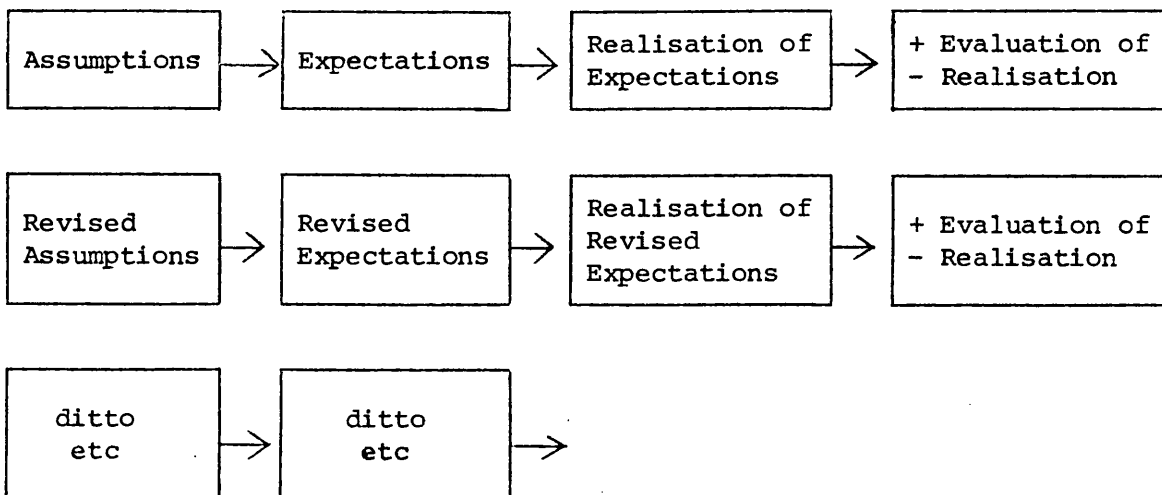
All the time, each individual interprets what goes on not only in terms of his understanding of his experience but in terms of his own personality needs. That is to say, he interprets what happens in the organisation in terms of his own personality and also in terms of his current general needs and life experience. Whatever system of personality types[1] we adopt, the evidence suggests that personality determines likes and preferences. Extraverts will tend to view organisations differently from introverts and will certainly have different requirements of organisations. Additionally, current life experience will modify the personality view so that an extravert of 44 years of age will view the organisation differently from an extravert aged 24 because the process of maturity will have taught different ways of satisfying his needs.

This is a highly complex view of organisations and yet the implications are very important. If each individual perceives an organisation differently and has different needs of the organisation, does that affect the basic organisation? Surely, it may be argued, individual differences are marginal and organisations function successfully in much cruder terms. The question can only be answered by examining further the concepts of fantasy, reality and actuality, and also the concept of organisation and institution.

The operation of collective fantasy may or may not involve compromise, and/or collusion. The idle fantasies of patients in a mental hospital who each live in their own nearly totally separate worlds do not involve much, if any, compromise beyond the physical. In normal organisations,

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[1] All theories of personality have implications for organisational behaviour. For instance, Jungian theories of types lead to assumptions about behaviour matching. See, for example, the personality types developed by Isabel Briggs-Myers, "Introduction to Type" Centre for Applications of Psychological Type 1962 etc.

there is a greater degree of compromise and collusion, but we must

not assume there is a great deal. Heads of schools have been known

to live in their own private world as have Heads of State. What

happens is that each individual imposes, or attempts to impose, a

fantasy structure on the organisation. All models of organisations

impose a simplified fantasy structure and in so doing, provide a

vocabulary in which personal fantasies may be expressed. Typically,

open systems models of organisations provide such a vocabulary and

grammar - a matrix of terminology and linkages which becomes another

level/layer of fantasy which, because it is a common language for

members, permits fantasies to be worked out at the level of a game.

This is what almost all management "theory" has been about - an analysis

of the organisational "game". Games, of course, work perfectly well

in their own terms - again, the open systems model of organisations

illustrates this; so do financial and economic models of organisations.

These technical models may well be "useful" (in fact, they are useful

since no organisation can exist without them), but they cannot supply

us with the information that is most crucial to any organisation's

functioning - how people behave and are going to behave - except in

the grossest impersonal terms (for example, that a certain number of

positions will be needed if the company is to increase production).

A typical technical model is PPBS (Planned Programmed Budgetting

System) which deludes people into certain beliefs about the organisa-

tion in terms of goals and financing.

The imposition of a technical model on an organisation is itself the

imposition of a fantasy construct which still is open to subjective

interpretation by everyone it affects. For example, a status structure

(hierarchy) may be quite satisfactory to the President of the Company

and his deputies, but totally unacceptable to members at a certain
level who feel that their position has been undervalued. Conversely,
members may impose a hierarchy the senior managers themselves do not
accept. Subsequent behaviour will be critical for the organisation
and is a consequence of member perception - not the boss' - nor the
employees'. To cope with the situation, the perspective on the model
has to be changed, the vocabulary altered. The meaning of the altera-
tion does not lie in the model as such but in the meaning of the
member's behaviour. We can only understand how individuals under-
stand organisations at the point of contact with the individual; there
is no such thing as contact with the organisation except in personal
terms.

Bargaining and compromise are characteristics of the organisation at
all levels but at the game level the behaviour is ritualised. Organisa-
tions generally function at the game level. Unfortunately, people
change the rules and change the game while they are playing and do
not always tell the other players. If we are properly to understand
how organisations change, we need to go beyond the game level. If we
centre on the Head alone, we may manage to explain the game and to
some extent to understand it but never completely. The boss is not
the only one to be changing the game and there is never anything in
the game as it is played to indicate where the changes will come
from. It is sometimes thought that trends can be identified as forces
with clear directional paths. Certainly it seems that outsiders can
identify change directions by analogy with similar organisations
before organisation members can,[1] but organisations tend not to
respond to outsiders' opinions. While technical models may flash
warnings, they do not indicate how behaviour changes can take place

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[1]   At least it is popularly thought so; consultants certainly
       believe this.

because individuals have to make an internal, mental, decision and they do this subjectively, not objectively.

We still need to stay with the fantasy concept. It seems that the only dynamic about which we can be certain in organisations has to do with the "actuality" of "fantasy". The ultimate (and primary) need of an organisation is that (for each individual member) it has the purpose of providing a location or arena for fantasy needs. That is to say, the ultimate function of the organisation is to provide occasion for the working out of personal fantasies that derive from personal needs. Whatever else the organisation might do, the critical function is to fulfil the needs of members. Some models will describe things differently - for instance, an economic model will describe the ultimate function in terms of resources and products. But if we look carefully at organisations, we can see that members are interested basically not in what the organisation does in a material sense, but what it does in an emotional (affective) sense. Studies of churches,[1] for example, have shown that members are influenced by subjective sentiment more than anything else when changes in organisation are called for. Few shareholders care about the product of a company so long as the dividends are satisfactory.

If we are to have a useful and operational theory of organisations, we must discard the ones that have only face validity and we must fall back on a phenomenolgoical theory because that is the only level that will generate an understanding that can be applied to the basic management of the organisation. The phenomenological perspective declares

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[1]   See, for instance, an unpublished study (1971) by the author of
       a church dealing with a major change. Similar studies by the
       Grubb Institute indicate likewise.

that meaning is subjective, that individuals put their own inter-

pretation on situations and act on the basis of that interpretation.

We have called that subjective interpretation "fantasy" and we can now

explain how it applies to understanding organisations.

No model of an organisation tells us anything about the Head as a

person, however well it may describe the behaviour expected of the

position. We all know how no two incumbents of a position behave

in the same way. Individual behaviour is part of the dynamic of

the organisation; the description of the position is not. Abstract

descriptions of organisations are simply metaphors, often extended

metaphors, but symbolic language nevertheless - such as the explanation

of an organisation as a "machine" with interlocking parts. To under-

stand "structure", we have to understand how people "actually"[1]

behave. Structure is simply a description of actual behaviour.

Members of organisations have to cope from minute to minute with

changes. The changes originate in the individual though they may be

sparked off by changes in other individuals. There are no means of

predicting behaviour except in terms of personal patterns of behaviour.

In practice, we both do this and do not do this. We do it when it is

convenient and we do not when it is difficult or inconvenient. (Most

likely in regular practice we have things the wrong way round and we

assume predictability when the situation is easy and unpredictability

when things are difficult). This is where managers make their mistakes

because they prefer to act quickly and make decisions as simply as

possible. Technical models encourage this approach. But it should be

recalled that the more significant the change, the greater the emo-

tional involvement of each member and the more personal and less organisa-

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[1]   So as not to be sidetracked into the casuistry of meanings, we
        understand "actual" to be that which is "acted on".

tional his concern will be. In a company threatened with bankruptcy, individuals are more concerned with their personal futures than the concerns of the Company. There is no way in which company concerns can supplant personal ones however much the Head may consider company interests to be paramount.

The importance of understanding organisations as subjectivities is that we can deal with the fundamental aspects of organisational functioning and we can place the organisation in its psychosociological and socio-economic context. For example, we can describe an educational institution in technical terms and relate these to social and economic developments. For many purposes such descriptions are useful - for instance, so far as local authority provision of school places is concerned (considering demographic projections and so on). However, the functions of the school in the psychological context of its members and the community to which it belongs mean that the true forces of influence on the school depend on the realisation of a good many personal demands and needs. The school may have a symbolic meaning for the community as a prestigious, scholarly institution. For the Head, it may be the opportunity to fulfil his educational ideals. For teachers, it may offer important career stages. For pupils, a guarantee of certain desired post-school situations. For the population at large, it will have a variety of social and political and economic significances. And so on. If we are to understand how the school copes with change, we have to examine not the technical model of the educational institution (for instance, the basis of the local authority funding), but the personal needs of individuals for whom the school is a critical symbol and arena for achievement. At one level, this is to describe the political significance of organisations, but more fund-
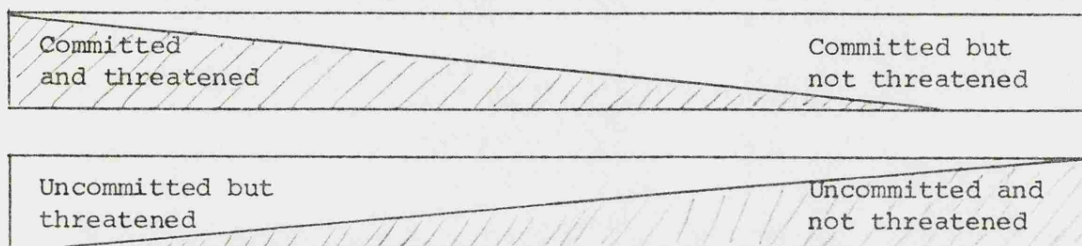
amentally, it is to describe the psychology of such politics.

If organisations are so subjective, how do different perceptions relate? Surely organisations are not anarchies? There appears to be order, coherence and relationship in practice. How can organisations have both objective and subjective "reality"? Such is just the basic management dilemma so that management can "in reality" be no more than the coordination of separate fantasies.

For the most part, the fantasies that we have about organisations are restrictive. We create our fantasies in order to best cope with the organisation as it impinges upon us. We look for justification of what we want to do and express it, if we can, altruistically. A department head calls lots of meetings because his means of coping requires a close relationship of such a kind with his colleagues. He finds justification for his behaviour - his personal means of coping - by creating a model of the organisation; say an authoritarian model. So long as his colleagues share a similar model, the situation accommodates all of them equally well. Where colleagues work on a different model, there will be conflict and dysfunctional[1] behaviour.

The more important/significant an organisation is to an individual, the more open or closed will be his fantasy model according to the degree of personal threat he perceives. The less threat he perceives, the more open to change will he be.

Not open to change ───────────────────────── Very open to change

Committed and threatened	Committed but not threatened

Uncommitted but threatened	Uncommitted and not threatened

[1]   In this context 'dysfunctional' is a problematic term!

Change is dependent on reduced threat to individuals but what

constitutues security will be personal and unique. If in general

a threat is a perceived potential deprivation, then the contrary must

be a perceived promise of reward. A proferred reward must be at

least equal to the current reward and to be effective must be more

than the current reward if it is to be an inducement to change. We

may take as axiomatic that an individual only changes when he perceives

the promised return to be greater than the current return; equilibrium

is no inducement. We may state the hypothesis that change occurs in

an institution when the rewards are perceived by individuals to exceed

the current rewards. There will be a critical 'mass' of membership

that determines the degree of organisational change. Clearly this is

determined subjectively. Whatever the material base, the return is

psychological. A second hypothesis is that resistance to change occurs

when the promised return is less than the current return. Such resis-

tance will be activated into opposition according to the way in which

an individual feels threatened. Thus it is apparent that the manage-

ment of organisations on gross generalisations about returns to

individuals (self-interest) is open to gross distortion in unpredic-

table ways. This mistake of management has been to view members as

belonging to large classes of people with identical interests and to

relate to them crudely. A good example is the way colleges deal with

student activists, generally assuming that they represent the whole

body though they can come to represent a complex of varying discon-

tents of individual students. Discontented groups are only too

often scape-goats for other managerial problems.

By definition, formal organisations define positions, roles and rewards

and lay down procedures for processes. They are designed as snap-shot

models. During the process of becoming established, contracts are worked out in terms of his snap-shot. However, this status represents a base for bargaining by members and not an accepted stationary situation. In practice, members seek for changes that will give greater 'returns'. All activity in the organisation comes to be concerned with individuals trying to improve their own position for bargaining in order to fulfil their fantasy concepts of the organisation. Management is the function of facilitating this, if rightly understood - not determining or even controlling it. Hence management is a function of all members, not just those designated to be in management positions. In fact, those in 'control' positions are in exactly the same negotiating situation as other members. Rather than attempting to reinforce their power and status, they would be more functionally effective if they concentrated on the facilitating of others' need achievement.[1]

A theory of organisations as arenas for fantasy realisation moves the emphasis for management away from a concentration on inert 'structure' as an "objective fact" of organisational life to an emphasis on the processes which occur in an organisation, specifically the bargaining process whereby individuals seek to support their fantasies. For example, we can look at the way the Head seeks to satisfy his personal needs in the position of Head. If his behaviour is functional, he will realise his needs without depriving others of their freedom to achieve but if it is dysfunctional he will simply attempt to retain power and control by rewards and coercion - by methods which may be totally unnecessary for his personal needs for esteem and approval.

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[1] We can understand this concept of the management function if we study the function of leadership as it occurs in small group theory.

There may be a tendency for those high in the hierarchy to identify

with the organisation in personal terms, so that they see complete

identity between themselves and the organisation. Identification of

this sort is exceedingly common and presents considerable problems.

Bosses tend to convert personal goals into organisational goals,

endowing them with an infallible objectivity. Young organisations

receive their momentum from this identification[1] but it becomes

increasingly unrealistic as the organisation grows older. Heads come

to speak of 'my school' and industrial bosses believe that no one can

have company interests so much at heart as they do. The higher the

executive position, the greater the tendency for personal goals to be

viewed as organisational goals. Yet organisations cannot in themselves

have goals because people are required for the achievement of goals.

At best organisational 'goals' are vehicles for personal goals, at

worst they are mirages. This is true also of technical processes which

serve the needs of individuals - for instance, a chocolate factory may

have members who never eat chocolates. While the goal of the factory

is to produce chocolate, 'production' is the process whereby members

achieve personal satisfactions. In a crisis, the question is what

do the members need, not what should the organisation do. This is

true of material crises. It needs to be understood that crises are

never essentially 'material' but the consequence of managerial percep-

tions.[2]

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[1] Most typically in charismatic organisations experience of an organ-
isation centres on ourself in association with other groups and
pairings.

[2] Whatever happens in the organisation, each individual is, so far
as he himself is concerned, always central and he views every-
thing from his own point of view. No one is in any better
position than anyone else to know what is going on though some
will share more critical experiences than others. A critical
experience is one that brings about change and some members will
be concerned in more of these than others.

A psychological model of an organisation is more difficult to construct than a technological one. Furthermore, unlike a complex piece of equipment (like a computor) there is no need to compile a complete one since organisations begin to function as soon as two people come together. The kind of model we need in order to understand an organisation is an experiential one and as such is different in kind from the mechanical models most management text books appear to prefer. An experiential model is simply the sum of one's experience of an organisation with whatever insights and understandings follow from the experience. Each of us experiences an organisation in a personal way as an individual, as a member of a group of individuals, and as a member of a group relating to other groups and individuals.

We can construct a model for organisational behaviour based on research into the behaviour of people in groups and I have developed such descriptive models elsewhere.[1] Here we are concerned with the individual interpretation of observed and experienced behaviour and the attribution of value to that behaviour. For instance, an individual may observe that leadership is shared among three members of a group of six and this observation may be verified by outside observers. But we cannot know the meaning and significance attributed to that changing pattern of leadership until we have questioned closely the members whose response we are interested in. While it is possible to observe physical behaviour it is not possible to observe psychological reactions, even though we may guess at them. It is the evaluated behaviour of people in organisations that is important if we are to understand the how and why of change.

The implication of the foregoing is that another dimension must be

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[1]   A Clinical Approach to Understanding Organisations.
Br. J. of In-Service Education Vol.2 N.3,(1976).

added to management if it is to cope with the origins of change influences. The addition of another management structure or 'technique' is not required - such would simply be an extension of the Administrative Model which sets up secretariats to deal with every new idea. Rather the implications are two-fold. On the one hand, the necessity for much management activity is brought into question because most management activity is an extension of personal needs rather than real necessity. On the other hand, management must recognise that it is the interests of members that must receive attention and not mythical abstractions like 'education', 'progress', 'profitability' or whatever. Such terms are phrases used by managers in justification of their own needs and preferences. This is not to say that organisations are to be inward-looking, self-interested institutions but rather to emphasise that unless rewards are perceived to come to members, they have no cause to wish for the success or continued existence of the organisation. Not surprisingly, when the chips are down, the main concern of an organisation is to preserve itself only until the senior members have secured satisfactory alternate employment. In the process, many are shocked to discover that they were neither so 'senior' nor highly valued as they thought. In practice, material and technical aspects of organisations are always secondary to and dependent on personal aspects.

The argument appears to be in favour of much better communication among members of an organisation but not communication in the generally understood sense of information dissemination. Rather it implies a particular kind of personal relationship among members where feelings and perceptions are shared at a deep and personal level. Not many

senior executives give themselves time for this, preferring the

various political games offered by the organisation. For most

managers a change of management style is required and a revaluation

of personal goals.

An understanding of organisations from the psychological perspective

described here does not lead us to suggest a wholesale restructuring

of organisations. There is no likelihood, for instance, that educa-

tional institutions will change radically in form and purpose nor

even in structure - if only because vested interests are too strong.

But a change in management style throughout the organisation is

both necessary and possible. This style change requires a movement

away from a concern with administrative procedures to behavioural

processes. The shift is from a power-coercive or political approach

which characterises most formally constituted meetings in organisations

to a process facilitating approach which releases the creativity of

conflict resolution. Instead of trying to suppress conflict, the

leadership function is concerned with resolving conflict by helping

colleagues to work through their positions by facing up to and coming

to understand personal viewpoints. Individuals will be helped to

uncover and come to terms with the fantasies they have about themselves.

Since designated leaders have fantasies in the same way as other members,

leadership roles must revolve. The first critical decision of estab-

lished management is to open up the opportunity for shared leader-

ship - though this is a personal threat few managers can face. In

practice, top management may need to retain a traditional position

but to encourage change within the organisation by a judicious

encouragement of initiative at points where potential creativity can

be observed - outside help being necessary. If senior management

consider one of the major functions of all managers to be training

colleagues in management, there is chance of some progress towards gradual change and not calamity.

The importance of understanding organisations as collective subject-ivities is both theoretical and practical. If we can realise that individuals behave in a highly individualistic and self-centred way we come near to understanding how organisations function. This under-standing leads to certain appropriate coping behaviours. But additionally, it enables us to appreciate the true nature of what are generally considered the objective aspects of organisations - the very misunderstandings that lead to organisational collapse in the commercial and economic spheres. Economic and financial models are as much fantasy as any other perspectives on organisations but because of the western worship of the material world, physical things have been given an undue precedence over the non-material. A phenomeno-logical theory gives an opportunity to redress the balance and points a way towards better coping.

November 1976 (revised)

As I indicated towards the end of the article, the dynamics of organ-isational processes has to be explained. The fact that we have different fantasies only explains what we perceive not how we continue to perceive it. We need to understand how and why people change their perceptions. In terms of counselling psychology the explana-tion lies in the self concept but we have not yet explained how an individual realises the need to change or experiences a situation which is conducive to change. The counsellor does not create the change but he brings about a situation in which change occurs simply

because the situation is conducive to change. The analogy is the

seed in the ground and the seasonal conditions which 'conduce' it

to grow. Growth is a natural consequence of the situation.

My view of the 'condition' for educational change was that the

individual should 'perceive' that there was self interest, that

if he were to make a response to the situation there would be a

'return' that would benefit him. I used the rough equation that an

individual will engage in activity of he believes the 'return' will

be greater than the investment. I incorporated the idea in a

paper entitled "Exchange and Conflict" and drew on the quintessential

ideas of George Homans.[1]

"Exchange and Conflict" was written for an Open University Reader to

go along with course E321 in Educational Administration. It was

written to illustrate and develop an idea that the dynamics of

organisation can be described in terms of social and psychological

exchange. The idea had come to me out of my own experiences of

psychological negotiaton and I have come to realise that this is a

view particularly significant to me. I see myself as highly motivated

so long as I receive confirming responses, but prone to depression

if I do not receive active confirmative responses. Much of my life

I have been an active (sometimes hyperactive) innovator and have

managed to achieve a number of personally satisfying successes. But

response has always been important perhaps in the way that actors like

(and need) audiences. Because of this, bargaining and negotiating have

played a large part in my interpersonal relations - bargaining and

reward being significant. While I like security, innovation and

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[1]   G C Homans: Social Behaviour as Exchange (Am J of Soc) (1958)

change I also need the security of relationships and I think I was trying to express this in a theory of organisations.

The paper makes a significant step in my development as a 'phenomeno- logist' because I was looking at the personal and subjective element in organisations but trying to understand it against the structural background of organisations. In the paper I still slip into the way of reifying organisations though now I should do so with an explanation of the shorthand or metaphor. I was endeavouring to explain how relationships between and among people occur at a fundamental level irrespective of structures or systems. I had already been influenced by Greenfield and was moving away from an open systems, positivistic and deterministic view of organisations but I needed to understand more completely 'how' people in organisations behaved.

The paper was well received as readers recognised realities of organisations and were made aware of the need to make provision for the psychological negotiation that needs must occur in organisations. But I do not think that many people were made aware of the nature of psychological exchange as the basis of structure rather than 'structure' as the basis of 'structure'. And I myself did not develop the idea of order and organisation until later when I developed it for a book on Organisational Aspects of Management. Perhaps I still wobble between a true phenomenological and a structuralist view but I would argue that 'order' is as much a matter of perception as "chaos" and for me there can never be chaos only some form of order (Ibid).

EXCHANGE AND CONFLICT IN THE SCHOOL

by

H L GRAY

The purpose of this article is to look at the school as an organisa-
tion in which conflict is seen to arise as the result of the different
demands that members make on the institution. This is not the only
way of looking at a school, but it is a quite fundamental way of
looking at any kind of organisation. The premise is that all organisa-
tions are in a complex state of internal (and external) conflict and
that when conflicts can be resolved easily and quickly the organisa-
tion is in a healthy state but that when conflicts are suppressed
there is a build up of frustration that leads to unmanageable crises.
The origins of conflict come from the wide variety of changing needs
that members of the schools have and which require them to constantly
renegotiate their terms of membership in an unspoken psychological
contract. Administrative mechanisms in schools and other organisa-
tions ignore the need to renegotiate and assume a much too simplistic
view of membership. Hence there are no overt means for resolving the
conflicts that arise from incompatibilities in member requirements.
The negotiation process involves social and psychological exchange -
that is, members commit themselves to an organisation only insofar
as they receive in return an acceptable reward or 'exchange'. Thus
there is a need to develop structures for schools that can respond to
the negotiation process and the need for perceived return on commit-
ment.

Organisations serve Purposes

There can be no doubt that organisations serve purposes and schools

are no exception. The mere fact of organisation is a proof of purpose-

ful activity. But to go further than this presents problems, for while

organisations may _serve_ purposes it seems unlikely that organisations

can have objectives, since objectives require a conscious target

setting and organisations, while being made up of human beings, are

not themselves animate. An initial difficulty arises because most

of us tend to think of organisations as if they have all the character-

istics of a sort of collective human being and that presents us with a

lot of difficulties when we get into the problems of understanding

what actually happens in an organisation. It is sometimes said that

people have objectives but organisations do not[1] however it is easier

to think of organisations as serving the purposes of their members in

the first instance and then to examine the consequences of member

demands rather than confuse objectives as being organisational and at

the same time those shared by members.

Some leading members of organisations identify with the organisation

in such a way that they personify the organisation in themselves. How

they do this needs to be examined in detail, but it would seem, in

some cases, that they accept leadership responsibilities at a time

when the climate is good and the organisation is under no threat and

consolidate their influence and power so that when the organisation

meets hard times, they are well ensconced in position. Alternatively,

they are brought in when the organisation is under threat and given

power during the crisis which they are able to retain afterwards. It

is because certain members - not always key members - identify closely

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[1]   There are all sorts of reasons for this, some of them are
       explored, for instance in R L Kahn (1964) et al Organisational Stress
       where the problems of individuals as members of organisations
       are discussed.

with the organisation that the organisation appears to have its own

aims. We can see how this happens in the case of a school. The

first head personifies the objectives of the school because he goes

for the things he wants and believes in. When he leaves, many of the

old staff will have identified with his objectives too and they continue

to speak of their personal objectives as those of the school.

In voluntary organisations a ruling clique or cabal always rises into

pre-eminence and those who do not share the beliefs and values leave

perhaps to form their own organisation. Something similar can happen

in commercial organisations when some members withdraw their capital

and set up a rival company. But in organisations where there is a

public monopoly or near monopoly quittance and setting up competing

organisation is seldom possible. Indeed, as in the case of the school,

many of the members may have psychological attachment to the school

and believe their values and objectives to be as valid as those of

their colleagues. Since, to them, a given school merely represents a

location in which their ideological educational objectives may be

expressed there is no prima facie reason why they should leave, but

rather every reason why they should stay and try to influence matters.

Organisational resistance to change

Somehow or another, personal purposes become institutionalised or at

least those of the leaders do. Political parties exemplify this in the

debates about the pure political doctrine. What is interesting is not

so much the debates that go on, but the way in which organisations

appear to deal with debate. It is an interesting characteristic of

organisations that they should seek to perpetuate a simple unified

doctrine and that they should be highly resistant to change or modifica-

tion of almost any fundamental kind. If one had to choose one major

aspect of an organisation as being the most critical for understanding

that organisation's development, one could most usefully choose the

ways in which it resists change. Yet if one speaks of a natural

tendency of organisations to resist change, this is clearly not a

characteristic of "the organisation", but of people in the organisa-

tion and the empirical evidence is that organisational change can be

quite fundamental given a sufficiently significant change in the

membership.

To understand the situation one must examine the nature of vested

interests. A vested interest is simply an involvement in an organisa-

tion which gives a valued reward to an individual. When the reward

is at risk the individual will make every effort to retain it. In

financial terms this interest is a salary or return on investment,

but it is also a whole complex of other things of which monetary return

may be the least consequential. Membership of any organisation is

dependent upon an individual receiving a return on his investment -

whether that investment be time, money, labour or whatever. According

to "exchange theory"[1] active membership is conditional upon some kind

of valued return[2] and passive membership on there being no negative

return. In other words, one only joins an organisation if one is

going to get something out of it - and what that return is may be

irrational or ridiculous to others, but so long as the member values

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[1] c.f. G Homans   Social Behaviour as Exchange (1958)

       T O Jacobs   Leadership & Social Change   (1974)

    in   K W Tilley   "Leadership and Management Appraisal". (1974)

[2] The return can be anything, or a combination of things, that the
    individual requires. It may be economic, but whatever it is, it
    is also a "psychic set". See below.

it positively it is an adequate return on investment in social,

psychological, emotional, financial or material terms. In order

to obtain the acceptable exchange or return each member enters into

a psychological negotiation with other members of the organisation

to ensure that the demanded return continues to be forthcoming.

The Psychological Investment

But this psychic investment is not an inert activity as it may be with

financial investment. One does not join an organisation and stay

outside. To obtain a return on commitment one must have some involve-

ment with other members, and involvement means seeking influence, status,

power and/or authority. Some people will be content with quite minor

roles and involvement in an organisation. For some a condition of

membership will be that very little is demanded of them and an increased

demand will be an inducement to leave. But for everyone, a requirement

of membership will be to have that control over membership which leaves

the individual free to continue negotiating the conditions of membership

that he himself requires. Too often it is assumed that all members

of an organisation seek ultimate power over others. For many this will

not be so, but in order to have freedom for oneself one will need to

have some power over some others. While everyone always has the

option of leaving an organisation, the cost of leaving may be greater

than the cost of staying and hence to stay and receive the required

reward may mean an increased involvement - more than initially required.

What happens is that in order to negotiate the original exchange (or

to negotiate a new exchange in changed circumstances) a member has to

change his relationship with the other members. Once this occurs the

change in relationships represents threats to some members which can

only be resolved if yet other members ease their demands or a change
in the balance of power can be negotiated. The trouble with organ-
isations is that power tends to be critically balanced and changes
in demand from any section of membership upsets the balance and
threatens some positions or roles. In the face of threat, most
people over-react and see a strong challenge to their status which
must be violently resisted. Hence conflict is a potential factor
in all organisations and in most organisations potential conflict
is suppressed.

It must be understood that all models of organisations represent only
a part of reality. A model is simply a way of looking at an organisation
so that what happens can be more clearly understood. A model does not
have to be "true", but it does have to make things clearer, to give
possible and reasonable explanations and in all likelihood, enable us
to predict certain behaviour in other organisations. The 'exchange-
conflict' model has certain important characteristics. It assumes that
organisations can usefully be described in terms of the people who are
members of them. The concept of membership is important and includes
"users" of the organisation - like parents of pupils in the school.
A member may be anyone who has to do with the organisation. Exchange
theory describes behaviour in terms of the interest that people have
in being members and it highlights the ways in which personal
interests of members become issues of potential conflict. It follows
from this view that since all members have a range of interests in
the organisation and they are not all reconcilable, at least at any
given moment, a fruitful way of describing what happens in organisa-
tions is to view them as arenas of conflict. Any demand made on an
organisation by any individual or group of individuals is a potential

threat even when initially essential to the life of the organisation.

Members of an organisation need to be prepared for the conflicts

that are bound to arise when membership changes (increases or

decreases) occur because more changes bring about the need for further

negotiations on returns, a situation fraught with conflict potential.

The roots of organisational conflict

The 'exchange-conflict' model shows how all organisations are in a

state of tension over the rewards given to members and because these

rewards cannot be guaranteed due to the changing needs of individuals

each member will either withdraw or attempt to secure his position

probably by over-compensating. Since all positions in the structure

hold a degree of power, each member will attempt to secure more power

and in so doing he threatens the status of some other members of the

organisation. Power changes require that individuals make alliances,

formally or informally, and as power blocks grow other groups will

attempt to counteract the threat to themselves. We may illustrate the

situation for all organisations as having four areas; potential

conflict; conflict avoidance; active conflict; conflict resolution.

It is not enough merely to state the existence of conflict without

explaining the consequences and how they may be dealt with. It can

be argued that avoiding or ignoring conflict is a satisfactory way of

dealing with it. In fact most organisations do just that and in

addition to not recognising or permitting it they actively suppress

it. But three points must be made about conflict in addition to its

recognition. Firstly, if ignored it becomes dysfunctional in that

energy is wasted in avoiding it which could be released into other

activities; secondly, it is possible to work through conflict situations

so that nobody looses face or their return on investment, and

thirdly conflict is basic to the creative exchange among members

of the organisation in that it is the only way in which the organisa-

tion can be brought to serve the purposes of the members in the optimum

way. Avoiding conflict resolution leads to inequitable returns for

individuals which encourages them to weaken their contributions to

the organisation. (An equitable return is one which an individual

recognises to be fair to him and is also at an acceptable expense

to other members).

It will be clear that the idea of contract is not so much economic

as psychological. The psychological aspect of the contract is

important because satisfaction is basically a complex psychic response.

Simple "recognition" by colleagues may be more significant to an

individual than a high salary and the interest here is in the reward

"set" or "cluster" - all those things that are considered by an

individual to be rewarding.[1] Likewise the investment "set" will

include everything an individual puts into his membership of an

organisation. We are thinking of individuals as complex social

beings[2] with any number of facets to their make-up - material and

spiritual - and it is this complexity of needs, talents, wants and

contributions that we are examining in terms of social exchange and

organisational membership.

Exchange & Conflict in the School

If we translate the "exchange-conflict" concepts to the school then

the following description emerges. Membership of the school would

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[1]   V. Maslow (1964) - Economic rewards are a part of a complete set of
     personal "needs" that must be satisfied.

[2]   See E. Schein (1965) on Complex Man.

be anyone who makes an investment in the school on an economic, social

or psychological dimension. Organisations construct boundaries

around themselves at a point where control can most conveniently be

exercised by those who see themselves as "in charge". Hence the

boundary that the Headmaster chooses to work within is different

from that of the Chief Education Officer. The Head chooses within

his boundary teaching staff and pupils with perhaps the ground staff,

some kitchen staff and some caretaking staff. The Chief Education

Officer includes all ancillary and support staff and possibly parents

and advisory staff. While it may be argued that the boundaries of

the school are defined for it by the Local Education Authority on the

basis of historical precedence, the question arises as to where the

Head in practice draws the boundaries. It is clear from examination

of particular schools that boundaries are differently drawn and have

different degrees of permeability - for example, some infant schools

never allow parents beyond the door while others use parents as

ancillary teaching staff. Equally the influence of parents is

different in a maintained comprehensive school from a minor fee-

paying private school. Parents represent, per se, a threat to the

exchange possibilities of staff in the school by adding another group

with vested interests. There are various ways of handling this

threat of which the most creative is to legitimise parental rights to

bargaining and to use the ensuing increased investment to bring

about change in the organisation of the school. To do so is to

share control.

Problems of personal status

The unwillingness of most traditional leaders to share control within

the system (as opposed to control over the system) is a factor which

prevents resolution of conflict. The resolution of conflict involves

give and take on all sides and this is often interpreted as defeat and

weakness. The traditional view of leadership is that it exists to

maintain the status quo whereas in fact the maintenance of the status

quo is a means of defence against perceived attack. For the individual

leader, inability to change arises from varying degrees of self - identifi

cation with the organisation - one of the most persistent factors going

against proper negotiation and bargaining because he sees negotiation

as providing a personal threat. If a teacher wishes to introduce a

new idea or project into the school, the Head may approve of it so long

as it reinforces his own position. If he supports it strongly he may

be seeing it as a means of strengthening his bargaining position, if

he merely supports it he may simply see it as no positive threat.

Unfortunately, if he supports it strongly the initiator may find

himself at a disadvantage since what was intially for the teacher

a means of strengthening his own position has now been transferred to

support the Head's position and hence becomes a weakness of his (the

teacher's) bargaining position. In extreme cases, the initiator finds

he has become the creature of the Head and is forced now to capitalise

on the situation in unanticipated ways. What is certain is that the

control of the idea passes to the Head and the initiator has increased

his dependence on an authority figure. Often initiators make suggestions

simply to increase their bargaining position and not really because

they are committed to the idea itself. Thus an English teacher might

suggest that the school produce a Summer Revue because other dramatic

presentations have been cornered by other teachers. The Head accepts

the idea and the Revue is successful to such an extent that the Head

expects a Revue each summer under circumstances which add to the Head's

reputation. In these situations the Head is likely to see his interests

and "the school's" to be identical and in argument will claim that the

school is more dependent on him than colleagues perhaps for such

reasons as "I shall still be here after you have moved on". The

teacher has now to decide what return he will receive in playing along

with the Head.

Proprietorship is a critical aspect of the contract-conflict syndrome.

While it may well be that in terms of his career, the school will have

the Head as a member longer than some of his colleagues[1], length of

membership is no criteria for evaluating the contribution or contract

of members. Indeed to do so is to engage in just another avoidance

of conflict. For if one member sees himself as having a greater interest

than another in an organisation then that represents an area of

potential conflict that requires to be worked through. Any member

may believe himself to have the interests of the organisation most

near to his heart. This is never so in actuality - though one

individual may be more dependent on an organisation for more things

than another. Hence the stereotype of the old stager who dedicates

his life to the school and becomes increasingly upset as more and more

others want to do things differently.

Continuous renegotiation

If, on the basis of "exchange-conflict" theory members make contracts

with organisations and enter into an essentially continuous negotiat-

ing relationship with their other colleagues, then the organisational

structure that best fits the situation is one where roles and duties

change and are shared on a continuously renegotiated basis. When

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[1] These days, a pupil who spends 7 or 8 years in school may well
     have a longer membership than most of his teachers including
     the head.

roles are constant for quite considerable periods the condition is
that the members of the organisation are in a stable situation. When
the situation changes either for a short time or altogether, the roles
will change and involve a fresh process of negotiating. Few, if any,
organisations are of this kind; almost all organisations have
persistent structural characteristics which vary in their ability to
meet the needs of members. Yet the success of an organisation depends
on its ability to satisfy member needs. Many organisations cope by
varying degrees of flexibility - which generally simply means bending
while the pressure is on. What organisations require is a basic
morphogenic quality of inherent quality of change. Schools have
nothing like this quality and it remains open to examination to what
extent they "ought" to be like this if so many other organisations are
rigid too.

Needs of members

The first question about school structure or organisation concerns
its relationship to the members and the contractual situation the
school serves. If it is agreed that the school has no existence apart
from its members and no a priori organisational aims but the complex
"set" of member objectives and needs, then we can examine the nature
of the contract and the structure for working out the contract. If we
take three groups of "members" - parents, teachers and students - it
is clear that their needs are different, their demands are different
and their manner of involvement different. In the simplest way, the
needs of parents are proxy needs in that they will be fulfilled
through their children, while teacher needs are "professional" in
that their needs will be fulfilled as they do their jobs. The needs
of the pupils are highly individual and both immediate and future.
For instance, a teacher teaching English is satisfying a personal and

professional need to teach a subject she likes, but none of the

children in the class may like English (or they may all like it, or

some of them may) and in any case even if they do like it during the

lesson the usefulness of English to them will be different for each

child. But additionally, the pupils will not fully make use of their

"education" until they leave school which may be five or six years

later. The teacher may leave at the end of the term. Thus for most

of the members of the school (parents and children) the time scale for

rewards of membership is quite different from that of the teachers

(though a teacher reward may be "getting a lot of children through

"O" level"). Because of the professional or cosmopolitan orientation of

many teachers, the contract tends to be with the education service

rather than the school or even the children; teachers leave, children

stay. The structure of the school reinforces the time-scale by

using the examination timetable as a control mechanism. By far and

away the majority of secondary schools are organised on the basis of

a need to obtain a high number of A level (and consequently O level)

passes.[1] While this would appear, at face value to suggest a concern

for pupils' long term interests, in fact it simply protects the posi-

tions of the teachers because it reinforces their structural and career

needs to be, say, Head of an English Department, rather than the needs

of the pupil in school in the future as against the present. Such a

structure cannot be amenable to pressing current needs and hence is not

open to contractual negotiation. Indeed, the initial contract that

the pupil and parent makes when the child joins the school places all

the advantages firmly on the side of the school and against the pupil.

Since the contract is not continuously (or even initially) open to

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[1]   Apart from teacher salaries one of the largest single committed
        financial investment is in the examination system. In many
        secondary schools the cost of examination entry fees is as great
        as the cost of an extra teacher.

negotiation, there can be no wonder that children, especially as they

grow older, become alienated.[1] On the basis of this model one part

of a cure for truancy would be negotiation. (Primary schools, because

.there is more open negotiation between pupils and teachers have fewer

problems - both of deciding who the members are and of entering into

negotiation with members).

Consequences of failure to negotiate

The development of an "exchange-conflict" model for the school (or

for any organisation) illustrates the consequences of a failure in the

negotiating process since conflict can be stored up when negotiation is

ignored or incomplete. Conflict arises when adequate negotiation does

not take place. Negotiation is a complex continuous process for the

most part unplanned and even unconscious. In reality all human

relationships involve some form of negotiation and contract making

and we are all conscious of the bargains[2] we have struck either when

joining an organisation or at critical periods during our membership.

Unfortunately, many leaders and other members are unaware of this

bargaining relationship, possibly seeing their behaviour in terms

of "leadership" or "good management". Continually in schools one hears

raised the question of responsibility and delegation which Heads like

to see as implying that they must hold ultimate responsibility for every-

one and everything. There is no need to pursue the argument fully here[3]

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[1] Where pupils are not alienated the reason is that they buy off present discontents against future rewards (examination successes), but insofar as there is no negotiation the school avoids creative confrontation since avoiding contractual problems in the present prevents their being recognised for future action.

[2] v. Smith, Peter B, Groups Within Organisations (1973) esp Chap. VI "The Problems of Integrations.

[3] v. H L Gray "The Function of the Head of a School". (1973)

except to draw attention to the fact that insofar as any individual

believes that he is "ultimately responsible" he will enter all nego-

tiations with an area of bargaining sealed off and hence there can be

no full negotiation. The effect of this is for him to aim to retain

personal power, but also to attempt personal protection against erosion

of his status. In practice no single individual ever carries the whole

can and no one can be held responsible for the failings of others even

subordinates, so to claim total personal responsibility is a form of

special pleading with unfortunate organisational consequences. In

schools the idea of ultimate responsibility is a myth to bolster the

status of the Head, who is in any case subordinate to Governors and

the Local Authority, to reduce the areas of negotiation and hence to

increase conflict in the areas of conflict avoidance and active conflict.

The relevance of the exchange concept is equally true of hierarchical

situations as of situations where all the members are equals. The

added dimension that hierarchies produce is of greater intransigence

in conflict potential situations. Hierarchies, by their very nature

increase the incidence of conflict by repression except insofar as

hierarchy is negotiated (as is probably the case in peace-time armies

where lower ranks require their superiors to dominate them - as part

of the bargain). Far from resolving problems, hierarchies actually

make them worse, because nominal leaders insist on being more "respons-

ible" than the other members require.

Who serves whom?

One of the problems of the school is the question of who is there

to serve whom. Hospitals have a similar dilemma in the customer/

client/patient relationship to the professional/medical practitioner.

While hospitals undoubtedly exist to serve the needs of patients they

equally undoubtedly exist to serve the needs of nurses and doctors.

Indeed, the way the hospital service functions it would often seem

that the needs of doctors and nurses are the more important. The

case of schools is not dissimilar if we look at who determines the

structure, sets the norms and determines the rewards. There can be

little doubt that the condition for entering - the contract as the

teachers make it - is that they should determine all the conditions

for membership. Thus teachers decide who shall be members and in what

manner (banding, streaming, even selection), what the behavioural norms

will be (pupils respond to the initiatives of the teacher), what the

rewards will be (which examination can be passed), what the punishments

will be (by restricting opportunities available for qualifying in a

limited range of subjects), and so on. It must be recalled that the

only examinations that a school permits are controlled by teachers or

teacher dominated organisations; teachers choose the subjects to be

studied in school and determine the status of subjects by allocating

time etc. in the timetable; and teachers decide on the kind of behaviour

to be permitted of members of the school. In mitigation it may be

argued that education and initiation in all societies is determined by

the elders and that teachers are merely surrogates for parents/elders

at large; the implication in British culture may be debated but it

is also significant that the structures provided for the pupils are

also provided for the adult teacher, in which case they lead to a

good deal of potential and active conflict. There can be little

doubt that the very structures designed for the education of the child

are equally dysfunctional for the adult teacher who is hoist with his

own petard of subjects chosen, working and membership norms, rewards

and punishments. (For instance teachers of low status subjects are

accorded low organisational and social status). In order to change

the system, teachers are finding it necessary to think of staff much

more as a "collective" and this makes a very uncomfortable situation

for traditionalist teachers.

Continuous negotiation

Exchange theory enables us to examine an organisation in terms of

the negotiation an individual makes as a condition of his membership.

He himself makes a psychological contract, generally unexpressed, that

his contributions will be conditional upon his personal evaluation of

the returns to him. Given, however, that he perceives a threat to a

just return he will try to improve his position at the expense of others.

Indeed, sometimes the unspoken contract is that he should be able to

achieve power at the expense of others - a greater temptation for

designated leaders than other members. The exchange contract involves

 negotiation which is a continuous psycho-sociological process.

Mutually successful negotiation leads to harmony while unsuccessful

negotiation (uni- or bi-lateral) leads to open conflict. Conflict can only

be resolved by successful renegotiation though the terms of settlement

may well change in the process. Many people in organisations prefer

power, however precarious, to fair negotiation and most organisations

like schools and hospitals are so organised as to prevent fair exchange

and negotiation. Hence they contain large numbers of people in active

conflict who desire to negotiate only in unilaterally favourable ways.

The prevention of negotiation

Schools inhibit negotiation in a number of quite clear and distinct

ways, the effect of which is to place power in an increasingly limited

number of hands. Briefly these ways are problems of membership

expressed structurally in the reward and punishment systems, environ-

mental links and economic organisation. Additionally, though not
dealt with here, is the whole complexity of individual personality
for to all organisation models must be added the dimension of personal
and interpersonal psychology.[1]

Membership

The school determines who shall join the conditions of membership.
Individuals cannot choose to be members or not, hence they cannot
negotiate conditions of entry. There can be no guarantee that the
purposes of the controlling members of the school will coincide with
the needs of the coerced members. Even where there is a choice of
school, there is no choice of 'no school'. All selection systems, by
their very nature, are discriminating and schools have quite subtle ways
of showing that only a limited range of behaviours and achievements are
acceptable. A different kind, and range, of behaviours is expected
of student members from teaching members and there are undoubtedly many
more restraints on entry negotiation for pupils and parents than teachers.

Rewards and Punishments

Schools are very clear about the rules that condition rewards and
punishments. The same standards tend to be applied to teachers even
when inappropriate such as with regard to lateness, absence, or being
out of school when not teaching. Heads have very great freedom to
determine their own behaviour and attendance, pupils have very little
and with teachers it varies according to age and status. Punishments
tend to be summary, exemplary and statutory. Often they are strictly
illegal in terms of national law but, like churches, etc, schools can
give their own standards legal standing. Rewards go to those who

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[1]   e.g.v. Robert L Kahn et al: Organisational Stress (1964)

conform to general norms; punishments are given to deviants. In few

cases are rewards or punishments negotiable nor are they to be

influenced by the general membership.

Structure

The major elements of structure are subject departments with high-

status departmental heads. The timetable, which is generally in-

ordinately complex and hence not amenable to change, is also a powerful

instrument of control. The decision making structure is usually a

naive form of democracy interpreted either as taking majority decisions

or representation by the Head in the interests of the majority. Few

schools have made any attempt to find alternate ways of helping the

membership to share in decision-making. Such devices as School Councils

are firmly controlled by Headmasters in a wide variety of traditionally

unsubtle ways (such as calling a full council only once a term and

then making it clear that its purpose is "advisory").

Filtering of Environment

Every member of an organisation brings his perception of the

environment, and of the organisation, with him. How do schools select

the relevant environments with which they will interact? (For example,

Public Schools concern themselves with University entrance, the

respected professions, and upper middle class values - downtown com-

prehensives with getting the best number with 'O' levels irrespective

of job opportunities). The staff decide what qualification pupils can

legitimately aim at. The problem of inner city schools is that many

teachers have no sense or experience of urban decline. Hence members

(pupils and parents) find it impossible to discover the terms on which

to open negotiations with the school staff.

Economics

The material provision of all schools is based upon an administrative

model of the type of school. Each Local Education Authority has a

formula for setting up and furnishing a school which ignores the

realities of membership. With some large LEA's a minimal amount of

negotiation is possible, but only by teaching staff, never by parents

or other users. Since the school is handed over to the governors

in a fixed state, there is little point in anyone negotiating a

contract, at best one settles for an accommodation to the fait accompli.

Once the school starts functioning, administrative considerations over-

ride everything and the administrators become incredibly powerful

people over everyone else in the system. Staff salaries, too, are only

marginally negotiable, student grants are never so.

Conflict resolution

According to the exchange-conflict theory, individuals compensate

for inadequate or fruitless negotiation by seeking power (generally

higher up in the system). Successfully negotiated mutual contracts

lead to commitment and no conflict. Unsuccessful negotiation leads to

frustration and compensation-seeking which in turn leads to power-

seeking and conflict. However, the vitality of an organisation lies in

its ability to allow members to continue negotiation which is in itself

a form of conflict. This kind of conflict does not lead to frustration,

but to enhanced commitment and more fully active membership. The

problem arises as to how to apply this simple model (which is incredibly

complex once its ramifications in terms of an actual organisation become

clear) to the school situation, which is itself complex. The answer can

only be that if the school can be aware of the nature of negotiation and contract and respond to what that means, then the whole structure will be more open and receive more support from members. The starting point is simply to start open negotiating among the members - some teachers, as well as pupils, would be simply delighted if someone else asked them if there was anything they would particularly like to do and would they like actually to give it a try.

The two strands in the theory illustrated in the Ryerson paper and the open university chapter point towards the existential nature of organisations. Both the Deanes and Brookfield projects were concerned with the individual meaning organisations have for members. The fantasy concept shows how accommodation of different perspectives comes about so that organisational activity can occur, while the twin concepts of exchange and conflict show how individuals take part in the organisational dynamic. I conducted two seminars at the annual conference of the Network for Organisation Development in Education (NODE) in 1980 in which I took the problem of organ-isational structure as a problem for management. The paper illustrated the problems arising from persistent structures in organisations and attempted to show how organic and dynamic "structures" were more appropriate than the standardised frozen structures that characterise educational organisations. I developed my ideas of individual perceptions and interests and the collective nature of organisational functions such as leadership, decision making and participation - standard views in group dynamics theory where activities are thought as "functions of the group" rather than belonging to the positions individuals hold. In defending my view against political theories of organisations and some structuralist views, I found it easiest to explain my views as "existential"

though I should be anxious to avoid having to defend the term

against the followers of Jean-Paul Sartre.

Yet everything that happened during the Deanes and Brookfield

projects is capable of an existential interpretation. Fantasies

are existential, exchange is existential; the whole of organisational

processes are existential in that for each individual the situation

had personal meaning to the effective exclusion of any shared

meaning. The very contractual situation itself was different for

each of us. Stanley Putnam (Brookfield) wanted to improve the

quality of school climate (among many other things) while I wanted

quite desperately an opportunity to engage in OD in schools. Gordon

Taylor (Deanes) wanted to prove some personal achievement in career

terms as a head while I wanted the opportunity to show that I could

do some tangible research in schools. And these were only initial

needs, there was a complexity of others surfacing from time to time.

The exchange for each of us concerned the nature of the return with

Stanley needing evidence of the school being a better place in quite

different terms from Gordon while I changed my required return as

all events proceeded from recognition and acceptance to academic

viability as an experienced innovator. While at the Deanes School we

tried to ignore individual needs at the design stage, nevertheless

individual needs were the salient information that we received and

at Brookfield though we concentrated on individual needs we were

forced to deal with 'the school' as a complex organisation and face

the unwelcome reality that our objectives could not be shared by

everyone else.

All that has been written in this study assumes that change does

occur and that it follows certain patterns. Even if the tentative

patterns suggested are too gross to be more than starting points for

exploration, nevertheless stages of development are assumed.
Furthermore, it is axiomatic to theories of the self that develop-
ment occurs. But there are other possibilities. One is that change
does not actually occur but is only believed to occur. It is argued
that in an historical sense the time scale is such that changes for
individuals are not significant and, for example, the economic
wealth of the 1960's and 1970's is no different from the economic
wealth experienced by Greeks at the time of Plato. I will not
pursue that issue here though I believe that it has importance
for economists and physicists. Another view, is that change is
less a change in direction, a linear change, than a change of
state. I believe that to be an important idea in an existential
view of things, especially organisations and it would certainly
help us to view the current economic situation in education rather
differently. Certainly a change of emotional state is common in
human experience, say from pessimism to optimism. Today I went for
a walk. I took light steps and ran up a hill. A year ago I would
have trod with a heavy step and felt my back ache with age. The
difference in state that I experienced was due, I believe, entirely
to the effect of an emotionally satisfying weekend and a number of
'good' personal relationships. Obvious as this may seem, its
significance for people in organisations seems largely to be over-
looked to judge by the kinds of management problems people like
myself have to deal with. Possibly many managers do not choose
to believe that their world, their organisation, can be changed by
a change in their own emotional state. Yet the Brookfield project
indicates that change does come about just like this while the
Deanes project shows something of the problems when the existential
elements are overlooked and ignored. I believe the existential
theory not only explains very effectively a great deal of organ-
isational behaviour but it leads to very potent and practical (as

well as pragmatic) ways of dealing with management problems and hence organisational change.

Sometimes individuals are unable to receive the satisfaction from organisational membership that they need and psycho-therapy or counselling is unacceptable, perhaps because they have built up too strong a rejection of the organisation. For example, a lecturer may require recognition in terms that make his colleagues feel unable to respond to. Arthur Bowen was one such case. He could not reconcile or accommodate himself to the situation in which he was unrewarded with adequate promotion and where others continued to interpret his job in ways that were unacceptable. It appeared to him that the only recourse was to leave and go elsewhere - a particularly sane and rational decision in itself. Yet this one situation was a repetition of previous situations and his whole life view was infused with paranoia in which everyone was out to 'get' him. His fantasies could not be accommodated to anyone else's; his insistence that others should agree to see the returns due to him in his terms was unacceptable. When he left, there was a universal view that we should be hearing from him soon and that it would be the same old story.

Most of those in the two projects seem not to have become so soured by events and it was not difficult to bring about the changes necessary in perception to enable them to view their organisations more positively. But the therapeutic situation of an OD event makes counselling and resolution of problems easier. In normal organisational situations, problems are often intransigent because there is no third party facilitator available and the entrenchment of organisational attitudes and experiences makes confrontations often worse, unless some members have facilitator skills. Until there is

a neutral or mutually acceptable consultant to assist in problem
resolution there is no way in which individuals can gain the self-
knowledge required to be able to re-examine their organisational
perceptions and there is only arguing around the question. It may
well be that the commoner forms of organisational consultancy simply
enable individuals to perceive differently themselves in the
organisational context rather than providing technical solutions.
In fact, one characteristic response to consultancy is not to
change in the light of consultants' reports but to undertake a
separate collective initiative. The 'objective' report may provide
a 'safe' basis for personal re-examination from which a dynamic
programme of change can develop. One thing seems certain, wherever
organisational change does occur, individuals see themselves
differently and the contention in this study is that it is a pre-
condition and not a consequence.

In conclusion, I give one or two 'cases' which illustrate the
application of the 'subjective' and 'existential' theory to real
situations to show how practical the approach is. Perhaps the
most important understanding that came to me, was that by adopting
a theory of the significance of individual perceptions, I was coming
a good deal nearer to practical and pragmatic problem solving than
many of the other theoretical stances that I had once espoused but
by now seriously questioned.

7.   <u>Applications</u>

7. APPLICATIONS

It should be possible to illustrate the theory expounded in this study by a number of examples, the practicality and pragmatism of a theory that some have described as unrealistic. The most pressing characteristic of organisations is their immediacy. Organisational problems just have to be solved in some way or another; they cannot be postponed although the situation changes. Decisions must be made even if it is by default and the advantage of an existential theory is that it has the immediacy that most people experience about organisations as well as the subjectivity of self-interest.

In all formal organisations of which I have been a member, interminable hours have been spent dealing with problems that were not substantive problems but rather substitutes - flight, avoidance, scapegoating and so on. Almost invariably the problems individuals present are personal problems about role and role behaviour where they ascribe an expectation about appropriate role behaviour to something external to themselves - the fantasy organisation that demands certain ritualistic behaviours. Where these expectations become pathological or dysfunctional (I use both words deliberately) the reason is that instead of seeing role behaviour as accommodation to the expectations of others it is seen as needing to have a precise idealised manifestation, yet as a result it can satisfy no one in the role set. By using an existential theory of organisations, it is possible to make an analysis of the organisation, provide an explanation of the presenting problem and to indicate lines of solution and resolution for each of the actors in the situation. In practice, the analysis takes place with as many of the actors as possible so that each comes to an understanding of what the situation means for him and he is able to accept personal responsibility for

changing the situation. Even when the situation appears to be beyond

the control of a simple individual, there is a wide range of

coping strategies open to the individual himself. [1]

One organisational problem that has come to concern me increasingly

is that of stress on senior members and the practical difficulties of

dealing with distressed bosses. In the recent history, for instance,

of polytechnics and local education authorities [2] there is growing

evidence of the inability of very senior staff to deal satisfactorily

with the problems they face. From my point of view in the lower

ranks of the organisation, there is enormous frustration at being

unable to do anything about superiors who, in my opinion, are under

considerable stress, being unable to do their jobs as I see it. It

is seldom difficult to find support from colleagues that one's

superiors are incompetent or unable but complaints about the boss

seem to be endemic to organisations.

In phenomenological terms it is easy to explain how perceptions of

situations derive from personal needs etc. as I have described

throughout in this work. Normal, healthy functioning has all the

characteristics of an unhealthy organisation only in a mild, non-

dysfunctional form. But there are problems when there is a general

acceptance that something is wrong, that a boss is behaving dys-

functionally and it is more apparent to subordinates than superiors

or colleagues. I want to examine the situation by creating a

fictionalised description based on a number of experiences I have

had and cases that I have experienced and to show that the

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[1] See, for example, my article "Personal Strategies for Educational
Change" in "Educational Change and Development", Vol.2, No.2, 1980.

[2] For example, see editorial comment on the resignation of Conrad
Rainbow as Chief Education Officer of Lancashire. However, I was
given a quite different story several days before the news broke of
his resignation. Terence Miller, on resigning from N.London Poly-
technic was quoted in much the same vein (Times Higher Education
Supplement 16.11.79).

phenomenological counselling approach described here works out with practical applications.

Ken Brown was Principal of a college of higher education situated in a town with a long and distinguished history of education. Like many places, in the early 1970's, with local government re-organisation as one major factor, the previous stability of political control had been destroyed and the two major political parties entered into a period of paying off scores and negotiating for new power situations. There were three candidates on the final short list, two with good educational pedigrees (and known political allegience to one party) and one with an industrial pedigree (and known allegience to another political party). This third man was not an obvious and natural choice but one of the political parties refused to support the other two cnadidates and so a man with only marginal experience of education was appointed. The appointment proved popular. Two deputies left as soon as they could and many colleagues were alienated, especially as he began to appoint new men from his old personal network thus creating a clique in opposition to established figures. Some of his appointments were of people with no educational experience at all and who never came to understand the culture of higher education. The Principal was quite personable in public situations and very much a name-dropper. ("The first thing he said to me", reported a visitor from another institution, "was 'the last person who sat in that chair was the Queen Mother! And that just about sums him up.") There grew up plenty of anecdotal lore about him especially of "pathological"; "self centredness"; "arrogance"; "megalomania"; and "inability to listen"; "a compulsive talker"; and so on - all the words are quotations from several people.

Some of the governors disliked him for a variety of reasons, but
the politics of governing boards prevented any action. In any case,
there were no substantial and tangible reasons why action should be
taken. He did nothing known to be illegal and people are not
dismissed for other than legal reasons. Given that this Principal
was not well liked and that a good deal of his authoritarian
behaviour caused trouble elsewhere in the organisation when his
subordinates were bullied into doing what was unacceptable to their
subordinates, what could be done?   One characteristic of the mentally
ill - this time I use the term colloquially - is that they often
develop artfulness that makes them appear quite sane and there is a
form of such artfulness with those facing organisational problems.
But more important, the conventional prejudice is always in favour
of superiors and against subordinates. (This is also an incredible
prejudice in law).

For quite a while, I tried to develop a theory that under pressure
in organisations individuals experience stress or strain [1] and in
response come to exhibit their weaker characteristics. Thus an
individual who has a tendency to paranoia but which is never
significantly manifest in his normal behaviour, will exhibit paranoid
behaviour when under organisational stress.   I believe that the
effects of stress can be explained in these terms if one is a psycho-
analyst and holds a Freudian view of the universe.[2]   But I have been
dissatisfied with using psycho-analytic terms because they arise from
a different model of my own phenomenological self-conscious model.

In phenomenological terms, the Principal is unable to perceive or

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[1] A clear description of the effects of stress appears in C. Handy
     "Understanding Organisations". Penguin (1973).

[2] De Board: The Psycho-analysis of Organisations, Tavistock,
     London. (1978).

construe his world in terms that are congruent with the way others
construe it except in the case of a critically significant member.
His support comes from people round him who reduce his significance
in their world and so do not 'see' as significant what others see
in high profile. The reason they do not see this is because they
have interests which are not served by so seeing him. This is the
exchange concept. Thus the political chairman who said, "We will
not support candidate A or B but we will support candidate C" was
concerned with exercising power (or whatever) rather than making a
'right choice'. His 'return' was knowing he had exercised power
successfully and that the best man was appointed.

The position of the Principal, however, is made worse by this
situation. He continues to create and live in his fantasy world but
there are not enough people around him who are also organisationally
significant for the dysfunctional aspects of his behaviour to rise to
a high enough level of consciousness for anyone to feel it is in his
interest to take action. Because no one individual believes it to be
in his interest to take action, no gathering together of a critical
number of discontented people takes place and the Principal continues
to upset everyone except for a marginal but politically powerful few.
Those who could try to do something about the situation just do not
see it in their interests to do so.

This is one explanation of how and why no action is taken. It still
leaves a lot of discontented - and some unhappy - people in the
organisation. What can be done? We recall that while subordinates
and colleagues perceive the Principal's behaviour to be hurtful (as
well as dysfunctional), that they do so perceive it is because that
is how they construe their world. In our theory, the construed world

is a function of personality - a consequence of personality, the
self concept as argued earlier. In construing their world in the
way they do they also draw on their need to include their own view
of the Principal - if not in whole, then in part (for instance the
affective disposition towards superiors). The Principal becomes
coercive and authoritarian only because that is contained in his
subordinate's world view. Even if a boss is authoritarian, that he
is so perceived is more a function of the perceiver than the
perceived. From this it follows that we do not have to perceive
a boss in any specific way though to change our view of bosses
means that we have to change our self-concept. After all, if I
have a 'good' self-concept, I will not believe myself to be
threatened, certainly not by bad manners, rude or inconsiderate
behaviour. Only in the most military of regimes do I have very
limited freedom of response, so all the Principal's colleagues
and subordinates have a great deal of freedom in their responses.
Indeed, the nearer they are to him in hierarchy, the greater the
freedom, not the less because the area of negotiation is more
closely circumscribed by the smaller number of people involved.

From my point of view, I am continually surprised how many people
(myself included) are unable to deal with organisational problems
because they 'make' their organisations much more restrictive and
penal than they need to. One reason why organisations have coherence
and cohesion is because people see them as requiring discipline and
ordered behaviour and this means obedience to others. Religious and
certain other groups have a coherence that depends on very open
negotiation but most organisations have critical penal elements (or
reward elements) that bulk large in people's exhange negotiations.
If a key individual changes his perceptions and consequently his

behaviour, he provides a creative area in the organisation around
which healing behaviour can occur. If several individuals can be
changed, the areas of creativity begin to link up.

But does the foregoing 'explanation' deal with the problem of a
senior member of an organisation whose behaviour is generally
considered dysfunctional? I believe it does because the perception
that he "needs help" is a manifesation of the state of mind of the
one who so sees it. His fantasy can be changed as I have described.
But furthermore, the 'reality' of his perception is not disproved.
His view may be shared by others and the dysfunctional nature of
incongruent fantasies may be apparent to many others and therefore it
can be said to be real.

The advantage of the phenomenological view is that it not only
explains (satisfactorily) an organisational situation but it shows
where the solution lies immediately and practically. Any other view
leaves the solving of the problem to wait for other events and
requires a future time scale. To provide a psycho-analytic inter-
pretation of the Principal's problem requires the solution to be
located with him and to involve interaction with him, and this may
never be attainable. The phenomenoligcal solution is immediate and
totally practical because the situation 'actually' changes once the
phenomena of the situation are recognised. In the counselling model
outlined here, the solution begins to develop once the counselling
or co-counselling begins. In my own case, the 'Jean Rossiter'
problem could have been resolved had I had the appropriate counselling.
That this counselling would have been difficult and arduous does not
make it impossible. And of course, I did change the Rossiter
situation by leaving the organisation, whereby my perception of 'our'
relationship was changed.

In the case of the Principal of the college the practical question

about changing the situation is simply whether change can be

brought about differently and/or whether in fact a different way of

bringing about change would not be amenable to the phenomenological

explanation. If say, the chairman of governors heard a lot of bad

news about the Principal, and decided to investigate, the situation

itself is one of changed perceptions.   In this case, information

coming to the chairman is heard as incongruent with his own view

but because it does not threaten him affectively (i.e. at the

affective level) he can make a conscious comparison of messages and

his current view.   Indeed, when the governors do feel secure and

no longer concerned with political in-fighting,they will be able to

perceive the incongruency of messages and see the dysfunctional

nature of the Principal's behaviour. And they will see it in terms

of mismatched messages.

Another example comes from the same institution.   In this case,

the problems centre around the Dean of a Faculty.   The Faculty is

split on two sites, the large part being also the remains of a

college that took part in an amalgamation with the larger institution.

The Dean is Head of Department from the larger institution, located

on the central (larger) site and in a subject area different from

that of the other section.   The institution is a polytechnic and

the Dean taught previously in a university.   One 'objective' piece

of information is that he very seldom visits the other site though

he is administratively responsible for their oversight.   Many

overtures of good will have been made to him but still he does

not give much time to informal meetings.   Patience is beginning to

wear thin and his credibility is falling especially as he appears

to be doing nothing about a number of impending crises in the

Faculty.

The traditional way of dealing with this problem is to ignore it in the hope that somehow things will turn out alright. A common alternative is for there to be a confrontation either by collective action or through the union. Most people appear to experience frustration when they approach the Dean being invariably met with defensive fencing as a reaction to their ideas and suggestions. One can guess at the Dean's personal problems - insecurity, a need to establish his superiority intellectually * in lieu of action in which his vulnerability will be apparent. He is afraid of acting in case he does something wrong and the longer he waits the more he will be seen to have got it wrong. ("Getting it right" is his slogan when pressed for action). Clearly unless he will seek help, his perceptions either of the situation or himself cannot be changed but the alternative strategy is for members to work on themselves (in this case, a practical possibility). They can examine why they have certain needs and expectations of their Dean, why they cannot take certain kinds of action, political or otherwise. As they do this they have to face questions about themselves and their self-perceptions, self-concepts. As each comes to terms with himself and realises what sort of a situation he is creating (because he needs to create it) so a solution begins to become clearer, the implementation of which will change the information the Dean receives and as he finds different information (i.e. less threatening inform-ation) so he will begin to feel differently about himself. Already - since this is a real case - there is some evidence that all this is beginning to happen.

The skills for helping to do this exist and the possibilities are shown in the Brookfield Project. In many ways, however, we are only at the beginning of experiment and research. Hopefully, this study has paved the way for important developments in the ways people in organisations are helped.

* He has been called an intellectual "clever dick".

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I have read in whole or in part which have influenced my thinking

in some way or another. Nowhere I tried to cover an

epistemological field and readers will find books etc. omitted

which are to them important. In reading round the area of my

study I discarded many authors who seemed to be developing the

same ideas but developing them differently; these I laid on one

side until I am ready to take in new dimensions.

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